

UNITED STATES

1792

UNITED STATES

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UNITED STATES

# A New Map of North AMERICA

According to the Newest  
Observations.

By  
H. Moll Geographer.



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Straits of Annian  
C. Blanco  
P. S. Francis  
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P. Carinde  
I. S. Clement  
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# The British Empire

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A M E R I C A

WILLIAM & MARY DARLINGTON

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C O N T A I N I N G

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

BRITISH COLONIES

O N T H E

Continent and Islands of AMERICA.

Oldmixon, John, 1673-1742

V O L. I.

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

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

SECOND EDITION, Corrected and Amended.

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

L O N D O N:

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



# A New Map of North AMERICA

According to the Newest Observations.

By  
H. Moll Geographer.



Tropic of Cancer

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T O

JONATHAN BLENMAN, Esq;

Attorney-General of *Barbados*.

DEAR SIR,

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

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

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

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

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

you

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

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

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



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

*Dear Sir,*

*Your most affectionate Friend,*

*And Obliged Humble Servant,*

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

**T**HE Author is apprehensive that this *Undertaking* will meet with many Censures, raised by the Prejudice of some Readers, and the Ignorance of others. The Candid and Impartial will, 'tis hoped, find sufficient Memoirs to entertain them with Pleasure; and such Faults as may have been committed through Misinformation, they will excuse, when they consider what a difficult Task the History of the *British West-Indies* must be to an Historian that never was in *America*.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus



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

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

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

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

Work without it: All he hopes is, there are fewer than will be expected, together with much more Matter.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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T H E

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

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

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

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

riches

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

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

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

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



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

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

“ it

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

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

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



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

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

As to what he says may be objected, that they consume  
 nothing of native Commodities; that Objection is best an-  
 swered by the Bills of Entry at the Custom-house. A Man  
 must be so ignorant of Trade, that one may despair of con-  
 vincing him, who does not know that the Planters in our  
 Sugar-Islands have for themselves, Servants, and Slaves, all  
 manner of Necessaries, for the House or the Field, for  
 Clothing or Food from *England*. Sir *Dalby* allows *five*  
*Blacks at least for one White* in the Sugar Colonies, but we  
 cannot agree with him; for when there were 50,000 *Whites*,  
 Men, Women and Children in *Barbados*, as there were  
 when he wrote, can any one suppose there were 250,000  
*Blacks*? There might be then 80,000, and never more,  
 which, with 50,000 *Whites*, made 130,000 Souls in all; and  
 allowing but as many more for the other Islands, who can  
 imagine that 260,000 Souls can subsist there, where no-  
 thing is to be had but Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, and the Commo-  
 dities before-mentioned, without consuming prodigious Quan-  
 tities of all Sorts of Goods from *England*, besides the Provi-  
 sions they have from the Northern Colonies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“ *French* seemed to despair of rivalling the *English* in the  
 “ Sugar Trade, the Islands and Sugar Trade were thought in  
 “ no manner of Danger, and consequently the Administration at home had not their Improvements and Security  
 “ so much at Heart, as we now find it was for the publick  
 “ Interest they should have had. The *French* grew upon  
 “ us insensibly, and when we perceived the Ground they  
 “ had got upon us, we found, to our Cost, it was too late  
 “ to recover it without breaking in upon some Laws that  
 “ had been made to the Hindrance and Detriment of those  
 “ Colonies, for the Sake of several Branches of Commerce  
 “ nearer home. This produced the popular Act of Navigation, which though well designed for the Interest and  
 “ Glory of *England*, proved in its Consequence to be an  
 “ Impediment to both, the heaviest Weight of it falling  
 “ on our *American* Colonies, which are least able to bear it.  
 “ This produced the excessive Duties on our Plantation  
 “ Products, so excessive, that at first Sight, it appears monstrous; as for Instance, to pay ten times as much Duty  
 “ on Tobacco as the Commodity is worth where it grows,  
 “ and for many Years more Duty for *Barbados* Sugar than the  
 “ Value of it in the Country, after the Charge of planting  
 “ it is deducted; not to mention the Duty and Excise on  
 “ that other Staple Commodity, *Rum*, above twice as much  
 “ as the prime Cost, and a like Excess on our other Plantation Goods, which should have been eased, instead of  
 “ burdened, at least when the Colonies were young; for  
 “ these Duties hinder’d their Growth, and reduced them  
 “ from a flourishing to a languishing Condition. ’Tis certain that when Duties are laid on, ’tis not easy to have  
 “ them taken off or diminish’d; and indeed the Custom of  
 “ Appropriation renders it almost impossible, and no private Wisdom can provide against that Evil.

“ How much our Trades near home have been considered  
 “ to the Disadvantage of our Colony Trades, appears particularly in an Instance which has lately happened. It is  
 “ not doubted but that there is enough Iron-Ore or Stone  
 “ in our Northern *American* Continent Colonies to answer  
 “ the Demand of the *British* Iron-Trade, if Encouragement  
 “ were given for making Iron there, and importing it thence;  
 “ but the Influence of the *Baltick* Traders and the Iron  
 “ Traders in *England*, is such a Clog to that Use and all  
 “ necessary Experiments, that so great Store of Iron which  
 “ might be brought thence, lies among the Rubbish of the  
 “ Earth.

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



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

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

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

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

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

“ What has been said here necessarily falls under the Con-  
 “ sideration of all that are concerned in and acquainted with  
 “ the Product and Trade of our *American* Plantations; but  
 “ what relates to their Security, being the proper Business  
 “ of the State, ought to be referred to the Care and Pro-  
 “ tection of its Ministers, who will doubtless to their own  
 “ Knowledge and Experience add what they have learned  
 “ and can learn of the Situation, Danger and Defence of  
 “ the *British* Colonies. But I cannot omit a few Words  
 “ upon what I have lately read of their present Strength in  
 “ Capt. *Vring's* Voyages. He tells us there are, in our  
 “ *American* Colonies, 1,500,000 Souls of *British* Extraction,  
 “ of which 30,000 are fit to bear Arms, and ready to go on  
 “ any Expedition against the common Enemy, *French* and  
 “ *Spaniards*. His Computation of 1,500,000 is doubtless  
 “ too large by at least a third of the Number; but his Num-  
 “ ber of fighting Men, if referred only to such as are fit for  
 “ any foreign Expedition, is within Compass. Now if one  
 “ third of that Number was inroll'd in the several Provinces  
 “ of our Continent Colonies, if they were well officer'd  
 “ and disciplin'd, with such proper Allowance for Loss of  
 “ Time as may be provided for them there or at home, they  
 “ would form a Corp, in 4 or 5 Years time, that could not  
 “ be oppos'd successfully by any Body of Men from *Europe*.

“ There are, in those Colonies, Ships enough for Trans-  
 “ ports, and Provisions enough in all of them for supply-  
 “ ing the several Quota's of Men, and conveying them  
 “ to any Rendezvous. And such Forces being more  
 “ used to the *American* Climates, the Food and way of  
 “ living in the Colonies would be more serviceable in any  
 “ such Expedition than double that Number sent from *Eu-*  
 “ *rope*; considering also that the Fatigues, Perils and Sick-  
 “ ness that attend the Voyages would be very much lessen'd  
 “ by so short a one as that from the *British* Colonies to  
 “ the Islands and the *Spanish* or *French* Settlements. To  
 “ this Proposition I never heard any Objection made by any  
 “ Person that knows the least of these Matters, excepting  
 “ that the Planters cannot spare their Hands, though but  
 “ so small a Part of them, for Military Exercise and Service.  
 “ It would be to wrong the Wisdom of the *British* Nation,  
 “ to imagine that it could not get over such an Objection.

“ The Sugar Islands cannot boast much of their Numbers  
 “ of *British* Inhabitants; they are but small, and lie in the  
 “ Neighbourhood of the *French* Sugar Colonies; the only  
 “ Means therefore that can be thought of for their Security,  
 “ is a due Care for repairing or enlarging their Fortifications,

“ keeping

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

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



“ come into what Share of that Trade they think fit ; and  
“ that Trade itself must be much better than we conceive  
“ to enable the *French* to people and fortify themselves  
“ in a Tract of 2000 Miles, where probably there are not  
“ now a hundred *European* Families farther up than 50 or  
“ 60 Miles the Mouth of the River.  
“ The Increase of the Product and Power of the *French*  
“ Sugar Islands require more the Attention and Care of  
“ the *British* State than their Settlements and Trade on the  
“ *American* Continent. We can now say no more of the  
“ Defence and Security of our own Sugar Islands, than what  
“ we have said heretofore ; and as to their Product, if they  
“ were pretty near on a Par with the *French* in Duties at  
“ home, and a free Exportation in their Charge of Go-  
“ vernment and Militia, 'tis not to be doubted but the Good-  
“ ness of the Commodities, the Advantages they have in Na-  
“ vigation and the *African* Trade, would, in a short time,  
“ restore them to that Superiority which their Products had  
“ in *European* Markets. To all which, if we add the just and  
“ necessary Restraint on their Trade with the *British* Northern  
“ Colonies for Provisions, &c. they would be as little able  
“ to carry on their Sugar Works in the *American* Islands, as  
“ they could the Woollen Manufacture in *France* without  
“ *English* Wool.

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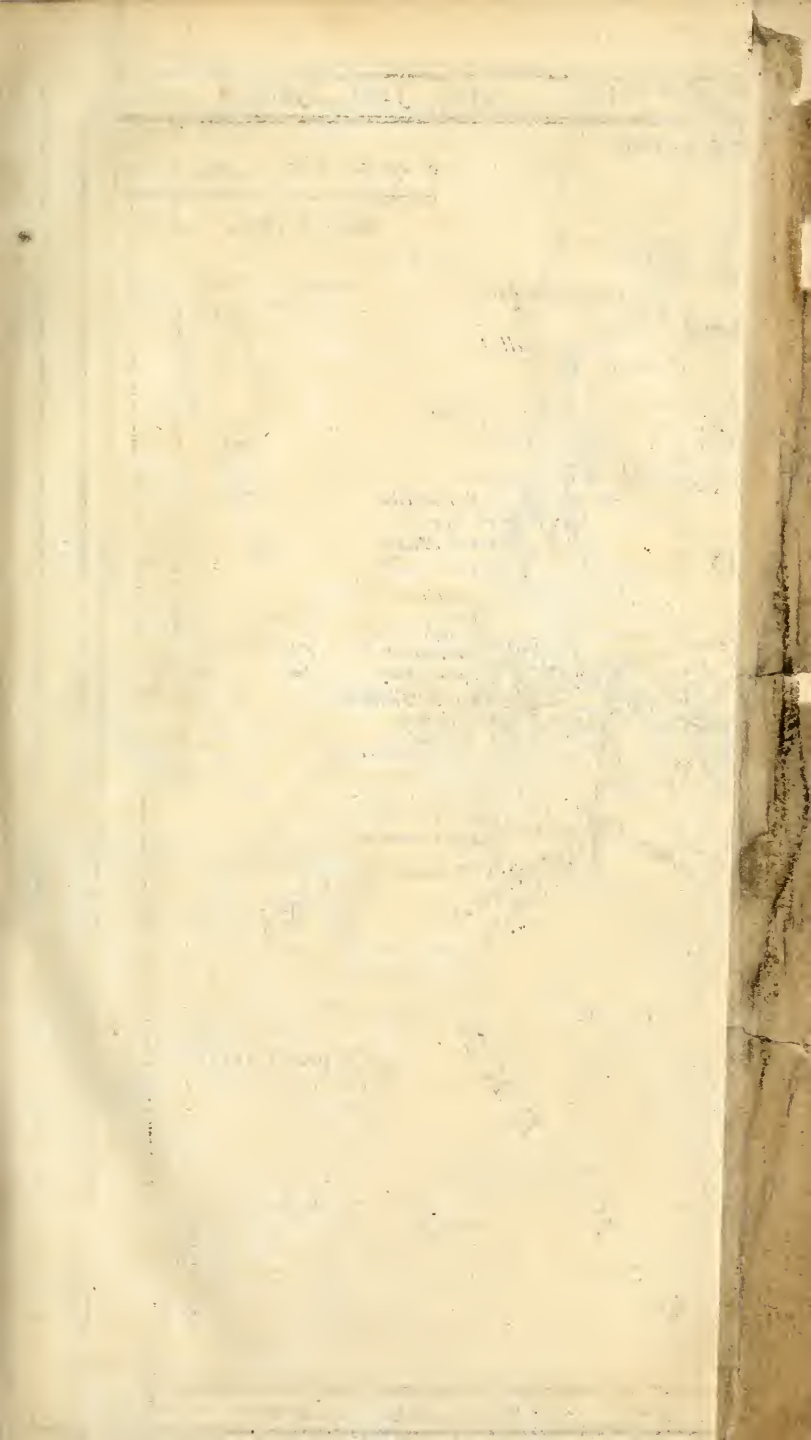
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51

50

49

48

47

46

44

20

51

50

49

48

47

46

45

44



T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F

N E W F O U N D L A N D .

Containing

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

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

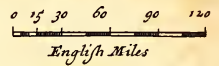
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*Its Figure.*

*Latitude*  
*and*  
*Situation.*



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*Its Figure.*

*Latitude*  
*and*  
*Situation.*

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

Some Writers relate that the Fishermen of *Biscay* frequented the Banks of *Newfoundland* and fish'd there for Cod, long before *Columbus* discovered the *New-World*. The *French* pretend to prove this by some antique Verses in their Language, but that does not seem to be very likely, for the *Great Bank* being but twenty Leagues from the Island, if the *Bisks* had frequented it, they must in the Course of a very few Voyages been within Sight of it, whether they knew it or not, and they would not long have seen it without landing upon it; where, with a small search, the neighbouring Continent of *America* is as easy to be ken'd as *Calais* is from *Dover*. *Biscay* is certainly so near the Banks, much nearer than *England*, that it would not have been to be wondered at, if the *Biscainers*, who were famous Fishers, had been driven thither by Accident and against their Wills in ill Weather. But the Pretence of their Fishing on the *Great Bank* not being so well prov'd as to put in a Claim for them to the Country and Fishery, they started another, and that was the Discovery of one *John Verazzan*, a *Florentine* Adventurer, sent by *Francis I.* the *French* King, to *America*, on the same Errand as *Cabot* was sent by King *Henry* of *England* several Years before, and they say *Verazzan* took Possession of it for *Francis*; but it is all a Dream and Impertinence; tho' if it was true it wou'd not at all lessen the Right of the *English*; for *Sebastian Cabot* had not only taken Possession of it in the Name of *Henry VII* long before *Francis* was King of *France*, but as a Proof of it, had brought home with him 3 of the Natives, probably the first *Indians* that ever were seen in *Europe*, except those that *Columbus* had brought to *Spain* with him in his two first Voyages thither before *Cabot's*; and not long after *Cabot's* Voyage hither, and to *Norembergua*, all the Continent so called *Northward* of 40 Degrees Lat., the *English* began to trade to *Newfoundland*. Nay, in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth Mr. *Thorn* and Mr. *Elliot*, two Adventurers of our Nation, traded here, and one Mr. *Hore* attempted a Settlement here, the first of the kind by *Europeans* in *North America*, but was reduced to such Streights, that many of his Company were killed and eaten by their Fellows. Those who surviv'd were so changed, that Sir *William Butts* of *Norfolk* did not know his Son at his Return, and cou'd not be convinc'd he was the same, till he shewed him a Mark in his Body, by which Sir *William* knew him, as say the Old Writers; and it is the more remarkable, because this Knight, whom King *Henry* the VIIIth dubb'd by the Stile of Sir *William Butts* of *Norfolk*

Idle Pretences of the French to the Discovery.

Sir W. Butts Son here.



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

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

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

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

Capt. Whitburn's first Voyage.

1583. Second Voyage.

S. Humphry Gilbert takes Possession for Queen Elizabeth.

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

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

He is cast a-  
way.

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

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

Sir Bernard  
Drake thers.

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

1609  
Mr. Guy, of  
Bristol here.

The first  
Newfound-  
land Compa-  
ny.

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



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

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

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

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

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

The next Year, *Whitburn* being again at *Newfoundland*, Sir *Henry Manwaring* came there with 5 stout Ships, strongly provided to secure the Fishery. And in the following Year Capt. *Whitburn* made another Voyage thither, and carry'd with him a Commission from the Admiralty, to *Impannel Juries and make Inquiry upon Oath, of divers Abuses and Disorders committed amongst Fishermen yearly on that Coast.* Accordingly as soon as he arriv'd there he held a Court of Admiralty, the first of that kind that ever was there holden. Several Presentments of Injuries in Trade and Navigation were made, sign'd and seal'd by 170 Masters of *English* Ships, which shews how flourishing their Fishery then was.

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

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

A Poet lives  
and writes  
there.

Sir George  
Calvert has a  
Grant here.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Capt.

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

In all thirty two.

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

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

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



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

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

*Ferryland*, where were about 30 Houses and Families when I  
*Cape Broil*, . . . . . 12 first publish'd this History  
*Bay of Bulls*, . . . . . 20 This was the first Settle-  
*Brigas Bay*, . . . . . 6 ment, and the Lord *Bal-*  
*Bell Inn*, . . . . . 3 . . . . . *Toad's*

The French  
 settle on the  
 Southern  
 Shoar.

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

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

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

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

Number of  
Inhabitants.

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

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

Isles in New-  
foundland.

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



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

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

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

Newfound-  
land, near  
Canada.

Many fine  
Bays.

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

Climate.

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

Way of living  
in Winter.

Soil barren.

The Inhabitants have no Corn, nor any other sort of Provision or Necessaries, except *Fish*, *Venison* and *Wild Fowl*, but what is sent them from *Europe*. The Island is full of Mountains and impracticable Forests. Its Meadows are like Heaths, and are covered with a Sort of Moss instead of Grass. The Soil is good for nothing, being a Mixture of Gravel, Sand and Stones. Thus says the Baron *La Hontan*, and several Gentlemen, whom I have consulted on the Matter, particularly Capt. *Francis* above-mention'd; and yet Mr. *Guy*, Capt. *Whitburn*, and from them Mr. *Delaet*, a very

learned Author, set it out as a Paradise. Without the Labour of Mens Hands, says Capt. *Whitburn*, the Earth produces

great



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

Government

The Spaniards pretend to the Fishery.



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

Countenanc'd  
by the Utrecht  
Articles.

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

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

The Governor here for the time being summoned the Criminal, whatever be the Crime, before him, and his Sentence was definitive. If it was the Land Officer, he kept every one in awe, by threatening them with a File of Musketeers; and as much as they were, and still are, with Law and Lawyers, the Want of them was and is one of the least Inconveniencies. If a Man commits Murder, he is sent in Chains to England, and unless Witnesses are sent with him, which is expensive, and not always possible, he has his Trial at the Old Baily, is acquitted, and goes home again; such was the Case of a Person who was accused of Sodomy about 30 Years ago.

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

Besides the great Profit which particular Merchants make by this Fishery, the Seamen it breeds, the Tradesmen it maintains, and the Shipping it requires, the Increase of the National Stock is no less than 3 or 4000*l.* yearly; for a Ship of 100 Tons, with the Charge only of Victuals and Fishing-tackle for 20 Hands, shall bring a good Market, in Portugal, Spain, or Italy, 3000*l.*

7000*l.* worth of Fish, and clear at least 2000*l.* to the Proprietors, and consequently encreases the publick with private Stock.

The Banks.

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

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



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

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

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

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

*English,*

The English  
retreat from  
Placentia.

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

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



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

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

*French*

Capt. now  
Sir John  
Norris, here.

1699.

The adjacent  
Islands belong  
to the Eng-  
lish.

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

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

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

A new War with *France* commencing in 1702, the *French* and *English* went very early into it in these Parts of the World. Sir *John Leake*, arriving here with a Squadron of Men of War, destroy'd 3 *French* Men of War, and 30 Merchantmen, in the Bay of *St. Peter's*, and attack'd and raz'd the Fort. Col. *Ri-* Capt. Lloyd, Governor. *chards* returning to *England*, Capt. *Lloyd* was made Governor of Fort *William*. The next Year, 1705, was fatal to the *English*; the *French* entered *St. John's* Town, and laid Siege to the Fort with 1000 Men; the *English*, it is said, made a vigorous Defence for five Weeks, and then the Enemy left the Place, after having burnt most of the Houses and destroyed all the Fishing Stages. They carry'd away with them half the Inhabitants, especially all the Youth they could light on. Those they sent to *France*, came to *England* by Exchange; others, for want of being exchange'd, enter'd the *French* Service; and some were kept in Servitude at *Quebec*. After this Destruction at *St. John's*-Town, the *English* that remain'd there built their Houses round the Fort, under the Command of the Cannon, for fear of another Insult from the Enemy. Within the Palisadoes drawn round this new Town they also built a Church, whose Minister was lately Mr. *John Jackson*. But since the *English* have been in Possession of *Placentia*, all these Precautions are now of little or no use here.

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

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

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

The Cession of  
Placentia,  
&c. an Im-  
position on  
the English  
Ministers.

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



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

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

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

From its DISCOVERY to the present Times.

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

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



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

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

1622.

A false Account of the Country by the Patentees

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

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

*Canada belongs to the English.*

“ *South-side*, call’d by the *French Acadie*, fell again into the  
 “ Hands of Sir *William Alexander*. In 1632 it was given  
 “ away again, and the *French* kept it many Years.” But  
 without any legal Right, unless King *Charles* could legally  
 give away what was not his by Inheritance, Purchase, or Com-  
 pact with any Purchaser, and did indeed belong to those  
*British Adventurers*, who were at the Charge of planting and  
 settling there. *Oliver* minded not these Givings; but as  
 soon as he was possess’d of the Government, he sent Major  
*Sedgwick* to retake it from the *French*, who pretended they  
 had bought it of Sir *David Kirk*; and in Truth the *French King*  
 had purchased Sir *David’s* Right to *Canada* for 5000 *l.* which  
 was never paid. It was worth Notice, whatever Use is  
 made of it, that the *Terra Canadensis* and the *Terra Laba-*  
*rador*, of which *New-Scotia* is a Part, was a *British* Acqui-  
 sition, and so acknowledged by the *French*, when they pur-  
 chased it of the *English*, long after *John Verazzan’s* acquiring  
 it for *France*, by being eaten up there, as has been already  
 mentioned. Major *Sedgwick* easily dislodg’d the few *French*  
 that had planted in and about *Port-Royal*; and *Cromwell*,  
 who did not use to part with any thing he thought worth  
 keeping, would not suffer his Ambassador in *France* to give  
 the least Ear to the pressing Solicitation of the *French* Mini-  
 sters for Restitution of this Country. By the Treaty con-  
 cluded between *Oliver Cromwell* and *Lewis XIV.* *Cromwell*  
 insisted upon it, that it was the ancient Inheritance of the  
 Crown of *England*. Ancient here refers to *Cabot’s* Land-  
 ing, and taking Seizin of it in *Henry VIIIth’s* Reign, 160  
 Years before *Oliver’s* Time; but being afterwards inform’d  
 that Monsieur *St. Estienne de la Tour*, Son and Heir to Seigneur  
*Claude de la Tour*, of the House of *Bouillon*, of the reform’d  
 Religion, had bought *Nova Scotia* of the Earl of *Sterling*,  
 and was come over to *England* to solicit the Restitution of  
 it, *Cromwell* order’d it to be restored to him, upon making  
 out his Title.

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

The French  
 in Nova Sco-  
 tia.

1654.

Driven out  
 by Crom-  
 well’s Orders.

Monf. de la  
 Tour his  
 Purchase.



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

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

Pursuant to this Resolution Sir *William Phips*, who commanded the Fleet and Forces, sail'd from *New-England* the 28th of *April* 1690, and on the 11th of *May* arriv'd before *Port-Royal*, situated at the Bottom of a little Bay or Basin, within the Bay of *Funda*, to the Eastward. It was but a poor Place, defended with single Palisadoes only, which I the rather mention, because our modern Writers of the *West-India* Colonies enlarge very much on the more than ordinary Care of the *French* to fortifie their Settlements; and this was a very important one, considering how convenient it was for annoying the *English*, or being annoy'd by them; and considering also what a flourishing Trade the *French* carry'd on in Lumber, Fishing, Furrs, and Skins; insomuch that when *Phips* came thither, there were at least 6000 Souls in *Acadia*. *Monf. Meneval* the Governor, being so ill provided for Defence against Broadfides, made a very short one, and surrendered on Condition of a safe Conduct to *Canada*. Thus the *English* retook Possession of the Town and Country, demolish'd the little Fort, not worth the Name, sent away the *French* Inhabitants that were for removing, and took an Oath of Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, of those  
D. that

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

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

We heard little of *New-Scotland*, from Sir *William Phips's* being there, to Col. *Nicholson's*, in the second War with *France*. That Officer came before *Port-Royal*, in the Year 1710, happily before there was any Rumour in *America* or a Revolution in the *English* Ministers, in favour of *France*. The *French* Garrison here was still in an ill State of Defence, and made not a much better one than *Monf. Meneval* had done, but surrendered on the same Conditions. Col. *Nicholson* was appointed Governor, and ——— Esq; his Deputy. I hope it will not be thought I injur'd the Ministers, at the latter end of the Year 1710, by saying they were *Frenchified*, for one of the Persons preferr'd to Employment by them here and at *Newfoundland*, was ——— *Boyce*, accus'd as an Accomplice with *Charnock*, *King*, and *Keys*, in the Assassination Plot.

Col. Nicholson.

Port-Royal, call'd *Annapolis*.

*Annapolis*, has not much better'd its Condition by changing its Name. It is yet but a small Town, with a few Houses, two Stories high, and that high enough, unless the Climate was milder, and the Inhabitants better able to furnish them. There is a pretty good Traffick for Lumber, Fish, and Furrs; the Furrs are brought to them by the Savages, who are even to this Day content to take Goods for them, which the *Europeans* can very well spare. Modern Writers having little else to say in Praise of this Place, extoll the *Bafon* on the Edge of which it stands. It is two Leagues long, and one broad, capable of receiving 1000 Sail of Ships, but the Experiment will certainly never be made: At the Entrance of the *Bafon*, there is 18 Fathom Water, on the one side, and 6 or 7 on the other, the Channel being divided by the Isle of *Cheures*, which stands in the middle. There's excellent Anchorage

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

The reducing this Place was doubtlefs a good piece of Service, not only for the Reafons juft mention'd, but becaufe, as Mr. *Dummer* writes, "*Port-Royal* was a neft of Privateers, and a *Dunkirk* to the *American* Trade, befides it was the Head Quarter from whence Parties of *French* and *Indians* iffu'd out, and fell upon the *Eastern* Parts of *New-England*," which made it of fuch Importance to the *English*, that it was very well for us the *French* had not fo good an Opinion of it, as there was Reafon to fear; for the Managers of the *Utrecht* Treaty were in too good Humour to have deny'd them Peace, had they deny'd the Ceffion of *Acadia*, tho' then in our Poffeffion. Col. *Nicholfon* going to *England* fome Time after its Reduction, was folemnly invested with this Government, with the Title of Governor of *Nova-Scotia*, and of *Annapolis-Royal*, and Commander of all her Majesty's Stores there, and in *Newfoundland*. This Gentleman was much enamour'd with Government and founding Titles.

What relates to *New-Scotland* in the *Utrecht* Treaty is thus in the XIIth Article: *All Nova-Scotia, or Acadia, with all ancient Boundaries, as alfo the City of Port-Royal, now call'd Annapolis, and all other Things in thofe Parts, which depends on Lands and Iflands, together with the Dominion, Property, Poffeffion of the faid Iflands, Lands, and all Rights whatfoever, by Treaties, or by any other ways obtained, &c.* To which the *French* King graciously added the Exclufion of the Subjects of *France* from Fifhing on the Coaft of *Nova-Scotia*, and within 30 Leagues, beginning from *Cape Sable*, and fretching along to the South-Weft. The Subjects of *Great-Britain* were in Poffeffion of *New-Scotland*, when this Treaty was fet on Foot; the *French* having the Fifhery on the Coaft of *Cape Breton* Ifland, and in the Sea to the Bay of *St. Laurence*,

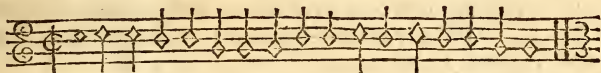


the most profitable and commodious Fishing in those Parts, they value not the Coast either of *New-Scotland*, or *Newfoundland*, farther than what was stipulated for them, by the *British* Plenipotentiaries, to catch and dry Fish there. We shall see in its Place, how the *French* bubbled them also in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

The Indians  
in New-  
Scotland.

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

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



*Tameja alle luya Tameja douvem Hau Hau He He.*

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

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

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

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THE  
MUSEUM  
OF  
THE  
MUSEUM

NEW  
NEW YORK  
and PENNSYLVANIA BAY

FUNDI

C. Forchu  
Part of  
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| b. Sudberry     | m. Canonicut     |
| c. Charles Town | n. Elizabeth I.  |
| d. Roxbury      | o. Woodbridge    |
| e. Dorchester   | p. Pascatoway    |
| f. Milton       | q. Perth City    |
| g. Braintre     | r. Staten Island |
| h. Weymouth     | s. Old Towne     |
| i. New Bristol  | t. New Towne     |
| k. Portsmouth   |                  |

T H E

# H I S T O R Y

O F

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

C H A P. I.

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

Containing the Space of *Seventeen* Years.

**T**HO' the Continent of *North-America* was, doubtless, discover'd by *Sebastian Cabot*, under the Auspices of *Henry VII*, King of *England*, four or five Years after *Columbus* had discover'd the vast Southern Continent, and the Islands in the Seas that bound it; and tho' Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* Adventurers, *Amidas* and *Barlow*, had traded in *Virginia*, and Sir *Francis Drake* had been ashore in the Country of which we are about to treat, yet nothing satisfactory is said of either its Discovery or Trade, till the Voyage of Capt. *Bartholomew Gosnold*, in the Year 1602. He was the first Navigator who made a considerable Stay here. He had with him 32 Sailors and Passengers, who seem'd to have had some Thoughts of a Settlement, if they met with a Place that invited them to it, they carrying with them Seed Corn to make an Experiment of its Growth in the Soil of *America*. Capt. *Gosnold* made Land in the Latitude of 42 Deg. and a few Min. Northward, among the Islands that now form the North-side of the *Massachusetts*

1602.  
Capt. Gosnold's Voy. age.



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

By H. Moll Geographer.

0 5 10 20 30 60 90

English Miles

PART OF  
AMERICA

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BAY

St Georges Bank

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



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1602.  
Capt. Gofnold's Vcy.  
age.

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

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

The Indians  
come to him.

1606.



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

Capt. Popham and Capt. Gilbert. A. D. 1603.

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

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

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

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

Capt. Hunt's  
Villainy to  
the Indians.

Capt. Hobson.

615.

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

The Patentees, having met with so many Discouragements, were at last so dishearten'd, that they gave up all Thoughts of making a Settlement: However, other Adventurers carry'd on a Trade to *New-England*; eight Ships were employ'd in it by the Merchants of *London* and *Plimouth* this and the next Year; and the Success was such, that the Seamen, who were Sharers also, had each 17*l.* in 6 Months time, as much as 30*l.* now, and as good as 5*l.* a Month, a Master's Pay. Thus the Traffick continued, tho' the Settlement was suspended, and probably would have been dropp'd, had not other more solid and noble Inducements than Lucre engaged some very religious and worthy Persons to undertake it, that they might enjoy that Liberty of Conscience in *New-England* which was deny'd them in *Old*, by persecuting Prelates, high Commission and Spiritual Courts, which had already driven many of them out of their dear native Country into *Holland*, and other Parts of *Europe*: Among these

was



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

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

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

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

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

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

1621.  
The first Settlement.

Betray'd by the Hollanders.

Their Instrument of Association.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. John  
Carver,  
Governor.

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



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

Plymouth  
Colony set-  
tled.

The Indians  
visit the  
English.

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

So does their  
King *Massas-*  
*soit*.

William  
Bradford,  
Esq; Govern-  
nor.

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

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

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

1621.

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

The Indian Princes submit to King James.

Obquamebud,	Nattawabunt,	Quadaquina,
Cawnacome,	Coubatant,	Huttamoiden,
Obbatinua,	Chillaback,	Apadnow.

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

1622



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

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

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

*Weston and  
his Men  
wicked.*

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

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

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

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

not

A sort of  
Bishop sent  
thither.

Pierce's  
Treachery.



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

The Planters having Advice of *Pierce's* Treachery sent <sup>1628.</sup> Mr. *Winslow* to *England* to solicit their Affairs, and he took <sup>Mr. Winslow takes out the first Patent.</sup> their Patent in the Name of *William Bradford*, his Heirs, Associates and Assigns, by which the Governor became Lord of the Country; but when the Number of Freemen increased, the General Court desired the Governor to surrender the Patent to them, which he readily did; and thus, says Mr. *Neal*, the Colony became a kind of Republick, by a Patent from King *James I.* which I do not very well understand; for it appears by the Charter itself, that the first under Patent, or Patent granted by the Council of *Plymouth*, by virtue of King *James's* Grant, was not to *William Bradford*, Esq; but to Sir *Henry Roswel*, Sir *John Young*, &c. as will be seen presently; but that Mr *Bradford's* Name was inserted in the Patent, and that he so surrender'd it, is not to be doubted; and one may suppose that Sir *Henry Roswel's* Patent was for the *Massachuset* Plantation.

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

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

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

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

1626.

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

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

*Capt Woolleston's Settlement frustrated.*

*Morton murders at Massachusetts.*

*Teaches the Savages the Use of Fire-Arms.*



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

1628.

Distribution  
of Land.

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

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

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

The Rise of the Massachusset Colony.

The Extent of the Patent.

The Patentees.

This new Company chose *Matthew Craddock*, Esq; to be Governor of the Colony they were about to establish at the *Massachusets*, and *John Endicot*, Esq; to be his Deputy. Him they dispatch'd away immediately, to relieve and hear-ten the little Colony which Mr. *Conant* still kept there, in Expectation

Matthew Craddock, Esq; Govern.

John Endicot, Esq; Dep. Govern.

1629.

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

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

The Grand  
Embarkation  
for Massi-  
chusetts.

The <i>George Bonaventure</i> , of 20 Guns.	
The <i>Talbot</i> , of . . . . . 20 Guns.	
The <i>Lion's Whelp</i> , of . . . . . 8 Guns.	Perhaps the same that
The <i>Mayflower</i> , of . . . . . 14 Guns.	carry'd over the
The <i>Four Sisters</i> , of . . . . . 14 Guns.	first Planters.
The <i>Pilgrim</i> , of . . . . . 4 Guns.	

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

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

England.



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

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

The next Year, a greater Fleet than the last was provided for this Voyage by the *London Adventurers*, no less than 10 Sail; and *Mr. Craddock*, the *Governor*, declining to go over in Person, the Company made Choice of *John Winthrop*, Esq; to succeed him in the Government, and appointed *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; to be his Deputy; a Man of more Experience and Eminence than *Mr. Endicot*, who was an honest, well-meaning Man, but not of Genius and Vigour sufficient for the orderly Management of People who, as may be seen by the *Brownes*, were not the most manageable. *Mr. Winthrop* was the Son of *Adam Winthrop*, Esq; of *Groton* in *Suffolk*, where he served as Justice of the Peace before he was 20 Years old, having been bred to the Law. He sold his Estate, 6 or 700*l.* a Year, and turned it into proper Materials for the Service of this Plantation. *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; was born at *Northampton*, and intended also for the Law; but was diverted from his Study by a Commission which *Queen Elizabeth* gave him to command a Company of Foot in the Service of *Henry IV.* of *France*, which being at an End by a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, he return'd home, and by his Conversation with the very religious, learned and approved *Mr. Dodd*, the Gospel Minister, he became a strict *Puritan*, which obliged him to quit his Employment as Steward to the Earl of *Lincoln*, in which he was not easy as to his Conscience, on account of Conformity; and this was the Reason of his embarking in this Fleet for *New-England*.

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

mate

*Salem built.*

1630.

*John Winthrop, Esq; Governor.*  
*Thomas Dudley, Esq; Dep. Governor.*

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

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

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

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

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

Sir R. Saltonstal, and other Gentlemen remove to Massachusetts.

Charles-Town built.

Dorchester.

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

The English buy the Country of the Indians.

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

Boston built.

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

1631.

1632.



Sir Christo-  
Gardiner  
arrives.

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

January

January 19, 1632.

Present

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

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

1633.

*Earl of Dorset's Saying of the Persecuting Bishop's.*

*Newton, or Cambridge built.*

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

1634.

*The Indians murder the English.*

This

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

Capt. Stone  
murder'd.

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

Mr Roger  
Williams's  
Schism.

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

Indian  
Lands to be  
purchased.



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

*The Persecuted turn Persecutors.*

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

1635.  
Sir Henry Vane, June arrives here.

Governor of the Massachusetts.

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

Connecticut  
Colony settled.

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

Hertford  
built, as also  
Windsor and  
Weathers-  
field.

1636.

Edward  
Hopkins.  
Esq; Govern-  
nor of Con-  
necticut.



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

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

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

1636.

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



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

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

Lords and  
Gentlemen  
intend to re-  
move to  
New-Eng-  
land.

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

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

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

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

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

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

New Hamp-  
shire and  
Main Go-  
vernment.



still upon the defensive, rather, I should think, for the Advantage of trading with them, than out of fear of their Power; for by this Time there were 3000 *English* Planters and Heads of <sup>1637</sup> Families in the four Colonies, *Plimouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Newhaven*; and according to the Rule in Political Arithmetick, 6 Persons to a Family, Men, Women, and Children, and consequently 6 or 7000 Men, of which if 1000 only had been well arm'd, and disciplin'd, they would have been enough to have driven all the *Indians*, in and bordering on *New-England*, into the Lake of the *Iroquois*, till the *French* at *Quebec* arriv'd among them, and united many Eastern and Northern *Indian* Nations against the *English*. The *Pequots* had been at War not only with the *Narragansets*, their *Indian* <sup>The Pequot War.</sup> Neighbours, but with the *Dutch*, who had then possess'd and planted the Country, which is now *New-York*; and these Wars were the Reason that they had not given the *English* more Disturbance than they had hitherto done. To prevent a Rupture about the Affair of *Stone* they sent Messengers to Mr. *Winthrop*, Governor of the *Massachusetts*, with Presents, to desire his Friendship. The Governor was not very forward to treat with them, but at last concluded a Peace, on Condition *They should deliver up the Men that had been guilty of Stone's Death. That they should yield up their Right to the Lands bordering on Connecticut River, if the English were dispos'd to plant there, and that there should be a free Trade between the two Nations.* To this they agreed, and desired the *English* to conclude a Peace between them, and the *Narragansets*, who were in no Disposition to be reconcil'd to them. The *Pequots* soon after this, murder'd Mr. *Oldham*, an Inhabitant of the *Mas-* <sup>The Murder of Mr. Oldham.</sup> *sachusetts*, going into those Parts with a small trading Vessel, slenderly mann'd. The Savages observing this, pickt a Quarrel with him, seiz'd his Vessel, and cut off his Head with a Hatchet, at a Place call'd by the *Indians* *Manisses*, by the *English*, *Block-Island*, between *Long-Island*, and *Rhode-Island*. *Oldham* was a brave Man, and would have made his Party good, if his Men would have stood by him; but being overpowered by Numbers, he was forc'd to submit to the Death they inflict'd upon him. Before the *English* had perfect'd their Settlements on *Connecticut River*, they fell upon them, kill'd nine Men at *Weathersfield*, and took two young Women Prisoners, who had been tortured to Death, if the *Sachem's* Wife had not taken a Fancy to them, and beg'd them of her Husband. Upon this Capt. *Endicot*, Capt. *Underhill*, and Capt. *Turner*, were sent by the Governor and Council at *Boston*, with 120 Men, to demand the Murderers; but the *Indians* refusing to surrender them, and flying

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

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

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

The *Pequots*  
defeated.

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

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

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



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

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

The good Behaviour of an Indian Princess.

The Pequots subjected by the English.

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

“ The Colony of *Plimouth* was infested to such a Degree, that they starv’d away all their old Ministers, and set up Mechanicks in their Room. There was such an Interest made against the next Election of Magistrates, that they were forc’d to adjourn the Court to *New-Town*, for fear of a Riot; the Faction try’d all Methods to keep their old Governor *Vane*, who was for the Covenant of Grace. They procur’d a Petition to the Court on the very Day of Election, with a Design to hinder their Proceedings to a new Choice, whereby the Time of Election being pass, they would of Course have kept in their Governor *Vane* another Year; *A Seditious.* but when they cou’d not obtain this, and the sober Party made a shift to carry the Election for General *Winthrop*, yet such was the Influence of the *Covenant of Grace* *Some for the Covenant of Grace.* Faction among the inferior Officers, that the Sergeants, whose Place it is to attend the new Governor, laid down their Halberts and would not act; the Governor however, like a wise Man, took no farther Notice of their Behaviour at present, than to order his own Servants to take up the Halberts and march before him; but when he was settled in his Government, he made them feel the Weight of his Displeasure. Nay, the march of the Forces against the *Pequots* was retarded by these Men upon this very Account, because the Officers and Soldiers were too much under a *Covenant of Works*,” which, without quibbling, we may say was at that time especially their Duty. I may very easily run into Error here, for I am in a State of Darkness as to these two Covenants in the different Explanations of them, and the People’s going together by the Ears on one side, and the other, is the greatest Farce that ever was play’d out of the *Italian Theatre.* *Some for the Covenant of Works.*

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

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

A New-England Synod explain'd.

Mr. Wheelwright, the Antinomian Minister, banish'd.

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

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



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

Rhode-Island plant-ed by Anti-omians.

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## C H A P. II.

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

Containing the space of 37 Years.

SIX or seven Years before the End of the *Pequot* War, The University of Cambridge founded. there was a Design to erect a School, for the Education of Youth in useful Learning at *New-Town*, about 6 Miles from *Boston*. The General Court of the Colony, advanc'd 400l. towards it, in 1630, but the Sum not being sufficient, and the *Indian* War, and Differences among themselves diverting them from the farther Consideration of it, that Design

I

slept

1638.

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

Harvard College built.

Cambridge.

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

The 4 Colonies, and 4 Governors. 1639.

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

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

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

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

The Confederacy.

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

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

*Long-Island*  
inhabited by  
the English.

*Southamp-*  
*ton built.*

The next Year 1641, *Massassoit* An *Indian* Sachem, 1641. and his Son *Novanam*, came to *Plimouth*, to confirm the ancient League between the *English* and his *Indians*, and that League was extended to a new one, defensive and offensive between the two Nations. 'Tis obvious that the Colonies of *New-England*, who were now able to arm 2 or 3000 Men, were and wou'd not have been in the least Danger of Expulsion by the Savages, unassisted by the *French*, but on the contrary, that the *Indians* might easily have been extirpated by the *English*, had their Consciences and their Interest so directed them.

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

Women,



Number of  
fighting Men  
there this  
Year.

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

Speeches in  
Parliament  
upon the Pre-  
ritans quit-  
ting the  
Kingdom.

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

Orators,

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

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

The Passage of the Planters, their Families } and Moveables,	1. 95,000
The Transportation of Cattle,	12,000.

*I think the Price ought not to be reckon'd, for that put Money in the Pockets of those that staid at home.*

Materials for their first Cottages, &c.	18,000.
Arms, Ammunition, and Artillery,	22,000.
Provisions of all Kinds.	45,000.
	<hr/> 192,000

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. John Allen, at *Dedham*.

Mr. Avery, at *Marblehead*.

Mr. Adam Blackman, at *Stratford*.

Mr. Richard Blinman, at *Gloucester*.

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



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

In all 77

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

*Students in  
Old-Eng-  
land, Mini-  
ſters in New.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

fter of *Burford St. Nicolas*, in *Wiltshire*, but outed of all by the *Uniformity Act*.

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

Mr. *Robert Peck*.

Mr. *Blinman*.

Mr. *Saxton*.

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

Mr. *Henry Whitfield*.

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

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

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

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

1642.

The flourish-  
ing Condition  
of New-  
England.



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

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

preached

Martha's  
Vineyard  
planted.

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

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

Capt. Atherton  
seizes the  
King of the  
Narragant-  
sets.

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

1643.

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

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

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

Eastham  
built.  
1644.

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

Kirgham  
Petition.

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

*David Yale,*  
*John Smith,*  
*John Dand.*



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

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

Gentlemen,

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

H's Speech after his Acquittal. 1645.

This

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

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

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

*Kummogkodonattoottummoociteaonganunnonash*, Our Question.

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

*Noowemantammoosnkanunnonash*, Our Loves.

Thus.

The Indians  
converted to  
Christianity.

Mr. Elliot  
the Apostle  
of the In-  
dians.

Of the In-  
dian Lan-  
guage.

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

1646.

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

Mr. Elliot's  
 first Sermon  
 to the Sa-  
 vages.

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

Indian  
 Doubts about  
 the Christian  
 Religion.



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

A Christian  
Indian  
Town.

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

Their Laws.

1. *If any Man be idle a Week, or at most a Fortnight, he shall pay Five Shillings.*

2. *If any unmarried Man shall lie with a Woman unmarried, he shall pay Twenty Shillings.*

3. *If any Man shall beat his Wife, his Hands shall be tied behind him, and he shall be carried to the Place of Justice, to be severely punished.*

4. *Every young Man, if not another's Servant, and if unmarried, shall be compelled to set up a Wigwam, and plant for himself, and not shift up and down in other Wigwams.*

5. *If any Woman shall not have her Hair tied up, but hang loose, or be cut as Man's Hair, she shall pay Five Shillings.*

6. *If any Woman shall go with naked Breasts, she shall pay Five Shillings.*

7. *All Men that shall wear long Locks, shall pay Five Shillings.*

The Indians  
civilized by  
Christianity.

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

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

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

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

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

*Whosoever shall be drunk, shall forfeit Twenty Shillings.*

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

*Whosoever profanes the Sabbath, shall pay Twenty Shillings.*

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

*Murder and Adultery, Death.*

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

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

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

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

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

Most of the *Indian Sachems*, *Segamores* and *Powaws*, were alarmed at the Progress of *Christianity*. The Prince, says the reverend Historian, was jealous of his Prerogative, and the Priest of his Gain. The *Sachems* were so afraid that the *English* Government would issue out Orders for them to pray in their *Wigwams*, that *Uncas*, before-mentioned, came to the General Court of *Connecticut* at *Hertford*, and formally protested against it. *Cutshamoquin* another *Sachem*, protested against the building any Town by the *Christian Indians*, and very frankly told Mr. *Elliot* the Reason of it. The *Indians* who pray to God, said he, do not pay me Tribute, as formerly; which was in part true, and the Reason for their paying it ceasing, the Payment should consequently have ceased. The *Christian Indians* had withdrawn themselves from their Authority and Protection, and put themselves under the *English*. However, *Cutshamoquin*, a happy Name for an *Indian* King, did not speak the whole Truth; for the *Christian Indians* within his Territory had paid him very handsomly. I am the more willing to be particular in it, because it shews the Grandeur and Riches of these *Indian* Monarchs. He complained to Mr. *Elliot*, that his Subjects of the *Christian* Religion gave him no more than they thought reasonable; whereas, before they turned *Christians*, he was absolute Master of their Lives and Fortunes. The new Converts answered, that they left it to Mr. *Elliot* to judge between their King and them. We gave him, said they, at one time, 26 Bushel of Corn, and at another time, 6 Bushels more; on two hunting Days we kill'd him 15 Deer, we broke up two Acres of Land for him; we made him a great *Wigwam*, and 20 Rod of Fence, with a Ditch and Rails about it; we paid a Debt for him of Three Pounds ten Shillings, and one of us gave him a Beaver-skin of Two Pounds; we gave him many Days Work, in planting Corn all together. They added, We would willingly do more, if he would govern us justly by the Word of God. *Cutshamoquin* took in great Dudgeon that his People should dare to talk so to him and of him, turned his Back on the Company, and went off in a Rage; but, not long after, turn'd *Christian* himself. And, notwithstanding the Opposition the *Christian* Religion met with from the Savages,

*Sachems*

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

They vindi-  
cate them-  
selves.



*Sachems* and *Powaws*, Kings and Priests, it obtain'd among the Natives to a great Degree. The *Praying Indians*, as the new Converts were term'd by way of Distinction, combined together in a Body, and built a Town by *Charles-River*, in the midst of the *Massachusetts*, to which they gave the Name of *Natick*. It consists of three long Streets, two on one side of the River, and one on the other, with House-cots to every Family. There is one large House built after the *English* manner, the lower Room is a large Hall, which serves instead of a Church for religious Exercises on Sundays, and for a School-house in Week-days. There's a large Canopy of Mats raised upon Poles for the Preacher, and those that come with him, and other sort of Canopies for themselves to sit under, the Men and Women being placed a-part, which indeed is sometimes done in other Places, not much to the good Liking of either. The Upper Room is a kind of Store-house for Skins and other valuable Wares; and in a Corner of this Room Mr. *Elliot* had an Apartment partition'd off, with a Bed and Bedstead. There is a handsome Fort, of a round Figure, palisado'd with Trees, and a Foot Bridge over the River in Form of an Arch. This *Indian* Town encreas'd much in Number of Houses and Inhabitants, and Mr. *Elliot* having baptis'd the *Indians*, and given the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to those duly prepared, an *Indian* Church, after the Presbyterian way, was form'd and settled at *Natick*, about the Year 1660.

They build Natick, another Town.

The Town and Church described.

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

An Indian Schoolmaster.

Mr. Elliot translates the Bible into the Indian Language

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

Hiaccomes, the Indian Preacher, converted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the Whole, there were, between the Years 1660 and 1670, above thirty Congregations of *Indian Christians*, which might make near 5000 in Number, having 24 *Indian* Pastors. I question whether the Number is much increased since; for Mr. *Mayhew*, the Grandson I suppose, in his Journal of 1713 and 1714, writes, that the Remains of the *Pequots*, *Mobegins*, near *New-York* and *Narragantsets*, were still under strong Prejudices against the *Christian* Religion. Mr. *Mayhew* going amongst them, obtained a Meeting, and preached to them by an Interpreter; but had only a *Thank ye Sir* for his Trouble, tho' the *English* were then so much Masters of the Country, that the *Indians* were at Mercy in a manner. He sent for the King of the *Narragantsets* to come to him, and desired Leave to preach to his Subjects. *Ninicroft*, that was the Name of the Sachem, bid him go, and make the *English* good first; for the *Indians* could easily ob-

Mr. Mayhew the Grandson's latter Mission among the Indians.



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

Mr. *Mayhew*, at the Request of the *New-England Society* for propagating the Gospel, made the *Mohegin Indians* another Visit, and obtained another Meeting. After he had preached to them, he desired to know their Objections against the *Christian Religion*. One of them stood up and said:

Objections of  
the Indians  
to the Chri-  
stian Reli-  
gion.

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

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

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

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

The Names  
of the first  
Society in  
England.

*Edward Earl of Clarendon*, Lord Chancellor.  
*Thomas Earl of Southampton*, Lord Treasurer.  
*John Lord Roberts*, Lord Privy-Seal.  
*George Duke of Albemarle*.  
*James Duke of Ormond*.  
*Edward Earl of Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain,  
*Arthur Earl of Anglesey*.  
*William Viscount Say and Seal*.  
*Francis Warner*, Esq; Alderman of London.  
*Erasmus Smith*, Esq; *Will. Love*, Esq; 7 Aldermen  
*Richard Hutchinson*. *Will. Peak*, Esq; 5 of London.  
*Joshua Woolnough*, Esq; *Thomas Foley*, Esq;  
*George Clarke*, Esq; *Thomas Coke*, M. D.  
*Thomas Speed*, Esq; *John Micklethwait*, M. D.  
*Harman Sheaf*, Esq; *Edmund Trench*, Esq;  
*James Hayes*, Esq; *Charles Doyley*, Esq;  
*Laurence Brinsley*, Esq; *Thomas Staynes*, Esq;  
*John Arrod*, Esq; *John Farvis*, Esq;  
*John Docket*, Esq; *William Antrobus*, Esq;  
*Sir William Thomson*, *John Bathurst*, Esq;  
*Sir William Bateman*, *Thomas Gillibrand*, Esq;  
*Sir Anthony Bateman*, *John Benbowe*, Esq;  
*Sir Theophilus Biddolph*, *Barnabas Mears*, Esq;  
*Sir Laurence Bromfield*, *Edward Boscowen*, Esq;  
*Robert Boyle*, Esq; *Martin Noel*, Esq;  
*Tempest Milner*, Esq;

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

The late  
London  
Commission-  
er's Names.

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



Earl of Stamford.	Philip Papillon, Esq;
Sir John Scot.	Mr. Henry Palmer.
Sir Daniel Wray.	Mr. Thomas Stiles.
Daniel Dolins, Esq;	Mr. James Townsend.
William Thompson, Esq;	Mr. John Jackson.
John Lane, Esq;	Sir Henry Ashurst.
Sir Justus Beck.	Mr. Joseph Thompson, Jun.
Mr. John Bridges.	Mr. Samuel Read.
Mr. John Morton.	Mr. Jeremiah Murden.
Robert Atwood, Esq;	Mr. Samuel Sheaf.
Robert Clarke, Esq;	Mr. Thomas Carpenter.
Mr. James Hulbert.	Mr. John Mitchel.

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

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

The New-England Commissioners.

This Society do, or lately did, maintain in *New-England* 15 or 16 Missionaries, part *English*, part *Indian*, to preach the Gospel. Their Salaries are from 10 to 30*l.* a Year, *New-England* Money. They have erected Schools in proper Places, which may truly be called *Charity-Schools*. The Children are furnished with *Catechisms*, *Primers*, *Psalters*, Books of Devotion in the *Indian* Tongue, Pens, Ink, Paper, and sometimes Clothes. Some of the Missionaries can preach in the *Indian* Language; but the rest do it by Interpreters. Besides the Contributions gather'd by the Society, there are Collections towards carrying on their Design in *New-England*. That at *Boston* came, in one Year, to 483*l.* *New-England* Money.

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

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

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

1647.  
Commotions  
among the  
Savages.

1648.  
A Synod at  
Cambridge.

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

The Baptists  
persecuted.

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

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

Mr.

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

Fined and whipp'd. 1651.

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

The Quakers persecuted. 1656.

Mary Fisher,  
Ann Austin,  
Christopher Holder,  
Thomas Thirstone,  
William Brend,

Sarah Gibbons,  
Mary Prince,  
Mary Weatherhead,  
Dorothy Waugh,  
John Copeland.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

More cruel  
Laws.

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

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

*If a Quaker, for the first Offence, that is, coming to New-England, after having been banished, if a Man, to have one of his Ears cut off, and be kept to hard Work in the House of Correction till he could be shipp'd off at his own Charges.*

The Ears of  
Quakers cut  
off.

*For his second Offence, to lose the other Ear, and be kept in the House of Correction. If a Woman, to be severely whipp'd, and kept as aforesaid. For the third Offence, Man or Woman, to have their Tongues bored through with a hot Iron, and then be kept in the House of Correction till they can be shipp'd off at their own Charges.*

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

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

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

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

Among other troublesom Fellows that came to New-England, was Venner, the Fifth Monarchy-Man, who, some Years after, raised a Rebellion in London against King Charles II. for which he, and a good Number of his Crack'd-brain'd Militants were hang'd. Venner was one of Hugh Peters's Clan at Salem. He would fain have persuaded a Parcel of such *Wifeheads* as himself to have deserted the Settlement at *Massachusetts*, and have gone to *Providence*.

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

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

The *Quakers* glorying in their Sufferings, continued to spread their Notions, or rather Dreams, and were seized and imprison'd, and whipp'd. The Magistrates issued still more cruel Laws against them, *That they should be whipp'd twice a Week*, and each time to have the Stripes increased. One *Harris*, who came from *Barbados*, had this Punishment inflicted on him; so had others, and one of them was almost whipp'd to Death. I am ashamed to write it. There were two *Quakers*, of the Name of *Southick*, who being fined Ten Pounds for not coming to *Church*, there called *Meeting*, and refusing to work in Jail, or pay the Money, were order'd to be sold to the Plantations, by an Order signed by *Edward Rawson*, Esq; Secretary to the General Court;

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

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

Banish'd on  
Pain of  
Death.

The Govern-  
ment's Speech  
to some Qua-  
kers before  
Execution.

ping



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

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

The Colony  
address'd th  
Charles II'd

The Quakers  
against Mr.  
Norton,  
Minister.

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

1663

Who dies rather  
of Grief  
than Sick-  
ness.

Massasoit's  
two Sons  
take the  
Names of  
Alexander,  
and Philip.


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


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

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

King Philip's Treaty of Peace.

Witness, *John Sansaman*.

The Mark of *Francis*  *Sachem* or King of *Nanset*.

The Mark of *Philip*  alias *Metacomet*.

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

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

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



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

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

*Divines who went thither.*

- Mr. *James Allen*, Fellow of *New-College, Oxon*; at *Boston*.  
 Mr. *John Baily*, at *Water-Town*.  
 Mr. *Barnet*, at *New-London*.  
 Mr. *John Broune*, at *Swamsfey*.  
 Mr. *Thomas Gilbert*, *Eling* in *Middlesex*; at *Topsfield*.  
 Mr. *James Keith*, at *Bridgwater*.  
 Mr. *Samuel Lee*, Fellow of *Wadham College, Oxon*, at *Bristol*.  
 Mr. *Charles Morton*, *Blisland* in *Cornwall*, at *Charles-Town*.  
 Mr. *Charles Nicolet*, at *Salem*.  
 Mr. *John Oxenbridge*, *Berwick*, at *Boston*.  
 Mr. *Thomas Thornton*, at *Yarmouth*.  
 Mr. *Thomas Walley*, *White-Chapel, London*, at *Barnstable*.  
 Mr. *William Woodrop*, at *Lancaster*.  
 Mr. *John Bulkely*, *Fordham* in *Essex*, at *Concord*.  
 Mr. *Thomas Baily*, at *Water-Town*.

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

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

*The beginning of putting People to Death for Witchcraft.*

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

The

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

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

*Connecticut and Newhaven Colonies united, 1664*  
John Winthrop, Esq; Governor.

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



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

Another  
Persecution.

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

*William Crouch,*  
*William Macket,*  
*Theodore Eccleston,*

*George Whitehead,*  
*John Whiting,*  
*John Field,*

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

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



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

1673.  
John Leve-  
rett, Esq;  
Governor of  
the Massa-  
chufets.

While the Elders, Ministers and Magistrates were carrying on their Persecutions against *Baptists*, *Quakers* and *Witches*, *Philip*, King of the *Wampanoags*, was preparing to exercise them in a War of another kind. We have mentioned his feigned Submission, which he intended to observe no longer than till he was ready for an open Rupture. He began to keep at a Distance from the *English* of *Plimouth* Colony, which was next to him; and the Magistrates, not quite so busied in Ecclesiastical Matters as the *Massachusetts*, having some Jealousy of his Conduct, sent for him to *Taunton*. This grand Air was very foolish, if they were not sure of their Superiority over him, and if they were, it was not very wise in them to lose it; for it is most certain that the *English* united were strong enough to have rooted out the *Indians*, unassisted by the *French*, had they known how to make the best use of their Strength. *Philip*, waiting for a more favourable Opportunity to shew his Enmity openly, comply'd with the Demands of the Colony, agreed to pay 100 l. for what Damage the *English* had suffer'd by his Subjects, to send five Wolves Heads every Year, as a Token of his Fealty to the Colony of *Plimouth*, and not to make War, or sell any Lands, without their Approbation. Sufficient Marks of his Vassallage; but they were all counterfeit, and *Philip* continued his Machinations against the *English*. *Sansaman*, before-mention'd, was the Son of an *Indian* Convert, who had been educated in the Christian Faith; but, when he came to judge for himself, he returned to the Religion of his Ancestors, and became Secretary to *Philip*. After some time he came back to the *English*, changed his Religion, and seem'd so sincere in it, that he was admitted to what is there called *Church-membership*, i. e. to receive the Sacrament; after which he was constituted a Preacher, and sent upon the *Wampanoag* Mission, in which he got Intelligence of that King's Design against the *English*, and gave Notice of it to the Governor of *Plimouth*, of which *Philip* had quick Information, and took such Measures upon it as cost *Sansaman* his Life; for as he was travelling the Country alone in the Winter-time, two or three of *Philip's* Men

King Philip  
confirms his  
Treaty with  
the English.

John San-  
saman his  
Secretary,  
becomes a  
Preacher.

He is mur-  
dered.

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

And as Dr. Mather writes, bleeds at the coming of the Murderer.

### C H A P. III.

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

Containing the Space of 18 Years.

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

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

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

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



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

1675.  
The War  
with Philip  
begins.

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

King Philip's  
Head valued  
at 20 Coats.

Capt. Cud-  
worth ill  
used, and  
then employ'd

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

Office

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

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

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

King Philip  
block'd up.

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

Escapes.

He besieges  
the English  
in Quaboag.



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

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

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

Capt. Beers killed.

1675.

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

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

Capt. Lathrop and 70 English killed.

General Winslow subdues the Narragansets.

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

6 English  
Captains  
killed.

A great  
Slaughter of  
the Indians.

The French  
assist the Sa-  
vages against  
the English.



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

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

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

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

*Philip sets  
the Maquas  
against him*

*The Indians  
beaten off  
from Bridg-  
water.*

*chuset*

They are in  
great Distress.

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

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

And submit.

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



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

By all this we perceive, that the War of the *Indians* is a lost Game to them; they are reduced to the last Extremity, and their Associates and Neighbours forsake and betray them. An *Indian* Deserter came to *Taunton*, and gave Information that the Body of the Enemy was in the neighbouring Woods, and might easily be surprized; upon which the *English* sally'd out upon them, and brought in 26 Prisoners. In the Skirmish which happen'd here, the brave Queen of *Pocasset* animated her Men with her Presence as long as there was any Hope of Success; but being traiterously deserted by them, she fled to her Canoe, hoping to pass the River; but not finding it ready, she attempted to cross it on a Piece of Timber, which giving under her, she was drown'd. Her Body was thrown ashore some time after at *Metapoiset*, where the *English* finding it, cut off the Head, not knowing whose it was, and set it up on a Pole in *Taunton*, which the *Indians* seeing, made hideous Howlings and Lamentations for her. *Philip*, her Kinsman and Confederate, was soon after betrayed by one of his own Friends and Counsellors, who being disgusted at him for killing an *Indian* who only ventured to mention to him an Expedient for making a Peace with the *English*, ran away to *Rhode-Island*, and informed Capt. *Church* where he was, and how he might be surprized.

*The Queen of Pocasset's Bravery and Death.*

*Philip* suspected this Savage's Treason as soon as he mis'd him, and communicated his Suspicion and his Dreams concerning it to his Friends. Capt. *Church*, with a small Party, surprizing him and his few Attendants in a Swamp, *Philip* attempted to make his Escape out of it; but an *Englishman* and an *Indian* firing at him, the *Englishman's* Piece being wet, did not go off, but the *Indian* shot him through the Heart, August the 12th, 1676. His Body was quarter'd and set upon Poles, and his Head was carried in Triumph to *Plymouth*, where his Skull is preserved as a Curiosity to be seen at this Day.

*King Philip shot by an Indian.*

*His Skull shewn at this Day.*

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

*Western*

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

The New-England War in the East.

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

next

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

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

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

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



William  
Leet Esq;  
Governor of  
Connecticut  
and Newha-  
ven.

1678.

Simon Brad-  
street, Esq;  
Governor of  
the Massa-  
chusets.

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

1680.

Robert Treat  
Esq; Govern-  
or of Pli-  
mouth Colo-  
ny.

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

1683.

The New-  
England  
Charter ta-  
ken away.

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

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

*Hampshire* and *Main* never had a Charter, but a Sort of Association, the Bond of which they readily resigned into the King's Hands; since which Time that Province has a Royal Government, independent of the *Massachusetts*, under a Governor and a Council named by the King: But the Governor is generally the same with that of the *Massachusetts*. King *Charles*, having seized the Charter of *New-England*, sent over *Henry Cranfield* to be Governor, by Commission from himself, turning out at once *Mr. Bradstreet*, Governor of the *Massachusetts*, *Mr. Lect*, Governor of *Connecticut* and *New-haven*, and *Mr. Treat*, Governor of *Plimouth*. This *Cranfield*, as much a Tool as he was for King *James's* Purpose, after the Death of his Brother *Charles*, was in a short Time removed, and *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; appointed to succeed him. He was Son of *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; before spoken of, was born in *New-England*, and educated in *Harvard College*. He was generally beloved on Account of his Father's Merit and Services; but, says *Mr. Neal*, His accepting a Commission, founded upon the Ruin of the Laws and Liberties of his Country, created him a great many Enemies, who ventured at length to depose him, and send him Prisoner to England. He had, as he imagined, secured the Favour of the Court, by favouring the Episcopals against the Presbyterians, and coming cheerfully into all their Measures: But the *New-England* People were so provoked by his Management, that having outed him, they resumed their Charter Governments. But a Stop was soon put to their Proceedings by the Arrival of *Sir Edmund Andros*, a poor Knight of *Guernsey*, with a Commission to be Governor of all of them. He was a Man of as mean Character as Fortune, and it is amazing, that either he or *Mr. Dudley* should be continued in such a Post after the Revolution.

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

Joseph Dudley, Esq; Governor.

Sent Prisoner to England. 1686.

Sir Edmund Andros Governor.

It was in *Andros's* Time, that Captain *William Phips* of *Kennebeck River*, in *New-England*, discovered the great Wreck in the *Spanish West-Indies*, and brought a vast Treasure to *England*. The Particulars are worth knowing.

He had been told, that many Years before a large Galleon had been lost, about the Year 1640, near *Port de la Plata*; and Captain *Phips*, about the Time of the *Quo Warranto*, went to *England*, and applied to those then at the

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

Capt. Phips  
brings home  
immense  
Treasure.  
1687.



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

The Duke of  
Albemarle's  
Share of it,  
And Sir  
William  
Phips's.

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

1688.  
The third  
Indian War.

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

The English  
Aggressors  
against the  
French and  
Indians.

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

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

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

1688.  
Sir Edmund  
Andros's ill  
Conduct.



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

While Sir *William Phips* was in *England*, he used what Interest he had at Court to procure the restoring of the *New-England* Charter, but Sir *William’s* Address and Genius were ill adapted to such sort of Negotiations; he appeared to be a very heavy Man, even to me who was very young when I saw him, which was more than once; and tho’ the People of *New-England* speak very honourably of his Capacity, as well as Integrity, yet it is very plain that he very ill became the Seat of Government. When he importun’d King *James* about the Charter, the King reply’d, *Any Thing* Sir *William* but that; and he bestow’d on him a Patent to be High Sheriff of *New-England*, a very odd sort of Commission, and very unlikely to answer Sir *William Phips’s* End in it, if it was to impannel honest Juries, there being a Governor over him, who knew like his Master how to dispense with Statutes, and much more with Patents, which *Andros* and his Creatures found a way to evade. But why, as Dr. *Mather* writes, they would have assassinated him at his own Door I cannot comprehend; Sir *William* seeming to me to be no formidable Enemy to such a Man as *Andros*, who wanted not Cunning, and no doubt was very well inform’d on what Terms this Knight stood with his Master, both as to Character and Favour. Be that as it will, Sir *William* was so little easy after this intended Assassination, that he made what haste he could to return to *England*, whether went Mr. *Increase Mather*, Rector of the University of *Cambridge*, and two other Gentlemen deputed by the principal Inhabitants of *Boston*, to carry their Remonstrances and Petitions against *Andros* to the King. Of this Governor *Andros* it is that Mr. *Dummer* the *New-England* Writer writes, in a Discourse address’d to the Lord *Carteret*, then Secretary of State. “ In that evil Reign, the Governor of *New-Eng-*  
 “ *land* with 4 or 5 Strangers of his Council, Men of despe-  
 “ rate Fortunes, and bad, if any Principles, made what Laws,  
 “ and levied what Taxes they pleas’d on the People. They  
 “ without an Assembly rais’d a Penny in the Pound on all  
 “ Estates in the Country, and Two-pence on all imported  
 “ Goods, besides Twenty pence per Head, as *Poll-Money*,  
 “ and immoderate Excise on Wine, Rum, and other Liquors.  
 “ Several worthy Persons having in an humble Address re-  
 “ presented this Proceeding as a Grievance, were commit-  
 “ ted to the *County Jail* for a high Misdemeanor, denied the  
 “ Benefit

Sir William  
 Phips made  
 High Sheriff  
 of New-  
 England.

“ Benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, try’d out of their own  
 “ County, fin’d exorbitantly, and oblig’d to pay 160*l.* for  
 “ Fees, when the Prosecution would hardly have cost them  
 “ so many Shillings in *Great-Britain*, where Prosecutions are  
 “ so manag’d by *Lawyers*, as to make them equally terrible  
 “ and ruinous; and to compleat the Oppression, when they  
 “ upon their Trial claim’d the Privileges of *Englishmen*, they  
 “ were scoffingly told, *These Things would not follow them to*  
 “ *the Ends of the Earth*. Unnatural Insult! Could the brave  
 “ Adventurer, who with the hazard of his Life and Fortune  
 “ seeks out new Climates to enrich his Mother Country, be  
 “ denied those common Rights which his Countrymen enjoy  
 “ at Home, in Ease and Indolence? Is he to be made miserable  
 “ and a Slave by his own Acquisitions? Is the Labourer alone  
 “ unworthy of his Hire, and shall they only reap, who neither  
 “ sow’d nor planted?” Monstrous Absurdity! horrid inverted  
 Order! These Reflections refer to others as well as Governors, to  
 such as reap in *England* what was sown 4000 Miles off in *America*.

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

*Andros*  
 hated and  
 deserted.

It was now rumour’d at *Boston*, that a Massacre was in-  
 tended, and *Andros* was thought wicked enough to be in such  
 a Butchery. Murthering Engines were said to be in the *Rose*  
 Frigate, one of the King’s Ships, then in the Harbour: The  
 People on this were every where in Motion, banding in Com-  
 panies to provide for their natural Defence, but they broke  
 not out into Action till they heard from *England*, that King  
*James* was gone, and the Prince and Princess of *Orange* pro-  
 claimed King and Queen: They could then be no longer  
 restrain’d from doing themselves Justice against their tyran-  
 nical Governor.

1649.

The People of  
Boston rise  
against An-  
dros.

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

The chief  
Men summon  
the Governor  
to surrender.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

vages

The Indians  
took Pem-  
maquid Fort.

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

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

The Bravery  
of two Eng-  
lish Boys.

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



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

Salmon Falls destroyed by the French and Indians.

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

Sir William Phips's unfortunate Expedition to Quebec.

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

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

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

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

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

Count Frontenac was so offended at the Stile and Subject, that he caused a Gibbet to be set up, and would have hanged the Major that brought the Summons, had it not been for the Bishop's Intercession. He returned a very insolent Answer, calling Phips and his Company *Hereticks* and *Traitors*. On the 8th of *October*, the *English* landed under Lieutenant-General *Whalley*, to the Number of 1400; for to these few they were already reduced, by the Small-Pox, and other Diseases: But had their full Compliment been preserved, what were 2000 aboard of Ships to 4000 within the City? for so many men had Count *Frontenac* with him; which *Whalley* understanding, he reimarked his Troops, which would very fain have attempted one Assault; but their Bravery was ill-tim'd, considering the Inequality of their Number to that of the Enemy. Some Writers make the Loss of the *English*, from the Opposition they met with on Shore, to be 600 Men; but I believe that Opposition is heightened for the Credit of our Nation, that the *English* might not be thought to have given over this Enterprize without looking the Enemy in the Face. The Baron *la Hontan*, who was then at *Quebec*, says, there were not 200 *French* in the Town when Sir *William Phips* came thither; but that is as incredible as that *Phips* was six Miles off of the Town when he fired upon it, or that the *English* landed 3000 against the Isle of *Orleans*, a League and a half below *Quebec*, whereas they were but 2000 Men in all. The Baron adds, *If Phips had been engaged by the French to stand still with his Hands in his Pockets, he could not have done less against them*: Which has too much truth in it; for the *New-England* Writers are very fond of this Knight, yet I wonder how he preserv'd so much Reputation and Interest as he had still among them. This Miscarriage was a sad Misfortune to *New-England*, above 1000 perished by it one way or other; and they were some Years in filling up the Vacancies it made in the Colonies. It ran them 140000*l.* in Debt; and the Ships in their Voyage back, met with no better Fortune at Sea than the Men had done by Land. Some of them were driven as far as the *Leeward Islands*, one was wreck'd, another never heard of,

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

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

*Casco destroyed.*

Hoophood  
the *Huron*  
harasses the  
*English*.



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

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

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

*The Difference between the old Charter and the new.*

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

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

*The Constitution of New-England by the latter.*

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

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

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

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

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

*Indian*

*Sir William Phips Governor of New-England.*

Indians observing, gathered in a Body, attack'd them in a Body, and drove them to their Ships, with the Loss of Captain *Sherburn*, and several Men, who could not get aboard in Time. They killed 7 Persons at *Berwick*, 21 at *Sandy-Bear*, a Family at *Rowly*, another at *Haverhill*, both in *Essex* County. Thus we find they are drawing Southward, and extending themselves into the *Massachusetts*, which they had not yet done from the Eastward. The Garrison of *Cape Nidduck* was so thinn'd by Draughts from it, that the Remainder thought fit to desert it, tho' a strong Fort. A Party of *Popish* Indians assaulted the Town of *York*, killed 50 *English*, and led away 100 into Slavery; the rest fortified themselves, and tho' they were but a handful, yet the Savages, who were several hundreds, durst not attack them. Here Mr. *Shubal Dunner* the Minister was shot at his own Door, to the great Joy of the *Barbarians*, never the less such, for being *French* Papists. A Ship was immediately dispatched to *Sagadahock*, with a Commission and Effects to redeem the Captives; and those Men who remained in that Town talking of abandoning it, Major *Hutchinson* was in June, 1692, sent with a strong Party under Capt. *Convers*, Capt. *Floyd*, and Capt. *Thaxter*, to assist them, and other *English* on the Frontiers. Capt. *Convers* was posted at *Wells* with only 15 Men in the slight Fort there, and 15 more aboard two Sloops in the River to be assisting to the others upon Occasion. Against him came no less than four *Indian* Kings, *Modenkawando*, *Moxus*, *Edgeremet*, *Warumbo*, and still two greater Men, Monsieur *Labrocree* and Monsieur *Barniff*, with some *French* Soldiers, and 500 *Hurons*. *Moxus* had not long before attacked *Wells* with 200 *Indians*, and been driven off by Capt. *Convers*, who had not a Quarter of that Number of Men with him, which *Modenkawando* hearing, he said, *My Brother Moxus has missed it now, but I will go my self the next Year, and have the Dog Convers out of his Hole.*

It will not be this Time, for the *Englishmen* in the Fort and Chiefs in the Sloops behaved so gallantly, following the Example of their brave Commander *Convers*, that after several fruitless Attempts of the *Indians* and *French* to master them by Land and by Water, Monsieur *Barniff* and the four *Indian* Confederate Princes, were obliged to retire; but Monsieur *Labrocree* never lived to hear the Reproach of so scandalous a Retreat, being killed in the first of it. The Enemy happened to take one *John Diamond* Prisoner, whom they used so barbarously, that it would move too much Horror in the Reader to relate it. 'Tis remarkable that in one of their Attacks, the *Indians* cried out in *English*, *Fire, and fall on, brave*



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

Sir William  
Phips arrives  
with the  
Charter.

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

The Governor having given his Affirmative to the Laws which the Assembly had pass'd, declared his Resolution to march against the *Indians* in Person. The Seat of the War was in his native Country, about *Kennebeck* River, where the *Indians* were in Amazement when they heard of his Promotion. They well knew his Original, which was as mean as their own. They had often fish'd and hunted with him. He knew all their Haunts and lurking Holes, and could therefore ferret them out, and disperse or destroy them with the more ease; but they were spirited by the *French*, and fell upon some Husbandmen at Work in the Meadows to the North of *Merrimack* River. Upon Advice of which Sir *William Phips* hasten'd away with 450 Men towards the East. Being arriv'd at *Pemmaquid*, he gave Orders for building a new Fort there, pursuant to his Instructions: And accordingly one of the strongest Fortresses in *America* was rais'd in five or six Month's Time. Capt. *Bancroft* and Capt. *Wing* laid the Foundation, and Capt. *Marib* finish'd it. It was built of Stone in a triangular Figure, about 737 Feet in Compass, without the Outer Wall and 108 square within the Inner one. It had 28 Port-holes, 8 Feet from the Ground, and 14 Guns mounted, 6 of which were 18 Ponders. The South Wall facing the Sea was 22 Foot high, and 6 broad. The round Tower at the West End was 29 Feet high. The East Wall was 12 Feet high; the North 10, and the West 18. The Fort stood about 20 Rod from high-Water Mark, and had a Garrison of 60 Men for its Defence. It was nam'd *William Henry* Fort, and doubtless would have been a great Strength to the *English* on the Frontiers on the East. Had Sir *William* been so much in the Hearts of the

People

Pemmaquid  
Fort built.

Described.

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

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

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

Indians.

*Edgeremet,*  
*Modenkawando,*  
*Wassambonet,*  
*Wenabsen* for *Mexus.*  
*Ketteramogis,*  
*Ahanquit,*  
*Bomaseen,*  
*Nitamiret,*  
*Wobenet,*  
*Awansaneck,*  
*Robin Doney,*

English.

*John Wing,*  
*Nicolas Manning.*  
*Benjamin Jackson.*

Interpreters.

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

Indians.  
*Madawniba,*  
*Paquaharet, or Nathaniel.*

Interpreter:  
*Phil. Ounsakes, a Squa.*

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

### C H A P. III.

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

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

*The Folly  
 and Incredibi-  
 lity of Witch-  
 craft.*

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

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



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

*An Indian Woman said to be a Witch.*

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

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

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

*Mr. Burroughs, Minister of Salem, try'd as a Witch.*

Major *Saltonstall*,  
Major *Richards*,  
Major *Gidney*,

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

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

*Mary Wolcot*,  
*Sarah Vibber*,  
*Mary Lewis*,

*Ann Putnam*,  
*Elizabeth Hubbard*,  
*Mary Warren*.

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

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

*Dialogue between a Justice of Peace and a Witch.*

Justice. Pray what ails these People?

*Susan*. I don't know.

Justice. But what do you think ails them?

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

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

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

Justice. Tell us your Thoughts about them then.

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

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

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

Justice. Well, what have you done towards this?

*Susan*. Nothing at all.

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

*Susan*. I can't help that.

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

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

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

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

“ Doctor

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

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

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

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

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



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

His Corpse  
left in part  
unburied.

John Willard.

George Jacobs, Sen.

Samuel Wardwell.

False Con-  
fessions and  
false Wit-  
nesses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Martha  
Cory.

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

*Hawthorn*. *Why did you afflict these Children?*

*Cory*. I did not.

*Hawthorn*. *Who did then?*

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

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

*Mr. Cory*  
pressed to  
Death.

Mr.



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

Sir *William Phips* was, as is seen by the *New-England*  
 History, very much admired for his peculiar Excellencies by  
 Dr. *Cotton Mather*; and I make no Doubt but Sir *William*  
 equally admired the Doctor for his, which I am afraid  
 contributed very much to these Persecutions and Executions,  
 Dr. *Mather's* Zeal in both distinguishing him as much as  
 any thing. Had there been a Governor of Penetration and  
 Resolution equal to his Character, he would soon have put  
 a Stop to this Extravagance; he would, by his Example,  
 have restored such Justices and Ministers, as *Hawthorn* and  
*Paris*, to the Use of their Understandings, if they had any,  
 and there would then have been no Witches in *New-England*.  
 One of the Magistrates, *Corwin*, a Sheriff, made a better  
 Hand of it than most of his Brethren; for he seized and car-  
 ried off to the Value of 1500 *l.* the Effects of Mr. *Philip*  
*English*, an accused Gentleman; and that *Corwin* had no  
 Right to it, appears by his restoring 300 *l.* of it, the rest  
 was lost. 'Tis not to be doubted that the Hopes of such  
 Seizures occasioned many Prosecutions, and many more Ac-  
 cusations, which would have ended as *Mary Easty's* did,  
 had not some particular Reasons prevailed with the Ma-  
 gistrates to give over these Prosecutions as hastily as they  
 began. One perhaps was, that the Accusations were mak-  
 ing Approaches to their own dear Persons.

Magistrates  
 accused.

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

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

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

A Dog put to Death as an Accomplice.

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

1693.

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

Dr. Mather and Sir William Phips nearest Relations accused.

A Stop to the Prosecutions.

thorn,

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

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

The Confession of Wickedcraft obtained by Torture.

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

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



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

## C H A P. IV.

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

Containing the Space of 10 Years.

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

*Articles of  
Impeachment  
against Sir  
William  
Phips.*

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

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

*William Stoughton, Esq; Govern-  
nor.*

*The French oblige the Indians to break the Peace.  
1694.*

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

The Indians  
ravage the  
Plantations.

The great  
Segamore  
Bommaſeen  
taken.

1695.

with



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

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

*Major Hammond taken and sold. Redeemed by Count Frontenac.*

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

*The Indians first ride a Horseback.*

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

The next Year one *John Church* of *Quobecho*, who had been a Prisoner seven Years before, and made his Escape, was retaken and put to Death. *Thomas Cole* of *Wells*, and his Wife, were slain, and 14 Persons were massacred near *Portsmouth*. In *August* the *French* landed some Men out of a Man of War, the *Newport*, which they had taken from the *English*, to assist the *Indians*. This News so frightened the Traitor *Chub*, that he surrendered the new and strong Fort of *Pemmaquid*, without the firing of one Gun within or without, tho' *Chub* had near 200 Men in it double armed. He confirmed the constant Maxim, That Rascals are Cow-

1695.

*The Traitor Chub delivers up Pemmaquid Fort.*

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

The Strength  
and Stoutness  
of Hannah  
Dunstan.

Some Time after this, the *Indians* entered *Haverhill*, not far from *Andover*, where presently they will meet with *Chub*, and carried off 30 Captives, one of whom was *Hannah Dunstan*, a Woman of a masculine Spirit. She had laid in not above a Week, yet she and her Nurse walked 150 Miles on Foot, to the Town where the *Indian* she was to serve lived. This Woman being afterwards to travel with her Master and his Family, to a Rendezvous of the Army of the Savages, where, according to the diabolical Custom of them, she, her Nurse, and other *English* Prisoners, were to run the Gantlet, *Hannah* watched her Opportunity in the Night, and having animated her Nurse and an *English* Boy who was with her, they three killed 10 of the *Indians* with their own Weapons, and made their Escapes: For which Action they received a Reward of 50*l.* from the General Assembly, and Presents from particular Persons to a good Value. The *Barbarians* continuing their Inroads killed a Man at *York*, another at *Hatfield*, a third at *Groton*, and a fourth at *Exeter*, which shews us that the *New-England* People were in constant Danger and harass'd on every side. There is no judging at this Distance of the Situation of this Country and Affairs; but at first it is astonishing that such Numbers of

*English,*

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

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

In the Beginning of the following Year, the Government of *New-England* was alarmed with Advice that the *French* at *Canada* intended to make a Descent there. That a Squadron of Men of War was come from *France* to support the Army of *Indians* and *French* that were to attack the *English* by Land. The Lieutenant-Governor and Council prepared for a vigorous Defence; the Forts about *Boston* were repaired, the Militia throughout the whole Province raised, and well disciplined; Major *March* was ordered to the *East* with 500 Men to scour the Woods; the *Indians*, who were gathering together about *Casco* Bay, retired as he approached them; but the Major having put his Men on board some Ships, sailed up among the *Eastern* Islands, and landed on the Banks of *Damascottes* River; a very prudent Measure, for he could not have overtaken the *Indians* by Land before they were got into their Fastnesses. The *Indians* seeing this fell upon his Men as they were getting ashore, but hindered not their Landing: Upon which a sharp Engagement ensued, and the *English* drove the Enemy to their *Canoes*, a Fleet of which was in the River to receive them. The *English* had about 12 Men killed, and as many wounded. The Enemies Loss was doubtless much greater; but the main Advantage to the

1697.



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

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

Mr. Whiting  
the Minister  
killed.

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

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

1697.

Capt. Chub  
killed.

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

The Earl of  
*Bellamont*  
Governor.

and

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

**W**HEREAS notwithstanding the aforesaid Submission and Agreement, the said Indians belonging to the Princes a-fore-<sup>The formal Submission of the Sachems to the Crown of England.</sup>said, or some of them, through the ill Counsel and Instigation of the French, have perpetrated sundry Hostilities against his Majesty's Subjects the English, and have not delivered and returned him the several English in their Hands, as in the said Submission they covenanted,

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

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

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

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

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

Capt. Kid,  
the Pirate,  
taken here.

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

1702.

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



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

## C H A P. V.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Present  
State 1711.  
October.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Samuel  
Shute, Esq;  
Governor.

1716.

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

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

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

Expence

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

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

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

1717.

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



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

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

1721.

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

1722.  
Newhaven  
University.

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

## The Court consisted of

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

Commissioners of *Rhode-Island*.

*Samuel Cranston*, Esq; Governor.  
*Richard Ward*, Esq; Register.  
*Fableel Brinton*, Esq; Provoost-Marshal.  
*Robert Auchmuta*, Esq; Council assign'd for the Prisoners.

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

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

*William Burnet*, Esq;  
 Governor.

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

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

On the 8th of *August*, 1730, Governor *Belcher*, in the *Blandford* Man of War, arrived at *Boston*, and was received with particular Marks of Affection and Joy. On the 24th he set out for his Government of *New-Hampshire*, and met the Assembly of that Province, in order to procure an Obedience to the Royal Injunctions concerning Salary, and accordingly a Settlement of 200*l* per Annum was settled upon him; but the Assembly of *Boston* would take no Example by it, as was his Intention. On the 9th of *September* the General Assembly of *New-England* met at *Cambridge*, and the Governor opened the Session with a Speech, where-  
1730.  
John Belcher, Esq;  
Governor.



in he says, “ His Majesty’s Commission published at my Arrival, told you of the King’s having appointed me his Governor of his Province of the *Massachusetts Bay*, in Consequence whereof I now see you with Pleasure, conven’d in General Assembly, (I doubt not) to pursue those Measures which may most of all conduce to his Majesty’s Service and the Interest and Prosperity of this Country; and, after the usual Topicks, he goes on, “ Gentlemen, the King’s placing me at the Head of his Government here, taken in all Circumstances of it, (without assuming any personal Merit to my self) is such an Instance of his Majesty’s Grace and Favour to this People, as I want Words to express. The Honour of the Crown, and the Interest of *Great Britain* are doubtless very compatible with the Privileges and Liberties of her Plantations; and it being my Duty to support the former, it will also be my Care to protect the latter. I have in Command to communicate to you his Majesty’s 27th Instruction to me, respecting the Support of his Governors in this Province for the future; I therefore desire, from the affectionate Regard I have for my native Country, that you will give your most calm and deliberate Attention to this Affair, of so nice a Consequence, and now brought to a Crisis.”

This Crisis was an Intimation in *England* from the Board of Trade and others, that that Affair would be brought into Parliament, if the Instruction relating to Salary was not complied with. Then the Governor recommended to them a due Care of Trade, Manufactures, and the Preservation of the Woods, the Nursery for Masts.

The Council’s Address to the Governor on his Speech consisted chiefly of Panegyrick and Compliment, that of the Assembly was much to the same purpose. In *December* he sent a Message to the Assembly by the Secretary, acquainting them with his Majesty’s Order in Council, respecting the Arrears due to the Children of the late Governor Mr. *Burnet*; he added in the Message as follows: *In this Order his Majesty is pleased to take notice, that you had at one Time voted your said Governor 6000 l. and which his Majesty commands me to acquaint you in his Name, that he expects you now to make good to his Children, or at least so much as shall appear due to him for the whole Time of his Government, after the Rate of 1000 l. per Annum.* The Assembly passed a Bill for fixing the Governor’s Salary; but as he said himself, *it was so ambiguous and uncertain, that it could not be expected he should consent to it.* The Council it seems had fallen in with the Instruction, but the Representatives could not be brought to it, as by the following

ing Paragraph in the Governor's Speech to them. *With you, Gentlemen, of the House of Representatives, this Matter more especially lies, for you must stand alone in your present unhappy Situation, and after my discharging my Duty to the King and to this Province, I do not intend to give you any farther Trouble in what I have so often urged to you.* By what follows we see that Mr. Belcher had extremely altered his Sentiments and Stile, from what we read in his foregoing Letter in Conjunction with Mr. Wilks, the other New-England Agent; and indeed it is almost impossible that any Point should have the same view from an Eminence, and on a Level. *I cannot help mentioning to you the Opinion of your present Agent, that any longer Contention will be but a fruitless spending of Money, and still bring this Province into a less Esteem with his Majesty and his Ministers. You may depend the King will take care that what he has now directed to, shall be finally effected: And as I have often told you, so I still fear, in such a Manner as may make you wish, too late, that you had come into an early dutiful Compliance.* I cannot help here comparing a Passage in the Governor's Speech, with another in his Letter when Agent. In this Speech the Assembly are advised to put an End to this unreasonable chargeable Dispute: In the Letter Mr. Wilks and he say: *We doubt not but at this Juncture the whole General Court will exert themselves, and come into an ample Supply of Money, and not lose so valuable a Privilege, for want of Money to defray the Charge of the Defence.*

But the House of Representatives continuing inflexible in their Resolution of refusing to settle any fixed Salary upon their Governor during the Time of his Government; he therefore dissolved the Assembly upon the 2d Day of January, and remained without any Salary at all. We meet with the following Minutes of the House before they broke up, January 1. "After the most serious Consideration of his Majesty's Instruction for fixing a Salary on his Excellency and his Successors, together with the Rights and Privileges of the People, we apprehend the House ought not to accede thereto; but at the same Time we esteem it the Duty of this House, as well as their Honours, willingly and unanimously to give their Votes in passing Acts for the ample and honourable Support of his Majesty's Governor."

The old Assembly being dissolved, the Governor appointed a new Assembly on the 10th of February, and by the Election of the Representatives of the City of Boston, we shall find that the People were of the same Sentiments with their last Representatives, by chusing, for the most part, the same Members, as were those of Boston.

	Votes.
The Hon. <i>Elisha Cooke</i> , Esq; for whom poll'd	465
<i>Thomas Cushing</i> , Esq;	471
<i>Ezekiel Lewis</i> , Esq;	470
<i>Samuel Welles</i> , Esq;	468

The new Assembly chose *John Quincy*, Esq; for their Speaker and *Francis Foxcroft*, Esq; for their Clerk: But this Assembly being as steady as the former against establishing a perpetual Salary for their Governor, sat about 10 Weeks, and was dissolved like the other, and a new chosen, and this, like the other, of almost the same Members. To Instance again in *Boston*,

	Votes.
The Hon. <i>Elisha Cooke</i> , Esq; for whom poll'd	391
<i>Thomas Cushing</i> , Esq;	442
<i>Ezekiel Lewis</i> , Esq;	402
<i>Samuel Welles</i> , Esq;	366

On the 20th of *May* the new Assembly met, and having chosen the same Speaker and Clerk, proceeded to the Choice of the Honourable the Council, a very happy Part of the *New-England* Constitution; and if the Assemblies in our Colonies were alike constituted, and the President of the Council was the Commander in Chief, we should doubtless not hear of so many Complaints against ill Governors. The Members of the new Council for the incorporated Colonies of *New-England* were,

For the Colony of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, the Honourable,

<i>Benjamin Lynde</i> , Esq;	<i>John Chandler</i> , Esq;
<i>Thomas Hutchinson</i> , Esq;	<i>William Dudley</i> , Esq;
<i>Jonath. Dowse</i> , Esq;	<i>William Clarke</i> , Esq;
<i>Paul Dudley</i> , Esq;	<i>John Remington</i> , Esq;
<i>Samuel Thaxter</i> , Esq;	<i>John Alford</i> , Esq;
<i>John Turner</i> , Esq;	<i>Ebenezer Stone</i> , Esq;
<i>Symond Epes</i> , Esq;	<i>Joseph Wadsworth</i> , Esq;
<i>Daniel Oliver</i> , Esq;	<i>Thomas Cushing</i> , Esq;
<i>Thomas Palmer</i> , Esq;	<i>John Osborne</i> , Esq;

For the Colony of *Plimouth*,

<i>Isaac Winslow</i> , Esq;	<i>Peter Thatcher</i> , Esq;
<i>Melatiab Bourn</i> , Esq;	<i>Seth Williams</i> , Esq;



For the Province of *Maine*,

*John Wheelwright*, Esq;

*William Pepperel*, Jun. Esq;

*Thomas Gerish*, Esq;

*Sagadahock*.

*Spencer Phips*, Esq;

At large.

*Ebenezer Burrel*, Esq;

*Ezekiel Lewis*, Esq;

¶ All that Governor *Belcher* said in his Speech at the opening this Session, touching the Grand Article of Salary, was in these Words: *As I have largely recommended to former Assemblies, so I now recommend to you, a dutiful Compliance with his Majesty's 27th Instruction, for the Support of his Governor for the Time being.* The Assembly still persisted in their Resolution to allow the Governor 1000 *l.* per Annum, and leave the Continuance of it to succeeding Assemblies, which the Governor accepting, put an End to this Controversy; and doubtless Governor *Belcher* acted in this Affair more in Obedience to Injunctions he received at and from Home, than out of a Spirit of Interest and Contention, which he shewed plainly, by declining to accept an Offer of 3000 *l.* a Year, with Assembly Limitations: Nor was his Compliance with the People without his Majesty's Approbation, with respect to the Payment of Mr. *Belcher*; but the Royal Injunction was still insisted upon for establishing a Salary on the Governor for the Time being.

Salary settled.

In the mean time the Trade of this Colony was much prejudiced by Abuse in Manufactures, and great Differences arose betwixt the Province of *Massachusetts* Bay and that of *New-Hampshire*, probably on Account of the Woods, where grew those valuable white Pines, so necessary to the *English* Shipping.

Concerning these white Pines, we find a Complaint made by *Ralph Gulston*, Esq; Contractor for the Ship Timber for the *British* Navy, who met with so much Obstruction in his procuring these white Pines and other Ship Timber, that he was obliged to apply to the Governor for Relief; and the Governor recommended the Affair to the Assembly, who thereupon appointed a Committee to examine it; which having done, the House desired the Governor to issue a Proclamation, forbidding all Persons from giving any unjust Obstruction or Molestation to the Agents or Workmen of *Ralph Gulston*, Esq; in their complying with his Contract to furnish his Majesty's Navy with Masts; and a Proclamation was accordingly

White Pines for the Navy.

issued, and also for preserving the King's Woods according to the several Statutes in that Case provided, and *David Dunbar*, Esq; Surveyor-General, gave this public Notification: "Whereas a Number of People, who call themselves Proprietors of Lands in *Sheepscott* River, and other Parts to the Eastward of *Kennebeck* River, have by their Agent Mr. *Waldo*, petitioned his Majesty upon their said Claims, and are, as I am informed, providing to send thither and take Possession of the said Lands, without waiting for his Majesty's Pleasure and Determination thereupon.

"I do hereby give notice to all Persons concerned, that I am directed by his Majesty's Royal Instructions, to lay aside 300,000 Acres of Land, bearing the best Timber, as contiguous as may be to the Sea Shore and navigable Rivers within the Province of *Nova Scotia*, to be reserved as a Nursery of Trees for the Royal Navy: I have, in Obedience to my said Instructions, made Choice of several Places from the East-side of *Kennebeck* River, and more especially in *Sheepscott* River, &c." We must note here, that the Right to all Trees of the Diameter of 24 Inches and upwards, 12 Inches from the Ground, growing any where in this Province, were reserved to the Crown by their Charter. This Reservation at first sight seems highly reasonable; but the Person by whose *New-England* Advices we received this Information, seems to have better considered the Matter, where he says, "It is to be fear'd that the reserving a Right in them to the Crown may be attended with Inconveniences when they happen to grow within private Men's Estates; for as the Crown must always act by under Officers and Agents, it has in all such Cases been observed, that such Reservations have afforded a Handle for the Officers and Agents of the Crown to extort Money from the Subject, and have always been a great Hindrance to Improvements; and in the present Case, this very Reservation will probably destroy the End for which it was made; for as all the Plantations in our Colonies are first made along the Banks of navigable Rivers, every Man will endeavour to prevent any Plant of the white Pine kind, from making its Appearance within his Plantation; so that no white Pine-Trees will be found growing, but at such a Distance from navigable Rivers, that the Charge of bringing them thither will be more than the Value of them."

1733.

A new Difficulty was raised by the Council and Representative, about the Disposal of the public Money: The Governor insisting upon it, that the Disposal of it was only in him. The Assembly, who gave the Money, argued from thence,

that

that that Right was only in them. We can enter no farther into this Debate, because it was determined by the Parliament in *England*, who voted, *That the Complaint, contained in the New-England Memorial and Petition, was frivolous and groundless, an high Insult upon his Majesty's Government, and tending to shake off the Dependency of the said Colony upon this Kingdom, to which by Law and Right they are and ought to be subject.*

Then a Member of the House of Commons complained of the Proceedings of the Assembly of *New-England* against *Jeremiah Dunbar, Esq;* for a Censure passed on him by the Assembly, for giving Evidence before that House, relating to the Bill for the better securing and encouraging the Trade of the Sugar Colonies in *America*. Then the Minutes of the Assembly, containing the said Censure, were read, and the House came to this Resolution, *Nem. Con. That the presuming to call any Person to Account, or pass a Censure upon him, for Evidence given by such Person before that House, was an audacious Proceeding, and an high Violation of the Privileges of that House.*

The Assembly sitting (*December 1735*) did a very commendable Piece of Justice in the Case of *John Appleton of Ipswich, Esq;* who presented a Petition, setting forth many Difficulties and Sufferings he underwent in the troublesome Times of *Sir Edmund Andros*, when he was grievously fined, and long imprison'd, for asserting the Rights and Liberties of *Englishmen*. Enough has been said of those troublesome Times in the proper Place. The Assembly taking into Consideration the Matter of the said Petition, voted that 500 Acres of unappropriated Lands be granted to the said *Appleton*, his Heirs and Assigns for ever. Our Informer here observes, *that there is still subsisting in this Province a virtuous and public Spirit, which is the chief, nay the only Support of any Country.* But it will be seen by our History, that this public Spirit of theirs has not been always so well approved, or so highly applauded.

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## C H A P. VI.

Of the Country, Towns and Forts; Of the Climate, Soil and Product; Of the Animals, and of the Trade.

ALL the Accounts of the *West-Indies*, written from the Time of the Discovery to the latter End of the Reign of King *Charles II.* have little or no Agreement, either in the



Articles of People, Product, or Trade; and therefore I shall have very little to do with them.

Length and  
Breadth.

The Province of *New-England* runs near 300 Miles along the Coast, without reckoning the Angles. It is not any where in a direct Line above 50 Miles broad. Mr. *Neal* measuring by the *New-England* Accounts, makes it 330 Miles long, and 190 broad, from *Cape Cod* to the North-East Bounds of *New-York*; but I rather incline to think my former Account right. It lies between 41 and 45 Degrees *North* Latitude, is bound-

Climate and  
Air.

ed on the *Terra Canadensis*, *New-France* on the *North*, by *New-York* on the *West*, by the Ocean on the *South* and *East*. By its Situation it is in the Middle of the temperate Zone, yet the Climate is not so mild, nor so regular, as those of the Countries that are parallel with it in *Europe*, as some Parts of *Italy* and *France*. The Climate of *New-England*, in Comparison with that of *Virginia*, is as the Climate of *England* compared with that of *Scotland*: The Summer is shorter and hotter than ours, and the Winter longer and colder. The Air however is healthy, and agrees with *English* Constitutions. The Weather is more settled there than with us. It is common in *New-England* to have a clear Sky for two Months together; and it is common for us to have a cloudy or foggy one for almost as long, with very short Intervals. Their Days of a good Length. The Sun rises at *Boston*, *June* 11, at 4 and 26 Minutes, and sets at 7 and 34 in the Evening; and *December* 13, the shortest Day in the Year, the Sun rises at 7 and 35 Minutes, and sets at 4 and 27 Minutes. The Soil is generally fruitful. The Remark in my former Edition is not indeed very singular, but in some Places more than others; there being no Country upon Earth where it is not so. About the *Massachusetts* Bay it is as fat and black as in any Part of *England*, consequently fruitful. The first Planters found the Grass in the Valleys above one Ell in Height, rank for want of cutting; but their Cattle eat it, and thrived very well with it. The chief Rivers in *New-England* are *Piscataqua*, *Connecticut*, *Merimeck*, *Kennebeck*, and *Saco*. They are navigable several Leagues, and would be so much farther, was it not for the Falls. There are many small Rivulets, Brooks and Springs, and where these are wanting, a Well may be sunk, and fresh Water found within ten or twelve Foot of the Surface in most Parts. It is said there are several Mines of Iron; doubtless there is Iron Stone enough, Copper may be there too; for the North Continent of *America* abounds with it; but as to Lead, I suspect that the Writers are not so well informed as they should have been.

Length of  
Days.

Soil.

Rivers.

Springs.

Mines.

There

There is Plenty of good Timber in the Woods and Woods. Swamps of *New-England*; but that Plenty is so much fallen off within ten or twelve Miles of the Sea, that we are told there is a necessity of a Law to prevent the Waste of Woods, which three or fourscore Years ago the Planters would have been glad to have seen wasted. Oak, Elm, Fir, Ash, Cypress, Pine, Chesnut, Walnut, Cedar, Beech, Aspin, Sassafras, and Shumack, are common here. Their Fir is of extraordinary Growth, for Masts, Yards, and Planks. The Shumack, not over plenty I believe, is of use for Dyers and Tanners; and as there is no want of Hides and Skins, nor Bark, there must be much Leather, and consequently sufficient Store of Shoes in *New-England*, if those Advantages are improved. The Oak has supplied the Shipwrights for building. The Fir produces Pitch, Tar, Rosin, and Turpentine, so much for our naval Stores, that we begin to wean ourselves from an Opinion of those Commodities in the *Baltick*, and to supply ourselves from *New-England*, and the Northern *British* Colonies, which have more than enough to supply all the Demands of the Marine in *England* and elsewhere, with good Encouragement and Management. The Trade of Shipping is here very flourishing; and there is no Manner of Comparison between the building here and that in all the other Colonies, which does not come up to one half of it.

All Sorts of Garden and Orchard Trees, which are planted, and grow in *Old-England*, do the same in *New*, insomuch that it is no hard Thing for one Planter to make 100 Hog-sheads of Cyder in a Season; and the Export of Apples to the Sugar Islands is one of the Trades of the Province. As to what is said of their Apples being larger and sweeter than ours in *England*, I am somewhat of an Infidel, because our Climate, as has been observed, is more moderate and longer warm than theirs, and the Fruit came originally from *England*. The same Observation extends to their Plumbs, Cherries, Peaches, Pears, &c. All Sorts of Roots for the Table are in great plenty here, as Turnips, Parsnips, Carrots, Ra-<sup>Roots</sup> dishes, much larger and richer than in *England*, tho' originally their Seeds came from thence. There are also Pumpions, and Onions good Store. As to Melons, I am afraid Writers speak too much of the Cold here to warrant their enlarging on that Article. Water-Melons and Squashes grow here, perhaps from Seeds that were first brought from *Portugal*, whither the Traders here have sent, and do send their Fish in great Quantities.

There is great Variety of Plants in *New-England*, different <sup>Plants</sup> from those of *Europe*. The *Sabina Vulgaris*, or common

*Savin*, is found very often on the Hills, where it grows spontaneously. Mr. *Neal* having, from Dr. *Mather*, given us an Account of a Remedy to cure the King's Evil, I am the more willing to repeat it, because, since the Royal Blood of the *Stuarts* have been collateral only, our Kings and Queens have not attempted to cure it with a Touch; and indeed none of our Clergy have insisted upon their inheriting of that Gift, as they did in the Reigns of King *Charles* and *James II.* "The Thistle, called the *Bear Thistle*, very short and prickly, has a large and long Root, which, with a Decoction of a Root called the *Cancer Root*, and a sort of Devil's Bit, cures the *King's Evil*. Here's a Plant efficacious for curing *Inflammations*, and another, *Partridge Berries*, excellent for curing the *Dropsy*, and to cure the *Faundice* there is the *Bleeding Root*." As to the Fly here, and at *Bermudas*, which the Virtuofos of the Plantations would insinuate to be the *Cochineal Fly*, I am the more loth to mention it, because, if it had really been such, the Experiment would have been made long enough ago; and the People of *Bermudas*, at least, have been richer than they are. The Worms which produce it breed in a Berry, which is here met with, and these Worms turn to Flies bigger than the *Cochineal Fly*, in which has been found a Colour not at all inferior to that of the *Cochineal*, and 'tis added, as to medicinal Virtue, much exceeding it.

Flax and  
Hemp.

Flax and Hemp grow here, as well as in the *Baltick*, which is worth Consideration and Encouragement: for it is most certain that we might be furnish'd with all Naval Stores from *New-England*, and might have been long ago, if due Attention had been given to the Methods proposed for effecting it, and for importing these Commodities from our Colonies; for these Naval Stores may not only be had here, but in *Carolina* and *Georgia*, in sufficient Plenty for all our Uses.

Grain.  
Indian Corn.

Oats, Barley, Pease, Beans, and all sorts of advantageous Grain are cultivated and flourish here; but the *Indian Corn* is the most planted. There was no other in this Country, before the *English* came thither. I shall insert the Account of it given to the Royal Society by Mr. *Winthrop*, who was a Member.

The Natives called it *Weachin*, and in some Southern Parts of *America*, 'tis known by the Name of *Maiis*, or *Maize*. The Ear is a Span long, composed of 8 Rows of Grain or more, according to the Goodness of the Ground, about 30 Grains in a Row. 'Tis of various Colours, as *red*, *white*, *yellow*,



Yellow, blue, olive, greenish, black, speckled, striped, and sometimes in the same Field, and in the same Ear; but the white and yellow are the most common. The Ear is defended from the Cold and Storms by strong thick Husks; the Stalk grows six or eight Feet high; that of *New-England* is not quite so tall as that of *Virginia*; and at *Canada* 'tis shorter than at *New-England*. Thus it rises as it goes more Southerly, and dwindles to the Northward, which is no Wonder, or that it should lift its Head higher in a warmer Climate. 'Tis jointed like a Cane, is full of sweet Juice, like the Sugar Cane, and a Syrup as sweet as Sugar may be made of it, as has been often try'd, but with little Profit, or it would be often try'd now. At every Joint there are long Leaves, or Flags, and at the Top a Branch of Flowers, like Rye Blossoms. 'Tis generally planted from the Middle of *April* to the Middle of *May*. In the Northern Parts, the *Mohawk* Corn is not planted till *June*, and yet is ripe in Season. The Stalks of this sort are short, the Ears near the Bottom, and are of several Colours. The manner of planting *Maize* is in Rows at equal Distance every way about 5 or 6 Feet; the Earth is opened with a How, 4 Inches deep, and 4 or 5 Grains are thrown into it, at a little Distance from one another, in the Breadth of a How; then they are cover'd with Earth; if two grow the Crop will answer. The Corn is weeded at a Hand's Length, and the Earth is loosen'd about it with a How. This Labour must be repeated as the Weeds come up. When the Stalk begins to grow high, a little Earth should be drawn about it, and on putting forth the Ear, so much as to make a little Hill, like a Hop-hill. 'Tis ripe about the Middle of *September*; it must be stripp'd as soon as gather'd, unless 'tis laid thin, to prevent its growing mouldy, or sprouting; the common way is to move the Ear together in long Traces by some Parts of the Husks left thereon, which is called *Tracing*. These *Traces* we hang upon Bearers within Doors, and will keep so all Winter good and sweet. The *Indians* thrash it as they gather it; they dry it well on Mats in the Sun, and bury it in Holes in the Ground, lined with Moss or Mats, which are their Barns. Why did not Mr. Winthrop tell us, what their Culture of it was before the English came among them? for the How is so much used in it now, that one sees there's no being without it; yet the *Indians* had no Hows, and this way of Culture here is wholly Anglicized. The *English* of late plant it with the Help of the Plough. They turn up single Furrows, 6 Feet distant, then plough across at the same Distance, throw in the Corn where these meet, and cover it with a How,

or run another Furrow over it with the Plough. The *Indians* boil it till it becomes tender, and eat it with Fish or Venifon, instead of Bread; sometimes they bruise it in Mortars, and so boil it. The most usual way is to parch it in Ashes, stirring it so artificially, as to be very tender without burning. This they sift and beat in Mortars into fine Meal, which they eat dry, or mix'd with Water. The *English* mix it into a stiff Paste, make Bread of it, which they bake all Day, or all Night. The best Sort of Food which is made of it, is called *Samp*; to make it, the Corn is water'd half an Hour, beaten in a Mortar to the Bigness of Rice, sifted, boiled, and eaten with Milk, or Butter and Sugar, like *Rice*; and this seems to be so pleasant and wholesom a Diet, that 'tis a strange sort of Folly in some that despise it because 'tis *Indian Corn*, and the *Indians* have no other Corn to eat. The *English* have also made good Beer of it, by malting it or making it of Bread. When they malt it, it must chit both ways, Root and Blade; to do which they heap it up at a convenient time, then take away the Top of the Earth in a Garden Field, 2 or 3 Inches deep, after which they cover the Ground with the Corn, and the Corn with the Earth; when the Plot is green all over with the Corn Sprouts, which will be in about 10 Days, it must be taken up, the Earth shaken from it and dry'd, and then washed and dry'd again on a Kiln. This Makes the Malt and that Beer which will be pleasant, wholesom, and of a brown Colour. The Beer made of Bread is more durable, and altogether as pleasant. To do it, they cut the Bread into great Lumps, as big as a Man's Fist, wash and manage it as they do Malt, adding or omitting Hops, of which they have enough, and a good sort of their own, as is desired.

No *Indian Corn* grows wild now, but both that and *Kidney-Beans* were found among the Natives. The *Indians* have a Tradition, that the first Grain of Corn was brought thither by a Black-bird, and the first *Bean* by a *Crow*. The *Irish* say the same of the Seed of the Apple they call *Cocquagbee*, that it was first brought so from *Spain*; but the Humour of deriving every thing from the *marvellous* did not prevail among the Barbarians only, the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* were as fond of it as *Indians* or *Irish*.

There's hardly greater Variety and Plenty of Fowl any where than in *New-England*, as *Turkies*, *Partridges*, *Geese*, *Ducks*, *Hérons*, *Storks*, *Heathcocks*, *Swans*, *Widgeons*, *Dappers*, *Black-birds*; all sorts of *Barn-door Fowl*, *Crows*, *Ravens*, *Cormorants*, &c. Vast Flights of *Pigeons* come and go at certain Seasons of the Year.

Nor

Beer made  
of it.

Fowls.

Nor is there in *New-England* more Abundance of Fowl, Cattle. than of all sorts of *European* Cattle, as Cows, Sheep, Goats, Hogs and Horses. The latter are generally of a smaller Breed than the *English*, not much larger than *Welsh* Horses, but very serviceable. They have a sort of shuffling Pace, Swiftness of their Horses. which yet is very easy, that rids the way to Astonishment. An Acquaintance of mine, about 10 Years ago, had a Horse from thence, which cost him there 20*l.* This Horse, when in *England*, went from *Bristol* to *Bath*, 10 very long Miles, in little more than half an Hour. It was bought by the Lord B——, at the Price of 100*l.* but unluckily died before it could be deliver'd, not of any Distemper it brought to *England* with it.

Bears, Wolves, Foxes, Ounces, Syrunks, are the Beasts Beasts of this Country. The Wolves, a Species of wild Dogs, like our ordinary Curs in *England*. The *Indians* tame them when they are young.

Here are Elks Deer, Hares, Rabbits, and what made the most profitable Trade here at the first Settlement of the *English*, Beavers, Otters, Minks, Raccoons, Musquagh, Sables, &c. The most admirable Creature is the *Mose*, which Of the Mose and the way of hunting it *Joseline* thus describes, in his *New-England* Rarities. 'Tis about 12 Feet high, with four Horns, and broad Palms, some of 12 Feet from the Tip of one Horn to that of the other. His Body is about the Bigness of a Bull's, his Neck resembles a Stag's. His Tail longer than a Buck's, and his Flesh very grateful. He shoots his Horns every four Years. The manner of hunting it is thus: In the Season, which is the Winter, the Hunters sometimes run it down in half a Day, sometimes they are a whole Day about it, the Ground being then generally cover'd with Snow, tho' the Climate is 8 or 10 Degrees nearer the Sun than ours. The Beast sinks very heavy in it every Step he runs, breaking down Trees as big as a Man's Thigh. When the Hunters are up with him, they dart their Lances at him, and he walks slowly after he is wounded, till, spent with Loss of Blood, he falls like a ruin'd Building, making the Earth shake under him.

There are some venomous Creatures in *New-England*; but the Country is pretty well cleared of them since the Coming and Planting of the *English*. The *Rattle-Snake* is Rattle-Snake. the most noted here, as well as at *Virginia*, and other Continent Settlements. 'Tis four or five Feet long, and has a Rattle, consisting of about 20 loose Rings in the Tail, with which it makes a Noise for Assistance, when it apprehends itself in Danger. It is not so much afraid of a Man



as others of the same Species. Their Venom is said to be in a Bag in the Hollow of a forked Tooth, which breaks when they bite, much as what is said of our Snakes and Vipers in *England*, whose Venom comes from the breaking a Bladder when they bite. It infuses so much Poison into the Wound of those it bites, that 'tis mortal, if not remedied in a few Hours. 'Tis slow in its Motion, and curling its Body up, with its Head in the Middle, throws itself out at Length against the Object that has anger'd it. But this, and the other *American* Creatures, have now been so often seen and described by Voyagers and Writers, that the copying them is superfluous, if not impertinent.

Frogs, Toads, Batts, Owls and other Vermin, swarm where the Country is not well cleared, making so hideous a Noise in the Summer Evenings, that 'tis shocking to such as are not used to it. 'Tis heard at several Miles Distance, as plainly as if it was within a Quarter of a Mile, according to my Author; but he does not let us into the Reason why a Noise so far off should be as audible as one so near home. In the Midst of it a Bird is often heard, that seldom or never sings but in the Night, call'd *Whip poor Will*, because it seems to chaunt those Words in a loudly melancholy Tone; but the applying articulate Sounds to such sorts of Chiming, is more whimsical in this and other Birds, than in our *Cuckow*, whose Name is that very thing pronounced in any Language in the World.

**Fish.** The Fish in the Sea and Rivers here are excellent and in Abundance, both for Food and Traffick, as Cod, Thornback, Sturgeon, Salmon, Haddocks, Herrings, Mackerel, Smelts, Eels, Lampreys, Sharks, Seals, Porpus, Grampus, Whales, and other Fish, great and small. The best Months for fishing are *March, April, May* and *June*. Six or seven Star-Fish were formerly taken off the Shore near *Nantucket*, of which Governor *Winthrop* gave the Royal Society an Account, having observed that this Fish divides itself into no less than 81920 small Parts by Branchings, and is one of the most wonderful Works of the Creation; and it is not much less Wonder, that any one Man, especially a chief Magistrate, should have Curiosity, Patience and Leisure enough to find out and to tell those 81920 Branchings. Some Years since, there stranded on the Coast of *New-England* a dead Whale, of the Sort which, in the Fishers Language, is called *Trumps*, having Teeth like those of a Mill; it's Mouth at a good Distance from and under the Nose, and several Partitions in the Nose, out of which ran a thin oily Substance that candy'd, the Remainder being a thick fat Substance, being

being scraped out, was said to be the *Sperma Ceti*; it was said so, and I believe that was all. Whales were often caught formerly between *New-England* and *New-York*, and if the *Sperma Ceti* had really been in the Nose of that, it must have been more common, and more cheap, than Experience tells us, it has been ever since this Discovery, and at this present time. As to the *Whale Fishery*, 'tis now almost as much a Rarity in *New* as *Old England*; the Fishery of *Cod* is at this time very great here, tho' still far short of that of *Newfoundland*.

We shall now proceed to the Geographical Description of *New-England*, and follow the Order of our former Edition, beginning with the largest and most popular Settlement, that of *Massachusetts Bay*, which now contains not only the original Patent for the Colony so denominated, but the *Plymouth* Colony, and the Province of *New-Hampshire*. Thus the Province of *Massachusetts* now extends from *East* to *West* in Length along the Coast, from *Scituate*, in *Plymouth* County, to *Saco* River, in that of *Maine*, near 110 Miles, and from the same Situation to *Enfield* in *Hampshire*, about 60 Miles; but 'tis narrower up in the Country. The Fort of *Pemmaquid*, often mentioned in the preceding Pages, was built on the Borders of the *Indian* Territories, without the Limits of the *English* Patent, in which the first County we come by is that of *Maine*, within the Government of *New-Hampshire*, whose Governor and Council are appointed by the Crown of *England*: but the Governor is always the same with the *Massachusetts*, yet the County of *Maine* sends Representatives to the General Assembly.

The Geographical Description of New-England. Massachusetts Bay Colony.

County of *Maine*. { *York*,  
\* *Falmouth*,  
*Scarborough*,  
\* *Wells*,  
\* *Kittery*,

\* These Towns mark'd with an *Asterism* send Members to the General Assembly.

The Town of *Falmouth* had the Misfortune to have its Minister hanged for a Witch.

*York* gives the Name of a Shire to a small Part of this Province; but 'tis generally included in that of *Maine*, as *Cornwal* is in that of *New-Hampshire*, which, as a Province by itself, seems to claim the Preference in Denomination.

In *Cornwal*, or *New-Hampshire*, are *Dover*, *Exeter*, *Hampton*, *Hedek*, or *Newcastle*, *Portsmouth*, \* *Edgar's Town*, \* *Berwick*, \* *Biddisford*, *Ile of Shoals*.

Cornwal, or New Hampshire.

Most

Most of these Towns have some small Fortifications, to prevent the Incurfions of the Eastern *Indians*, who might otherwise over-run the Country in 24 Hours. Six Miles to the Eastward of *Scarborough*, or *Saco*, is the Town of *Black Point*, Eastward of which are the Towns of *Sagadahock* and *Kennebeck*, where *Sir William Phips* was born; his Father, a Gunsmith, could bear no great Charge upon him, and, in his younger Years, he kept Sheep. His Father dying, his Mother let him go on in that way till he was 18 Years of Age, and then bound him to a Ship-Carpenter, with whom he served his Time, and took to the Sea when he was five or six and twenty Years old. As a Sailor, he was certainly very able, as also as a Pilot; but as for the Helm of Government, I find nothing in his Character that qualify'd him to sit there. At *Kennebeck* and *Sagadahock* are Stages for the Fishery; and on the Banks of the River *Saco* was a little Fort with 12 Guns. There were 100 Families in the Town of *Wells* before the last *Indian War*, in which it suffer'd much, having 100 of its Inhabitants carried away at one time into Captivity. The furthestmost *Northward* towards *New-Scotland*, is *Casco*, into which *Saco River* runs. There are several other Rivers in this Country, as *Kennebeck*, *Piscataqua*, *Sagadahock*, *Spurnwick*, *York*, some of which are navigable several Leagues up the Country. There are also several good Harbours, as *Cape Porpus*, *Unstar Harbour*, *Piscataques*, and several Islands on the Coast, some of which are 10 Miles long. The inland Part of the Country is high and mountainous, consequently barren; but nearer the Coasts and Rivers 'tis more fruitful. The Trade of the Inhabitants is Lumber and Fish, some Beaver and other Furr. The County Courts are held at *Dover* and *Portsmouth* the last *Tuesday* in *June*, and at *York* the first *Tuesday* in *July*. The next County is

Kennebeck,  
Sir William  
Phips born  
here.  
His Paren-  
tage.

Essex.

*Essex*, which has \* *Amesbury*, \* *Andover*, \* *Beverly*, \* *Boxford*, \* *Gloucester*, \* *Haverhill*, \* *Ipswich*, \* *Lyn*, \* *Manchester*, \* *Marblehead*, \* *Newbury East*, \* *Newbury West*, \* *Rowley*, \* *Salem*, \* *Salisbury*, \* *Topsfield*, \* *Wenham*.

Salem.

*Salem* is the chief Town of this County, situated on the Northern Branch of *Charles River*. Here is one of the best built Churches in the Country; but it was put to a very ill Use in the Time of the *Witch Plague*, being generally the place of Meeting for the *Witch Judges*, when they began the Prosecutions of the poor Women, who were put to Death as *Witches*; more were hang'd here than in all

New-



*New-England* besides. It broke out in the House of the Minister here, Mr. *Paris*, whose Daughter was a main Evidence against them, having been frequently under the Power of *Witchcraft*, which her Father contributed very much to the Belief of. The Town is situated in a Plain, between two Rivers, and has two Harbours, Winter Harbour and Summer Harbour. Here the Planters of the *Masachusetts* Colony made their first Settlement, and a very good Trade is driven to *Barbados* and the Sugar Islands. It has a Market every *Wednesday*, and two Fairs in the Year, the last *Wednesday* in *May*, and the last *Wednesday* in *September*. The inferior Court is kept here the last *Tuesday* in *June*, and *December*, and the superior the second *Tuesday* in *November*. Northward of *Salem* is the high Promontory *Trabigzando*, now called *Cape Ann*, a Place for fishing, and a Harbour for Ships. A little higher is *Ipswich*, a large Town, situated by the Side of a fine River. The inferior Court is kept here the last *Tuesday* in *March*, and the superior the third *Tuesday* in *May*. *Lyn* is a Market-Town, and I was surprized to read in Mr. *Neal*, that there's hardly any Town in the Country that has a Market; for the Accounts we have met with of it name many Towns with Markets, and the Days on which they are kept. *Lyn* is situated at the Bottom of a Bay, near a River, which, on the breaking up of the Winter, empties itself with a rapid Torrent into the Sea. At the Mouth of the River *Merrimack* stands *Newbury*, pleasantly situated, where Abundance of Sturgeon are taken, and pickled after the Manner used in the *Baltick*. *Sturgeon.*  
*Fishing.* The Society for propagating the Gospel according to the Church of *England*, have a Missionary here, to whom they allow 60*l.* a Year. If the Design is to convert the *Indians* to Christianity, 'tis very pious and laudable, if only to convert the *Presbyterians*, the Society allowing them to be already Christians, what is wanting to their Salvation? If it is to foment Division for indifferent Matters, to support Bigotry and Animosity, 'tis a pretty long way the Missionary goes for it, and I am afraid his Errand is not so necessary as a Mission among the *Hurons* and *Iroquois* would be. On the other Side of the *Merrimack*, over-against *Newbury*, is *Salisbury*, where there is a Ferry; the River between the two Towns being half a Mile over, as broad as the *Thames* at *Gravesend*. Four Miles Southward of *Salem* is *Marblehead*, where there is another Missionary, who is not of the Religion as by Law establish'd in this Country. The above-mention'd Society allow him 50*l.* a Year. Both these Allowances are very handsom, and much more inviting than many a

*Wells*

*Welsh* Curacy, which, however, the greatest Part of our Academists would prefer to the *New-England* Mission.

The Soil of *Essex* County is not very fertile, except it be near the Sea Coast, where the Towns are built for the Convenience of Fishing. The River *Merrimack*, which waters it, is barr'd in some Places, or it would be navigable up very high within Land. A little above one of the Falls of this River, is a Place called *Ammuskeag*, where a huge Rock lies in the Midst of the Stream, on the Top of which are a great Number of Pits, made exactly round like Barrels or Hogsheds of different Sizes, some of which would hold several Tons. The *Indians* knew nothing of the making of them, and 'tis impossible any one else should. Nor can it be guess'd very judiciously, how the Savages could, without Iron Instruments, work such Cavities in Stone. The Use the *Indians* say they were put to is childish and incredible, to hide their Provisions from their Enemies, in time of War, for which Purpose their God made them; but their God could no more make them than they could. Mr. *Neal* says, they seem plainly to be *artificial*; and, in such Case, the *Indians* of old, perhaps nearer *Noah* than *Columbus*, were greater Artists than the *Indians* are now, notwithstanding the Improvements they are said to have made in Knowledge by Commerce with the *Europeans*. We come next to the County of *Middlesex*.

*Ammuskeag*  
Rock.

*Middlesex*  
County.

*Middlesex* has \**Billerica*, \**Charles Town*, \**Concord*, \**Groton*, \**Marlborough*, \**Medford*, \**Reading*, \**Shireburn*, \**Stow*, \**Woburn*, \**Lexington*, \**Cambridge*, \**Chelmsford*, *Dunstable*, \**Lancaster*, \**Malden*, \**Newton*, *Oxford*, \**Sudbury*, \**East Waterton*, *West Waterton*, \**Worcester*, \**Framlingham*, \**Weston*.

*Cambridge*.

*Cambridge* is the chief Town of this County; it was at first called *New-Town*, situated in the *North* Branch of *Charles* River, a few Miles from *Boston*. There are several fine Streets, with good Houses in it. The Inferior Court is held here the second Tuesday in *September*, and the Superior the last Tuesday in *July*. It changed its Name from *New-Town* to *Cambridge* upon the founding the University here, of which I have said something already, and shall say more in the next Chapter, which treats of nothing else.

*Charles*  
*Town*.

*Charles Town*, the Mother of *Boston*, is much more populous than *Cambridge*, and exceeds it much in respect of Trade, being situated between two Rivers, *Mistick* River and *Charles* River,

River, and parted from *Boston* only by the latter, over which there is a Ferry so well tended, that a Bridge would not be much more convenient, except in Winter, when the Ice will neither bear, nor suffer a Boat to move through it. Tho' the River is much broader about the Town, it is not wider in the Ferry Passage than the *Thames* between *London* and *Southwark*. The Profits of this Ferry belong to *Harvard-College* in *Cambridge*, and are considerable. The Town is so large, as to take up all the Space between the two Rivers. 'Tis beautify'd with a handsom large Church, a Market-place by the River side, and two long Streets leading down to it. The Inferior Court is kept here the second Tuesday in *March* and *December*, and the Superior the last Tuesday in *January*. Capt. *Vring* writes, that *Charles Town* is divided from *Boston* by a large navigable River, which runs several Miles up the Country. It is near half as big, but not so conveniently situated for Trade, tho' capable of being made as strong, it standing also on a *Peninsula*. 'Tis said 1000 Vessels clear annually from these two Towns only, more than from all the *European Colonies* in *America* not in *English* Hands. *Reading* is a pretty populous Town, not very well built, but commodiously situated on the Banks of a great Lake. There are two Mills in it, one for Grist, and another to saw Boards, for which it surely cannot want Employ, there is so much Fir in the Country, and the Boards it makes being so good a Commodity in the *Sugar Islands*.

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

*Suffolk* County is next, and therein are the following Suffolk. Towns,

\* *Braintree*, \* *Dedham*, \* *Dorchester*, \* *Hingham*, *Hull*,  
\* *Medfield*, \* *Mendon*, \* *Milton*, \* *Roxbury*, \* *Weymouth*,  
\* *Woodstock*, \* *Wrentham*, *Brocklin*, *Needham*.

The Capital of this County is *Boston*, the Capital of *New-Boston* *England*, and the biggest City in *America*, except two or three on the *Spanish* Continent. 'Tis pleasantly situated in a *Peninsula*, about 4 Miles in Compass, at the Bottom of a fine Bay, the *Massachusetts*, guarded from the Roughness of the Ocean by several Rocks appearing above Water, and by a



bove a dozen Islands, many of which are inhabited, and one, called *Nettles Island*, within these few Years was esteemed worth 2 or 300*l.* a Year to the Owner, Col. *Shrimpton*. There is but one common and safe Passage into the *Bay*, and that not very broad, there being hardly room for three Ships to come in a breast; but being once in, there is room for the Anchorage of 500 Sail. There is room for such Anchorage in so many of the Bays and Harbours of the *British Plantations in America*, that this Situation is not so extraordinary as at the first Discovery. The most remarkable of these Islands is called *Castle Island*, from the Castle there built. It stands about a League from the Town, upon the main Channel leading to it, and is so conveniently situated, that no Ship of Burden can approach the Town without the Hazard of being torn in Pieces by its Cannon. In King *Charles* and King *James's* time the Fortifications here were very irregular, and those Princes could not have much at Heart the Safety of a People, who chose rather to live among Savages in *America*, than among Proctors and Pursivants in *England*. King *William* sent Col. *Romer*, a famous Engineer, to *Boston*, to repair the Fortifications, instead of which, he demolish'd all the old Works, and raised new, which render'd it the most regular Fortress in the *British Plantations*; to which was given the Name of *Fort William*. 'Tis mounted with about 100 Pieces of Ordnance, 20 of which were given to the Province by Queen *Anne*, and are placed on a Platform near High Water Mark, so as to take a Ship *Fore* and *Aft*, before she can bring her Broadfides to bear against the Castle. Some of these Cannon are 42 Pounders; five hundred able Men are exempted from all Military Duty in times of War, to be ready to attend the Service of the Castle at an Hour's Warning, upon any Signal of the Approach of an Enemy, which I think there is no great Danger of at *Boston*, where, in 24 Hours time, might 10000 effective Men, well arm'd, be ready for their Defence. To prevent all possible Surprize, there is a Light-House built on a Rock, appearing above Water, about 2 long Leagues from the Town, which, in time of War, makes a Signal to the Castle, and the Castle to the Town, by hoisting and lowering the *Union Flag* so many times as there are Ships approaching, which, if they exceed a certain Number, the Castle fires three Guns, to alarm the Town of *Boston*; and the Governor, if need be, orders a *Beacon* to be fix'd, which alarms all the adjacent Country; so that unless an Enemy can be supposed to sail by so many Islands and Rocks in a Fog, the Town of *Boston* must have six or

more

The Castle.

more Hours to prepare for their Reception; but supposing they might pass the Castle, there are two Batteries at the *North* and *South* End of the Town, which command the whole Bay and makes it impossible for an Enemy's Ship of Burthen to ride there in safety, while the Merchant-men and small Craft may retire up into *Charles* River, out of Reach of the Cannon.

It is equally impossible for any Ship to be run away with out of this Harbour by a Pirate; for the Castle suffers no Ship outward bound to pass without a *Permit* from the Governor, which is not granted without a Clearing at the Custom-house, and the usual Notice of Sailing, by loosing the Fore-Topfail.

The Bay of *Boston* is spacious enough to contain in a manner the Navy Royal of *England*. The Masts of Ships here, at the proper Season of the Year, make a kind of Wood of Trees, like that which we see upon the River *Thames* about *Wapping* and *Limehouse*, which may be easily imagined, when we consider that by the Computation, given into the Collectors of his Majesty's Customs to the Governor, upon the building of the Light-house, it appeared that there was 24000 Tons of Shipping cleared annually.

There is a large Peer at the Bottom of the Bay 1800 or 2000 Feet long, with a Row of Warehouses on the North-side. The Peer runs so far into the Bay, that Ships of the greatest Burthen may unlade without the Help of Boats and Lighters. The chief Street of the Town comes down to the Head of the Peer; at the upper End of it is the Town-House, or Exchange, a fine Building, containing, besides the Walk for the Merchants, the Council Chamber, the House of Commons, and a spacious Room for the Courts of Justice. The Exchange is surrounded with Booksellers Shops, which have a good Trade. There are five Printing-Houses, at one of which the *Boston* Gazette is printed, and comes out twice a Week. The Presses here are generally full of Work, which is in a great measure owing to the Colleges and Schools for useful Learning in *New-England*; whereas at *New-York* there is but one little Bookseller's Shop, and none at all in *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*, *Barbados*, and the Sugar Islands.

The Town of *Boston* lies in the Form of a half Moon, round the Harbour, and consisting of between 3 and 4000 Houses, must make an agreeable Prospect, the surrounding Shore being high, the Streets large, and the Buildings beautiful. The Goodness of the Pavement may compare with most in *London*; to gallop a Horse on it is 3 s. 4 d.

*Inhabitants.* forfeit. One may guess at the Number of the Inhabitants in *Boston*, by the Bills of Mortality, which all political Arithmeticians make their chief Rule to go by, and they stood thus twenty Years ago.

<i>Bills of Mor-</i>	<i>Whites</i>	334
<i>tality.</i>	<i>Negroes and Indians</i>	46
		380
	Decreased that Year	71

Now taking half the *Decrease*, which one may suppose to be the Medium between the Increase and Decrease, it will make the Weekly Bills in one Year 415. Mr. *Neal's* Remark is, "if we compute the Inhabitants of *London* and the adjacent Places, within the Bills of Mortality, about a *Million*, those of *Boston* will in a Proportion amount to 19 or 20000. Whence it appears that the Town is considerably increased within these 10 or 12 Years, and much more within these 20 or 30 Years." When I published my first Edition of the *British Empire* in *America*, 30 Years ago, the Militia of *Boston* consisted of four Companies of Foot only; whereas ten Years after that, it consisted of eight Companies, and one Troop of Horse. The Number of Inhabitants being considerably increased since that, if it is in proportion to the Number of Inhabitants in 1708, that Number must be now doubled, as that of the Militia is, which makes 24000, and the doubling of the Militia being within ten Years of my Time, and the Town has been increasing twenty Years since that, I see no Reason to compute the Number of Inhabitants at less than 24000, which is one Third more than the Computation of the City of *Exeter*, and consequently *Boston* is one Third bigger than that City, which I take to be pretty near the Matter. Again, if the Militia in 1708 was 600, when the Inhabitants were 10000; and in 1718 it was 20000, the Inhabitants must, in proportion to that, be much more than 30000, which they are not; and if we keep to the Abatement 24000, I believe it is as well guess'd as a Thing of this Nature can be, at such a Distance of Place and Time.

There are ten Churches in *Boston*, which are,

*Old Church.*

*North Church.*

*South Church.*

*New Church.*

*New North Church.*

*New South Church.*

*The Church of England Church.*

*The French Church.*

*The Baptist Meeting.*

*The Quakers Meeting.*

*Vring*

*Churches.*



*Vring* says the *Anglican Church* was of *Wood* when he was there about the Year 1710, but there was another building with *Brick*.

The *Conversation* in this *Town* is as polite as in most of the *Cities* and *Towns* of *England*; many of their *Merchants* having traded into *Europe*, and those that staid at home having the *Advantage* of *Society* with *Travellers*; so that a *Gentleman* from *London* would almost think himself at home at *Boston*, when he observes the *Number* of *People*, their *Houses*, their *Furniture*, their *Tables*, their *Dress* and *Conversation*, which perhaps is as splendid and showy, as that of the most considerable *Tradesman* in *London*. Upon the whole, *Boston* is the most flourishing *Town* for *Trade* and *Commerce* in the *English America*. Near 600 *Sail* of *Ships* have been laden here in a *Year* for *Europe*, and the *British Plantations*. Here the *Governor* commonly resides; the *General Court* and *Assembly* meet; the *Courts* of *Judicature* sit; and the *Affairs* of the whole *Province* are transacted: The *inferior Court* of *Common-Pleas*, and *Quarter-Sessions* of the *Peace* is held here for the *County* of *Suffolk*, the first *Tuesday* in *May* and *November*. The *General Court* of *Election* of *Counsellors* is, by the *Charter*, on the last *Wednesday* in *May*, annually. The *Court* of *Assistants*, consisting of *Governor*, *Deputy-Governor*, and *Magistrates* of *Boston*, meet here the first *Tuesday* in *March* and *September*: They determine *Actions* of *Appeal*, *Capital Causes*, and *Causes* of *Divorce*: They may be called by the *Governor* or *Deputy*, as *Occasion* requires. Seven must be present, at which the *Governor* or his *Deputy* to be one, except in *Case* of *Necessity*.

The *Market* at *Boston* is kept every *Thursday*. The *Fairs* on the first *Tuesday* in *May*, and on the last *Tuesday* in *October*, every *Year*, to hold three *Days* each. *Boston* sends four *Representatives* to the *General Assembly*. One has need of great *Caution* in trusting to *Relations* of *Men* in the *British America*, tho' written by *Persons* on the *Spot*; for either out of *Ignorance*, *Negligence*, or *Partiality*, they very often disagree. *Capt. Vring*, in his *Account* of *Boston*, not only says there is no *Market* here, but gives the *Reason* of it. "The *Town* of *Boston* is plentifully supplied with good and "wholesom *Provisions* of all *Sorts*, not inferior to those in " *England*, and have *Plenty* of several *Sorts* of good *Fish* "very cheap; but tho' the *Town* is large and populous, "they could never be brought to establish a *Market* in it, "notwithstanding several of their *Governors* have taken "great *Pains* to convince the *Inhabitants* how useful and "beneficial it would be to them; but the *Country People* "always

“ always opposed it, so that it could not be settled. The  
 “ Reason they give first is, If Market-Days were appointed,  
 “ all the Country People coming in at the same Time  
 “ would glut it, and the Towns People would buy their Pro-  
 “ visions for what they pleased; so the Villages rather chuse  
 “ to send them as they think fit; and sometimes a tall Fellow  
 “ brings a Turkey or Goose to sell, and will travel thro’ the  
 “ whole Town to see who will give most for it, and at last  
 “ sell it for 3 s. 6 d. or 4 s. and if he had staid at home he  
 “ could have earned a Crown by his Labour, which is the  
 “ customary Hire for a Days Work.” Which shews us that  
 these Country People have not their Heads much the clearer  
 for the Clearness of the Air. The same Voyager informs us  
 farther.

“ The Neck of Land between the Town and the Country  
 is about forty Yards broad, and so low, that the Spring-  
 Tides sometimes wash the Road, which with little Charge  
 might be fortified, and made so strong, that it might be im-  
 possible to force it, there being no way of coming at it by  
 Land but over that Neck. The Town is near two Miles in  
 Length, and in some Places three Quarters of a Mile broad,  
 in which are reckoned 4000 Houses, most of them built with  
 Brick, and have about 18000 Inhabitants.”

This was thirty Years ago, and if there were then near  
 4000 Houses, after the Computation of political Arithmeti-  
 cians, at 6 to a House, there must have been then near  
 24000 Inhabitants, which agrees very well with my former  
 Computation; and adding to this the Increase of 30 Years,  
 there will be great Reason to think I computed a less, rather  
 than a greater Number. The Streets are broad, and regu-  
 lar, some of the richest Merchants have very stately well built  
 convenient Houses. The Ground on which the Town stands  
 is wonderfully high, and very good Water is found all over it.  
 There are several Wharfs built, which jet into the Harbour,  
 one of which is called the *Long Wharf*, it being 800 Foot in  
 Length, where large Ships with great Ease may lade and un-  
 lade. On one side are Warehouses almost the whole Length of  
 the Wharf, where the Merchants stow their Goods; and more  
 than 50 Ships may lade and unlade there at the same Time.

*Massachusetts-Bay* runs in about 8 Miles to the Bottom, where  
 the Town stands: It is fenced with Islands, Rocks and Sands,  
 which makes it a very secure Harbour; the Entrance is narrow,  
 and some Shoals lie on the South-side. Some small rocky Islands  
 called the *Brewsters*, make the North-side of it.

Dorchester.

*Dorchester* is the next Town to *Boston*. for Bigness,  
 it also sends four Members to the Assembly; it is built

at the Mouth of two little Rivers, near the Sea-side; it has two Fairs, one on the fourth *Tuesday* in *March*, and another on the last *Wednesday* in *October*, every Year. *Roxbury* is seated in the Bottom of a shallow Bay, but has no Harbour for Shipping: It is well watered with Springs, and of Note for its Free-School: *Smelt-River* runs through it, and a Quarter of a Mile to the North runs *Stony-River*. *Braintree* is noted also for its Free-School. The Town of *Weymouth* is the most ancient in the Province, but is not now of so much Consideration as it was in the Infancy of the Colony. The Ferry at *Weymouth* is a well frequented Passage, the Price Twopence by Day, and Fourpence by Night. Here are no great Rivers in this Shire, but many little ones, which render it so pleasant and fruitful, that *Delaet* says, *Paradisum haud immerito dixeris*; it can scarce be unworthily called Paradise. Round the noble Bay of the *Massachusetts*, are no less than twelve or fourteen fine Towns, and pretty Valleys, between *Pulling Point* on the North Entrance, and *Merton Point* on the South. *Pulling Point* was so called, because the Boats were, by the *Eddies* or Roads, haled against the Tide, which is very strong in this Place. *Merton Point* is about two Leagues from *Boston*, on the other Side of the Bay, and has a small Village upon it, where Ships commonly cast Anchor.

To the *Westward* of this and *Middlesex* Counties, bordering on *Connecticut* River, lies *Hampshire*, which has the following Towns in it.

\* *Enfield*, \* *Hatfield*, \* *Hadley*, \* *Northampton*, \* *Springfield*, \* *Southfield*, \* *Westfield*, \* *Brookfield*.

This County being within Land and hilly, is not so fruitful as the Lands lying nearer the Coast, notwithstanding it is watered by the great River *Connecticut*, on whose Banks all the before-mentioned Towns are built. The chief of them are *Northampton*, where the County Court is kept the last *Tuesday* in *March*, and *Springfield*, where it is kept the last *Tuesday* in *September*.

The next County on the Coast to the South, is that Part of *New-England* which was first planted by the *English*; it is called *Plimouth* from the Name of the first Town they built there, under the Auspices of the Council of *Plimouth*, the first Adventurers to this *American* Continent. This County contains the following Towns.

\* *Plimouth*, \* *Bridgewater*, \* *Duxbury*, \* *Marshfield*, \* *Middleborough*, \* *Pembroke*, \* *Plympton*.

*Plimouth* is situated on the great Gulf of *Patuxet*, and contains about 400 Families, or 2400 Souls, which make a



considerable Town in *Old-England*; but *Scituate* has lately out grown it, and by its having two Churches we may suppose the Number of Inhabitants to be proportionably double. There are two or three small Rivers in this County, which, as to its Soil, is much of the same Nature with that of *Sussex*. Passing by Sea from this County to the next *Barnstable*, we must weather *Cape-Cod*, the highest Promontory on the Coast. Capt. *Gosnold* named it from the abundance of that Sort of Fish usually found and caught there. It makes a large and commodious Bay, capable of receiving 1000 Sail of Ships. A tenth Part of that Capacity would answer the Fishery and Trade here; but because such spaciousness is super-excellent in *England*, where large Fleets often put into Harbour, they that describe the Harbours in our Plantations may magnify their Extent with Pleasure.

The Entrance into this Bay is about four Miles wide, and Mr. *Neal* says, it is encompassed all round, even to the very Sea, with *Oaks*, *Pines*, *Sassafras*, *Juniper*, and other sweet Woods, which I suppose was rather the State of it when *Gosnold* was there, than at present; for such Timber lay too convenient for Trade and Shipping to remain standing on the very Shore, or near it, insomuch that I have been informed, that Laws are wanting in *New-England* to prevent the cutting in waste Timber within ten Miles of the Sea. The Accounts of the Whales in this Bay, which, if real, would make a most advantageous Fishery, agree not I believe with the present Times: However the Cod-Fishing is so profitable, that notwithstanding the Land of the Promontory is barren enough, yet it is as well peopled as most Parts of *New-England*. The Land on the adjacent Coast about *Eastham* is rich. Some of the first Christians among the *Indians*, were those near this Cape; and they were the more likely to be so for their Commerce with the *Europeans*, who came frequently thither to fish. There were six *Indian* Preachers among them about fifty Years ago; I question whether there are so many now, and if not, the main Reason may be, that they are not so much wanted, the *Indians* since that having bred up their Children in the *English* Tongue.

The next County takes its Name from the before-mentioned Town *Barnstable*. Its Towns are

\* *Barnstable*, \* *Eastham*, \* *Manimoy*, \* *Truro*, \* *Rocheester*, \* *Sandwich*, \* *Yarmouth*, \* *Harwich*, \* *Nantuket*.

In and about *Eastham* were about 500 Christian *Indians*. They had four Schools for the Instruction of their Children in Reading and Writing, and six Justices of the Peace of their own Nation, to keep good Order among them, to whom the Minister, Mr. *Samuel Treat*, preached in their own Language.

Cape-Cod.

Barnstable County.

guage. We shall find that both the Continent and Islands hereabouts abounded with Converts to Christianity, which being the most refined Morality, as well as purest Religion, was worthy the Labour of those zealous Ministers to inculcate and spread: But I must needs own that the sending Missionaries to preach the same Religion in different Manners, is more apt to confound, than to convert; and where the Morals of those that call themselves Christians are more corrupt and wicked than even those of the *Indians*, as is too often the case, I do not see what good the latter can propose to themselves, by learning to live as well as to worship by such Christians. Let them begin with themselves first, said *Ninnicraft*, an *Indian King*, to Mr. *Mayhew*, whose Life indeed as well as Doctrine was a Lesson to the Heathens. I know the quite contrary of some that have been sent out by those that have taken the Charge of these Matters; and I believe *Maryland* and *Virginia*, if not *New-York* and *Carolina*, can afford too many Instances of the like Missionaries.

Not due Care  
taken about  
Missionaries

Opposite to the *South Bay* of *Barnstable County*, called *Monument Bay*, lie two Islands, one of them is named *Martha's Vineyard*, on which Capt. *Gosnold* landed, about the Year 1602. What an idle Story did the *Hollanders* invent, that it was discovered by *Henry Christian* about twenty Years after? However his Name was given to it, and that of *Block*, another *Dutch Navigator*, to *Elizabeth Island* near it, both which Isles, they pretended, were Part of their *Nova-Belgia*, or *New-York-Grant* from the *States-General*, who had themselves no Right in either of them. *Block's* Name remains still in a little Isle, near *Rhode-Island*.

Martha's  
Vineyard.

The Streights between *Martha's Vineyard* and *Barnstable County*, called *Malabar*, is a very dangerous Passage.

*Nantucket* Isle being under the same Proprietor and Preacher, Mr. *Mayhew*, Father and Son, the Progress of Christianity was so great there, that of five Congregations or Churches, four had *Indian Ministers* fifty Years ago. The other Minister was Mr. *John Gardner*. This Island sends a Representative to the Assembly, which was lately *George Banks, Esq;*

In *Bristol County*, the next we come to in our Course Southward, are the following Towns.

Bristol.

\* *Bristol*, \* *Swansey*, \* *Rehobeth*, \* *Taunton*, \* *Artleborough*, \* *Little Compton*, \* *Norton*, \* *Dartmouth*, \* *Deighton*, \* *Freetown*,

*Bristol*, tho' not the oldest Town in this County, yet it is the biggest and most populous, and as to Trade, may stand next to *Boston*, as *Bristol* in *England* does to *London*, and the Harbour very commodious. Mr. *Neal* says this Town is built the

on the only Land acquired by Conquest, a much honest way of Acquisition, than *Ninnicraft* the Sachem upbraided Mr. *Mayhew* the Minister with. King *Philip* reserved the Country adjacent to himself, when he sold the rest to the *English*, for the Advantage of good Fishing and Hunting; and after he was conquered and killed, the Land was sold for defraying the Charges of the War. Being bought by Men of more than ordinary Figure, the Town was laid out with more Art and Regularity than any other Town in the Province, and is so well frequented, that there is great likelihood of its increasing in Trade and People.

*Rehobeth.*

The Town of *Rehobeth*, as has been observed, was first settled about 100 Years ago by a Number of *English* Families, who were streighted in their former Settlement at *Weymouth*. Its *Indian* Name was *Saconet*, every whit as founding as *Rehobeth*, in which there is somewhat of Affectation; and therefore is not always used, the Town being frequently still called *Saconet*. It is situated on a Circle, upon a Plain, about a Mile and a half in Diameter. The Church, the Minister's House, and School House, being in the middle. Not far from it, in the Road to *Boston*, lies another Plain above three Miles over, admired by all Travellers for the Evenness of it. The *Indians* broke into this Town, and burned forty Houses in the *Philippick* War. Notwithstanding that and other Losses, the Town of *Artieborough* is grown out of the Increase of the Inhabitants of *Rehobeth*, on the North-side of which it is situated.

*Swansey.*

*Swansey* is a large scattered Town, consisting of three or four Villages, inhabited, says Mr. *Neal*, by so many Sets or Parties of *Christians*, as Churchmen, Independents, Anabaptists and Quakers.

Dr. *Mather*, in a Letter to Dr. *Woodward*, to whom every thing of the marvellous kind was most welcome, writes that, "at *Taunton*, by the Side of a tiding River, is a large " Rock appearing above Water, on the perpendicular Side of " which, next the Stream, are seven or eight Lines, about " seven or eight Feet long, engraven with unaccountable " Characters, not like any now known in the World." Whatever Characters the *Indians* had, they could not engrave nor write, and, according to Dr. *Mather's* Account of it, one may as well think they were engraven before the Flood as after. Near *Bristol* is a remarkable Hill, called *Mount Hope*, which King *Philip* delighted much in, and retired to when he was pursued and distressed by the *English*, whose Plantation near this Hill was forcibly enter'd by his Men, and several Houses burnt, which was the first Act of Hostility

*Mount Hope.*



lity in the *Philippick War*; and, to revenge it, Capt. *Pren-  
tice*, with a Troop of Horse, Capt. *Henchman*, Capt. *Mose-  
ly*, and Capt. *Cudworth*, the same who wrote against perse-  
cuting the Quakers, were sent with their Companies of Foot  
to scour the Enemy's Country, and a detach'd Party advanced  
to *Mount Hope*, of which they took Possession, the *Indians*  
flying every where before them, upon which they ravaged  
all the adjacent Country. *Philip* never recover'd it afterwards,  
and retiring towards this Hill in his last Extremity, was kill'd  
at the Foot of it. The Hill and all his Territories being  
seized by the *English*, in Right of Conquest, a Comick Poet,  
*John Crown*, Author of two good Comedies, *Sir Courtly*  
*Nice*, and the *City Politicks*, begg'd it of King *Charles II.*  
who took a Liking to his Plays. When *Crown's* Petition  
was presented to the King, his Majesty knew nothing of the  
Country's being taken from *Philip* and his Heirs; and if he  
had known it, it appears not that he had any Right to take it  
from the lawful Owners, whose it was by Right of Conquest,  
at their own Expence of Blood and Treasure. He wrote a  
Letter to *New-England*, in which he wonder'd he had no  
better Information, tho' the Matter does not seem much to  
concern him. This Poet's Father was, I suppose, an Inha-  
bitant in the Northern Part of *New-England*, for he pretended  
to the Property of a considerable Tract of Land in *New-  
Scotland*, which being lost to the *French*, his Son made that  
a Pretence for the giving him *Mount Hope* in lieu of it.  
And that he had a *New-England* Education, one may guess  
by this Tradition of him, that being sent to *Turin* with Mr.  
afterwards *Sir Samuel Moreland*, Envoy from *Oliver Crom-  
well* to the Duke of *Savoy*, in Behalf of the Protestants of  
*Piedmont*, he affected to be so curious as to make Remarks  
on the Rarities in the Duke's Palace, where observing 12  
fine Pictures ranged in a Gallary, he put down, instead of the  
*twelve Cæsars*, the *twelve Apostles*, which I have known the  
Son stand the hearing of without Contradiction; and doubt-  
less, in those Days, the People of this Colony were much  
better acquainted with the twelve Apostles than the twelve  
Cæsars; tho' it is quite otherwise now. I have so seldom di-  
grested, that I hope it is excuseable, when 'tis to divert.  
Some write that there is a Quarry of Marble in this Hill;  
but I believe that is some of the *Magnalia* of *New-England*,  
which want Confirmation. Off of *Mount Hope* lies *Rhode*  
*Island*, by the Natives called *Aquetnet*, near the *Narragant-  
set Bay*. 'Tis 14 or 15 Miles long, and 4 or 5 Miles broad.  
It was first inhabited by the *English* in the Year 1639. Those  
that withdrew to this Island were such as espoused the *Cove-  
nant*

Begg'd by  
Crown the  
Poet.

Rhode  
Island.

nant of Grace, and were under Persecution from those that sided with the Covenant of Works. What strange Whimfies breed in Men's Heads, to distract and disturb them. I believe great Allowance for Party must be made in Dr. *Cot. Mather's* Representation of the first Settlers in *Rhode Island*, and those that came after them; "A Generation of *Liber-tines, Familists, Antinomians*, whose Posterity, for want of Schools of Learning and a publick Ministry, are become so barbarous, as not to be capable of speaking either good *English*, or good Sense." But these Brutes, as he paints them, had so much Sense, that they kept their old Charter of Privileges, when Dr. *Increase Mather*, instead of the old *Massachuset* Charter, brought home the new one before-mention'd. The *Rhode Island* Charter is thus describ'd by the *Board of Trade*, in their Representation to the *House of Lords*, of *January 1733*. *Almost the whole Power of the Crown is delegated to the People, who make an annual Election of their Assembly, their Council and their Governor also, to the Majority of which Assemblies, Councils and Governors, being collective Bodies, the Power of making Laws is granted, and as their Charter is worded, they can and do make Laws, even without the Governor's Assent, and directly contrary to their Opinions, no negative Voice being reserved to them as Governors. Their Laws are not repealable by the Crown, but the Validity of them depends upon their not being contrary, but as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England.* The Colony of *Connecticut* kept also its ancient Charter of Privileges, and enjoy them still, as well as *Rhode Island*, neither of which send Members to the General Assembly at *Boston*, and the Towns therefore have no *Asterisks* in our List; and as they chuse their own Assemblies, their own Councils and Governors, I am satisfied they will never be fond of changing their Constitution for that of the *Massachusetts*. The Charter of *Rhode Island* was procured in a great Measure by Mr. *Roger Williams*, who had been banished from *Boston* in the Debate about the *Two Covenants*, and was some time chosen a Governor of the Island; where, notwithstanding the Influence of Mr. *Williams*, who was an *Antinomian*, and the Number of that Sort of Men said, by Dr. *Mather*, to inhabit here, one Mr. *Samul Gorton*, who had been banish'd the *Massachuset* Colony, coming hither, and behaving unbecomingly, was sentenced to be whipp'd and expell'd the Island in the Infancy of the Colony, when *Antinomianism* was predominant. About the same time they suffer'd a great Loss, which almost ruined, or at least dishearten'd them. They had built a Ship of 150 Tons, and freighted it for *England*,

The Charter and Constitution there.

The same as the Connecticut Counties.

with the most valuable Effects of the Country. Five or six of the principal Inhabitants of the Island, and others of a lower Rank, took Passage in her, and setting sail in *January*, were never heard of afterwards. The Liberty of this Place tempted the *Quakers* to come first from *Barbados* hither, and thence they spread themselves on the Continent, as is before related. These *Quakers* and their Disciples nested mostly in and about *Newport*, a small Town in this Island, of which was *Mary Dyer*, who was hang'd for *Quakerism* about 80 Years ago. I am very loth to think the People of *Rhode Island* more barbarous than those that hang'd up the *Quakers* and *Baptists* for Religion, and *Presbyterians* for Witchcraft. The reverend Historian gives a little intō *Dr. Mather's* Description, in saying, *They begin now to be more civiliz'd.* If I have no other Opportunity to make a Comparison between them and the *Massachusetts*, than by the one being an industrious, thriving People, and the other Persecutors and narrow-spirited, I must think the *Rhodeans* are candidly dealt with. *Mr. Neal* adds, there have been two Churches in the *Island*, one after the *New-English* Model, *Presbyterian* or *Independent*, I can hardly distinguish them since their Union; the other according to the Church of *England*, of which latter *Mr. Honeyman* was lately Incumbent, to whom the Society for the propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts allows 55 *l.* yearly; and truly, as *Dr. Mather* describes the Place, they would want a Missionary as much as the *Pequots* or *Mohegins*; but I have observed that the Doctor is no infallible Guide. The Soil of this Island is very fruitful, and the Place so pleasant, that it is called the Garden of *New-England*, which soon invited over so many Inhabitants, that some were forced to return to the Continent, where they built the Towns of *Providence* and *Warwick*, which *Mr. Neal* represents as included in *Rhode Island* Charter, which appoints a Governor, and one on as good a Foot as any in *America*, which agrees not very well with what we read afterwards. There's a very considerable Trade driven from *Rhode Island* to the Sugar Colonies for *Butter* and *Cheese*, a sure Sign of the Fruitfulness and Beauty of the Place, for *Horses*, *Sheep*, *Beef*, *Pork*, *Tallow*, *Timber*, *Frames for Houses*, some larger, some less, according as People wanted, or had Money to purchase, by which the Traders have been enriched; and Trade and Riches are much more apt to polish People than Faculties and Degrees, at least without Genius. I find the Town of *Portsmouth* in *Rhode Island* mentioned in my former Edition, and *Mr. Nathaniel Clap* as Minister; but *Newport* is the capital Town of the Island, and there the Court of Admiralty

Inhabitants.

Fruitfulness and Pleasuriness.



rality is held, when it has Occasion to fit. Mr. *Clap* was then Minister of both Congregations here and at *Portsmouth*, a very small Town. The last cited Historian writes, " 'Tis  
 " deservedly call'd the *Paradise of New-England*, for the  
 " Fruitfulness of the Soil, and the Temperature of the Cli-  
 " mate, which, tho' it be not above sixty five Miles from  
 " *Boston*, is a Coat warmer in Winter, and being surrounded  
 " by the Ocean, is not so much affected in Summer with  
 " the hot Land Breezes as the Towns on the Continent are.

We have observed that *Providence* and *Warwick*, lying between *Plymouth* and *Bristol* Counties, were built by the swarming of the People from *Rhode Island*, who bringing their religious *Nostrums* along with them, transmitted a good Part of them to their Posterity. The Town of *Warwick* suffer'd much in the *Philippick* War, every House in the Town being destroyed, except one; but it soon recover'd, and both these Towns are now large and thriving. Mr. *Neal* says they are under the Government of *Rhode Island*, which seeming to be, by what we have said of it, one of the best Establishments in the whole Country, 'tis surprizing that the same Historian should write there is the least Appearance of Order in these of any Towns in *New-England*. I am not at all inclined to believe it, from their being against that *Covenant* which the Magistrates and Ministers of *Boston* declared for, being fully satisfy'd that I have met with much more desperate Notions there than *Antinomianism*; tho', as far as I understand it, I take it to be a wrong way of Thinking. The Account of them at present is, according to that Historian, " They live  
 " in great Amity with their Neighbours, and tho' every Man  
 " does what he thinks right in his own Eyes, it is rare that  
 " any notorious Crimes are committed by them, which may  
 " be attributed, in some measure, to their great Veneration  
 " for the Holy Scriptures, which they all read, from the least  
 " to the greatest, tho' they have neither Ministers nor Magistrates to recommend it to them. *This deserves a little  
 " more Thought than one can have Room for in a History.*  
 " They have an Aversion to all sorts of Taxes, as the Inven-  
 " tions of Men to support *Hirelings*, as they call all such  
 " Magistrates and Minitters as will not serve them for no-  
 " thing; and those of either, that serve purely for the Hire,  
 " are certainly not so publick spirited as these Antinomians.  
 " They are very hospitable to Strangers; a Traveller passing  
 " through these Towns, may call at any House with the  
 " same Liberty as if he was at an Inn, and be kindly en-  
 " tertain'd with the best they have for nothing." The rearing  
 of Cattle, and making Butter and Cheese is their chief Em-  
 ploy

Providence  
 and War-  
 wick.

The Honour  
 and Genero-  
 sity of the  
 Inhabitants.

ploy, by which they have very much enrich'd themselves: The Society for propagating the Gospel, after the manner of the Church of *England*, have lately placed a Missionary in these Parts, the reverend Mr. *Guy*, to whom they allow 20 l. per Annum.

The next Counties we must treat of, take in the united Colonies of the *Connecticut* and *Newhaven*, whose Charter is still preserved as it was first granted, which, as often as the *Massachusetts* have under Consideration, cannot but be accompanied with some mental Uneasinesses. These two united Provinces are in Length from *Stoniton* in *New-London* County, to *Rye* in *Fairfield* County, on the Borders of *New-York*, 70 Miles, and in Breadth, from *Saybrook* in *New-London* County, to *Windsor* in *Hartford* County, about 50.

The first County we come to on the Coast is *New-London* County, in which are, New-London County.

*Stoniton*, *Saybrook*, *Preston*, *Dansick*, *New-London*, *Lyme*, *Lebanon*, *Killingworth*.

The Eastern Parts of this Shire are pleasant and fruitful, the Western swampy and mountainous, which occasioned a great Trade for Peltry and Lumber.

*Saybrook* is the oldest Town in the County, so called from the Lord Viscount *Say and Seal* and the Lord *Brook*, two of the most staunch Puritans in *England*, whose Agent, Mr. *Fenwick*, built this Town at the Mouth of the River *Connecticut*. *Lyme* stands over-against it. *Saybrook* Fort was the Security of the infant Colony in the *Pequot* War. The River *Connecticut* divides itself into several Branches, and is navigable above 60 Miles within Land.

*New-London* is situated on a River call'd the *Thames*. The first Branch of which River goes by the Name of *Glast River*, the next Branch by that of *Russel's Delight*, the third by that of *Indian River*. There's a small River which falls into the Sea at *Manchester*. The Trade of Ship-building flourishes here. I saw, not long ago, a fine Ship of 2 or 300 Tons at *Bristol*, which was built here, as I was then inform'd: The Ship-builders and Ship-owners found this Place very commodious for them. At *Stoniton* there does or did lately come a Packet-boat from *Northfleet*, in *Long Island*, very convenient for a Correspondence between *New-England* and *New-York*. *Hartford* is the next County to this within Land; Hartford. it has no Seaport Town in it, which can be said of no other County in *New-England*; yet 'tis well peopled, and the People thrive and live well. The Towns are,

*Hartford*, *Farmington*, *Glastonbury*, *Middle Town*, *Windsor*, *Hadham*, *Simsbury*, *Weatherbury*, *Watersfield*, *Farm*, *Windham*. Hart-

*Hartford* is the most considerable Town in this County. It has two Parish Churches, as they are regularly stiled in my History, and not with the Name of *Meeting-houses*, when and where they are by Law establish'd; but as the *New-England* Christians do not call their Churches by Saint's Names, such as *St. Dunstan*, *St. Botolph*, *St. Warburgh*, *St. Ethelford*, *St. Cuthbert*, *St. Chad*, *St. Winifred*, &c. These two Churches are distinguish'd by the Names of *Old Church* and *New Church*. Near *Hadham* is an Island in *Connecticut* River, which waters the Northern Bounds of the County. 'Tis called *Thirty Mile Island*, it being at that Distance from the Mouth of the River. In the Western Parts are several Ridges of Hills and thick Forests, which afford Plenty of Game, as it did formerly of Traffick, when Furs and Skins were in better Demand.

The two next Counties made the *Newhaven* Colony, which is joined to *Connecticut*. In *Newhaven* County are the following Towns.

*Brainford*, *Derby*, *Guildford*, *Milford*, *Newhaven*, *Wallingford*.

*Newhaven.* The Capital of this Province is *Newhaven*, much more considerable than it was when my first Edition was publish'd, on Account of the College here erected for Academical Learning, which Mr. *Neal* says, *is like to prove a flourishing Foundation, and to be a great Blessing to that Part of the Country*, and I heartily wish his Presages may be accomplish'd. The Library here has been well furnished with Books by my worthy Friend, *Jeremiah Dummer*, Esq; late Agent for *New-England* at *London*, who was a good Judge of and Friend to Literature. The Name of the College is *Yale-Hall*; the Number of Students is computed at about 100, and I do not find that there is any Mifs of the before-mentioned scrupulous Consciences in the establish'd Church here.

*Iron Mill.* *New Brainford* has a small Iron Work on the Banks of a little River that runs into the Sea; the Place is from thence called *Iron Mill*. I am surprized to read of a small Iron Work here, or any Part of this Continent, from *Acadia* to *Georgia*; for, according to the best Information I could get, and which was the better on Account of my being interested in it at the time of Inquiry, there is Iron (also Stone and Wood) enough in many Places, to supply all *Europe* with. Either my Information was false, or Ignorance and Laziness have had terrible Effects in this Article, which would turn better to Account than over-stocking the Markets with their present Product, Iron being in Proportion as valuable as Gold, and much more useful.

Another



Another little River runs into the Sea at *Guildford*, and another at *Milford*, proper Streams for such Work, if there's *Wood* and *Stone* enough.

The next County is *Fairfield*, in which are the following Towns.

*Fairfield, Danbury, Norwich, Stamford, Woodbury, Fairfield Village, Greenwich, Rye, Stratford.* Fairfield County.

There is no navigable River in this County; that which falls into *Hudson's River*, below *Newark*, not deserving the Name, tho' 'tis broad at the Mouth, but it does not hold so above four or five Miles, nor run twenty into the Country. Most of the Towns, or rather Villages, are built in small Creeks, and are of no great Note for Trade or Bigness. The *Inland* Part of the Country, 8 or 10 Miles from the Shore, is full of Hills and Swamps, which are uninhabited. It was formerly the *Mohegin* Territory, and in part planted by the *Dutch*, *New-York* Province bounding it all along to the Southward.

Besides the Island on this Coast already mentioned, there are *Faulcon* Island, *Fisher's* Island, *Block* Island, where the Pirates never nested, yet they have frequently water'd, and 20 other little nameless Islands, which serve to break the Winds and Seas from the several Shores.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Government and Laws of *New-England*; of the University, and the State of Learning there.

SO much has been said of the Government, in speaking of the first and subsequent Charters, that we have little to add here. The Governor of the *Massachusetts* Colony having now under Jurisdiction that of *Plimouth* and *New-Hampshire*, so he is generally stiled Governor of *New-England*; tho' *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island* are not included in his Commission; and I have observed, that the Governor of the *Massachusetts* has always been Governor of *New-Hampshire*; for *John Wentworth*, Esq; had that Government in the Year 1717, when Mr. *Burgefs* had that of the *Massachusetts*.

The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, the Militia Officers and Judges are now nominated by the Crown, and Of the Governor, &c.

the Admiralty Court is within the Governor's Commission for the whole Country of *New-England*: It being observed that such a Court was left out of the Charters of *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island*, perhaps by Negligence; but that Fault will never be amended, if it was one. We have seen the Lieutenant-Governor of *New-England* hold a Court of Admiralty in *Rhode Island*, and proceed to Trials and Executions of Pirates there.

*Council.* The *Council*, which seems to me to be more properly call'd the *Country's* than the *Governor's*, are chosen annually by the *General Assembly* out of the principal Inhabitants, mostly Members of the present or former Representative. Eighteen of them must be Inhabitants or Proprietors of Lands within the Limits of the first *Massachusetts* Charter; four must be chosen out of the ancient Jurisdiction of *Plimouth*; three out of *Maine*, one out of the Country between *Sagadahock* and *New-Scotland*, and two within any other Part of the Province, within the Limits of the present Jurisdiction. They have great Power in the executive Part of the Government, much of it depending entirely on their Approbation; they are also a Part of the Legislature.

*General Assembly.* The General Assembly is chosen annually, and meets at *Boston* the latter End of *May*. All the Members subscribe the *Declaration* and Oath of *Abjuration*. Indeed the People of *New-England* are so loyal to our Sovereign King *George* that they have made it a solemn Boast, and it may be well boasted of them, that they have not a *Jacobite* in their Country.

The new *Council* being chosen, at the Opening of the Sessions are presented to the Governor, who underwrites his Approbation in these Words, *I consent to the Election of Counsellors*, Given under my Hand this      Day of *S. S.* I do not find that the Governor has a Negative upon this Election, or that it is any where complained of as a Defect in their present Charter. The *General Assembly* erect Courts of Judicature, levy Taxes, and make Laws from Time to Time, not repugnant to the Laws of *England*: But all such Laws must be transmitted thither for the Royal Assent, and if disallowed within the Space of three Years, to be void. The *Board of Trade*, in their Representations before-mentioned, say, with reference to this Constitution, "The *Assembly* chuse the *Council*, and the Governor depends upon the *Assembly* for his annual Support, which has too frequently laid the Governors of this Province under Temptations of giving up the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Interest of *Great Britain*." The latter is certainly for the

the true Interest of her Colonies also, inasmuch as their Prosperity depends thereupon, and therefore such Governours deserved severe Animadversion. In the Reigns we have lived under, ever since the Protestant Succession took Effect, the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Interest of *Great Britain*, have been all one; in which sense this Observation is worthy the honourable Persons that made it, but not in any other. Every one who has 40 s. a Year in Land, or 50 l. personal Estate, is a Burgeess. The latter Condition is warranted by all Reason and Equity; and where-ever it is wanting, there is a Defect. Every House-keeper paying Scot and Lot, is a *Freeman* of the Town where he lives; and if he is not so in *Old-England* as well as *New*, it must be because it would swell the Number; the Reason and Equity being the same every where. The General Assembly consisted lately of about 100 Members.

Their Number.

For Boston 4	Ipswich 2
Salem 2	Newbury 2
Charles Town 2	Chilmark } 1
	Tisbury }

All the rest of the Towns with an *Asterism* one a-piece.

I shall insert some of the most remarkable Laws.

Laws.

*Adultery*. Both Men and Women to be put to Death. The Crime is abominable, and the law not much better, considering how likely it is to be abused.

*Apparel*. All Persons not worth 200 l. regulated.

*Arrests*. None, if any means of Satisfaction; and no Prison, unless a Concealment of Effects.

*Bastardy*. The Father to maintain the Child. Fact doubtful, acquitted, tho' sworn.

*Blasphemy*. Death.

*Bread Assize*. Corn 3 s. a Bushell. *White Wheaten Household*.

Ou. q<sup>r</sup>. Ou. q<sup>r</sup>. Ou. q<sup>r</sup>.

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*Burgeesses*. To be Members of some Church, *i. e.* *Communicants*.

*Children*. A Son a Rebel, Death: The same to curse or strike Parents.

*False Witnessing*, reaching Life, Death.

*Gaming for Money*. Treble Value. Use of Cards or Dice 5 s. Shuffle-Board, or Bowls, at a Public House 5 s. Dancing 5 s. Judges to whip or fine at Pleasure. To have Cards in Custody 5 l.



*Heresy.* To deny the 4th Commandment, the Baptism of Infants, the Authority of Magistrates, &c. *Banishment.*

*Quakers.* To bring one in 100 *l.* forfeit, to conceal one 40 *s.* an Hour, to go to a Quaker's Meeting 10 *s.* to preach there 5 *l.* Not an Inhabitant, *Banishment*; if return, *Death.*

Strangers to be whipped, to be branded with the Letter R on the left Shoulder, and to be banished; if return, *Death.*

*Jesuits* and *Popish Priests,* *Banishment*; if return, *Death.*

*Indians.* Their Lands in the Jurisdiction not improved by them, the Property of the *English.* To sell them Strong Liquors 40 *s.* a Pint, a Pound of Lead Shot 40 *s.* a Pound of Powder 5 *l.* a Gun 10 *l.*

*Drunkards.* Whipped in the Stocks, or pay 10 *s.* 10 *d.* after 9 at Night.

*Liars,* to another's Prejudice, 10 *s.* or whipped.

*Marriages.* To strike a Husband or Wife 10 *l.* None to marry Persons but Magistrates.

*Money.* *New-English* Shilling 2 *d.* less in Value than the *Old-English.*

*Sabbath-Breaking* 5 *s.* forfeit.

*Saturday.* Drinking or Sporting after Sun-set 5 *s.* forfeit, or Whipping.

*Ship.* No Healths to be drank aboard any Ship in Harbour, or Guns to be fired after Sun-set 20 *s.* forfeit.

*Spinning.* All Hands not employed, are obliged to spin.

*Strangers.* Christian Strangers flying for Tyranny, to be maintained by the Public, or otherwise provided for.

*Swearing and Cursing* 10 *d.*

*Use-Money* 8 per Cent.

*Witches.* *Death.*

*Wolves.* To kill one within ten Miles of a Plantation, a Reward of 40 *s.*

*Worship* Images and Idolatry, *Death.*

Of the Uni-  
versity and  
State of  
Learning  
there.

The Laws of *New-England* being carefully collected, printed and dispersed, we refer to them for a more full and particular State of them, and proceed to the University.

Mention has been made of the Foundation of the University of *Cambridge* and *Harvard* College, in it's proper Year. The Town, about six Miles from *Boston*, was at first called *New-Town*, and had it's present Name from it's Academy. It was not incorporated till twelve Years after the Building of *Harvard* College, A. D. 1650, when *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; was Governor of the *Massachusetts*, and Mr. *Dunster* President of the College; and in that, or the following Year, Mr. *Thomas Dudley*, Son I suppose to the Governor,

Harvard  
College.

was

was chosen Fellow of the College, which consists of a President, five Fellows, and a Treasurer. The Governor of the Province, the Deputy-Governor, and all the Magistrates of the Colony, with the Ministers of the six neighbouring Towns for the Time being, are the *Visitors*, and much more likely to do the Academy Justice than the six Ministers; had the Visitation been in them only, the Prejudice of their Education there, and that of their Brethren and their Friends, being more likely to give them a wrong Bias, than the Judgment of a Number of Gentlemen, many of whose Posterity were to be affected in their Principles and Manners by what they learned there.

The President's Salary was at first paid out of the public Treasury; but the Profits of *Charles-Town* Ferry being settled upon the College, and several Gentlemen both in *Old* and *New-England* contributing very largely towards the Revenues of it, it was quickly able to subsist of it self. Some time after another College was built near the former, for the Education of the *Indians*, at the Charge of the Corporation Stoughton-Hall. *for propagating the Gospel in New-England*, and was called *Indian-College*; but it is now converted into a Printing-House, by the Corporation's Direction, it being found impracticable to persuade the *Indian* Youth to a Love of Learning: And truly as there are likely to be no want of of *English* Ministers, regularly bred, who may gather *Indian* Churches, where the *English* Tongue prevails, which is now in some measure almost all over the Country, or *English* Ministers who can preach to them in their own Language, I do not see there is any great need of taking them from their Labour in the Fields, or in the Woods, or in the Rivers, to make Scholars of them, any more than there is of taking Boys from the Plough in *Old-England*, to make Justices Clerks, or Country School-Masters of them. However there is still due Provision made at *Cambridge*, for the Accommodation of such *Indians* as shall be admitted into the College; but there were never above four or five of them educated there, and but one, *Caleb Cheeschaumuck*, who took his Degrees there, and that was about fourscore Years ago. I must needs own that the *New-England* Taste for Literature in those Days was such, as made the *Indians* no great Sufferers by the Loss of it. The last *Indian* Youth who had his Education in *Harvard* College, was *Eleazar*, who should have taken his Degrees in the Year 1679. Indians will not learn here.

It is not at all strange that, as we read, Books were extremely scarce in *New-England* when the University was founded. I suppose they were much more scarce in *England* Library.

at the Foundation of the Universities there. The first Supply of that Kind which the Library had, were the Books of Dr. *William Ames*, Professor at *Franeker*, whither, doubtless, he was driven by the persecuting Prelates before the Restoration, as Mr. *William Ames* was from his Living, *Wrentham* in *Suffolk*, after it. Mrs *Ames*, his Mother, and her Children, came to *New-England*, upon the Doctor's Death. Sir *John Maynard*, the renowned Lawyer and Senator, the most Reverend Archbishop *Usher*, nay the famous Sir *Kenelm Digby*, though a *Roman* Catholick, yet a hearty Lover and Encourager of Learning, and several Others, as Mr. *Richard Baxter* and Mr. *Joseph Hill*, contributed to the Increase of *Harvard* College Library; as did the very learned Mr. *Theophilus Gale*, Fellow of *Magdalen* College, *Oxford*, who, after he was turned out there by the Act of Uniformity, travelled as Tutor with the most noble the late Marquis of *Wharton*, then only Mr. *Thomas*, and his Brother Mr. *Goodwin Wharson*, of great Distinction in the Parliament, and King *William's* Service, who gave all his large and valuable Collection of Books to *Harvard* College, excepting the *Philosophical* Part, which contained Things too abstruse for the Heads of People that were ready to go together by the Ears, for and against the Covenants of Works and Grace, Things very inconsistent with Raillery when in other Hands. Several private Persons have from Time to Time sent in their Contributions of Books to this Library, by which means it increased: So that before Queen *Anne's* Accession to the Throne, it contained near 4000 Volumes of the most useful Learning, by the most eminent Authors in the Faculties. It is pity it had not lain in the Way of the Donors and Collectors to have stored it more with the most polite, and that Eloquence had not been in their Thoughts and Practice as well as Science.

Mr. Nathaniel Eaton  
President.

The first President of *Harvard* College was Mr. *Nathaniel Eaton*, a Scholar, as it is called in the worst Use of the Word, of whom otherwise I never met with a good Word, but from some *Devonshire* Writers, who considered him as their Countryman, for he died in *Biddiford* or *Exeter* Jail. He was so cruel a Wretch, that he had two Fellows to hold one of his Pupils, till he had beaten him almost to Death, for which the General Court fined him a hundred Marks, and expelled him the University. He was afterwards excommunicated for Immorality; upon which he left *New-England*, and went first to *Virginia*, where Immorality was not so rare as Excommunication. From thence he passed to *England*, where he lived privately, till the Restoration of King *Charles*

Expelled.

the



the Second; and then conforming to the Church of England, he was preferred to the Parsonage of *Biddisford*.

His Successor in the Presidency was Mr. *John Dunstar*, a Mr. Dunstar. Man of as much Learning and Merit as ever set Foot on the *American* Continent. The President's Office is, besides governing, to examine into the Qualifications of all who desired to be admitted into the College; to inspect their Manners, to pray Morning and Evening, and to expound a Chapter, which one of the Students reads out of *Hebrew* into *Greek* in the Morning, and out of *English* into *Greek* from the New Testament. Qualifications for the Academy. Daily Exercises.

The *Fellows* Resident are Tutors to the several Classes of Students. They have weekly *Declamations*, I believe enough; for it seems to have spoiled their Manner in *Stile* and *Disputations*, of excellent Use in Contradiction and Wrangling, of which they infallibly lead those into that have not a Fund of solid Sense and sound Judgment, to pare off the Excrecences of such Studies. The Students are divided into four Classes; the *junior* Class, or *fresh Men*, are a Kind of Servitors to the whole College, out of studying Hours to go of Errands, &c. from which none are exempted, unless they are admitted *Fellow-Commoners*, as was Sir *Harcourt Masters*, a very worthy Gentleman, at this Time one of the Aldermen of the City of *London*. The fourth Year the Students are admitted Batchelors of Arts. Those who reside in the College after they have taken their Degree, are distinguished for the next three Years by the Title of *Sir*, added to their *Sirnames*, till they go out Masters of Arts, as Sir *Dunstar*, Sir *Chauncey*, Sir *Oakes*.

Several Men of Eminence, both in *Old* and *New-England*, Gentlemen there educated. owed their Education to *Harvard* College. Though the Name of Sir *George Downing* does no great Honour, considering how after he had been a Tool to *Oliver* and the Rump, he became such, in so abandoned a Manner to *Charles II.* that, to please him, he betrayed his late Master *Col. Okey*, in whose Family he had lived, seized him in *Holland* as a King's Judge, and sent him to *England*, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and tho' his Genius and Spirit were both poor and unequal to his Character as a Knight and Ambassador; yet for that he was an Ambassador and a Knight, his Education at *Harvard* College is not to be forgotten. Here also was bred *William Mildmay*, Esq; Son to Sir *Henry Mildmay*, and elder Brother to *Henry Mildmay*, Esq; of *Shawford*, in *Hampshire*, where his Posterity, very nearly related to the Author, reside at this Day. Mr. *Mildmay's* Tutor here was Mr. *Richard Lyon*. *William Stoughton*, Esq; several Times Lieute-

nant-Governor of the Colony, and Founder of *Stoughton-Hall* in this University, *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; late Governor of *New-England*, and many other Gentlemen of the Province were also here educated. In *Stoughton-Hall* are Accommodations for the Reception of such *Indian* Youth as have an Inclination for Academical Education. We have mentioned the Printing-House here; and one of the first Things printed there, was the *New-England* Version of the *Psalms*, which very ill deserved the Pains the Translators took in translating it, or the Expence and Care of printing it. Indeed I am loth to remember the Names of the Persons concerned in this Version, it being so little to their Credit; but finding them in another History, I copy it. Mr. *Eliot* of *Roxbury*, Mr. *Mather* of *Dorchester*, and Mr. *Wells*, were the Ministers selected for this Work, which they finished, and got printed in the Year 1640, but my Author says it did not satisfy; and tho' revised for a second Edition by Mr. *Dunstar*, yet still it is but a poor Business; and the Ministers of *New-England* should, one would think, have known that Learning and Languages will not do in Poetry, without Genius, whereas Genius will do without either. I gave Offence in my first Edition to some who valued the *New-England* Version of the *Psalms*, for the very Qualities which I condemned.

“ This Version, tho' it is abominable, in what follows as to  
 “ the Metre, has the Commendation of keeping closer to the  
 “ Original than any, owing perhaps to the Corrections of  
 “ Mr. *Dunstar*, perfectly well versed in the Oriental Lan-  
 “ guages. The excuse the Translators gave for their bad  
 “ Verses and bad Rhimes, *That God's Altars need not our*  
 “ *polishing*, as in *Cotton Mather's* History, is of the same  
 “ strain with other of his Arguments, as if they had affected  
 “ to be flat and rough, and could have done better, or that  
 “ we ought not to sing our Créator's Praise in the best Lan-  
 “ guage and sweetest Melody, according to the Example of  
 “ the Divine Original, which they pretended to translate.  
 “ If they wanted a faithful Version, why did they not do it  
 “ in Prose? tho' even then, I am afraid the Roughness and  
 “ Flatness would have been a Disgrace to the Sublimity and  
 “ Beauty of the *Hebrew* *Psalms*; for among all their Gifts,  
 “ they might with a little Modesty have seen that they were  
 “ not endowed with that of Poetry.” An Historian is far  
 from differing in Opinion with me on this Head. *If we compare*, says he, *the New-England Version of the Psalms with those that have since been published, it must be acknowledged to be but a mean Performance, that has very little Beauty or Eloquence.*

A wretched  
Version of the  
Psalms done  
there.

*loquence.* It has not one Instance of it, nor any Thing like it, but the quite contrary from the Beginning to the End. *The Lines are frequently eked out with a great many insignificant Particles, for the sake of the Rhime.*

I meddle not with the Synod held at *Cambridge* in 1640, leaving Church Matters to Church Men, only touching a little upon those that have a great lay Mixture.

Mr. *Dunstar* retiring to *Situate*, the Minister of that Town, Mr. *Charles Chauncey*, was chosen President of *Harvard College*. He was born in the County of *Hartford*. in *England*, of which a large Folio History and Description was published, by Sir *Henry Chauncey*, Serjeant at Law, and, I suppose, nearly related to this Mr. *Chauncey*, whose Merit does as much Honour to the Name, as either Sir *Henry's* Book or Title. Mr. *Chauncey* was bred first at *Westminster School*, and after that at *Trinity College, Cambridge*, where he proceeded Bachelor in Divinity, and was chosen *Greek Professor*. Being beneficed at *Ware* in *Hertfordshire*, when the *Book of Sports*, for profaning the Lord's-Day, was ordered to be read in all Churches, Mr. *Chauncey* was suspended and silenced for refusing to read it. He had been intimately acquainted with Archbishop *Usher*, but that got him no Favour from Archbishop *Laud*. There is a particular Account of it in *Rushworth's Collections*. The Severity of his Sufferings drove him at last into the Wilderness. He arrived at *New-England*, and settled at *Situate* in 1638, where he remained till the Hierarchy was laid aside in *England*; and having then an Invitation to return to his Church at *Ware*, he was come to *Boston* to take Ship in order to it; but when he was there the Curators of *Harvard College*, unwilling the Country should lose so valuable a Person, pressed his Acceptance of the Presidentship of the College, which was then vacant by the learned Mr. *Dunstar's* Resignation. Mr. *Chauncey* at length yielding to their Importunities, settled at *Cambridge*, and there spent the rest of his Days, near thirty Years: And upon this I cannot omit remarking, that some Historians appear to have had too slight Informations, in reporting that Dr. *Owen* was invited to the Presidentship of *Harvard College* in the Year 1662; for Dr. *Chauncey* the President lived 9 or 10 Years after that in the same Station, and was too well born, and too well bred, to have been displaced to make room for any other Person, without his own Choice, which then should have been mentioned. It is certain Dr. *Owen* was about removing to *New-England* after the Uniformity Act had silenced him; but he received express Orders from the King to stay where he was. President  
*Chauncey*



*Chauncey* had six Sons bred in *Harvard* College to the Ministry, the eldest *Mr. Isaac Chauncey*, was beneficed at *Woodborough* in *Wiltshire*, whence he was driven by the *Act of Uniformity*, and was after that a very eminent Nonconforming Minister in the City of *London*. His Grandson, if I guess right, *Mr. Richard Chauncey*, Linen-Draper in *Cornhill*, is a very eminent Citizen and Trader. *Dr. Ichabod Chauncey*, another Son of the President's, was Chaplain to the Regiment at *Dunkirk*, commanded by the Governor *Sir Edward Harley*, Father to the first Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*; and my worthy Friend the late *Dr. Chauncey*, a Physician of good Skill and Practice, at *Bristol*, was the President's Grandson. My Acquaintance with more than one of these Gentlemen draws this Remembrance of them from me. On the Death of *Mr. Chauncey*, he was succeeded as President of *Harvard* College, by *Dr. Leonard Hoar*, the first in that Station, who had his Education in the same College; after which he travelled to *England*, and commenced *Dr. of Physick* at *Cambridge*. He was also beneficed at *Wanstead* in *Essex*, I suppose by the Presentation or Interest of *Sir Henry Mildmay*, then Lord of that Manor, which he held in Right of his Wife, Daughter of *Sir Leonard Holyday*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and born in *Gloucestershire*, as was this *Dr. Hoar*, and perhaps a Relation as well as Namesake. He was turned out at *Wanstead* by the *Uniformity Act*, and being invited to be Pastor of the *South Church* at *Boston*, he returned to *New-England*, with a Design to accept of the Invitation, at which Time *Mr. Chauncey* dying, the Curators of the College chose him President, and he quitted his Pretensions to the Church at *Boston*. This *Dr. Hoar* married a Daughter of that much injured and murdered Lady, the *Lady Lisle*, who was butchered by Judge *Jefferies* at *Winchester*, for giving Entertainment to a Dissenting Minister *Mr. Hicks*, Brother to *Hicks* the Nonjuring Parson, if not Bishop, who had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*, which *Lady Lisle* knew nothing of. In *Dr. Hoar's* Time there was a new Subscription for the College, the Number of Students being considerably increased. The old Buildings were not sufficient to receive them: To enlarge them Contributions were collected both in *Old* and *New-England*, the latter not so liberally; as the Usefulness of the Work deserved; for out of about 1900*l.* that was collected, above 800*l.* was raised in the Town of *Boston*. Of the Contributions in *England*, *Sir Thomas Temple*, who had been both Proprietor and Governor of *New-Scotland*, gave 100*l.* *Dr. Hoar* was so far from giving Content in his Presidentship, that all the Students deserted the College in a Body; Com-

*Dr. Leonard  
Hoar Presi-  
dent.*

plaints

plaints against him were made to the principal Men of the Province, who giving their Opinions in favour of the Complainants, the Doctor took it so much to Heart, that he fell into a Consumption, which put an End to his Life, about six Months after he was obliged to resign his Office, in which he was succeeded by Mr. *Vrian Oakes*. He was born in *England*, but brought over hither very young, and educated in *Harvard College*, where he took his Batchelors and Masters Degrees. He returned into his native Country about the Time of the Rump, and was made Parson at *Titchfield*, in *Hampshire*, where he continued till he was turned out by the Uniformity Act, and was made Master of the School at *Southwark*. Some time after Mr. *Oakes* was invited by the Church at *Cambridge*, to be their Minister, which he accepting, was soon after his arrival there, appointed President of the College, in which Station he continued to his Death, six or seven Years after, A. D. 1682. I have met with no Reason since my first Edition to make any Alterations in his Character. "This Man, excepting that he was very religious, does not seem to have had any extraordinary Qualities worthy the Station to which he was advanced." Indeed one cannot help taking notice, that there has been too little Care taken in the Choice of President and Fellows in the University, and Ministers of it to prefer such as had a necessary Mixture of Genius and Eloquence, with Reading and Rhetorick, of which others have observed, as well as myself, who all were far from wishing Discouragement in Reputation and Interest to this University.

Mr. Vrian  
Oakes Pre-  
sident.

Upon Mr. *Oakes's* Death, Mr. *Increase Mather*, one of the Ministers of *Boston*, was chosen President; but his Church not consenting to his removing to *Cambridge*, Mr. *John Rogers* was preferred in his Place. He came over to *New-England* at 6 Years of Age, and was educated in *Harvard College*, which in Mr. *Rogers's* Time had like to have been burned to the Ground, but was prevented by his providential shortning his Prayer, it being, as we have found, a part of the President's Duty to pray in his public Hall with his Scholars Morning and Evening, and without a Book. It had been always, and I am apt to believe is still the Custom, for the Presidents to think Length essential in Prayer; but it happened very extraordinarily that just as a Fire was breaking out in one of the Student's Chambers, Mr. *Rogers* was shorter than usual, and that Student returned Time enough to put it out.

Mr. John  
Rogers  
President.

Mr. *Rogers's* Character has so much Resemblance with Mr. *Oakes's*, that the same Sketch will serve for both. He died

died after he had enjoy'd his Office two Years; and then Mr. *Increase Mather* was chosen again, and accepted of the Presidentship of the College, with the Consent of his Congregation at *Boston*, in the Year 1684. He was the first President that was born in *New-England*, where his Father, Mr. *Richard Mather*, arrived from *England* 50 Years before, and was chosen Minister of the Church at *Dorchester*. There are so many of the *Mathers* in the Ecclesiastical History of *New-England*, and so much said of them, that one would think it might be almost as well called the History of the *Mathers*, as the Church History of *New-England*. Dr. *Cotton Mather* Son of this President, is the Historian, and he has not forgotten himself nor his Family in his Work, to which I refer, if the Reader's Curiosity will reach it.

Enough has been already said of *Yale College* at *Newhaven*, where we met with such edifying Instances of the *Light*, both *without and within*, to borrow a Phrase from *Quakerism*. The Students in these Colleges, and who are computed at between 3 and 400, are much more numerous in Proportion to the Number of Souls, than the Students in the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; for supposing the Number of Souls in *New-England* to be 200000, the lowest Computation, and the Number of Students 400; the Number of Souls in *England* to be 8 Millions, the highest Computation, the Number of Students should be 16000 in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and they are not half so many. During Mr. *Increase Mather's* Absence in *England*, the College was govern'd by Mr. *John Leveret* and Mr. *William Brattle*. The University, at his Return to *New-England*, conferr'd the Degree of Doctor of Divinity upon him. It is not directly said that it was for his eminent Services, in his exchanging the old Charter for the new; but it is said, in the general, for signal Services. He lived many Years after that Honour done him, and had the Title of Rector, which he received from *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; King *James's* Governor.

Upon his Death, his Son, Dr. *Cotton Mather*, was chosen President, and the Reader being already sufficiently apprized of my Sentiments of his Qualifications for such an Office, I shall leave it to others to enlarge upon them. He is the same who, besides the *New-England* History, wrote the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, concerning the poor Creatures who were hang'd as Witches. It was publish'd by Command of his Excellency Sir *William Phips*, between whom and the two Dr. *Mathers* there was excellent Harmony in those Prosecutions and Exactions.



Having no perfecter List of the Presidents and Fellows of *Harvard* College; I must desire the Reader to content himself with this, as I have been forced to do, much against my Will, through the Negligence or Indolence of those, to whom I often apply'd for Information.

Presidents of *Harvard* College.

- 1630 Mr. *Nathaniel Eaton*, expell'd.
- 1640 Mr. *Henry Dunstar*, remov'd.
- 1654 Mr. *Charles Chauncey*.
- 1671 Dr. *Leonard Hoar*, resign'd.
- 1675 Mr. *Vrian Oakes*.
- 1681 Mr. *John Rogers*,
- 1684 Dr. *Increase Mather*.
- 1702 Dr. *Cotton Mather*.

Fellows of *Harvard* College.

- 1643 Mr. *Samuel Mather*,
- Mr. *Samuel Danforth*. } Fellows.
- 1647 Mr. *Jonathan Mitchel*,
- Mr. *Con. Star*. } Fellows.
- 1649 Mr. *Samuel Eaton*,
- Mr. *Urian Oakes*,
- Mr. *John Collins*, } Fellows.
- 1651 Mr. *Michael Wigglesworth*,
- Mr. *Thomas Dudley*,
- Mr. *Thomas Shepherd*,
- Mr. *Samuel Nowell*,
- 1653 Mr. *Samuel Hooker*,
- Mr. *Samuel Bradstreet*,
- Mr. *Joshua Moody*,
- Mr. *Nehemiah Ambrose*. } Fellows.
- 1655 Mr. *Gersham Buckley*, Fellow.
- 1656 Mr. *Increase Mather*,
- Mr. *Thomas Farvis*, } Fellows.
- 1657 Mr. *Zachariah Symms*,
- Mr. *Zachariah Bregden*, } Fellows.
- 1658 Mr. *Samuel Shepherd*, Fellow.
- 1659 Mr. *Samuel Willard*, Fellow.
- 1660 Mr. *Samuel Elliot*,
- Mr. *Peter Bulkley*, } Fellows.
- 1661 Mr. *Nathaniel Chauncey*,
- Mr. *Joseph Whiting*, } Fellows.
- 1662 Mr. *Samuel Stoddard*, Fellow.

1664	Mr. <i>Alexander Nowell,</i>	} Fellows.
	Mr. <i>Joseph Pinch,</i>	
1666	Mr. <i>Joseph Brown,</i>	} Fellows.
	Mr. <i>John Richardson,</i>	
1667	Mr. <i>Nehemiah Hobart,</i>	Fellow.
1669	Mr. <i>Daniel Gookin,</i>	Fellow.
1670	Mr. <i>Ammis Ru-Corbet,</i>	Fellow.
	Mr. <i>Isaac Foster,</i>	} Fellows.
1671	Mr. <i>Samul Danforth,</i>	
	Mr. <i>Samuel Sevall,</i>	
	Mr. <i>Peter Thacker,</i>	
1675	Mr. <i>Samuel Andrews,</i>	} Fellows.
	Mr. <i>Nathaniel Gookin,</i>	
1677	Mr. <i>John Danforth,</i>	Fellow.
	Mr. <i>John Cotton,</i>	} Fellows.
1678	Mr. <i>Cotton Mather,</i>	
	Mr. <i>John Leveret,</i>	} Vice-Prefidents and Fellows.
1680	Mr. <i>William Brattle,</i>	
1681	Mr. <i>Samuel Mitchel,</i>	Fellow.
1681	Mr. <i>Nehemiah Walter,</i>	Fellow.
1685	Mr. <i>John Whit,</i>	Fellow.
	Mr. <i>Paul Dudley,</i>	} Fellows.
1691	Mr. <i>Bejamin Wadsworth,</i>	
	Mr. <i>Ebenezer Pemberton,</i>	
	Mr. <i>John Fitch,</i>	Fellow.
	Mr. <i>James Allen,</i>	} Fellows.
1694	Mr. <i>Charles Morton,</i>	

The two last were bred in *England*. Mr. *James Allen*, M. A. was Fellow of *New-College, Oxford*, as well as of *Harvard College* in *New-England*; being turned out at *Bartholomew-Day*, 1662, he removed thither. Mr. *Charles Morton*, M. A. being at the same time turned out of his Living of *Blisland* in *Cornwal*, had, for several Years, a flourishing Academical School at *Newington*, from whence he was also driven by Persecution, and coming to *New-England*, was chosen Minister of *Charles Town*.

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### C. H. A. P. VIII.

Of the Inhabitants, their Number, Manners, Customs, Trade.

**T**H O' I have left the *Indians* out of the Article of Inhabitants, there are so few of them now remaining in

in the Jurisdiction of *New-England*, and those that are being so very much anglicised in Speech and Religion, as well as Dress, Customs and Manners; yet, to give a little Idea of the Natives, when and for some time after the *English* came amongst them, I shall spare a Page or two on that Subject.

The *Massassoits*, or *Wampanags*, dwelt about *Mount Hope*,<sup>Of the Indians.</sup> in *New-Bristol* County. They were the first Nation that the *English* acquainted themselves with, and Mr. *Winslow* enter'd into Friendship with their King, as has been said; but the Grandson of that King, tho' he had taken a Name from the *English*, who gave him that of *Philip*, became their mortal Enemy, raised most of the neighbouring Nations against them, carried on a desperate War, and at last perish'd in it with most of his People. What Opinion he had of the Christian Religion, even after Christianity had been preach'd amongst them 30 or 40 Years, may be imagined by his taking hold of a Button of Mr. *Elliot*, the *Indian* Apostle's Coat, and saying, I care not that for your Religion. A Sign he had learnt some *English*, it being a Saying of Contempt with them, *I care not a Button for it*. The *Pocassets* were in *Plimouth* County. The Queen was a Confederate with *Philip*, and perish'd also in that War. The *Piquots*, a fierce untractable People, inhabited the Country towards the Mouth of *Connecticut* River, between *New-London* and *Fairfield* Counties. They did what they could to hinder the settling of the *English* on the Banks of the *Connecticut*, and began the first War with them, which ended in their Destruction, very few of them surviving it. The *Patuxets* dwelt between the Counties of *New-London* and *New-Bristol*. The *Maquas* are roll'd by Dr. *Mather*, and after him by Mr. *Neal*, with the *New-England* Indians; but they belong to *New-York*, and are one of the five Nations in perpetual Alliance, or rather Coalition with that Province. Dr. *Mather* makes them *Man-Eaters*; but that Doctor affects the *Out of the way*, which the Criticks call the *marvellous*, in all his Histories, which made so much Room for *Witches*, Apparitions, monstrous Births, and other *Magnalia*. I have not met with any sober History that speaks of these *American* Cannibals, except amongst the *Caribbeans*, and such sort of Relations are too visionary and juvenile to be associated with plain Facts and real Incidents. The *Maquas* are the *Maquois* in the *French Geography*; and indeed all the *Indian* Nations, Southward of *Canada*, go with them under that general Name, as the Nations to the West are term'd *Hurons*; yet have as many different Names as there are *Sachems*, or *Kings*, such as they are, of particular Districts or Territories.



The *Narragansets* were a formidable People, only because the *English* were a weak. They inhabited the Country about *New-London*. The *Neumteaks* lived where now is *Essex* County.

**Massachusetts:** The *Massachusetts*, who dwelt where now are the Counties of *Suffolk* and *Middlesex*, was the most populous Nation, and they have the Honour to give Name to the whole Province of *New-England*, except two small Charter Governments, the Governor's Commission bearing the Stile of *Massachusetts Bay*, 'tis not improper therefore to know the Derivation of the Word. The *Sachem* of the Country, when the *English* came first thither, had his Wigwam on a little Hill, about six Miles from *Boston*, now or late in the Possession of Capt. *John Billings*. This Hill lay in the Shape of an *Indian Arrow's Head*, called in their Language *Mos*, or *Mons*, and a Hill is *Wiluset*. Hence the *Sachem's* Royal Seat, doubtless inferior to some of the meanest of our *Kennels*, was called *Mosuituset*, and his Subjects the *Mosuituset Indians*, which very easily fell into *Massachusetts*, the *Hill with the Arrow's Head*, a very lively and natural Derivation. The *Mobegins* dwelt near *Hudson's* or *New-York* River, and were, properly speaking, the Extension of the *Maquas* to the Coast. The *Manimogs* inhabited *Barnstable* County, the *Namaskets* the Country between *Providence* and *Merrimack* Rivers. The *Indians* beyond *Maine* in *Norembequa*, went by the Name of *Elechemens*; but they had also different Names, according to their different Districts; for every *Sachem* or *Segamore*, there being little or no Difference in the Sense of the Words, who had under him a Territory 8 or 10 Miles in Length, erected his Lands into a Kingdom, and gave a Name to his Nation. These Kings were Captains elected out of the Seniors of their noble Families. They had no Nobility among them, but superior Wisdom and Valour, and that remained no longer in the Family than these Qualities. What a barbarous way of thinking they had! As if Nobility was confined to Valour and Wisdom, when, amongst polite Nations, it is not only not confined to Wisdom and Valour, but even not to Virtue and Honour; and indeed the Savages themselves had some Exception to this Rule, for there were Nobles amongst them who were so by being descended from their *Sachems*, or by enjoying Lands granted them by the Crown. The Voice of the *Segamore* was definitive in their Assemblies. Their Priests were also their Conjurers. How Men differ with Climates! They had no other Physicians, and all the Distinction among them was *valiant Men* and *Poltroons*. They were clothed with Deer-skins, Wolf and Bear-skins, which they

Whence the Word.

Their Sachems.

threw off in Summer, and put on again in Winter. Their Food was *Maize, Fish and Fowl*, very good Feeding. Their Weapons Bows and Arrows, sharpen'd with Fish Bones, instead of Knives, which they thought so peculiar to the *English*, that they call'd an *Englishman a Knife-Man*. Their Canoes, or Boats, were Trunks of Trees made hollow by Fire. Some of them had no settled Dwelling, but lived 8 or 10 Families together in a moveable Tent. The Men had each as many Wives as he could maintain; the Women, before Marriage, prostituted themselves without Scandal; but being Wives were very chaste and faithful. I shall say nothing of their Religion, because I believe, as bad as it was, <sup>Their Religion.</sup> it is made worse in the Accounts given by some of our own Writers. Mr. *Mayhew*, of *Martha's Vineyard*, wrote, that they had a *great Veneration for the Devil*. Now they could not know there was a *Devil*, as Mr. *Mayhew* most certainly meant in a scriptural Sense, without knowing there was a God, a Power infinitely good and wise, opposite to one infinitely wicked and malicious; therefore Mr. *Mayhew*, and other Ecclesiastical Writers, after they had form'd an Idea of a very hideous detestable Spirit, terrifying the Imaginations of the uninform'd Savages, give him the Name of the Christians Devil, which they knew no more of than of the Christians God; and, in Effect; there is no other Devil than that of the Christians. One would think Mr. *Neal's* Description of their *Powaws*, or Priests, had rather been a Translation out of some *European Travels*, than a Transcript out of History. <sup>Indian Priests or Powaws.</sup> *Their Powaws, or Priests, are a subtle Generation of Men, ambitious, cruel, greedy of Riches, grasping at absolute Power and Dominion over the People, from whom they require profound Respect and Reverence, as Persons who have a familiar Acquaintance with the Deity, and who, by their Blessings and Cursings, can make Men happy or miserable in a future State.* So far is pat enough; but the next Line starts away widely from the Parallel. *The People certainly believe that they can raise the Devil.* And Dr. *Cotton Mather* believed it too; for giving an Instance of the *Exorcising*, he writes with singular <sup>Dr. Mather proves them Conjurers.</sup> Gravity: "They often kill'd Persons, caused Lameness and "Impotency, wicked Works indeed! They shewed their "Art in performing several other things, by human, or by "a diabolical Skill, and this either by desiring the Spirit "they conversed with, *the Doctor is very serious*, to do the "Mischief they intended, or by forming a Piece of Leather like an Arrow-Head, tying a Hair thereto, or using "some Bone of Fish, &c. over which they performed certain Ceremonies, and then dismissed them to accomplish "their

“ their Desires: And such enchanted things have most cer-  
 “ tainly either enter’d the Bodies of those whom they intend-  
 “ ed to afflict, or the *Devil* has form’d the like within their  
 “ Flesh, without any outward Breach of the Skin.” I can  
 repeat no more of it, and I believe this Specimen of the  
 Doctor’s extensive Genius and solid Judgment will so fortify  
 the Reader, that he will excuse us for not borrowing any  
 thing farther out of his Ecclesiastical History relating to the  
*Indians*. Mr. *Neal* has pretty well pared what relates to the  
*New-England* People of these Excrescencies, and, as we  
 have observed already, there’s so much Difference between  
 the present *Indians* and those in the time of Mr. *Winthrop*  
 and Mr. *Winslow*, that the *English* Reader will be led into  
 great Mistakes by reading the Accounts of the Natives in  
 their Days, if he, from thence, forms an Idea of what they  
 are now; for, with respect to the Nations interspersed a-  
 mong the *English* on the Borders, they are no more different  
 from them in Dress, Manners, Language, than the *British*  
 Peasantry are from Gentlemen and Merchants.

As to the *English* Inhabitants in this Province, one may as  
 well pretend to describe the Inhabitants of *Bristol* and *Somer-*  
*setshire*, as these of *Boston* and the *Massachusetts*. They dif-  
 fer perhaps from the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants  
 in and about *London* no more than the *English* in the West  
 Country, and even in the Article of Religion, tho’ the Form  
 of the primitive Establishment is kept up, and the *National*  
 Church is *Presbyterian*, or rather a Composition of *Presby-*  
*terian* and *Independent*; yet People that come amongst them  
 now are very easy on that Account, and have more Liberty  
 in others than was consistent with the Preciseness of the first  
 Planters, who, rather than have suffer’d an *Organ* to have  
 been set up at *Boston*, would have fled beyond the Lake of the  
*Iroquois* to have been out of the Hearing of it, tho’ it cer-  
 tainly would have done them no more Harm than to have  
 laid aside Mr. *Elliot’s* and Mr. *Mather’s* Psalms, and have  
 made use of Dr. *Patrick’s* or Dr. *Brady’s*.

We have seen enough of the Measures of the Persecutors  
 in *England*, to know what Reason the first Planters had to  
 settle here. Great Numbers of them, at all Hazards, trans-  
 ported themselves to *New-England*, to enjoy there the Li-  
 berty of Conscience refused them at home, which multiply’d  
 this Colony much faster than any other; for the *English* did  
 not so much pretend to Conscience any where else in *Ame-*  
*rica* as in *New-England*, and there too came many for the  
 Sake of the Furs and the Fish, as I have already observ’d.



As to the Number of the Inhabitants at this time, in all the Calculations I have hitherto met with, the Writers did not understand political Arithmetick, or had not exact Information from such Persons on the Spot as were capable to inform them. My Computation was, 30 Years ago, 160000 Souls, and of them 50000 fighting Men; the 160000 I have no reason to recede from by any later Computation well founded, not on Hear-say or Guess. The natural and additional Increase of this Number, computing by that taken in 1640, when there were 40000 Planters, and consequently, 12 or 140000 Souls, will raise the Sum Total very high, the Proportion of 140000 in 1640, and 160000 in 1708, Sixty eight Years, would swell that 160000 in the last 30 Years too much for Reason and Credibility; but one may very well suppose that 160000 would, in 30 Years time, by natural and additional Increase, rise to a fourth Part, which is 40000, and then the Number of Souls in *New-England* would be 200000, and the fourth Part of them being supposed to be fighting Men, the Number of the latter is 50000, which perhaps is as near the matter as any other Calculation; the 50000 in the former Edition being too much, the Proportion of fighting to the Number of Souls must be much more in Colonies than in Mother Countries, because more grown Male People transport themselves thither than Women and Children, who are carried away by their Parents, Relations, or Friends. That the additional Increase has been equal within these 30 Years, to any the like Increase after the Toleration in *England*, will not be question'd by those that are acquainted with the Transportations thither, I mean not criminal, especially from *Ireland*, from whence it is said 10000 *Scotch Presbyterian* Families have transported themselves to *America* since the Death of King *William*. Whether occasion'd by the Oppression of Ecclesiastick Governors in the North of that Kingdom, or the Racking of Tenants by their Landlords, as is also said, it matters not here to enquire, and I only hint it to shew that this Addition, if *New-England* has the least Share of these 10000 Families, must make the incidental Increase as proportionable now, as in any other Period of the *New-England* History after the Civil Wars. There have also been considerable Recruits of People, by the coming of *French* and other foreign Protestants, since the *Revolution*. The former are settled in a County about 20 Miles from *Boston*, and have been and are now in a thriving way. By other Methods of calculating, the Number of Inhabitants, according to *political Arithmeticians*, by the Increase of 140000 in 100 Years, in a healthy Country, and of the additional Augmentations of

Number of  
the Inhabi-  
tants.

500 Souls only yearly, the Account would swell to above 300000; and so it must be at least, to make out Capt. *Vring's* Assertion, that there are 1500000 Souls in the *British America*, exclusive of *Negroes*, *Indians* and *Malattoes*; which Calculation is too excessive, three hundred thousand Souls being the highest that any way of computing can swell the Number of Inhabitants to at this time, and Mr. *Vring's* Computation was 20 Years ago.

The English  
Strength in  
the American  
Continent  
sufficient a-  
gainst all  
Enemies.

I am not for frightening ourselves eternally with the *French* Acquisitions on this Continent. *Canada*, the Bulwark and Glory of them, is a barren desolate Wilderness, which was at first valuable to them for the *Fur Trade*; but now sunk as well in *France* as in *England*, since that Trade is scarce of a quarter Part of its first Value; their other Advantages are trivial to those of *New-England*, and the *French Council of Commerce* will not be able to mend the Climate and the Soil. The Countries bordering on the *Mississippi*, are fruitful and fine, and are in Length 12 or 1400 Miles, possessed by Nations that are more populous and powerful than were the *Indians*, Borderers on the *English* Plantations; and the *French*, if they were let alone, have cut themselves out more than 100 Years Work to have a Communication between the River of *St. Lawrence* and the Bay of *Mexico*, and so between *Quebec* and *Hispaniola*, Dreams of Colonies and Commerce in the Moon. The *English* Borders extend to the Nations bordering on the *Mississippi* for almost the whole Length of that River, and the *French*, in the *Terra Canadensis*, are intercepted by many *Iroquois* Nations, no Friends to them, about the Lake of the *Illinois*, and several others between them and the *Mississippians*, of which the *English* took large Livery and Seisin so long ago, and whenever they are disposed to re-enter upon the Premises, do not want a better Claim than the *French* can pretend. Add to this, that *Carolina* stretching to the Mouth of the *Mississippi*, if the Country was possessed and fortify'd, that River would be of no Use to them. As to their Title to the Country bordering on that River, 'tis a Jest, as all Titles to *Indian* Countries are, not founded on the first and constant Possessions of the Natives; Grants from Crowns of Lands that never were before heard of by the Granters, are of no more Consideration in Justice and Reason than the Legacies in *Diego's* Will: But, even according to this Title, the *English* have a prior Right to the *French* in the *Mississippi*. King *Charles I.* granted all the Country between *Carolina* and that River to the Southward, which was called *Carolana*: Sir *Robert Heath* and his Assigns alienated it to the late Dr. *Daniel Cox*, who, in King *William's* Reign, sent two Ships to the

The English  
Title to the  
Mississippi  
prior to that  
of the French.

the *Mississipi*, with 200 People to make a Settlement, over whom Sir *William Waller*, so active in the Discovery of the *Papish Plot*, was to have been Governor. I had frequent Discourse with him concerning it at Dr. *Cox's* House; but it was in War time, and the *French* were consequently justified in attacking and destroying the Settlement that was begun there by Dr. *Cox's* Adventurers: However, this being 50 Years ago, is a plain Proof that the *English* have at least as great a Right to the *Mississipi* as the *French*, at least to a good Part of it, that which lies on the Back of *Carolina*, and extends to the River's Mouth, in the Bay of *Mexico*. This being premised, and a Computation made of the Ability of the *English* by their Numbers to assist and support their Right to any Part of the Continent, of which *New-England* is a main Article, this cannot be justly term'd a Digression; and that whatever is aim'd at here is practicable and probable, shall be made apparent by a plain circumstantiated Scheme, when it is required; and all Objections, arising from either Folly or Fear, or both, be fully answer'd and confuted.

As to the Strength of the *New-England Indians*, with Respect to that of the *English* Inhabitants, it will not stand any Comparison; a tenth Part of the *English* Militia would drive them into the Northern and Western Lakes, or extirpate them if found upon it. But they are indeed Servants to the *English*, living like the Poor of our Parishes, on the Hire and Bounty of the Rich. They are sorry Labourers, even those of them that are Christians are slothful, and almost all of them given to drink, when they can get it. The *Militia* of *New-England* is now so powerful, that in case of a Rupture in *Europe*, they need not be in so much Apprehension of the *French* and *Indians* together, as the latter need to be afraid of them with or without *Indian* Confederates; which, however, they do not want, and I cannot imagine why certain Writers are always terrifying themselves and others, by looking on the *French* Power in *Canada* through magnifying Glasses, and on that of the *English* in all the rest of the Continent to *Saint Mattæo*, in the *Spanish West-Indies*, thro' the contrary. I wish I had as much to say for the Safety of the Islands in the *British* Possession as I have of the Continent, and of them, by reducing the Whole to an Average; much more might be said than I have met with, but as this is the Business of the Publick, the Publick shall make the Enquiry before I seriously enter into such a Disquisition.

When the *English* were increasing their Capital several hundreds of thousands of Pounds yearly by their *West-India* Trade, there were some fine Heads amongst us, particularly among



among the rural Gentry, who cried out against the Loss of so many Hands, which should have been employed in Agriculture at home; tho' there have been many more lost by taking Boys from the Plough, and sending them to School, than have been by the *West Indies*, put all together.

The Mistake about that Trade is pretty well over, and People are now convinced that Hands ought to be spared for Labour there, if we had more Ground to be labour'd, or can keep what we have. This is generally granted, as to the Sugar Islands; but the same Objection subsists still in a great Measure as to the Continent of *America*. It was rais'd by Ignorance, and has been fully answer'd by Experience. Sir *Dalby Thomas* explains this, in his Treatise of the *West India Colonies*: “ By Tillage, Fishing, Manufactory and Trade, “ the *New-England* People, to all Intents and Purposes imitate those in *Old England*, and did, and, in some Measure, “ do now supply the other Colonies with Provisions, in Exchange for their Commodities, as Sugar, Tobacco, &c. “ which they carry to foreign Markets, which cannot chuse “ but be advantageous.” Granting the Sugar Islands to be so very beneficial to us as they are partly represented, we are indebted to the Continent even for that Benefit; for the Islands could not subsist without the Supplies of Provision, which they have from thence quicker and cheaper than from *England*; and every particular Province has some Advantage or other to offer to *England*, for the Labour of the Hands they take from it. *New-England* has Materials enough to build Ships for half the Trade of the Kingdom, and can furnish the Trade and Navy too with Naval Stores, which used to drain us of 2 or 300000*l.* yearly, for Supplies from the *Baltick*; and if we are drain'd now of a quarter Part by such a Demand, after so many Years Trial of the Plenty and Goodness of those Materials and Stores from *New-England*, and other Continent Colonies, the Fault is not in the Want of them there, wheresoever else it lies. Masts, Plank, Pitch and Tar are there certainly in sufficient Quantities to answer all Maritime Uses in *England*, and might have done so long ago, as shewn in my former Edition, wherein I said, “ The Treasure and Glory of the *New-England* Woods, is the Monarch Oak, the Spruce and Fir-trees, by which the Navy of “ *England* was furnish'd from hence with all manner of Stores, “ which they produced at a cheaper Rate than they are now “ imported from the *Baltick*. Pitch and Tar are made here, “ and as good in its Kind as any from the North.” This was put in practice 8 or 10 Years after, and so continues, but in a suspected precarious way. The Mischief of all new

Schemes is, that if you offer them to Persons that are in the Management of them, they neglect or baulk them, because the Credit and the whole Benefit will not thereby accrue to themselves. Add to this, that to imagine any one out of the Management can tell what belongs to it better than he that is in, will certainly quash any Project, for which way is not made beforehand by preventing all Doubts of that kind by a mutual Understanding, which Men who know what they are about, know also what the Duty of others is in it, and will not be at the Trouble of officious and vain Applications.

The bringing Naval Stores from *New-England* was, as is very well known, at first treated as a visionary Project, to put something into the Projector's Pocket; and because many of that kind have been rashly undertaken in former times, the Caution has since been so great, that some very good ones have been either rejected or neglected, without distinguishing between the bad and the good. At last Naval Stores were in small Parcels imported from this and other *British Colonies*, and it was said, in a Memorial drawn for the Use of the *Utrecht Peace-Makers*, where Mention is made of *New-Hampshire*. In the Eastern Parts of *New-England* More Naval Stores here than any where else. grow the tall Pines, which are yearly brought home in the Mast Fleet; and, indeed, where there is such a vast Quantity of Naval Stores of all Sorts as is not to be found in any Part of the World, I conceive, therefore, that since Naval Stores are growing scarce and valuable all over Europe, and the Strength and Glory of our Nation depend upon them, surely we should take care to secure what we have in America, and not be at the Pleasure of the Rufs and Swede, from whom we need have nothing but Hemp, and *New-England*, *New-York*, the *Ferseys* and *Pensilvania* might, in a very few Years, with a little Encouragement and due Industry and Care, produce enough for all our Uses in Cordage, and have also enough to spare. I have discoursed with several Persons concerned in the Iron Manufacture, some of whom have sent Persons on purpose to North America to put it forward, and they assured me there was Iron Ore in our Plantation enough to supply us and all Europe with Bar, Pig and other Iron, and that only Encouragement was wanting to bring it to Perfection. By Encouragement I understood an Exemption from Duty, and a Bounty on Importation, as on Pitch and Tar, &c. which Plenty of Iron in North America. Bounty, tho' considerable, would soon be reimbursed a hundred fold, by saving above 100000*l.* yearly sent to the *Baltick* for that Commodity. How often do we meet with Iron Works and Iron Mills in the History of the *British America*? But they are mentioned as if Iron Ore was a Rarity, whereas

whereas there is almost every where such Abundance, and of Wood to manufacture it, that it would be imported for half the prime Cost of the *Swedish* Iron, and be purchased with the Manufactures of *England*. Whenever there is a Disposition to receive any rational Scheme for making good this Proposition, it will be forth-coming from Men of Knowledge and Experience in *Iron Works*, both in *England* and *America*. I can hardly be afraid, as they seem to be, that the Influence of the *East Country* Traders in *London* has and may prevent the needful Encouragement to the Importation of Iron from our Plantations, because it appears at first Sight to be setting a particular Interest in Opposition to a general one, which the Wisdom of the Nation can never give into.

From the Islands the *New-England* Merchants receive for their *Lumber*, Boards, Masts, Pipe-Staves, Hoops, &c. Sugar, Molasses, Rum, Ginger, Indigo and Cotton, much more than they have Occasion of for a home Consumption: The rest they ship off for *England*, and would do so for other Places, was it not for the *Right of Navigation*. They have also lately had a considerable Trade with *Martinico* and the *French* Sugar Islands for that *Lumber*; but the *English* Sugar Colonies complained of it, as a great Encouragement to the *French*, who could not support their Sugar Plantations without Supplies from *New-England* and other *British* Northern Colonies. How far the Mother Country *Old England* ought to oblige her Children in Trade, which she can manage herself more for her own Interest, tho' she sent those Colonies abroad to plant Countries to subsist by, and make the most of, I will not here dispute; nor under what Obligation the *New-England* People ought to be put, to prevent their sending their Goods to the best Market, and to make use of that in *England*, good or bad. There's a great deal to be said on both Sides of the Question, and since it cannot be discussed without giving Offence in *Old-England* or *New-England*, and perhaps in both, I shall leave it as I found it, unless I had a better Call to explain it, without Officiousness, Impertinence or Whimsy. For this Reason I chuse to make use of the Words of a Writer, who is or was lately an Inhabitant of one of our *American* Colonies.

“ Since the *French* struggle so hard to gather Strength in  
 “ *America*, surely it is the Interest of *Great Britain* to do so  
 “ too, and to encourage and nourish the Northern as well  
 “ as Southern Colonies. The *Northern* are a great Supply  
 “ to the *Naval* Power of *Great Britain*, and add largely to  
 “ our Trade and Navigation, the Nursery of Seamen.



“ The Indulgence given them by granting a Bounty upon  
 “ the Importation of *Pitch, Tar* and *Turpentine* has answer'd  
 “ the Intention, as they have thereby brought the Price of  
 “ these Commodities from 50 s. to 10 s. a Barrel, and is at-  
 “ tended with this farther Convenience, that it aids them  
 “ to make Returns for the immense Quantity of Goods that  
 “ are sent them from *Great Britain*, and it also prevents five  
 “ times the Value thereof from going out of the Kingdom  
 “ to *Sweden* and other foreign Countries, for *Masts, Yards,*  
 “ *Bowsprits, &c.* to supply the Royal Navy, and, with pro-  
 “ per Encouragement, might do the same in regard to *Hemp*  
 “ and *Iron*.

I have, in this Chapter, hinted something of this kind, capable of much more Argument; but I forbear, for Reasons more than once touched upon. I did, in my former Edition, touch on some things, which were little regarded in that Work, but afterwards experienced and approved, and shall heartily rejoice, if any Hints I can light upon and communicate may be of publick Use, either for Trade or Security, tho' it should be my Fortune to be treated as impertinent or officious. The above-cited Writer proceeds.

“ Since therefore it is evident that our *American Colonies,*  
 “ with proper Encouragement, can be made so very bene-  
 “ ficial, in regard to our Trade and Navigation, what Ad-  
 “ vantage may not also be drawn from them, in case of a  
 “ War with *France* or *Spain*? A Squadron of *British Men*  
 “ of War to touch at one or more of the most popular of  
 “ those *Northern Plantations*, and take under their Convoy  
 “ some thousands of brave Men, properly encouraged with  
 “ certain Pay and Hopes of Plunder, would shake the Do-  
 “ minions of the *Spaniards* and *French* in *America*, and turn  
 “ the Balance of Power, in that Part of the World, in Fa-  
 “ vour of the *British Nation*.

If, before *Jamaica* was ours, and the *Sugar Colonies* in their Infancy, 3000 such brave Fellows could be spared out of them for the *Hispaniola Expedition* in *Cromwell's* time, what may be expected from them in ours? What from our Northern Colonies, where, as is said elsewhere, are computed to be 250000 *British Men* in Arms, and Ships enough to transport a better Army than the Prince of *Orange* brought to *England* with him, from the *British* to the *Spanish* or *French West-Indies*? But such a Scheme will require other Concert, and more quick and vigorous Measures than I have hitherto heard of, and an Expence, which those whose Hearts are much nearer home than *New-Spain* or *New-England*, would be willing to disburse on such an Adventure, with all the fair Appearance it may have of Success. As

As for the Commodities ship'd from *New-England* to *Barbados*, having before me several Bills of Entry at *Bridgetown*, I shall specify them.

<i>Fish,</i>	<i>Boards,</i>	<i>Cheese,</i>	<i>Bark,</i>
<i>Cattle,</i>	<i>Hoops,</i>	<i>Corn,</i>	<i>Calfskins,</i>
<i>Sheep,</i>	<i>Shingle,</i>	<i>Oil,</i>	<i>Tobacco,</i>
<i>Horses,</i>	<i>Pipestaves,</i>	<i>Tallow,</i>	<i>Apples,</i>
<i>Mackerel,</i>	<i>Butter,</i>	<i>Turpentine,</i>	<i>Onions.</i>

Of these Commodities, 'tis suppos'd that *Barbados* alone takes off 250000 *l.* yearly; and as that Island has more of them from *New-England* than from any other Northern Colonies, according to the Entries I have seen, the Import there from this Province is near 100000 *l.* in Value yearly. The 250000 *l.* in Mr. *Benner's* Calculation, who knows this and that Trade perfectly well, and the 100000 *l.* in my own Calculation from the Bill of Entry, against which can only be said, that the Trade between *Barbados* and *New-England* may not always be alike, let the Reader judge for himself; but Mr. *Neal's* 50000 *l.* for the whole yearly Amount of the *New-England*, with all the Sugar Colonies, must be very wrong.

As to the Trade between *Old* and *New-England*, 'tis, as I have observed, much the same as a *London* inland Trade, consisting of *Woollen* and *Linen Drapery*; *Mercery* in Silks, Velvets, fine Stuffs, also ordinary Stuffs, Hats, the best sort of Stockings and Shoes; all Sorts of Iron and *Birmingham* Ware, Tools for Mechanicks, Rules, Knives, Sizzars, Buttons, Buckles, and all Sorts of Toys, the cheapest Ware: And tho' they have many Conveniences of furnishing themselves at home with all sorts of wearing Apparel, yet they import such Quantities of that and other Merchandise from *England*, that the Trade hither has been very beneficial; but, like most other Trades, 'tis now overdone. The Imports from *England* amount to above 100000 *l.* yearly. The Merchants here drive a considerable Trade with *Madeira* for Wines, and with *Fial* for Wines and Brandy. There are several flourishing Distilleries in *Boston*, and Breweries for Shipping. 'Tis suppos'd that they ship 100000 Quintals of dried Cod yearly, for *Portugal*, *Spain* and *Italy*, the Returns of which are made to *England*, not always, as Mr. *Neal* writes, in the Product of those Countries, but very often in Bills of Exchange; but whether Money or Goods, those Returns pass through the Hands of the *English* Factors, to which something more may accrue than the 2 and half *per Cent.*

The direct Trade from *Boston* to *London* is *Masts, Plank, Yards* for the Navy, *Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Skins, Fur, Oil, Whale-Fins* sometimes, and small Quantities of *Log-wood*, and other *Sugar Island Commodities*, shipping 3 or 4000 Tons generally.

I have spoken of the *Iron Mines*, as to those of *Copper*, I am sceptical, whether there is such Plenty of them as to deserve enlarging upon; but if there is, I will venture to answer *Mr. Neal's* Question, that it is very well worth the while to send the Metal over in *Ore or Bars*, if they would manufacture it. He says very rightly that great Improvements are still to be made in *Timber, Planks, Deals, Hemp, Pitch, Tar, Turpentine*, and one would think the Concern'd would have Leisure enough and Interest enough in it to let nothing remain unimproved, when 'tis so well known how to improve it.

As to Money, they have none, *Gold or Silver*: About 50 Years ago they had some coined at *Boston*; but there's not enough now for Retailers. All Payments are in *Province Bills*, even so low as *Half a Crown*; thus every Man's Money is in his *Pocket-Book*. This makes the Course of Exchange so exorbitant, that 100*l.* in *London* made out lately 225*l.* in *New-England*; and if a Merchant sells his Goods from *England* at 220*l.* Advance upon 100*l.* in the Invoice, he would be a Loser by the Bargain, considering the incidental Charges on his Invoice.

I refer to *Mr. Neal* for the *Church History*; tho' I must confess the Manners and Customs of the People are pretty much corrected in their Religion.

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THE  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
N E W - Y O R K.

Containing

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

**T**HIS Country was at first called *Nova Belgia*, and the *Dutch*, who pretended to the Property of it, included *Martha's Vineyard* and *Elizabeth Island*, which are part of *New-England*, and there treated of accordingly. The *Dutch* bought the Country on *Hudson's River* of that Voyager who discovered it, and sold it to them about the Year 1608. Exception was made against this Sale, as being without King *James's* Licence; I see no great Matter in that. King *James* was not at a Penny Charge in fitting out *Hudson*, nor had he ever heard of this Country, which being discovered by *Hudson*, he had the best Title to it of any *European*; but the selling so great and so fine a Tract of Land to Foreigners, was very exceptionable. Whether the *Dutch* made any Purchase of the Natives, we know not; but they made Settlements there, and no body pretended to disturb them, till the first War with them in the Reign of King *Charles II*.

The *Englisch Puritans* in *Holland* who first removed to *America*, intended to settle here, having doubtless had an inviting Description of the River, Climate, and Soil, from the *Hollanders*, who however did not care that the *Englisch* should  
be

The Dutch  
possess it.

be so near their Plantations as to be tempted to encroach on them, considering the Flaw that was in their Title. <sup>Hinder the English from settling there.</sup> The *English* that went from *Holland* intended to settle on the Coast near *Fairfield County*, in *New-England*, lying between *Connecticut* and *Hudson's River*; but the *Dutch* apprehended they would there be too near Neighbours. These *English*, as has been related, falling in with *Cape-Cod*, after having refreshed a little, tacked about to the Southward, for *Hudson's River*; but *Jones*, the Master of the Ship they came in, having been bribed by the *Hollanders* to carry them and land farther to the Northward, instead of putting to Sea, entangled them among dangerous Shoals, which made them willing to get ashore where they were, and give over the Design upon *Hudson's River*.

The *Dutch* had two or three Years before been insulted here by *Sir Samuel Argal*, in his way from *Virginia* to *New-Scotland*. He destroyed their Plantations, and, to prevent the like Insult for the future, they applied to King *James* for his Licence to stay there, to build Cottages, and to plant for Traffick as well as Subsistence, pretending only that it was for the Convenience of their Ships touching there for fresh Water, and fresh Provisions in their Voyage to *Brazil*; but they by little and little extended their Limits every way, built Towns, fortified them, and became a flourishing Colony.

In an Island called *Manahattan*, at the Mouth of *Hudson's River*, they built a City, which they named *New-Amsterdam*, and the River was called by them the *Great River*. The Bay to the East of it had the Name of *Nassau* given it. About 150 Miles up the great River, they built a Fort, which they called *Orange Fort*, and from thence drove a profitable Trade with the *Indians*, who came over land as far as from *Quebec* to deal with them. *Henry Christian*, a Master of a Ship, the same who gave the Name to *Martha's Vineyard*, which he discovered, as the *Dutch* say, was the first Governor there; and his Successor was *Jacob Elkin*, put in by the *West India Company* in *Holland*, to whom the States-General granted this Country. Dutch Governors.

The first Bounds of *New-York* were *Maryland*, on the South, the main Land as far as could be discovered Westward, which would stretch to the Nations bordering on the *Mississippi*, the great River of *Canada* Northward, and *New-England* Eastward. It now is reduced into a much narrower Compass; for King *Charles II.* having given this Tract of Land to the Duke of *York*, the Duke made a Grant of part of it to under Proprietors, who called it *East and West Jersey*, Bounds.

*Jey*, probably in Compliment to Sir *George Carteret*, who was one of them, and a *Ferfey* Man. The *Ferfey*s are now the Limits of *New-York* to the *West* and *South*. On the *North* it is bounded by *Long-Island*, and on the *East* by *New-England*. *Hudfon's* River divides it from the *Ferfey*s, and a Line drawn between *Rye* and *Greenwich* separates it from *New-England*. Thus the whole Province on the Continent is not above twenty Miles over, but it is 120 in length, and what was properly called *Nova Belgia*, which lies between 40 and a half and 42 Degrees 50 Minutes *North Latitude*, consequently the Climate is more temperate than that of *New-England*, and the Soil so fruitful, that one Bushel of *Engliff* Wheat has produced a hundred, which was a fair Temptation for the *Engliff* to desire it. And tho' King *Charles* the Second's was not a very enterprising Reign, yet the Duke of *York*, his Brother's Concern in this Property, and both their inveterate Hatred to the *Dutch*, made the Reduction of this Country, the first military Stroke in those tranquil Times; for before there was any formal Declaration of War with *Holland*, it was resolved by our Court to send Sir *Robert Carre* to *America* with several Land Forces, to put the Duke in Possession of the Country his Brother had given him. This appears by the Date of the Letter Sir *Robert* carried with him from the King, to the Governor and Council of *New-Plimouth*, bearing date the 23d of *April*, St. *George's* Day, for the Glory of the Matter, 1664, and the War with *Holland* was not declared till some Month afters. Thus the *Dutch* here were unprovided for Defence against a Royal Squadron and Land Forces, which rendered Sir *Robert's* military Expedition very safe and easy. He had with him Col. *Richard Nicholls*, *George Carteret*, Esq; and *Samuel Meverich*, Esq; joined in Commission to visit the *Engliff* Plantations, and drive the *Dutch* out of theirs.

Sir *Robert Carre* arrived at *Hudfon's* River in the latter End of the Year 1664, at which Time the *Dutch* could have no Advice of a Rupture between King *Charles* and the States-General. Sir *Robert* landed 3000 Men on *Manahattan* Isle. Such a Number of *Engliff*men has not been sent to *America* at once on any good Expedition since the Restoration; but this was against the *Dutch*, and so not to be wondered at. *Carre* and *Nicholls* marched directly to *New-Amsterdam*. The Governor was a stout old Soldier, who had lost a Leg in the Service of the States; but being surprized at the unexpected Attack of an Enemy, as yet not so declared in *America* or *Europe*; nor knowing their Numbers, and the Inhabitants magnifying them, he was prevailed upon by them

to

Climate and Soil.

The Engliff take Possession of it.



to surrender. Sir *Robert Carre's* first Instructions were to proclaim Peace and Protection to all that submitted to the Crown of *England*; upon which the Townsmen fearing to be plundered, and outed of their Habitations, if they stood a Storm, gladly accepted of it, and were so importunate with the Governor to do the same, that *Carre* and *Nicholls* soon became Masters of the Place. The Houses were handsomly built of Brick and Stone, covered with red and black Tiles; and the Land being high, it made an agreeable Prospect to those that viewed it from the Sea. Above half of the *Dutch* Inhabitants remained, and took an Oath of Fidelity to the King of *England*. The Names of some of the most considerable Families in the Province denote them *Dutch* Origins, as *Schuyler*, *Beckman*, *Isbeel*, *Banker*, *De Lancey*, *Rensfalaer*, *Remphan*, *Van Dam*, &c. Those that removed, had Liberty to carry off their Effects, and their Places were soon supplied by *English*, who gave the Name of *New-York* to the City and Province.

New-Am-  
sterdam now  
New-York  
describ'd.

Thirteen Days after the surrender of *New-Amsterdam*, Col. *Nicholls* march'd up the Country to *Orange Fort*, on *Hudson's River*, five Miles below where the *Eastern Branch* parts from the *Southern*, and runs up almost to the Lake of the *Iroquois's*, 200 Miles within land. This Fort made little Resistance, and *Nicholls* gave it the Name of *Albany*, the Duke of *York's Scotch* Title. I meet with the Name of *Nicholls* in honourable Stations in *New-York*, but I know nothing of his Family. The *Dutch* Plantations were more scattered here and there, and not so contiguous as the *English* are. They had none on the *Western Shore* of *Hudson's River*. They had a considerable Settlement call'd *Hebgate*. Southward of *Rye* is *New-England*, to which the famous *Antinomian*, Mrs. *Hutchinson*, retired, after her Banishment from the *Massachusetts*, and was there massacred by the *Indians*, with her whole Family, sixteen Persons in all.

Hudson's  
River.

The Agreement in Religion between the *Dutch* in *New-Belgia* and the Puritans in *New-England*, had contributed much to a friendly Correspondence on both Sides. The *Dutch* began it by writing Letters to the young Colony of *Plimouth*, inviting them to a Trade. Some Time after they sent their Secretary Mr. *Isaac de Rosier*, with Goods as well as Letters, and both *English* and *Dutch* were pleased with the Exchange of their Merchandise. The Secretary having brought with him *Beaver* and other *Iroquois* Commodities, they exchanged their Corn and Fish for them, which the *Hollanders* were in more immediate want of than of *Furrs*. The mutual Friendship between the two Nations encouraged

ed Mrs. *Hutchinson* to take Refuge at *Hebgate*; but the *Dutch* could neither save her nor themselves from the *Savages*.

*Sir Robert Carre's* Conquest here would have made a ridiculous Figure in that Reign, if there had been any other to distinguish it. However the Historians of those Days tell us, *He reduced all the East-side of Hudson's River, took the Town and Fort of Arasapha, and a Castle on the West-side, without losing a Man, and I suppose without firing a Gun. Staten-Island, at the Mouth of Rentem River, and Long-Island, followed the Fate of the other Towns, the Cottages beforementioned; and the Dutch, who had no Soldiers, having 3000 English, some of them perhaps part of Cromwell's victorious Army to deal with, submitted every where to them. Sir Robert Carre having performed this great Work, returned to England, leaving Col. Richard Nicholls Governor of New-York.* In this Government *Nicholls* continued near 20 Years. He concluded a League between the Inhabitants and the *Indians* of the *Five Nations*, which has subsisted ever since. Indeed the *Maqua's*, the most powerful of them, were very well disposed towards the *English* in *New-England*, and perhaps their Jealousy of the *French*, who began to spread themselves in the *Terra Canadensis*, might be one Inducement to them to enter into an Alliance with the *English*. He was succeeded by *Sir Edmund Andros* in the Year 1683. I confess it gives me a great deal of Pain in writing this History to see what Sort of Governors I meet with in the Plantations. This Man had no other Merit than having abandoned himself to the Will and Pleasure of the two Royal Brothers; and what that Merit amounts to, let the Reader judge. However notwithstanding the poor Reputation of the Governor, that of the Province encreasing with its Trade, of which he had not entirely the Government, it became populous and thriving.

Capt. Nicholls  
Governor.

Sir Edmund  
Andros  
Governor.

Col. Dungan  
Governor.

The next Governor of *New-York* was *Col. Dungan*, who, tho' a *Papist*, was much more deserving of that Honour and Trust than his Predecessor *Andros*. One sees by his Behaviour, that a Man of Honour, let his Religion be what it will, will never betray the Interest he has undertaken to protect. *Col. Dungan* was an old Soldier, and had been long in the King of *Spain's* Service, which had given him such an Aversion to the *French*, that he would shew them no Favour which he imagined would be hurtful to the *English*. Before King *James* the Second abdicated this Kingdom, he received Orders to admit *French* Priests to come from *Quebec*, to make Converts to Popery at *New-York*. They came accordingly, but *Col. Dungan* had his Eye upon them, and finding their

De-

Design was to gain the Trade of the *Indians* of the Five Nations for the *French*, he immediately sent them packing, saying, *They came not so much to serve the French Religion as the French Commerce.* The *French King* complained of it to King *James*, who was highly displeas'd, having the Religion of *France* much more at Heart than the Trade of *England*; and it is thought Col. *Dungan* would have lost his Government if his Master King *James* had not lost his. The Colonel was afterwards Earl of *Limerick* by Descent; and after King *William* had declared War with *France*, it was said he was offer'd a considerable Employment in the *Spanish Army*, by his Majesty's Recommendation; but he did not accept of it, thinking it was not consistent with his Obligations to the abdicated King. After the Revolution the *English* at *New-York*, made very uneasy by the Neighbourhood of the *Hurons*, or *French Indians*, resolv'd to attack the Enemy at *Canada*, who were perpetually doing them ill Offices with those Savages. The Baron *La Honton* mentions, in his Memoirs, an Expedition of the *English* against the *French*; but that Author makes the worst of it on the part of the *English*, who, he says, came within a Day or two's March of *Quebec*, and then returned without doing any Thing; which is not true. In the Year 1690 Col. *Peter Schuyler*,<sup>Col. Schuyler's Expedition against Quebec.</sup> with 300 *English* and 300 confederate *Indians*, or *Iroquois*, march'd from Fort *Albany* to *Quebec*, 400 Miles from *New-York*, and the *French* Governor of *Canada* oppos'd him with no less than thirteen Companies of regular Troops, near 700 Men, and as many *Hurons*. It is worth notice that the *French*, let their Settlement be richer or poorer, have, wherever it is, a sufficient military Strength to defend them, not *Militia*, but the King's Troops and Officers, which is very exemplary. These Troops are not temporary, drop'd by Squadrons now and then and moveable, but staid and incorporated with the Colony, which both increases as well as strengthens it. Notwithstanding the Inequality of their Number, Col. *Schuyler* charg'd the *French* with equal Bravery and Success, routed them, killed 300 Soldiers and 30 Officers, with little Loss of the *English*, but being not strong enough to attempt their Forts, and besides having no Artillery, he contented himself with his Victory, and the Damage he had done the Enemy, and returned to *New-York*.

Sir *Edmund Andros*, being sent from *New-York* to the Government of *New-England*, play'd such Pranks there, that he was seiz'd by the People, and with him the Government. He had done a great deal of Mischief in this Province, leading some of the chief Inhabitants into Court Measures, which



led to arbitrary Government and Popery, or, which is much the same, Persecution. I cannot better explain the Corruption here in his Time, than by the Words of the *New-England Declaration*, after he was turned out of his Office by the principal Inhabitants. *But of all our Oppressions we were chiefly squeezed by a Crew of abject Persons from New-York, to be the Tools of the Adversary; by these were extraordinary and intolerable Fees extorted from every one upon all Occasions, without any Reason but those of their insatiable Avarice, &c.* *Andros's* Government is there set forth as an execrable Tyranny, and these *New-York Men* as the Tools of it. I am afraid some of them returning hither, were found active in the Troubles of *Col. Slaughter* and the *Lord Cornbury's* Time; but as I am not fully informed of these Particulars, I forbear entering into them.

Before the Arrival of *Col. Fletcher*, whom *King William* had made Governor of *New-York*, on the Removal of *Col. Dungan*, the *French* returned *Col. Schuyler's* Vicer, and making an Incurſion into this Province, surprized *Schenectada*, burnt the Town, and murdered the Inhabitants. Whether it was this Depredation of the *French*, or the Effects of *Andros's* corrupting the Magistrates, or whatever else was the Occasion, upon *Col. Dungan's* being recalled, *Col. Lesley* took upon him the Government, without staying for any Commission from *England*. The chief Men at *Boston* had done the same; and thus far *Lesley* seems to be no more in fault than they. It is allowed that he and his Party were very zealous for the Good of the Public; and it was a Time of Peril when Zeal in such Cases was very laudable. There were as many of the Magistrates for *Lesley* as against him, and could he have maintained the Authority he had assumed, till he had procured Remonstrances and Addresses, he doubted not but he should have it confirmed, which indeed was very likely. *Mr. Jacob Milbourn* was his great Friend and Confident, and very instrumental in his Attempt. But when *Col. Fletcher* arrived with the King's Commission, both *Lesley* and *Milbourn* took the wrongest Step that Men of tolerable Heads could be capable of; for finding themselves in Possession of the Government, they vainly imagined they could keep it by the Help of their Party, and make their Case so good in *England*, that they might at least be pardoned, if not approved; but *Fletcher* got into the Fort by a Wile, and having seized *Lesley* and *Milbourn*, he thought the surest way to secure his Authority, and prevent Contest, was to rid himself as soon as he could of a Competitor; so he caused them to be tried for High Treason, for holding

the

The French  
burn Schene-  
nectada.

Col. Lesley  
Governor by  
Usurpation.

the Fort out against him, and killing one of his Men. He being the King's Lieutenant, the Judges and Jury doubtless considered that principally, and made no great Difficulty of condemning *Lesley* and *Milbourn*, who were accordingly executed. Col. *Fletcher* is thought to have proceeded a little too hastily in this Execution, in which his own Interest was chiefly concerned. In my first Edition this Mutiny is placed in Col. *Slaughter's* Time, but from subsequent Informations I put it as it now stands. Whether *Fletcher* or *Slaughter* was the Governor, it is thought he would have been sent for to *England*, and served as *Lesley* was, had he not died at *New-York*.

Condemned  
and executed.  
Col. Fletcher  
Governor.

There was a Garrison of regular Troops ordered for the Fort at *New-York*, to prevent any Surprize from the *French*, or their Confederates the *Hurons*.

In *Fletcher's* Time the Count de *Frontenac*, Governor of *Canada*, form'd a Design against *Albany*, the Barrier of *New-York*, against both *French* and *Hurons*, and to draw off the Five Nations in confederacy with the *English*, to the *French* Interest. He began his March with 3000 *French* and *Canada* Indians, being furnished with Canoes, Stores of all Sorts, and other Neccessaries for this Expedition. He advanced by *Hudson's* River, called also the River of the *Iroquois*, towards *New-York*. After a long March of above 300 Miles, he came to the Country of the *Orandaguese*, one of the Five Nations, and surprizing them with a great Power, destroy'd one of their Castles, and burnt their Corn and Provisions. Col. *Fletcher* having notice of this Invasion marched with the Garrison of *New-York*, and a Body of Militia and *Indian* Allies, to put a Stop to the Progress of the *French*. The Count de *Frontenac*, hearing of this Approach, made a hasty Retreat: Upon which a Party of the Five Nations, Friends to the *English*, who were coming to join *Fletcher*, attacked him, and did pretty good Execution upon his Rear. The Count was not only disappointed in his Project, but suffered great Loss. The *Iroquois* were exasperated by it against the *French* and *Hurons*, and desired Col. *Fletcher* to meet their Segamores at *Albany*, to concert Measures with them for carrying on the War against the common Enemy, and revenge themselves on Count *Frontenac*, for invading their Country; but I do not find there was any such Conference in *Fletcher's* Time, or his Successor Col. *Slaughter's*. Indeed I am at a Loss to account for the Management in the *English* *American* Governments almost every where. If our Accounts from thence are true, they have more than once had it in their Power to have driven the *French* out of *Canada*, as well as

Count de  
Frontenac  
enters and  
quits the  
Province.

Col. Slaughter  
Governor.

out of *Acadia*. They represent the *English* and their Allies the *Iroquois* as much superior to the *French* in Numbers and other Advantages, and yet are always expressing very great Apprehensions of their encroaching upon them. They have made several Expeditions against them with powerful Armies, compared to those of the *Indians*, and hardly ever succeeded in one. Surely the *English* wanted not Courage; it must be then want of Conduct, or both. After Col. *Slaughter's* Death, *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; of *New-England*, held this Government. His temporizing so much as he did in King *James's* Reign should not, methinks, have recommended him to so great a Trust in King *William's*; but I know not how it happened, so it was, that in King *William's* Reign, Queen *Anne's*, &c. there were Periods when the Friends or Tools of the abdicated King were more hearkened to than the Friends and Instruments of the Revolution.

Joseph Dudley, Esq;  
Deputy-Governor.

Earl of Bellamont  
Governor.

In the Year 1697 the Earl of *Bellamont* was made Governor of this Province and *New-England*. He preferred the Residence at *New-York* to that at *Boston*, and intended to govern *New-England* by a Deputy: But *Kid's* and the *Darian* Business made his Presence more necessary at *Boston* than at *New-York*, where Mr. *Dudley*, and afterwards Mr. *Nanfan* his Kinsman, acted as Deputy.

Mr. Nanfan  
Deputy-Governor.

In the Year 1700 there were no less than 1000 *Scots* aboard several Ships from *Darien*, that put into *New-York*. Mr. *Nanfan*, according to Instructions from Home, refused to give them any Assistance. A very unaccountable way of Proceeding, which the *English* have now much Occasion to repent of, as might easily have been foreseen, and ways enough found out to supply the *Scots* Settlement at *Darien*, without coming to a Rupture about it between *England* and *Spain*. But others, as well as the *English*, concerned themselves in the Ruin of that hopeful Design. Mr. *Nanfan* excused his inhospitable dealing with the *Scots*, under Pretence of the Earl of *Bellamont's* Absence at *Boston*, While in Mr. *Nanfan's*, or Lord *Cornbury's* Time, a *French* Man of War was suffered to enter the Harbour, which the Captain ordered to be founded, and sent an Account of it to the Court of *France*. The Stores here were then in so bad a Condition, a Deficiency so common in *English* Colonies, that the Inhabitants were very glad they were in no want of any; for had they been put to it, they had small Hopes of being able to defend themselves against a better provided Enemy.

The same Year a Public Library was erected in the City of *New-York*, and the *Dutch* Inhabitants built Saw-Mills for

Timber,



Timber, one of which would do more in an Hour, than fifty Men in a Day. The Earl of *Bellamont* sent over a very loyal Address from this Province, which was presented by Col. *Byard*, the *New-York* Agent, to his Majesty King *William*, who about the same time appointed *William Atwood*, Esq; to be Attorney-General of this Province. This Gentleman had distinguished himself in the former Reigns, by his Zeal for the Constitution and Protestant Religion, in Opposition to Popery and Slavery. He had written several Treatises in Defence of the Cause he espoused; but being frowned upon by the Courts of Justice in those Reigns, and not much smiled upon in King *William's*, he thought it his Interest to change the Scene of his Practice, and remove hither with an Office far from being equal to his Merits. However as indifferent as it was, the Lord *Cornbury*, who was made Governor of *New-York*, upon the Death of the Earl of *Bellamont*, thought fit to turn him out of that too. This Lord brought with him his Lady and Family, and arrived there in 1701. The Party that espoused Col. *Lesley's* Cause, is (they pretended to be the Country Party) continued still, and Mr. *Atwood* falling in with them, it is likely the Lord *Cornbury*, who was not of the Country Party in the two former Reigns, might chuse rather his Room than his Company. One may guess a little at the Disposition of Col. *Lesley's* Side, they being accused of favouring the *Dutch*, and they as justly charged their Opponents with favouring the *French*. The Lord *Cornbury* was one of the first Officers in King *James's* Army that deserted it, and joined the Prince of *Orange* with the Cavalry he commanded; yet there he stopped, and seldom or never acted a Whig Part afterwards, but the quite contrary; and his Father, the Earl of *Clarendon*, refused the Oaths, not only to King *William*, but to Queen *Anne*, as long as he lived. The Lord *Cornbury* treated Col. *Lesley's* Friends very roughly, and carried it with a high Hand in his Government. He had not been long at *New-York* before he received Advice of King *William's* Death, and orders from the Government in *England* to proclaim Queen *Anne*, which was done with great Solemnity June 12, 1702. After which the Affairs of the Province being entirely commercial, we shall insert here the Names of the principal Officers and Magistrates, as they stood in the Year 1708.

Lord Corn-  
bury Govern-  
nor.

1701.

1708.

The Right Honourable *Edward* Lord Viscount *Cornbury*  
Governor.

<i>Peter Schuyler, Esq;</i>	}	Counsellors.
<i>William Lawrence, Esq;</i>		
<i>Gerardus Beckman, Esq;</i>		
<i>Rip Van Dam, Esq;</i>		
<i>Caleb Heathcot, Esq;</i>		
<i>Thomas Wenham, Esq;</i>		
<i>Will. Van Rensalaer, Esq;</i>		
<i>Roger Mompesson, Esq;</i>		
<i>John Barbarie, Esq;</i>		
<i>Adolphus Philips, Esq;</i>		

Chief Justice and Judge-Advocate *Roger Mompesson, Esq;*  
 Second Judge *Robert Milward, Esq;*  
 Attorney-General *Sampson Shelton Broughton, Esq;*  
 Secretary *George Clerck, Esq;*

## A S S E M B L Y.

*William Nicholls, Esq;* Speaker.

<i>Stephen de Lancey, Esq;</i>	<i>Kilian Van Rensalaer, Esq;</i>
<i>Henry Beckman, Esq;</i>	<i>John Stillwell, Esq;</i>
<i>Thomas Garton, Esq;</i>	<i>Abraham Lukeman, Esq;</i>
<i>Mynderp Schuyler, Esq;</i>	<i>Josiah Hunt, Esq;</i>
<i>Thomas Codrington, Esq;</i>	<i>Joseph Parry, Esq;</i>
<i>John Jackson, Esq;</i>	<i>William Willet, Esq;</i>
<i>Matthew Havel, Esq;</i>	<i>Daniel Whitehead, Esq;</i>
<i>John Abeel, Esq;</i>	<i>John Van Corttandy, Esq;</i>
<i>Evert Barker, Esq;</i>	

Colonels of the Militia Regiments.

*New-York County Col. William Paretree, Mayor of the City.*

*Suffolk County Col. Smith.*

*King's County Col. Beckman.*

*Albany County Col. Schuyler.*

*Queen's County Col. Willet, a Regiment of Horse.*

Regular Troops four Companies, 100 Men each.

1. Commanded by the Lord *Cornbury.*
  2. Company by the Lieutenant-Governor *Richard Ingoldsby, Esq;*
  3. Company by Capt. *Weams.*
  4. Company Capt. *Peter Matthews.*
- Engineer Mr. *Reldknap.*

From this Time to the Year 1710, nothing material happened concerning this Province; but then it occasioned much Talk, upon the Arrival of five of the Kings of the *Five Indian Nations*, in Alliance with *New-York*, and others at *London*. These were their barbarous and hardly legible Names,

<i>Teeceneenhogaprow</i>	}	Kings of the <i>Maquas</i> ,
<i>Sayayanquaprahon</i>		
<i>Elowohkaom</i>	}	Kings of the River, King,
<i>Obnecyathtonnoprow</i>		
<i>Ganajohahare</i>		

all *Iroquois* Princes; their Dominions lying between *New-York* and the *French Indians*. These, and particularly the *Maquas*, the stoutest and most formidable Nation of them all, have been fast Friends to the *English*, and especially to those in *New-England*, as we have seen there. On the Arrival of these Kings, the Queen was advised to make the most of shewing them; and the Dressers at the Play-house were consulted about the clothing of these Monarchs, and it was determined that part of their Dress should be a Royal Mantle. The Court was then in Mourning, and they were clothed with black Breeches, Waistcoat, Stockings, and Shoes, after the *English* Fashion, and a Scarlet in grain Cloth Mantle, edg'd with Gold, over all. They had Audience of the Queen with more than ordinary Solemnity. They were conducted to *St. James's* by *Sir Charles Cotterel*, in two of her Majesty's Coaches, and introduced into the Royal Presence by the Lord Chamberlain. Major *Pigeon*, one of the Officers that came over with them, read their Speech in *English*, to this Effect.

*Five Indian Kings at London.*

Great QUEEN,

WE have undertaken a long Voyage, which none of our Predecessors could be prevailed with to undertake, to see our Great Queen, and relate to her those Things which we thought absolutely necessary for the Good of Her and us her Allies, on the other side the Water.

*Their Speech to the Queen.*

We doubt not but our Great Queen has been acquainted with our long and tedious War, in Conjunction with her Children, against her Enemies the *French*; and that we have been as a strong Wall for their Security, even to the Loss of our best Men. We were mightily rejoiced when we heard our Great Queen had resolved to send an Army to reduce *Canada*, and immediately, in Token of Friendship, we hung up the Kettle, and



took up the Hatchet, and, with one Consent, assisted Col. Nicholson in making Preparations on this Side the Lake; but at length we were told, our Great Queen, by some important Affairs, was prevented in her Design at present, which made us sorrowful, lest the French, who had hitherto dreaded us, should now think us unable to make War against them. The Reduction of Canada is of great Weight to our Free Hunting; so that if our Great Queen should not be mindful of us, we must, with our Families, forsake our Country, and seek other Habitations, or stand Neuter, either of which will be much against our Inclinations.

In Token of the Sincerity of these Nations, we do, in their Names, present our Great Queen with the Belts of Wampan, and in Hopes of our Great Queen's Favour, leave it to her most gracious Consideration.

Pursuant to this Address the Expedition to Canada was undertaken the next Year, "which, says the *New-England* "Historian, miscarried through the Treachery of them that "were at the Head of it; for the Force that was in that "Fleet, in the Opinion of the best Judges, was sufficient "not only to drive the *French* out of *Quebec*, but out of all "their Settlements in the Country." All their other Settlements would have fallen of Course. I know not any considerable one they have but *Montreal* on this Continent, and two or three meaner Fortifications for their Security against the *Indians* towards the Lakes, within the *Terra Canadensis*. The Five Nations were very forward in their Preparations, and furnish'd 1000 *Indians*, well arm'd. The Forces of *Connecticut*, in *New-England*, joined those of *New-York* and *New-Jersey* at *Albany* in this Province. General *Nicholson*, who was to command them, was at *Boston*, to confer with General *Hill* from *England*, and when the latter sail'd from thence, he hasten'd to *Albany*, where were rendezvous'd, besides the *Indians*, three Regiments, commanded by Col. *Ingaldsby*, Col. *Schuyler*, Col. *Whiting*. With all these *Nicholson* march'd towards *Quebec*; but hearing the ill News of the *English* Fleet, return'd to *New-York*. This wretched Expedition to *Canada*, if Mr. *Harley* says true, in his Letter to Queen *Anne*, was managed by the Earl of *Rocheſter*, the Lord *Cornbury's* Uncle, the Lord *Harcourt*, Lord Chancellor, Mr. *St. John*, Secretary of State, and, according to him, it was carried on partly to put Money in the Manager's Pocket. To this Principle, says he, was owing the setting on foot the unhappy Voyage to *Canada*. Since the Return the Secret is discover'd, and my Suspicion justify'd; for the Publick was cheated of above  
twenty

twenty thousand Pounds. That, doubtless, was a small Part of the Cheat, besides which the Nation was cheated of its Glory, its Trade, and even its Security in this Part of the World.

Soon after this Event the Province received a great Addition of Inhabitants, by the Arrival of some Thousands of *Palatines*, and other *German* Protestants, which has very much increased the Strength and Trade of the Colony. There was not a sensible Man in *Great Britain*, who understood the true Interest of his Country, which consists in nothing more than a Number of People, Increase of Manufactures and Extent of Commerce, who did not approve and rejoice in this Acquisition of People in this and other Colonies. This has been the Sense of all Nations ever since Trade has had a Name in them; and how necessary hands are for Agriculture, and all useful Labour, the very Term explains, without expatiating upon it; but the Persons who took upon themselves the *Canada* Expedition, the breaking of the Confederacy and ruinous Peace with *France*, treated that wise Measure of transplanting *German* Protestants to our Plantations, or employing them at home in Tillage, as Folly, Madness, and a Design against the Church. These reviled, wrote and preach'd against it, inso-much that the late learned Dr. *Hare*, Bishop of *Chichester*, thought it necessary to remove these Prejudices by setting that Matter in a true Light. The Bishop was put upon this Work by a Vote of the same House of Commons that supported the then Ministry in their Negotiations of Peace with *France*, by abandoning *Spain* and the *Indies* to the House of *Bourbon*. The Vote was, *the inviting over the Palatines was an extravagant and unreasonable Charge to the Kingdom, tending to the Increase and Oppression of our Poor, and of dangerous Consequence to the Church, &c.* All which Bp. *Hare* considered and fully answer'd; I shall only copy what relates to these *Palatines* sent to *New-York*, as follows:

“ Those *Palatines* that were sent to *New-York* are well  
 “ planted, and like to thrive there; and if the same Care  
 “ had been taken of the rest, instead of being a Burthen,  
 “ they would, in a short time, have proved beneficial to this  
 “ Nation, nothing being more certain than that our *Ame-*  
 “ *rican* Plantations, the largest Fountain of our acquired  
 “ Riches, yield in Proportion to the Number of People.”  
 To this is added an Account of the Charge for the settling of these *Palatines*.

## The History of New-York.

For the Transportation of 3000 Souls, at	} 18150 l.
5 l. 10 s. each. ————	
For the Clothing of 3000 Souls, at 20 s. each.	3000
For Tools to the same, at 7 s. 6 s. per Head.	1125

	22275 l.
The Charge of their Subsistence for 3 Years.	56258

	78533
The Labour of 2000 of these only to be employed in Naval Stores, for which they were sent thither, was computed at 12 l. each yearly, more than their Subsistence would come to, and that in our Years, would amount to	} 96000 l.

These *Palatines* were disposed on both Sides of *Hudson's* River, 80 or 100 Miles above the City of *New-York*, in three Townships on the *East* Side of that River, and three on the *West*, the latter about four Miles below the former. Mr. *John Frederick Hagar* was appointed Minister of the *East* Side, and Mr. *John Cockerdale* for the *West* Side. These Townships are about a Mile distant from each other in the County of *Ulster*, or *Hulster*; for it is no Wonder to meet with *Dutch* Names in this Province, since the first *European* Inhabitants were *Dutch*, and many of them staid here and incorporated with the *English*, after Sir *Robert Carre* reduced it.

After the Accession of King *George I.* to the Throne of *Great Britain*, the Lord *Cornbury* was recalled, and Brigadier *Hunter* made Governor of this Province and *New-Jersey*. He met the Kings of the *Five Nations* at *Albany*, and renewed the Treaty with them, which the *Indians* call the *Covenant Chain*, of which we shall hear more in the Sequel. The Particulars of this Gentleman's Administration having not been communicated to us, we can only say of it, from the best Authority, that it was good, which will best appear by the Speech of Col. *Livingston*, Speaker of the Assembly in the Year 1719, to him on his intended Removal to *England*.

Sir,  
 “ W H E N we reflect upon your past Conduct, your just,  
 “ mild and tender Administration, it heightens the  
 “ Concern we have for your Departure, and makes our Grief  
 “ such as Words cannot truly express. You have govern'd  
 “ well and wisely, like a prudent Magistrate, like an affecti-  
 “ onate



“ onate Parent, and wherever you go, and whatever Station the Divine Providence shall please to assign you, our sincere Desires and Prayers for the Happiness of you and yours shall always attend you.

“ We have seen many Governors, and may see more; and, as none of those, who had the Honour to serve in your Station, were ever so justly fix'd in the Affection of the Governed, so those to come will acquire no mean Reputation, when it can be said of them, their Conduct has been like yours.

“ We thankfully accept the Honour you do us, in calling yourself our *Countryman*; give us Leave then to desire that you will not forget this is your Country, and, if you can, make Haste to return to it.

“ But if the Service of our Sovereign will not admit of what we so earnestly desire, and his Commands deny us that Happiness, permit us to address you as our Friend, and give us your Assistance when we are oppressed with an Administration the Reverse of yours.

Whether the Gentlemen of *New-York* had received Information who was to be Brigadier *Hunter's* Successor in that Government, or whether it was the Effect of their Jealousy of all Governors sent them from *England* to mend their Fortune, as was the Lord *Cornbury's* Case, and not less Mr. *Burnet's*, the next Governor, they seem'd to have considered what they had said. Mr. *Burnet* was Comptroller-General of the Customs at *London*, and had by no means better'd his Circumstances by his Concern in the South-Sea Stock; Brigadier *Hunter* succeeded him as Comptroller-General at *London*, and *William Burnet, Esq;* Son to the late Bishop of *Salisbury*, was his Successor in this Government, and that of *New-Jersey*, where he purchased a Settlement, which is or was lately in his Family, but under some Incumbrances, for the Discharge of which, the second Volume of the Bishop's *History of his own Time*, was sold according to a publick Advertisement.

In the Year 1719, *Peter Schuyler, Esq;* as President of the Council, was Commander in Chief of this Province, in the Absence of Governor *Hunter*, and appointed the following Gentlemen to meet and confer with the *Indian* Sagamores at *Albany*, *John Riggs, Esq;* *Hend. Hauson, Esq;* *John Schuyler, Esq;* *Robert Livingston, Junior, Esq;* *Peter Van Brugh, Esq;* The Matter they were to confer about was, some hostile Expedition intended by the *Indians* of the *Five Nations*, which the *English* apprehended to be unseasonable, and the

entertaining a *Frenchman* amongst them; but it will be better explained by what the *New-York* Commissioners say.

*Brethren,*

“ We have received Intelligence not only from your Country, but from *Canada*, that one *Jean Cœur*, the *French* Interpreter, is gone from *Montreal* to go to your Country, and by this time we may suppose he may be there; a Place we think no *Frenchman* ought to be suffer'd in; neither can it be for the *French* Interest to send him there, only to set you against the *far Indians*, who are inclined to come here, which hinder'd, would tend to your Disadvantage; but, on the contrary, their coming here is an Advantage to you, as would be the not suffering him, or any other *Frenchman* from *Canada*, to come and stay among you.

The *Indians* having consulted among themselves, made Answer,

*Brethren,*

“ We are come here according to your Desire; you made a Proposition to us, two Days ago, and renewed the *Covenant Chain*, not only for this Government, but for all the Governments on the Continent, and *Indians* in Friendship with them; you have promised to keep the same inviolable on your Side, which we believe will be so, for we never had any Misunderstanding hitherto with you. But, *Brethren*, you say you renew the *Covenant* for those Governments to the Southward, which makes us wonder; for, two Years ago, a Messenger came here from *Virginia*, who complained against us to his Excellency that we had done some Mischief in his Government on *Indians* living there in Alliance and Friendship with him. The same time he desired, in the Name of that Governor, to take some of our principal Sachems with him, which we refused, and desired the Governor might come here himself, or depute a Person with some of the Sachems of those *Indians* in Friendship with him, that then we might speak to one another Face to Face; and therefore we think it does not lie at our Door, that no Peace is concluded between us and his *Indians*. If they are inclined to meet us, we are ready for them; but will appoint no other Place than this.

*Brethren,*

“ You desired us not to suffer *Jean Cœur* to stay among us; we cannot send him away, if we do, we shall be taken as Enemies; but do you go there yourselves, and send him from thence, and you may write to the Governor of *Canada*, that you will not suffer any of his People to stay  
“ among

“ among us; for, some Years ago, when the *French* were  
 “ busy to build a Block-house on *Onmondage* and settle a  
 “ Garrison there, Col. *Schuyler* went up and destroyed it, and  
 “ that was not taken ill by them; you may do the like.

*Brethren,*

“ It is true what you have heard, relating to the Design  
 “ of our Men going a fighting; but we cannot give you a  
 “ positive Answer on that Subject, until we are got home,  
 “ and have consulted with our young Men and Sachems  
 “ that design to go out, and shall then send you a speedy  
 “ Answer.

*Brethren,*

“ You say that *Jean Cœur* is to stay among us this Win-  
 “ ter, and that he will make it his Interest to hinder the *far*  
 “ *Indians* from coming to trade here. You can better pre-  
 “ vent his hindering those *Indians* from coming here than  
 “ we; for if we do not supply the *French* with Goods from  
 “ hence, they cannot furnish the *far Indians* with what they  
 “ want; and hardly those that live near them, for they get  
 “ but little Goods themselves from *France*.

In the Year 1722 there was a Congress at *Albany* of the Congress of English Go-  
 vrnors and Indian Kings  
 at Albany. Governors of *New-York*, *Pensylvania* and *Virginia*, with the Kings of the *Five Nations*; or *River Indians*, wherein all former Treaties of Friendship between those Governors and their Provinces, and those Kings and their Kingdoms were renewed; the usual Pledges for the Observation of Covenants were exchanged.

By what follows it appears, that the Governor of *Pensylvania*, tho' the younger Colony, presided at this Congress, and received the Answers of the *Indian Kings*; the Minutes running thus:

P R E S E N T

The Honourable Sir *William Keith*, Bart. Governor of *Pensylvania*.

*Richard Hill*, Esq;

Col. *John French*,

*Isaac Norris*, Esq;

*Andrew Hamilton*, Esq;

Col. *Peter Schuyler*,

*Peter Van Brugh*, Esq;

*Jo. Schuyler*,

*Head Hans*,

*Evert Barker*, Esq;

*Philip Leuingston*, Esq;

*Jo. Blecher*, Esq;

*John Collins*, Esq;

} Members of the Council of  
*Pensylvania*.

} Committee for *Indian Affairs*.



The Answer of the Kings of the *Five Nations*, viz.

The <i>Maquase</i> ,	The <i>Cayonges</i> ,
The <i>Oneydes</i> ,	The <i>Sinnebaes</i> ,
The <i>Onnondages</i> ,	

delivered to the Governor of *Pensylvania* at *Albany* the 10th of *September*, 1722. Interpreted by *Laurence Claese* into *Dutch*, and render'd into *English* by *Robert Levingston*, Esq;

*N. B.* There can be no Exactness in the *Indian Names*, which vary almost as often as they are mentioned by *English*, *French* or *Dutch*.

*Tanachasa* speaks,

Brother *Onos*, - *N. B.* *Onos* signifies a *Pen* in that *Indian Language*; and they call *Onos*, or *Pen*, all the Governors of *Pensylvania*, since it was first settled by *William Pen*.

“ You told me, in your Propositions, some Days ago,  
 “ that you was come a great way to see us of the *Five Na-*  
 “ *tions*; we thank you for your Good-will to us, and are  
 “ very glad to see you here in good Health; and we hope a  
 “ good Understanding and Agreement will be made and  
 “ concluded between us. You told us also, that you are  
 “ come to renew the *Covenant Chain* that has been made  
 “ between us, so long ago even as the first settling the Pro-  
 “ vince of *Pensylvania*, and to lengthen the *Chain*, and  
 “ do away any Spot of Rust that may be grown upon it  
 “ since our last Meeting and Conference at *Conislogue*.

Brother *Onos*,

II. “ You told us, that at that time you brightened the  
 “ *Covenant Chain* between us, that it may be clear and lasting as  
 “ the Sun and Stars in Heaven, for which we thank you; and  
 “ we being now all present do, in the most solemn Manner,  
 “ renew the *Covenant* and brighten the *Chain* made between  
 “ us, that the Lustre thereof be never obscured by any Cloud  
 “ of Darkness, but may shine as clear, and last as long, as the  
 “ Sun in the Firmament.

Brother *Onos*,

III. “ You have likewise told us how *William Pen*, who  
 “ was a good Man, did, at his first Settlement of the Pro-  
 “ vince of *Pensylvania*, make Leagues of Friendship with  
 “ the *Indians*, and treated them like Brethren; and that, like  
 “ the same good Man, he left it in charge to all his Governors,  
 “ who should succeed him, and to all his People of *Pensyl-*  
 “ *vania*, that they should keep the *Covenant* and *Treaties*  
 “ he had made with the *Five Nations*, and treat them with  
 “ Love and Kindness. We acknowledge that his Governors  
 “ and

“ and People have always kept the same honestly and truly  
 “ to this Day. Some on our Part always have kept, and for  
 “ ever shall keep firm Peace and Friendship with a good  
 “ Heart to all the People of *Pensylvania*. We thankfully re-  
 “ ceive and approve of all the Articles in your Proposition  
 “ to us, and acknowledge them to be good and full of Love.  
 “ We receive and approve of them with our whole Hearts,  
 “ because we are not only made one People by the *Covenant*  
 “ *Chain*, but we also are a<sup>d</sup> People united in one Head, one  
 “ Body and one Heart, by the strongest Ties of Love and  
 “ Friendship.

Brother *Onos*,

IV. “ You desire there may be a perpetual Peace and  
 “ Friendship between you and the *Five Nations*, and between  
 “ your Children and our Children, and that the same may be  
 “ kept as long as the *Mountains* and *Rivers* endure; all which  
 “ we like well, and, on our Part, desire that the *Covenant*  
 “ made with a clean and true Heart between you and us,  
 “ may last as long as the Sun and Moon shall continue to  
 “ give Light: And we will deliver this in charge to our  
 “ Children, that it may be kept in Remembrance with their  
 “ Children, and Children’s Children, to the latest Ages; and  
 “ we desire that the Peace and Tranquillity that is now esta-  
 “ blish’d between us, may be as clear as the Sun shining in  
 “ its Lustre, without any Cloud or Darknes, and that the  
 “ same may continue for ever.

Brother *Onos*,

V. “ We have well consider’d all that you have spoken,  
 “ and like it well, because it is only the renewing of for-  
 “ mer Leagues, made between the Government of *Pensyl-*  
 “ *vania* and us of the *Five Nations*, and which we always  
 “ believed we were obliged to keep. And as to the Accident  
 “ of one of our Friends being killed by some of your Peo-  
 “ ple, which has happened by Misfortune and against your  
 “ Will, we say, that as we are all in Peace, we think it  
 “ hard that Persons who killed their Friend and Brother  
 “ should suffer; and we do, in the Name of all the *Five*  
 “ *Nations*, forgive the Offence, and desire you will likewise  
 “ forgive it, and that the Men who did it may be released  
 “ from Prison, be set at Liberty to go whither they please,  
 “ and we shall esteem this as a Mark of Regard and Friend-  
 “ ship for the *Five Nations*, and as a farther Confirmation of  
 “ this Treaty.

Brother *Onos*,

VI. “ We say further, we are glad to hear the former  
 “ Treaties made with *William Pen* repeated to us again, and  
 “ renewed

“ renewed by you, and we esteem and love you, as if you  
 “ were *William Pen.* We are glad you have wiped away  
 “ and cover’d the Blood of our dead Friend and Brother, and  
 “ we desire the same may be forgot, so as it may never be  
 “ more mention’d or remember’d. It is needless for us to  
 “ answer every Particular of your Proposition, because we  
 “ acknowledge the Whole to be good and acceptable to us,  
 “ especially your good Advice, which we will always remem-  
 “ ber, and, in Testimony thereof, and as a full Confirmation  
 “ of our Agreement, Consent and Approbation of all that  
 “ you have propos’d and we have here said and promis’d, we  
 “ lay down a few *Beaver, Bear* and dress’d *Deer-skins.*  
 Which concluded the Ceremony.

I know not how it came that the *Indian Kings* take notice only of the Governor and Province of *Pensylvania*, when the Congress was held in the Province of *New-York*, and the Deputies of that Province were present.

John Mont-  
gomery, Esq;  
Governor.

I have met with no Governor of this Province between Mr. *Burnet* and *John Montgomery, Esq;* and little remarkable in the Time of his Government. I find him charged with Breach of Instructions in a Matter of great Importance, the making of Judges by Virtue of his Commission, without Advice of Council, which, by a particular Article of his Instructions, he ought to have taken. These Judges were *Lewis Morris, Esq;* Chief Justice, *James De Lanoy, Esq;* Second Justice, and *Frekerick Phillipse, Esq;* Third Justice, which are particulariz’d on Account of the Part they will have in very extraordinary Transactions, which soon after made here, and even in *England*, a great Noise, and occasioned much Debate.

Mr. *Montgomery* died July 1731, at *Fort St. George* in this City, and was interred in the King’s Chapel. Notwithstanding the fore-mentioned Charge, this Gentleman left the Character of a most excellent Governor.

Rip Van  
Dam, Esq;  
President.  
1731.

On the Death of Mr. *Montgomery, Rip Van Dam, Esq;* at that time President of the Council, was consequently Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of *New-York.* In his time the *French* and *Indians* made several In-croachments on the Frontiers of this Province and *New-England*, of which the President gave timely Notice to Governor *Belcher* at *Boston*, and he communicated it to the Assembly, as a Matter worthy their Attention. President *Van Dam* was entitled to as much of the Salary and Perquisites of a Governor, as was customary for Presidents in like Cases to receive; and afterwards, when Col. *William Cosby* was made Governor,



Governor, Mr. *Van Dam's* Appointment was half of the said Governor's Salary and Perquisites by Warrant of the Crown during his Administration, till the Arrival of Col. *Cosby*, who wrote to the President to advance certain Sums of Money for him, to answer the Incidents of his Office, which he would faithfully and thankfully repay; but it occasioned a Suit of Law, which had very ill Consequences; for, on Col. *Cosby's* Arrival here, and entering on the Government, he not only defer'd paying the Sums advanced by President *Van Dam*, but caused a Process to be commenced against him by the *Attorney General*, in the Name of the King, for Fees and Perquisites received by the President. This seems to us absurd and ridiculous, unjust and oppressive, and a design only to screen the Governor from a Prosecution at Law for the Money the President demanded of him, for the Balance of the Account between them, by which was due to the said *Van Dam* 3537 l. 9 d. which Account *Van Dam* deliver'd in to Col. *Cosby*, and required the Discharge of the said Balance, to which he received no satisfactory Answer; on the contrary, the *Attorney General* proceeded at Law against him in the King's Name for the aforesaid Fees, which *Van Dam* was to have half of, and the other half amounted to no great Sum, Salary and stated Appointments not being included. But this was not the greatest Hardship; for whereas the President had commenced a Suit at Common Law for his Balance aforesaid, he could procure no Appearance to his Action from the Governor, and the *Attorney General* proceeded against *Van Dam* in the *Supreme Court*, a Common Law Court at *New-York*, as if it had been a Court of Chancery, and, as such, the Judgment by a Jury was set aside, and the Jurisdiction would be in the Governor and Council. 'Tis impertinent to remark the Injustice of referring a Cause to a Person interested in it; however, this was the Case, and Mr. *Van Dam's* Council very justly excepted against the making a Court of Law a Court of Equity, to carry a Point against him, in favour of the Person who made it so, as far as his delegated Power would admit. I have before me the President's Account, and the Letter he wrote to the Governor to obtain his just Demand by amicable ways, and to remonstrate the Injustice of prosecuting him for a small Debt, at the same time that he refused to discharge or to appear to an Action for a very great one due to the same Person. An Historian is not to enter into such Litigations, but the Facts they produced are Historical; I shall only observe, that the *Chief Justice, Lewis Morris, Esq;* deliver'd his Opinion of the

William  
Cosby, Esq;  
Governor.  
1732.

*Illegality of the Proceedings in the Supreme Court, as in a Court of Equity, and refused to sit on the Bench, when the two other Judges, De Lancey and Phillipse, determined in favour of the Governor, that their Court was a Court of Chancery as well as Common Law. The Governor, upon this, turned out the Chief Justice; and the two Judges, notwithstanding Mr. Van Dam's Exception to the Legality of their Commission, as being constituted without Advice of Council, contrary to the Royal Institution, declared themselves a Court of Equity, and of Course authorized to decide Causes without the Verdict of a Jury. This is the Fact, the Proof and Records are in my Custody; and it was very proper to set forth as briefly as I could the Attempt in this Case, the most notable that could happen in a Colony, being between an old Governor and a new, to compliment the present Power with its Constitution, and give up the Rights of the Subject to Trials by Juries.*

To this I shall only add a Paragraph or two of the late President's Letter to the present Governor, dated *October 22, 1733.*

" Thus all the respectful ways at coming at what I conceive Justice from your Excellency I have tried, and they have proved ineffectual, while, in the mean time, your Excellency is using the King's Name to recover of me that small Matter which I received during my Administration, and have proceeded so far therein, I am informed, as to get Process of *Rebellion* against me, for *not answering* as in a Court of Equity in that which was not really such a Court." Then speaking of the Articles in his Account, he says,

" I beseech your Excellency to consider, that not only the first Article, but also sundry Articles in the Account, was by early Advices I gave you, even before your Appointment, and the Arguments I supply'd you with, the Means not only of getting those Articles to you, during my Administration, but preserving them to you during yours, when the first had been strongly attacked." This Article was,

*An Emolument by the Exchange of the Militia, and on paying of the Companies here, during my Administration.* } 2065 l.

*The Emolument by the Clothing of the said Company.* } 2025.

*Voted by the Assembly for Services.* 1000.

If regular Troops are necessary, 'tis certainly absolutely necessary they should be maintain'd as cheap as possible, and that no Body should get by the clothing them but the Maker or the Seller.

The President goes on, " I raised 4500 l. at my own Expence for the Use of the Government, before your Arrival. The great Benefit to you of these Services you gratefully acknowledged to me by Letters, and little did I expect such Returns as I have met with for them.

" I beseech your Excellency farther to consider how his Majesty, *the Father of his People, the Fountain of Justice,* will look upon this Denial of Justice by his own Representative! How he will look upon the using of his Name for your Use, in hopes of your being free from the Risque of paying Costs of Suit, if the Cause is against you!

" I beseech your Excellency to consider, how your Profession against one in the King's Name, as this Case is circumstantiated, will sound in the Ears of all Lovers of the Constitution, when it is known to all, that I have not *only been a Well-wisher, but also active in the late GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, and well known to be one who always has been most firmly attach'd to the happy Establishment founded thereon, and to the Succession in the House of Hanover.*" I own myself well enough pleas'd to find this Suggestion in the late President's Letter to the Governor, because, before I found it, I suspected that such violent Proceedings could not be charged on a Man of *Revolution Principles*, and how any other came to be employed, either in *England*, or the *English America* in Posts of Trust, since that Revolution, is very difficult to be reconciled to the Interest and Safety of the Constitution, and the Duty of those that procured them such Employments.

The Chief Justice, *Lewis Morris*, Esq; published his *Opinion and Argument, concerning the Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of New-York, to determine Causes in a Court of Equity*, which he had read in the said Court, and the Governor sent *Frederick Morris*, Esq; Deputy Secretary to the Chief Justice, for a Copy of it under his Hand, which was the Occasion of his printing and publishing it, with the Letter that accompanied it, wherein, among other things, he sets the Governor's unlawful transforming *the Supreme Court into a Court of Chancery*, in its true Light.

" This, Sir, is the Copy of the Paper I read in Court; I have no reason to expect it will be at all grateful, or have any Weight with your Excellency, after the Answer I received to a Message I did myself the Honour to send

*The Chief Judge's Letter to the Governor against the Innovation in Law.*



“ to you, concerning an Ordinance you were about making,  
 “ for establishing a *Court of Equity in the Supreme Court*, as  
 “ being, in my Opinion, contrary to Law. I thought my-  
 “ self within the Duty of my Office in sending you this Mes-  
 “ sage, *desiring to be heard before its Establishment*, and I  
 “ hope I shall be justified by your Superiors and mine.  
 “ The Answer you were pleased to send me by Mr. *Joseph*  
 “ *Warrel* was, *That I need not give myself any Trouble about*  
 “ *the Affair, that you would neither receive a Visit, nor any*  
 “ *Message from me. That you could neither rely upon my In-*  
 “ *tegrity, nor depend upon my Judgment or Opinion; that you*  
 “ *thought me a Person not fit to be entrusted with any Con-*  
 “ *cerns relating to the King.* I am heartily sorry, Sir, for  
 “ your own Sake, as well as that of the Publick; that the  
 “ King’s Representative should be moved to so great a De-  
 “ gree of Warmth, as appears by this Answer, which I trust  
 “ could proceed from no other Reason but my giving my  
 “ Opinion in a Court of which I was a Judge, in a Point  
 “ of Law that came before me. If Judges are to be inti-  
 “ midated, so as not to dare to give any Opinion but what  
 “ is pleasing to a Governor, and agreeable to his private  
 “ Views, the People of this Province, who are very much  
 “ concerned both with respect to their Lives and Fortunes,  
 “ and Independency of those who are to judge of them, may  
 “ possibly not think themselves so secure in either of them,  
 “ as the Laws and his Majesty intend they should be.”  
 The Close of this Judge’s Letter presents us with a lively  
 Image of this Governor’s haughty, passionate and unjustifiable  
 Conduct.

*As to my Integrity, I gave you no Occasion to call it in Que-*  
*stion; I have been in this Office almost twenty Years, my Hands*  
*were never souled with a Bribe, nor am I conscious to myself*  
*that Power or Poverty hath been able to induce me to be partial*  
*in favour of either of them; and as I have no Reason to expect*  
*any Favour from you, so neither am I ashamed or afraid to*  
*stand the Test of the strictest Enquiry you can make concerning*  
*my Conduct. I have served the Publick faithfully and ho-*  
*nestly, and dare and do appeal to them for my Justification.*

Judge *Morris* makes Mention of Lord *Augustus Fitzroy*  
 being at *New-York*, where was then a Man of War, aboard  
 of which that Lord had a Command, and while he was in  
 this City, he took to Wife a Daughter of the Governor, an  
 agreeable young Lady.

The Behaviour of this Governor to the President *Van Dam*  
 and the Chief Justice *Morris*, prepares us without Surprize,  
 to meet with the extraordinary Proceedings against *Zenger*,  
 who

who printed *Van Dam's* and *Morris's* Cases at large by their Desire, and at their Expence, which, no doubt, very much sharpen'd the Governor's Resentment against him; and the Chief Justice being turned out, there were only the two Judges left in Court to try the Printer for a Libel against him, wherein no worse was said of him than what the Chief Judge had declared to be against Law.

Mr. *Cosby* had been but few Months at *New-York*, before he quarrel'd with President *Van Dam* and Judge *Morris* in the Manner we have related, and made the People uneasy under his Government. Their Affairs had otherwise been in a good Situation.

Before we proceed to the famous Trial of *Zenger*, we must return to other Particulars relating to this Colony.

They had been for some time in no Fear of the *French Indians*, probably trusting to their Security by the *Barrier* of the *Five Nations* between them and the Enemy, and according to Mr. *Dummer's* Representation, they were very artful to take no Step that might provoke the *French* to disturb them. His Words are, "*New-York* has always kept itself in a State of *Neutrality*, contributing nothing to the common Safety of the *British* Colonies, while the *Canada Indians*, joined by Parties of the *French*, used to make their *Route* by the Borders of *New-York*, without any Molestation from the *English* of that Province, and fall upon the *Out-Towns* of *New-England*. This Behaviour was the more unpardonable in that Government, because they have 400 regular Troops maintained among them at the King's Charge, and have five Nations of the *Iroquois* on their Confines, who are entirely dependent on them, and might easily, had they been engaged in the common Cause, have intercepted the *French* in their Marches, and thereby have prevented the Depredations on his Majesty's Subjects of *New-England*. Solemn and repeated Applications were made to the Government of *New-York* by the Governors of the *Massachusetts*, *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island*, in joint Letters on this Subject, but in vain; the Answer was, *They could not think it proper to engage their Indians in actual War, lest they should endanger their own Frontiers, and bring upon themselves an Expence which they were in no Condition to provide for.* And thus the poor Colonies, whose Constitution was Charter Government, were left to bear the whole Burden, without any Help from those Provinces, whose Governors held their Commissions from the Crown." This is the more strange, because the Cause of Complaint

was as well in Col. *Hunter's* time, as in Lord *Cornbury's*, or Col. *Cosby's*, which was not the Golden Age of this Province.

But however this Security of theirs lasted not long; for in the Year 1734, they were alarmed with the Movements of the *French* and *Indians* on the Frontiers of *New-York*, and the Assembly came to the following Resolutions.

“ That there be allowed, towards fortifying the City of *New-York*, the Sum of 6000 *l.*

“ That there be allowed the City of *Albany*, to erect and complete a Stone Fort, Soldiers Barracks within the same, repairing the Officer's House, or building a new one, and making the Carriages for the great Guns, the Sum of 4000 *l.*

“ That there be allowed, for erecting a Fort on Beams upon a Stone Foundation at *Scaneftaday*, a good Block House in each Corner thereof, Carriages for the great Guns, &c. the Sum of 800 *l.*

“ That there be allowed, for Messengers and Presents to the *Senekaa's* Country, maintaining a Smith and some Men among that Nation, and for building Fortifications there, if found feasible and practicable, the Sum of 500 *l.*

“ That, for purchasing great Guns, and making Carriages for the same, for the Security of *Suffolk* County, to be employed there as Occasion may require, and for discharging a Demand of the said County, in opposing a Pirate Vessel which infested them some Years ago, be allowed to the County in all 200 *l.*

This Assembly took into Consideration a Declaration of two Lawyers, Mr. *Smith* and Mr. *Murray*, that “ the Courts of Chancery, King's-Bench, Common-Pleas and Exchequer were of original Jurisdiction by the Laws and Constitution of *England*, as ancient as the Kingdom itself. That as in that Colony they were entitled to the same Laws, Liberties and Privileges, and under the same Constitution, so they were entitled to the same Courts; and that if those Courts should, in that Province, be put upon any other Footing than they are in *England*, their own Act would draw into Question, whether they were entitled to the Liberties and Privileges aforesaid; and therefore they conceived it would not be improper to regulate the Courts, and that the Judges should be made during their good Behaviour, by an Act as it was in *England.*” This, doubtless, was occasioned by the Attempt in President *Van Dam's* Case, to turn the Supreme Court into a Court of Chancery.



About the Year 1733 appeared the *New-York Weekly Journal*, printed by *John Peter Zenger*. One may easily perceive the Remains of the *Dutch* Inhabitants formerly possessing this City and Province, by the Names that occur in this History. The Administration here was become distasteful before the *Journal* began to give Marks of it, and *Zenger* set it up only to get a Penny. There had been a Newspaper published in *New-York* some time; but this Printer's was intended for *Politicks*, as well as News, and it was not likely the Printer would long escape Animadversions, if he dared to speak any thing of the Governor in his Journal, whether true or false, if displeasing to his Excellency. This Paper containing something of that kind, had not been publish'd above two Months before the new Chief Justice, *James De Lancey*, Esq; harangued the *Grand Jury* with a solemn Charge preparatory to a Prosecution against *Zenger*, for Words derogatory to the Governor's Dignity; but the *Grand Jury* giving no Ear to the Judge's Speech, the Council took it in hand, and sent a Message by *Philip Cortlandy*, Esq; one of their Members, to the Assembly, to desire a Conference between a Committee of Council and a Committee of Assembly, about the Proceedings to be carried on against the said *Zenger*.

1733.

*Zenger the Printer prosecuted.*

The Members of the Council who were forward in this Affair were

*George Clarke*, Esq;  
*Mr. Levingston*,  
*Mr. Cortlandy*,  
*Mr. Harrifon*,  
*Mr. Kennedy*,

*Mr. Lane*,  
*James De Lancey*, Esq; Ch. Just.  
*Dr. Codden*,  
*Mr. Horsemanden*.

A Committee of the Assembly, *Mr. Garretson* Chairman, met a Committee of Council the 17th of *October*, 1734, and the latter deliver'd to the former the Request of their Board, *That the Assembly would concur with the Council in an Order for burning by the Hands of the common Hangman the New-York Journals, No. 7, 47, 48, as derogatory to the Dignity of the Government of his Majesty King George II. and reflecting on the most considerable Persons in the most distinguish'd Stations, &c.* The Counsellors left the said Journals with the *Assembly Men*, and the Chairman, *Mr. Garretson*, reported the Case to the House, who declined having any Concern in the Matter; so the Council sent *Mr. Levingston* to the Assembly, to desire they might have their Papers again. No doubt the House was ready enough to return them.

1734.

*Opposed by the Assembly.*

The Slur put upon this Proceeding by the Parliament of the Province, abated nothing of the Spirit of the Governor and his Council; they therefore met in their Chamber the 5th of *November*, and signed an Order for the burning the aforesaid Journals by the Hands of the Common Hangman. They are thus ranged in the Minutes.

## P R E S E N T

His Excellency *William Cosby*, Esq; Captain-General and Governor in Chief, &c.

Mr. *Clark*,

Mr. *Levingston*,

Mr. *Cortlandy*,

Mr. *Harrison*,

Mr. *Kennedy*,

Mr. *Lane*,

Dr. *Codden*,

Mr. *De Lancey*, Ch. Justice.

Mr. *Horsmanden*.

And by the  
City of New  
York.

The Ingenuity of those Gentlemen is remarkable in inserting the Name of Dr. *Codden* in their Order, tho' the Doctor was that Day at *Esopus*, 90 Miles from the Place when the Council met at *Fort St. George* in *New-York*; but I observe, in the Conduct of all this Sort of Governors a Rashness, and sometimes a Rage, when their Interest or Dignity are in Question, which runs them perpetually into Error and Nonsense. They were not contented with signing this Order for the *Hangman* to burn Mr. *Zenger's* Papers, but order'd *Robert Lucking*, Esq; Major of *New-York*, together with all the Magistrates to attend when the *Hangman* executed their Commands; but the Mayor and Aldermen excused themselves, and I suppose the *Hangman* did the same, for the Papers aforesaid were put into the Fire by the Sheriff's Negro; *Francis Harrison*, Esq; Member of the Council, and *Jeremiah Dunbar*, Esq; with some Officers of the Garrison, assisting at the Ceremony, which the Citizens of *New-York* treated as ridiculous and contemptible.

On a Sabbath-day, *November* the 16th, the Governor and his Council issued an Order for seizing *Zenger* and sending him to the *common Jail*, where he was for some time deny'd the Use of Pen, Ink and Paper. The meeting on a Sabbath-day to do this notable Deed, so far from Charity, if not from Justice, was very much censured by religious Persons. *Zenger's* Counsel were *James Alexander*, Esq; and Mr. *William Smith*, who prepared Exceptions against the Commissions of the Judges, *James De Lancey*, Esq; Chief Justice, *Frederick Phillipse*, Esq; Second Justice. I shall only mention one of them, that the Governor had granted the Commission without Advice of the Council, which was es-

sentia

essential to the Validity of it in that Province, as is before hinted. 'Twas not likely that such Exception would be hearken'd to; they were over-ruled, and Zenger's Lawyers forbidden to practise in the Courts of *New-York*. The Attorney-General, *R. Bradley*, Esq; having laid an Information against *John Peter Zenger* for those Papers, which, in his Stile, are *Libels*, the Court allowed *John Chambers*, Esq; to be Council for Mr. *Zenger*; and *Andrew Hamilton*, Esq; of *Philadelphia*, being inform'd of the Importance, as well as the great Expectation of the Issue of the Case, came from that City, old and infirm as he was, without any retaining Fee to induce him to it, to defend the Printer's Cause against the palpable Inveteracy and Partiality of the Governor, and the Lawyers or Judges of his own making.

The Trial was order'd for the 4th of *August*, 1735. The poor Man had then lain in the common Jail above thirty five Weeks; let any sensible honest Man judge whether any Man deserved the Authority of a Constable who could be guilty of dealing so cruelly by a Fellow-Subject, who had not done him a *Pennyworth* of Injury in his Lands, Goods or Chattels, nor in his Name but by *Inuendo's*, which are abhorrent to all Laws divine and human, when made use of as the Tools of Revenge and Power. The Preparations for this Trial on the Side of the Prosecutors was by impannelling a Jury, many of whom were no Freeholders, but *Persons holding Commissions and Offices at the Governor's Pleasure*, others of them bearing *Personal Hatred to Zenger*, probably for his *Journals* too. Among the rest was impannel'd the Governor's *Taylor, Baker, Candle-maker, Joiner*; against such a Pack, when *Zenger's* Counsel objected, and offered to give Reasons for their Objections, the Prosecutors, not being willing to have that Dirt stirred, permitted the bringing in the *Freeholders Book*, out of which 48 Jurymen were struck, and the first 12 on the List were agreed to be called and sworn.

*Hermanus Rutgers,*  
*Stanly Holmes,*  
*Edward Man,*  
*John Bell,*  
*Samuel Weaver,*  
*Andries Marschalk,*

*Egbert Van Borson,*  
*Thomas Hunt, Foreman.*  
*Benjamin Hildreth,*  
*Abraham Keteltas,*  
*John Goclet,*  
*Hercules Wendover.*

Being ignorant of the Practice, and even the very Language of the *Law*, I shall repeat nothing said by the Lawyers on either Side, but where Reason and common Sense are sufficient to be one's Guide.



The *Information* charges *Zenger* with printing and publishing a *false, malicious, scandalous and seditious Libel*, called the *New-York Weekly Journal*. Thus the Attorney General inserted some Parcels of the Paper before-mentioned; but incumber'd with so many technical Barbarisms, that I must, as well as I can, reduce them to plain meaning. It imply'd, *that the Administration was so oppressive, that the People were leaving the Province to avoid it; that their Liberties and Properties are precarious, and Slavery is like to be intailed on them and their Posterity, which they collect from the Proceedings of the Managers here; the Law is at an End, Trials by Juries are taken away when a Governor pleases, Mens Dues are destroyed, Judges arbitrarily displaced, new Courts erected, without the Consent of the Legislature, Men of known Estates are denied their Votes, contrary to the received Practice, the best Expofitor of any Law; who is in the Province that can call any thing his own, or enjoy any Liberty longer than those in the Administration will condescend to let them? For which Reasons People leave the Province.* Now if all these things were true, could there be a greater Libel on Majesty itself, than to shew that a Man, guilty of such Oppression, had been kept in the Government so long as this Governor had been at *New-York*? If all or any of these things were true, what Madness was it for him to expose, I will not say his own Dignity, but that of his Office, by itaking it against a Croud of Witnesses, offering to prove he was unworthy of it by various Acts of Power?

*Mr. Hamilton*, Counsel for *Zenger*, required again and again, that, by proving what was said in the *New-York Journal* to be true, his Client must be cleared of the Libel. Ever since the Abuse of *Innuendo's*, by the Judges and Lawyers in the Reigns of King *Charles II* and King *James II*, they have not been often ventured upon by Court Lawyers, and seldom or never countenanced by Judges; but *Bradley*, the Attorney-General of *New-York's* *Information* against *Zenger* had no other Foot to stand upon than *Innuendo*; but as he would not let *Zenger* have his *Argument*, and *Mr. Chambers*, his own Counsel, declined his letting him have his, there is only *Mr. Hamilton's* in the printed Trial, out of which I shall take a few Lines, which mark a little the Misfortune of those *Britons* in our Colonies, who live under Governors that do ill and will not be told of it. I am sensible that this Attorney-General said no more than what the Judgments of the Courts, in the worst of times, established for Law, That to speak evil of Dignities is never the less, nay, that it is the more criminal for being true; but since *Common Sense* is directly

directly contrary in this to *Common Law*, I will repeat what Mr. *Hamilton* urges from the Case of *John de Northampton*, in Lord *Coke's* Institutes: "By this Indictment it appears, the libellous Words were utterly *false*, and there the Falshood was the Crime, and is the Ground of that Judgment; and is not that what we contend for? Do not we insist, that the *Falshood* makes the *Scandal*, and both make the *Libel*? And how shall it be known whether the Words be libellous, that is, *true* or *false*, but by admitting us to prove them *true*, since Mr. Attorney will not undertake to prove them *false*. I know it has been said, that Truth makes a *Libel* the more provoking, and therefore the Offence is the greater, and consequently the Judgment should be the heavier. Well, suppose it was so, and let us agree, for once, that Truth is a greater Sin than Falshood; yet, as the Offences are not equal, and as the Punishment is arbitrary, that is, according as the Judges, in their Discretion, shall direct to be inflicted, is it not absolutely necessary that they should know whether the Libel is true or false." How could a Governor, or his Creatures, stand the Hearing a *Free Briton* demand a Right to prove the abominable things said of him to be true, and the Judge himself perhaps made deny their Fellow-Subject that Right? If the Law screen'd him from hearing it, would not a small Portion of Prudence and Temper have kept him from running himself upon such a Dilemma? 'Tis obvious, by what has been said of this Governor's Carriage towards President *Van Dam* and the Chief Justice *Morris*, that the bitterest Part of the Words, called libellous, could be proved to be true in Fact. Mr. *Hamilton* then speaks very rationally of the Grievances the People in the Colonies are exposed to, by the Abuse of Power in the Governors. *I have heard it observed*, says he, *that the Man who was neither good nor wise before his being made a Governor, never mended upon his Preferment, but has been generally observed to be worse; for Men who are not endued with Wisdom and Virtue, can only be kept in Bounds by the Law, and by how much the further they think themselves out of the Reach of Law, by so much the more wicked and cruel they are.* His whole Speech on this Subject is well worth reading, and I therefore refer to it. The Attorney-General and the Judges too having nothing to say, but to assert that *New-York Journal* was a Libel, tho' the scandalous Parts charged in the Information were true, and that the Judge's Opinion was the Law and the Judgment, I am sure the Reader could take no great Delight in their Speeches; but that the Jury had to do with both the Law and the Fact, and to determine of both,

Counsellor  
Hamilton of  
ill Governors.

Mr.

Mr. *Hamilton* proved by the Verdict of the Jury in the famous Case of the *Seven Bishops*, who, when three of the Judges had given their Opinion that their Petition was a *Libel*, one only disagreeing, "The Jury, says he, took upon them, to their *immortal Honour*, to determine both Fact and Law, and to understand the *Petition* of the Bishops to be no *Libel*, that is, to contain no *Falshood*, and therefore found them *Not Guilty*." And the *New-York* Jury took very little time to consider the Matter, and by their Foreman, Mr. *Thomas Hunt*, gave the same Verdict for *John Peter Zenger*. Upon which there was three Huzzas in the Hall, which was full of People.

Tho' doubtless there had been as ill Governors in the *British* Colonies as this of *New-York*; yet Counsellor *Hamilton* assures us this was the *Second Information* for a *Libel* he ever knew in *America*; and the first was brought by Col. *Nicholson*, who had been Governor of *Maryland*, *Virginia*, *New-Scotland* and *Carolina* at several times; and his Proceeding there being against a Clergyman of the Church of *England* was the more extraordinary, because he affected an uncommon Zeal for the *Church* upon all Occasions. See how Mr. *Hamilton* relates it: "Governor *Nicholson*, who happened to be offended with one of his Clergy, met him one Day upon the Road, and, as was usual with him, under the Protection of his *Commissiſion*, used the poor Parson with the worst of Language, threatned to cut off his Ears, slit his Nose, and at last, to shoot him through the Head. The Parson being a reverend Man, continued all this time uncover'd in the Heat of the Sun, until he found an Opportunity to fly from it, and coming to a Neighbour's House, found himself very ill of a Fever, and immediately wrote for a Doctor; and that his Physician might the better judge of his Distemper, he acquainted him with the Usage he had received; concluding that the Governor was certainly *mad*, for that no Man in his Senses would have behaved in that manner. The Doctor unhappily shews the Parson's Letter, the Governor came to hear of it, and so an *Information* was preferred against the poor Man, for saying, *He believed the Governor was mad*, and it was laid in the Information to be *false, scandalous and wicked, and wrote with Intent to move Sedition among the People, and bring his Excellency into Contempt*; but, by an Order from the late Queen *Anne*, there was a Stop put to the Prosecution, with sundry others set on Foot by the same Governor against Gentlemen of the greatest Worth and Honour in that Government.



Mr. *Hamilton's* Story does not very well agree with Mr. *Nicholson's* Zeal for the Church at *Maryland*; and either *Hamilton* abused him in this Report of him, or *Nicholson* abused the World in that laudable Zeal.

Such rash and ruinous Proceedings as these, shew how absolutely necessary it is that the Capacity, Temper and Morals of all Persons to be preferred to Governments in our Colonies should be well approved before such Preferments, with a due Consideration of their Circumstances and Inducements to leave their native Country, to struggle with the Heats, Hurricanes and Wilds of *America*.

The Citizens of *New-York* were so well pleased with Mr. *Hamilton's* Proceedings for them in the Case of their Printer, that, at a *Common Council* of the City, held the 16th of *September*, 1735. 173

P R E S E N T

*Paul Richards*, Esq; Mayor.

————— Esq; Deputy-Mayor,

*Daniel Horsmanden*, Esq; Recorder.

A L D E R M E N.

*William Roome*, Esq;

*Christopher Fell*, Esq;

*Samuel Johnson*, Esq;

*Stephen Bayard*, Esq;

*John Waller*, Esq;

*John Burgere*, Esq;

A S S I S T A N T S.

Mr. *John Waldron*,

Mr. *Charles Le Roca*,

Mr. ——— *Myer*,

Mr. *Evert Bayard*,

Mr. *John Mears*,

Mr. *Henry Bogert*,

Mr. *John Fred.*

Mr. *Abraham de Peyster*.

It was order'd to present *Andrew Hamilton*, Esq; with the Freedom of the Corporation, and that Aldermen *Bayard*, *Johnson* and *Fell* do prepare a Draught of the same, which was done and approved in the following Words.

*Paul Richards*, Esq; Mayor, the Recorder, Aldermen and Assistants of the City of *New-York*, convened in *Common Council*, &c. Whereas Honour is the first Reward of Virtue, and publick Benefits demand a publick Acknowledgment: we therefore, under a grateful Sense of the remarkable Service done to this City and Colony by *Andrew Hamilton*, Esq; of *Pensylvania*,  
Barrister

*Barrister at Law, by his learned and generous Defence of the Rights of Mankind, and the Liberty of the Press, in the Case of John Peter Zenger, lately tried on an Information exhibited in the Supreme Court of this Colony, do, by these Presents, bear to the said Andrew Hamilton, Esq; the publick Thanks of the Freemen of this Corporation, for that signal Service which he chearfully undertook under great Indisposition of Body, and generously refusing any Fee or Reward; and, in Testimony of our great Esteem of his Person, and Sense of his Merit, do hereby present him with the Freedom of this City, &c.*

William Sharpas, Cl.

Several Members of the Corporation, and others, contributed to the purchasing a Gold Box, weighing Five Ounces and a Half, in which the *Seal* of the *Freedom* was inclosed; and the Box, with the inclosed *Freedom*, was carried to Mr. *Hamilton* at *Philadelphia*, by Alderman *Bayard*.

Round the Lid of the Box was engraved not only the Arms of the City of *New-York*, but this Motto:

DEMERSÆ LEGES TIMEFACTA LIBERTAS  
HÆC TANDEM EMERGUNT.

On the inner Side of the Lid was this Motto,

NON NUMMIS VIRTUTE PARATUR.

And on the Front of the Rim,

ITA CUIQUE EVENIAT UT DE REPUBLICA  
MERUIT.

CICERO.

The Corporation order'd their Thanks and Freedom, presented to Mr. *Hamilton*, to be printed, and several Thousands of *Zenger's* Trial were vended in the *British* Colonies, and in *England*.

1635.

We find this Governor still continuing his grand Air of Government, in his Behaviour towards the People of *New-York*, who, in *November* 1735, petitioned him to dissolve the Assembly, as appears by their Minutes in the following Terms: "The Speaker acquainted the House, that himself  
" and Capt. *Vanborn* having waited on the Governor with a  
" Petition for dissolving the Assembly, and that he had  
" likewise

“ likewise read unto him the Order and Request of the House  
 “ thereon, he gave them this Answer in Writing.

Gentlemen,

Since your Message takes notice that the House applied to me in November last, for the same thing they now desire, they must allow it still more out of the ordinary Course now, than it was at that time; therefore I must again answer, that as the Adjournment, Proroguing and Dissolving of the Assembly is the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown; and that as his Majesty has been pleased to entrust me with that Power, I shall make use of it as I find it for the Service of his Majesty and the Benefit of the Province, which I do not yet apprehend it to be.

We have seen how this Governor dealt by President *Van Dam*; how he turn'd out that worthy Magistrate Chief Justice *Morris*; how he endeavoured to ruin *Zenger* the Printer; and now how he kept up the Assembly, contrary to the Sense and Petition of their Constituents; yet we must leave him in this Government.

We shall now give a short Geographical Account of this Province, its present Inhabitants and Trade.

All the *English* Colonies in *America* affect to divide their Division. Districts into Counties, whether they have People for them or not; and this, in some of them, is so pompous, that it becomes ridiculous. Thus the *Ferseys* and *Long Island*, and indeed the remoter Parts of *New-York*, which is divided into no less than ten Counties, *Albany*, *Ulster*, *Dutchess*, *Orange* and *King's County*, which are inhabited by the *Dutch*, and Persons of *Dutch* Extraction, who make very good *English* when become settled amongst them, *Queen's County*, *Suffolk County*, *Chester County*, ——— and *New-York County*, are the other Counties.

Something has already been said of the City of *New-York*, New-York. which being much larger now than when it was called *New-Amsterdam*, makes a more agreeable Prospect than it did then. There are now about 1100 Houses, and near 7000 Inhabitants in it. The Houses are well built, the meanest of them said to be worth 100 *l.* which cannot be said of any City in *England*. The great Church here was built in the Year 1695, and is a very handsom Edifice. Here are also a *Dutch Church* a *French Church* and a *Lutheran Church*. The Inhabitants of *Dutch* Extraction make a very considerable Part of the Town; but most of them speaking *English*, one may suppose they go pretty much to the great Church, especially all those that are or hope to be in Offices. — The Minister



nister of it was lately Mr. *William Vesey*. Here is a Free-School and a Printing-house; but no more than one Bookseller's Shop, and that not extremely well custom'd. There's little or nothing of the old Walls left; the chief Defence of the Town now is *George Fort*, and two new Batteries, one on each Side of the *Narrows*, to secure the Place by Sea. The Fort is now in good Order, and there are two Companies of Soldiers in Garrison in it. The Council-house is a fair Building. The Government of the Town is by a Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Sheriffs, Common-Council-Men, Constables and other inferior Officers, in Imitation of the Corporations in *England*, where the *Body*, as 'tis call'd, do, in many Places, more Harm than Good; and I am afraid, at *New-York*, the Factions among the Magistrates, Rivals for the *Direction*, have not a little contributed to some Uneasinesses in the Province. *Manhattan* Island, in which the City of *New-York* stands, is 14 Miles long, very fruitful and pleasant, and being water'd by *Hudson's* River, makes a most delicious and profitable Plantation. Indeed this City and its *Environs*, for Prospect, for Profit, for Pleasure, is not exceeded by any in the *British* or any other Empire.

Kingston.

*Kingston* lies between *New-York* and *Albany*, on the West-side of the River, 50 Miles from the former. The Houses are straggling, except about 100, which compose the Main Rim, which is well built, and the Whole may amount to above 200 Families. The River *Æsopus*, a Name only known to the concerned, falls into *Hudson's* from *New-Jersey* near this Town, and makes a good Communication between this Province and that.

West-Chester.

In *West-Chester* County there is but one Parish, or at least but one Parish Church, which is at the Town so call'd; but there's a settled Maintenance for two Ministers, at 50 *l.* yearly each. 'Twas an Error in my first Edition to place *Rye* here, that Town belonging to *New-England*, in *Fairfield* County.

As to the Places, *Taskers*, *De Chams*, and *Munerenock*, mentioned in this County, all that I can say of them is, that I take them to have been *Dutch* Plantations.

Albany.

The Town of *Albany*, call'd anciently *Orange Fort*, is above 140 Miles from *New-York*, nearer *Canada* and *Quebec*. The Inhabitants are still mostly *Dutch*. Here is a strong Stone Fort. Queen *Anne* sent a Church of *England* Minister hither, who has 100 *l.* a Year settled upon him; and the Representatives for this County in the Assembly moved for a Church at the Expence of the Province. I know not whether it was yet built. The Town consists now of between 2 and 300 Families, who live very comfortably, and thrive

also by the *Indian Trade* for which it lies very convenient. Here the *Governors of New-York* have often Conferences with the *Sachems*, and a notable one was held here in the first Year of *Queen Anne*, when were here present the Lord *Cornbury*, Col. *Peter Schuyler*, Major *Dirk Weissels*, Commissioners for treating with the *Indians*; *John Belcher*, Esq; Mayor of *New-York*; *John Abeel*, Esq; Recorder; *John Rooseboom*, Esq; Alderman; *David Schuyler*, Esq; Alderman; *John Schuyler*, Esq; Alderman; Mr. *Richard Levingston*, Secretary for *Indian Affairs*; and *Hillette Van Olinda*, an old *Dutch Woman*, Interpreters. The first that had Audience were 2 *Sachems* of the *Hurons*, or *Canada Indians*; then 5 *Sachems* of the *Twightwights*, and *Tronondade Indians*; then the *Sachems* of the *Five Nations*, in Confederacy with the *English*. The *Kings*, in their Speech, make them Six; but I suppose that was a Novelty, on so extraordinary an Occasion, when some additional People were included. Those that appeared here now by their *Sachems*, were *Oneydes*, the *Onandages*, the *Cayanges*, the *Sinnecaas*, The Five Nations. and the *Maquaas*. There's hardly any one of these Names but the last, that are pronounced and spelt always exactly in the same manner. The Territories of these *Five Nations* and the other *Indians* reach'd to the *French Settlements* in *Canada*, the utmost Limits of which, Southward, are not above 200 Miles from the utmost Limits of *New-York*, Northward. The chief Business of this Conference, besides settling a few Matters in Trade, was the Exchange of Presents, which, on the *English Part*, are generally Clothes, and on the *Indian*, Skins. There are generally two Companies of Soldiers detached to garrison *Albany*, from whence a Party is usually sent to

*Schenectada*, 20 Miles above it. Here is, or was lately only Schenectada. one old Fort out of Repair, and the Palisado's rotten, which, I suppose, tempted the *French*, and their *Indians*, to insult it, as we have related. 'Tis rebuilt in a better Manner than before they burnt it, is larger and more populous, and being pretty far in among the *Indian Plantations*, the Inhabitants make good Advantage of the Trade with them. The Vale about it is not unlike that pleasant Valley which the *Trent* waters in *Nottinghamshire*, to which it has been often compared. Here are now about 150 Families, *English* and *Dutch*.

Between this and *New-York*, 170 Miles, dwelt several *Indian Nations*, as the *Makentowonit*, the *Pochanit*, the *Wooran*, the *Mamkikam*; one may call them what one will, the *Savages* would perhaps understand us as well as they do by



the Names they go by in our Histories. The *Maquaas* were to the West of Fort *Albany*; and Southward from them lies the Head of the *Mississipi*. On these Frontiers are two or three other small Fortifications, as *Half Moon*, *Nestigaun*, and *Saraclage*. The Country all along to the Mouth of the River, is equally fruitful and delightful. The *Indians* had it all 40 Years ago, except *Soperskill*, on the Western Shore of *Hudson's* River, which Shore was never planted by the *Dutch*, but is now by the *English*. The inland Country is still thin of Settlements.

Long Island. South-East from *New-York* lies *Long-Island*, sometimes called *Nassau* Island, stretching along *Fairfield* County in *New-England*, almost to the Mouth of *Hudson's* River. 'Tis a fine Spot of Ground, 150 Miles in Length, and 12 in Breadth. It was partly inhabited by the *English* before Sir *Robert Carr* came into these Parts; King *James I.* included it in the Patent he granted to Sir *William Alexander*, Earl of *Sterling*; and the Inhabitants of *Lyn* in *Essex* County in *New-England*, finding themselves streightened in Room, contracted with that Lord for a Tract of Land in this Island, to which about 100 Families removed, together with Mr. *Pier-son* their Minister, and began to plant at the West End of the Island; but the *Dutch* of *New-Amsterdam* gave them such Disturbance, that they deserted their first Plantation and settled at the East End, where they built a Town, and erected themselves into a Sort of Government, by the Advice of the *Massachusetts* Colony, of which they had been a Part. They called their Town *Southampton*, the Name it still goes by, and out of it was lately taken the Parish of *Bridgehampton*. Three of the Counties in the Province of *New-York* lie in this Island, as *Queen's* County, *Suffolk* County and *Richmond* County; for the *English* lookt upon this Island as dependent on *New-York*, and took Possession of both by Virtue of the Duke of *York's* Patent; tho' I don't see how the *Lyn* People could suffer in the Property they purchased of the Lord *Sterling*, who had a prior Grant. In *Queen's* County are two Churches, supplied with Incumbents, one at *Jamaica*, a Town of about 40 Houses, of which the Reverend Mr. *William Urquhart* was lately Minister. He has 50 l. a Year by Subscription from the *Yorkshire* Clergy, and 15 l. for Books. The other Church is at *Hempstead*, of which lately was Rector, the Reverend Mr. *John Thomas*, who has the same Income from *England* raised by the *Society for propagating the Gospel*, whose Stipends are good; and I hope their Stipendiaries are the same, especially those that are sent to *Maryland* and *Virginia*, where Ministers are much wanted,



but not such as I have known to ship themselves for these Places. Each of these Ministers have 60 l. a Year also from *New-York*. Near *Hempstead* is a noted Plain, taking its Name from it; and in this Plain there are often Horse-Races, the Breed here being famous, on which Account the Militia Regiment of *Queen's County* is Horse. In it are also *Constable Town*, *Utrecht*, and other small Places, not worth the Names of Towns, which together make a plentiful Provision for their Minister, as all pious and learned Divines ought to have.

There is an Allowance of 40 l. a Year for a Minister in *Suffolk County*; but there is no Minister in it, there being no Church; and my Author does not think *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Pastors to be Ministers. There are of them and of *Quakers* several Congregations, which he cannot allow to be called *Churches*. Tho' there's no Parson, there are two Towns in this County, *Huntington*, where are 40 Houses; and *Oyster Bay*, where there are as many. When the *Dutch* were in Possession of *Long Island*, they made Earthen Ware there, as good or better than that at *Delft*; but that Trade was lost as soon as the *English* were Masters here. The latter minded, and still mind planting and sowing, and formerly Skins and Furs. There is a Plain towards the Middle of the Island, 16 Miles long, and 4 broad, call'd *Salisbury Plain*, which yields very fine Grass, perhaps as fine as that of *Hempstead*; for here are Races twice a Year, and to encourage a good Breed of Horses, here is yearly a Silver Cup given to the swiftest. There's no manner of Rubbish, Stick nor Stone to be seen upon it. Here are two or three other small Plains, of about a Mile Square, which are very beneficial to the Neighbourhood.

About 40 Years ago was set up at *Northfleet*, in this Island, a Post, which runs twice a Week to *Nettlebed*, *Egerton*, *Ashford*, *Huntington*, *Oyster Bay*, *Flushing*, *Newton* and *Bedford*, where the Mail is carried over in the Packet-Boat to *New-York*. A very great Convenience in Trade, of which the Inhabitants of this Island have a pretty good Share in Horses, and the Commodities raised by Pasture Ground. Off the *East Coast* lie several desert Islands, and *Staten Island* at the *West End*, 10 Miles long, and 5 or 6 broad. The chief Plantations in it are *Billop's* at the South End, and *Palmer's* at the North, and at the Eastern Point is a small Settlement, call'd *Dover*. There are very convenient Harbours along the Coast of *Long Island*, and on the South-side, *Whales* and *Grampusses* were formerly, if they are not still caught by the Fishers in small Boats, and a considerable Trade driven

Whales and  
Seals.

with the Oil, as to the Sugar Islands and other Colonies, to *England* and *Ireland*. In Winter an infinite Number of *Seals* lie on some broken Marshes, Beaches and Banks of Sand. They make an excellent Oil, and would be very advantageous to the People of the Country, if they could fall into an easier way of coming at them.

Having mentioned the Fertility of the Soil of this Province, I shall only add as to its Products, that they are the same with those of *New-England*. It has nothing peculiar to itself, and therefore we shall refer to what we said there on this Head. The Soil is richer, and the Climate milder, lying two or three Degrees more to the *South*. The Corn and other Grain of this Province are reckoned to excel the like of *New-England* Growth; but so little, that I suppose it makes no great Difference in the Market.

The Animals, *Beasts*, *Birds* and *Fish* are the same as those in *New-England*, there being no more Difference between the two Provinces than between two Counties in *England*, or not so much in several Instances. The *Indians* of *New-England* and those of *New-York* differ as little, considering how *Indians* naturally differ from one another almost in every 10 or 12 Miles; their Customs varying with their Kingdoms, which were rarely of greater Extent. But it will be expected we should say something of the *Savages* of this Province, as well as others. I think they should lose the Name of *Savages*, having so long lived near, and even among the *English*, and accustomed themselves pretty much to their Usages.

Indians.

That their Language is as barbarous as that of the *New-England Indians*, will appear by the following Examples, as *Nequoyhagen*, the Neck; 'tis very odd that the first Syllable in the *Indian* Word *Nequoyhagen* is *Neq*, the very *English* Neck; and there is in all Languages such Oddnesses, which may be term'd *Lusus Linguarum*, as the Semblances of Branches and Sprigs of Trees, are often distinguished on Stones and Shells. A Liar is *Synquowmackriggh*, I cannot pronounce the *kriggh* of this dreadful Speech. There are several Dialects, according to the Difference of the Nations. As for the Persons of the *Indians*, they are generally well featured and well limb'd. I take their being well limb'd to be owing to their way of nursing Children, to put them early to the Use of their Limbs, after strengthening and hardening them by Water and Weather. They spoil their Complexions by dying and painting their Skins, which makes them so tawny, that, by way of Distinction from *Europeans*, they are as often called *Tawneys* as *Indians*. Their Hair is black and lank; they are bold



bold and dextrous in handling their Bows and Arrows; but they have long had the Use of Fire-Arms; and all the Nations bordering on *European* Settlements do not now pretend to oppose Musket, Powder and Ball with Bows and Arrows. The *Indians* in and near this Province had always a friendly Correspondence with the *English*; one Reason may be, they had been much longer acquainted with them than other *Indians* had been with the first Comers. The Colonies in *New-England* having had Commerce and Correspondence with them 40 or 50 Years before the *English* settled in *New-York*; and besides that, the *Dutch* had broken them of their Wildness, as 'tis said of *Colts*, by living and trading with them before the *English* came thither. *Pere Hennepin* owns they love the *English* better than the *French*, of which we saw enough in the Speech of their Kings to *Queen Anne*. They are apt to learn all things, and my Author adds, willing to be instructed in the *Christian Religion*, which I do not entirely believe, tho' out of a laudable Zeal for the Propagation of it, they are so represented to the Society, that have taken upon them the Charge of sending Ministers to them, some of which have not behaved as became their Divine Mission; insomuch that the shrewder Heads among the *Indians* have taken Notice of it, as will be seen by this Story, which *Sir Gilbert Heathcot* told me, as he had it from *Brigadier Hunter*, Governor of this Province. The *Brigadier* Governor giving some of their *Sachems* a Meeting at *Albany*, where he renewed what is called the *Covenant Chain*, or Alliance with the *Five Nations*, he carried with him Presents, as usual, which were several Suits of Clothes, set out for Show in the best Manner, and the *Sachems* being mightily taken with them, the Governor thought it a proper time to pursue another Part of his Instructions, which was to dispose them to receive favourably and give Ear to some Ministers, which were intended to be sent amongst them to preach the *Christian Liberty*. The *Brigadier* told them, *Their good Mother the Queen had not only made this noble Provision for clothing their Bodies; but she would clothe their Souls also, by the preaching of the Gospel; to which End some Preachers would be sent to instruct them.* To which one of the oldest of the *Sachems* made Answer, *That they most heartily thank'd their gracious good Queen and Mother for the noble Clothes she had order'd for them; but as to the Preachers, there had been such and such,* naming two or three, whom he had seen there or in *New-York*, who, instead of preaching their pious Religion, taught them to drink; and he was humbly of Opinion, that if their good *Queen and Mother* would send them two or three *Black-*

Indian  
King's Rail-  
tery on Mis-  
sionaries.



smiths to instruct them in working Iron-work, in which they were very ignorant, their People would be much more the better for it than for any Instructions from such Preachers. He said this so archly in his own Language, which was well interpreted to the Governor, that his Excellency could not help laughing, and the Design of the Missionaries was suspended at that time.

I suppose that very eminent Merchant and Magistrate, Sir *Gilbert Heathcot* above-mentioned, was well acquainted with the Affairs of this Province, finding, among the Counsellors, *Caleb Heathcot*, Esq; of his Family as well as Name.

The *Indians* still pay a great Respect to their Kings; but I suspect very much what some Writers say, that they believe the *Transmigration* of Souls, and talk as learnedly of the Creation of the World as their Neighbours. They are everlasting Dancers, given to all manner of *American* Sports and Gaming, and will play all they have at Cards, which they have unhappily learnt, as well as Drinking, of the *Europeans*; and I am afraid, have suffer'd more in their Morals by these two Vices, than they have been better'd by their Preaching. They have certain Festivals, or times set a-part for their Gamings and Dancings. They don't take much Care of their Dress, in which they differ little from the *New-England Indians*; but their Women differ very much from those both of *Old-England*, and *New-England*, and all *Europe*. When a Woman is with Child, she never admits the conjugal Embraces till she is delivered, and never while she gives Suck. If a Man dislikes his Wife, he turns her off for the least Offence; to cuckold her Husband is so little a one, that no Notice is taken of it, provided she tells him or her Parents of it. If she's turn'd out of Doors for other Crimes, she carries away her Children in Revenge. Their Maids do not long keep that Name, as we understand it, they lie with whom they please before Marriage; but afterwards are constant to the Husband.

They give no Quarter in their Wars, but to Women and Children, whom they keep for Slaves; and, notwithstanding what we have read of their Wars in *New-England*, those among themselves were rather Riots and Inroads. It was a bloody Battle with them, if 8 or 10 Men were killed, and a mighty Prince who had 100 Subjects. Then it was that we met with so many Names of Nations; but then there was generally a supreme King over several of them, who united them against a King of the like Character, when he was about making War upon them. One of the Kings, that came

to Queen Anne's Court, was of that Dignity; I saw them all as much as I had mind to, in the House where they lodg'd, in *Covent-Garden*, and observed that one of them assumed grand Airs, in Comparison to the rest. There are not 1000 *Indian Men* within the Province of *New-York*, and 8 or 10000 *Englishmen*, by which the Number of *Souls English*, within this Province, may be computed at above 50000. There is not much Talk of Profelytes to Christianity in any of the *English Colonies*, except *New-England*, where there are more Christian than Infidel *Indians*. Their Ministers were in earnest, and made the most of their Mission. Not one of them undertook it for the Hire, or took any or very little Hire for it, which naturally gave the *Indians* a favourable Opinion of their good Intentions, and the Strictness of their Lives were unquestionable Proofs of the Truth of their Doctrine, and the Sincerity of their Intentions. I will not pretend to make any Comparison between these and other Missionaries, and shall rejoice to hear there is no Room for it.

Number of  
Souls Eng-  
lish and  
Indians.

The Trade here in its Infancy was very large with the *In-Trade* *Indians* for *Skins, Elk's, Deer, Bear's, Beaver, Otter's, Raccoon's* and other rich *Furrs*. When I knew *London* first, there were 20 or 30 topping *Furriers-Shops* in *Walbrook, Wailing-street*; and I question whether there's now a tenth Part of them at least so well accusom'd, that Traffick is so very much decayed by the Difuse of *Furrs* and *Beaver Hats*. 'Tis almost the whole Dependance of the *French* in *Canada*, a barren Country and wretched Climate; and what else the *French* find there to render them so wealthy and puissant, as they are sometimes represented, I want as yet to be informed. As for *Lumber* and *Naval Stores*, 'tis no more to be compared to *New-England* than *Hudson's Bay* is.

The *Indians* supply the *English* in the Summer with *Venison, Fish* and *Fowl* very cheap. The Trade from *New-York* to the *Sugar Islands*, particularly *Barbados*, which is very considerable, is in *Corn, Flower, Bread, Beef, Pork, Pease, Bacon, Gammons, Smoked Beef, Apples, Onions, Board, Heading*; for which they receive in Return *Sugar, Molasses, Rum, Ginger, &c.* The *New-York* Merchants drive also a very advantageous Trade with *Madeira* and the *Azores* in *Pipe-staves* and *Fish*, for which they load their Ships back with *Wine* and *Brandy*; and, generally speaking, there's scarce a more profitable Trade in the *British* Commerce. I said, in my first Edition, that I knew a Ship employed in the Voyage between *New-York* and *Madeira* clear the Owners 3000 *l.* in less than two Years. It was the *Anne* of *London*, consign'd to Mr. *William Bolton*, Merchant of *Madeira*, who, in 15

A very profitable Trade

Years time, got an Estate of 30000*l.* there ; in all which the Author was too much concern'd not to speak of it with Certainty. The first Adventure, which, in this trading Voyage, had a neat Product of 3000*l.* was not 500*l.* and if there is no Revolution happened in this Trade since he was acquainted with it, and the Merchant has faithful Correspondents at *Madeira* and *New-York*, he will perhaps be thankful for this Advertisement upon making the Experiment.





T H E

# H I S T O R Y

O F

## N E W - J E R S E Y.

**T**HIS Province was Part of *New-Belgia*, and so Part of Nova Belgia. treated of by *Delaet*, in his History of the *West-Indies*, which was a very useful curious Book when it was first published, and long after. His Son lived all his Time in *London*, and was many Years Book-keeper to the Author's Uncle, Sir *John Bawden*, one of the greatest *West-India* Traders in that City or any other. *Delaet's* History is writ in very good *Latin*, but is now obsolete; Of Delaet's History of the West-Indies. *America* is now thoroughly known. The *European* Colonies are now powerful Nations, and the *Indians* every where few and contemptible, changed in Manners and Customs from what they were in his time; so are their Countries, and every thing but the Climate. Capt. *Hudson* discover'd this Province, with the other Parts of *New-Belgia*, as is said in *New-York*; but the Authors I copy'd did not, I doubt, enough enquire into the Beginnings of this Discovery; for 'tis most certain that the Adventurers to *Virginia*, which included, at first, all the Continent from *Canada* to *Carolina*, knew this Coast very well; and Capt. *Smith* and Capt. *Gosnold*, who had been at *Virginia*, to the South of *New-Jersey*, and at *New-England* to the North of it, could not avoid coming in sight of this Coast, forwards or backwards.

The *Indians*, who first inhabited this Territory, were the *Naraticongs*, on the North-side of *Raritan* River; the *Capitanasses*, the *Gacheos*, the *Senecaas*, and the *Maquaas* on the South. Authors certainly mistake in the Names of these Nations, they do not always write them alike, and the *Maquaas*

*quaas* being the most populous and powerful of them, they almost always bring them into their Descriptions. The *Sene-caas* inhabited the first Country, almost as high as the Falls of that River.

*Swedes here.* The first *Europeans* that settled here were the *Swedes*, who had three Towns here, *Christina*, called by the *Indians* *Andastaka*, *Elfsimbouurg* and *Gottenboug*. Their Settlements were chiefly on the South-side of the River, towards *Pensylvania*, opposite to which, there is a Place to this Day call'd Fort *Elfsimbouurg*. But the *Swedes* made very little of their Plantations; and the *Dutch*, always industrious in their Trade, work'd them so far out of it, that *Berghen*, the Northern Part of *New-Jersey*, was almost entirely planted by *Hollanders*.

*Divided into two Proprieties.* King *Charles II.* inserted this Tract in his Grant of *Nova-Belgia* to the Duke of *York*; but the *English* never made any Settlement in it till several Years after they were in Possession of that Province, and had extended their Plantations. The Duke of *York* having invested this Province by the Name of *Nova-Canarea*, in *John Lord Berkley* and Sir *George Carteret*; they or their Assignees agreed to divide it into two Parts, denominated *East* and *West New-Jersey*, which remained two distinct Proprieties and Governments several Years.

*East New-Jersey.* *East New-Jersey*, or that Part of it which borders on *New-York*, fell to Sir *George Carteret*, whose noble Family being of the Isle of *Jersey*, I suppose this Province, on that Account, took its Name from thence. *West New-Jersey*, or that Part of it which borders on *Pensylvania*, fell to the Lord *Berkley*. This whole Province, containing the two *Jerseys*, is thus bounded: It has the *Main Ocean* on the *South-East*, the River *Delaware* on the *West*, *Hudson's River* to the *East*, and the *Main Land* to the *North*. It lies between 39. and 40 Degrees N. Lat. and extends itself in Length on the Sea Coasts, and along *Hudson's River* 120 Miles, and is almost as broad as long, where 'tis broadest. We must now take some Notice of the Provinces, as it was under the Division of *East* and *West*, and was divided into two Proprieties.

*East Jersey.* The biggest and most inhabited of these was *East Jersey*, which extended *Eastward* and *Northward* all along the Sea-Coast and *Hudson's River*, from *Little Egg Harbour* to that Part of *Hudson's River* which is in 41 Degrees N. Lat. and *Southward* and *Westward*, was divided from *West Jersey* by a Line of Partition passing from *Egg Harbour* to *Cresswick River*, *Stony River*, and the *South Branch of Raritan River*.  
It

It extends in Length along *Hudson's River*, and on the Coasts 100 Miles, in Breadth it is very unequal. It was divided into Counties, for which we shall see there was little Occasion, as *Berghen County*, *Essex County*, *Middlesex*, on the *North-side* of *Raritan River*, and *Monmouth County* on the *South*.

*Berghen County* lies on *Hudson's River*, over-against *New-York*, and was first planted of any Part of this Tract. This, as well as the other Parts of the *Jerseys*, is extremely well water'd with Rivers. Besides that of *Hudson*, there are *Hackinsack River*, *Pasauk River*, and several less Streams. The chief Town is *Berghen*, the Name of the capital City of *Norway*, which gives me Reason to doubt whether it was not rather *Danes* than *Swedes* that first planted here. There is no other Town in the County, and this is but a sorry one, all the rest are *out Plantations*. Within the Precincts of this Town are 10000 Acres of Land cast out, that is, assigned over by the Proprietor to Tenants in Fee; and in the County there are 10000 Acres cast out. Most of the Inhabitants of the Town are *Dutch*, who, as we have hinted, work'd out the *Swedes* or *Danes*, and have been settled here about 70 Years. There are above 60 Houses in this Town, which stands on the *Western Point* of a Neck of Land, which, with *Staten Island*, forms a *Sound*.

The Reader will find little in the Description to satisfy his Curiosity. He will expect something from the Title of Counties; but they are in a manner *Vacuums*. I should not easily account for this, considering the *Jerseys* have the Advantage of a more Southerly, and consequently a warmer Climate, than *New-England* or *New-York*. I take the chief Reasons for this Province being more neglected than those, to be their falling into the Hands of the *Scots*, who then were not so enterprising and commercial as they have been since, and *Quakers*, who had not such a Head as *Pen's* for Trade and Politicks, and *Jobbers*, or Proprietors, who procured Grants of large Tracts from the Patentees, with Intention only to parcel them out, that they might make the most of them by Sale; whereas those that were interested first in *New-England*, *New-York*, *Maryland* and *Virginia* went thither in Person, and either saw their Settlements well established, or employ'd those that did. The Lord *Sterling* jobb'd *New-Scotland* and *Long Island*, and they came to nothing, till the latter being annex'd to *New-York*, thrived under the Influence of that thriving Colony. The *Jerseys* remaining still in a Sort of neglected Condition, 'tis no Wonder such as have a Mind to settle on the *Northern Continent* prefer *Pensylvania* and *Carolina* to this

Division.

Berghen County.

Why the Jerseys not encouraged.



this Province, these Countries being still more Southerly, were fruitful and pleasant.

*Essex County.*

*Essex County* is of Note chiefly for *Elizabeth Town*, which is three Miles within a Creek, opposite to the *West-End of Staten Island*. Here the first *English* Settlement was made, and if any Place in the *Jerseys* may be said to have thrived, it is this; for notwithstanding the Endeavours of the Proprietors to make a Capital of *Perth*, by calling it a City, *Elizabeth Town* has near six times the Number of Inhabitants, containing above 250 Families, and 40000 Acres of Land cast out. Here the Proprietors have a Plantation, which goes by the Name of their *Farm*. The Government of the Province is here managed, Courts are kept, Assemblies held, and the greatest Part of the Trade of the Colony carried on.

*Elizabeth Town.*

*Newark* is the most compact Town in the *Jerseys*. It lies 6 or 7 Miles Northward from *Elizabeth Town*, contains about 100 Families, and has about 50000 Acres laid out to be cultivated. The *Western* Part of this County is watered by *Rockway River*, upon which is a Saw-Mill. The Tracts of Land on this River are still to be laid out to Purchasers as in these Parcels, 1250 Acres, 2500 Acres, 1250 Acres, 2100 Acres on this River, and *Passauk River*, and 3750 Acres on *Rockway* and *Whippany Rivers*, 7500 Acres on the Branches of *Passauk*; also more 500 Acres and 1250 on the River itself. And Northward is a Ridge of Mountains, called the *Blue Hills*. The next County is

*Middlesex.*

*Middlesex*, the most flourishing and populous for its *Out Plantations*, tho' the Capital of the Country, *Perth City*, which stands in it, does hardly deserve the Name of a Village. The Proprietors order'd their Agents to use their utmost Endeavours to procure Inhabitants to remove hither on Account of its happy Situation; but *Elizabeth Town* kept them. In this Division of the Province are two Towns. *Piscataway*, which lies about 6 Miles up *Raritan River*. It has 80 Families and 40000 Acres of Land cast out. Seven or eight Miles from hence is *Woodbridge*, a good Town on a Creek within the Sound, formed by *Staten Island* and this County. It has 120 Families, and 30000 Acres for *Out Plantations*. The *Western* Part of *Middlesex* County is water'd by *Milston River*, which runs through a pleasant Valley belonging to Mr. *William Dockwra* of *London*, to whom *London* owes the useful Invention of the Penny-Post. Most of the Proprietors being *Scotsmen*, and among them the Earl of *Perth*, who receiv'd the very great Honour from King *James* at *St. Germans* in *France* to be created *Duke*, at the

Expence

Expence of the Ruin of himself and his Family. To compliment this noble Person, the City of *Perth* was so called, and is exactly of a Piece with the Proprietor's Dukedom, having but 30 or 40 Houses, which standing on *Amboy Point*, the City has that Adjunct in its Name, and is called *Perth Amboy*. 'Tis at the Mouth of the River *Raritan*, which runs into *Sandyhook Bay*, able to contain 500 Ships. We hear of that very often in the *American Bays* and Harbours, where there's hardly ever like to be a hundredth Part of that Number. The Plan of this City was laid out very regularly and spacioufly. The Plot of Ground was divided into 150 Shares for Purchasers to build upon. Four Acres were reserved for a Market-place, and three for publick Wharfage, very useful things, if there had been Inhabitants, Trade and Shipping. The Town being thus artfully and commodiously laid out, some *Scots* began building, especially a House for a Governor, which was then as little wanted as the Wharf or Market. The whole Plan of the City consists of 1070 Acres, and there are two good Roads from it to *Piscattaway* and *Woodbridge*. Ships in one Tide can come up to the Port, and be at the Merchant's Doors, tho' of 300 Tons Burthen; but the *Perth* City has not above 2 or 300 Men, Women and Children in it; yet all along the River *Raritan* the Country is thick of Plantations, the Chief of which were set out to two of the Proprietors, *Robert Barclay* of *Vry*, Esq; and Mr. *William Dockwra*, before-mentioned. Mr. *Barclay* is the famous *Scotch Quaker*, an Author who wrote a Defence of *Quakerism* in better *Latin* than any of his Answerers could boast. Near the Branches of this River are laid out now for Sale 1250 Acres.

In *Monmouth* County we first meet with *Middleton*, a pretty good Town, as Towns go in *Jersey*; it consists of 100 Houses, 30000 Acres of *Out Plantations*. 'Tis about 12 Miles over Land to the Northward of *Shrewsbury*, and 26 Miles to the Southward of *Piscattaway*, not far off the Shore, winds itself about like a *Hook*, and being *sandy*, gives Name to all the Bay. On *Milston* River and *Stony Brook* are now laid out for Sale 6500 Acres.

*Shrewsbury* is the most Southern Town of the Province, and reckoned the Capital of the Shire. It contains about 160 Families, and has 30000 Acres of *Out Plantations* belonging to it. 'Tis situated on the Side of a *Fresh Water* River, thence called *Shrewsbury* River, not far from its Mouth. Between this Town and *Middleton* is an *Iron-Work*; I add in my first Edition, *but we do not understand it has been any great Benefit to the Proprietors*. Since I wrote that, I have



myself had some Concern in a Project for *Iron Works* in *Virginia*, which did not fail for want of Iron Stone, or Firing, or in any Article of founding or forming the Metal, which answered to the full of our most flattering Expectations; and if the *Iron-Works* in *New-England*, *New-York* and *New-Jersey*, which we have spoken of as Trifles, were as well supplied with Materials as ours would have been in *Virginia*, they must have miscarried only through the Ignorance or Laziness of the Managers; for there may certainly be Iron enough made in the *British Colonies* to supply all *Europe*. The only Obstacles I have ever yet heard of, are the Duty and the Freight, which are easily got over, and the Prohibition of manufacturing the Metal at the Forge here, which is not so easily got over; but there may be ways found out for accommodating that too, as well as Freight and Duty. Col. *Lewis Morris*, one of the Counsellors of this Province in *Queen Anne's* Reign, began the building of a Church at the *Falls* of *Raritan River*. I do not hear how it issued; I suppose in supplying the Place with a Minister. My good Wishes are with all the Missionaries; but I have known so many of them that may perhaps wrong the rest, in my Opinion, of both their Morals and Abilities, especially in the *Continent Colonies*, where the Income is not generally so large as to tempt worthy Men to undertake the Mission. *Freehold* is a little Town, not long laid out and inhabited. It has about 40 Families, and an equal Share of *Out Plantations* with the other Townships.

*No Churches.*

There are few or no Parish Churches in this Province; but there are Congregations of *Church of England* Men at *Shrewsbury*, *Amboy* and *Elizabeth Town*. The leading Men of this Colony being *Quakers*, or *Scotch* or *English* Dissenters, they did not make it their first Work to build Churches for *Episcopal* Preachers. Doubtless as they became, or may become more enlightened, they will set about that Work, and find proper Encouragement from the *Society for propagating the Gospel*. At *Freehold* there is already settled an *orthodox* Minister, who has 60*l.* a Year; and there is also another at *Salisbury*, who has a Church and the like Income.

*West New-Jersey.*  
*Dr. Cox*  
*Proprietor.*

*West New-Jersey* is not divided into Counties, tho' *Dr. Daniel Cox*, who was the Proprietor of it, directed the laying of it into seven Counties, *Cape May County*, *Gloucester County*, &c. not worth naming, having never had a Being, his Successors not going on with the Project. This *Dr. Cox* was of the College of Physicians, and, in his flourishing time, had as good Practice as those Doctors who have now the best, tho' Fees were not then so high. His Wife was  
Daughter



Daughter of Alderman *Goldham* of *Tooting*, with whom he had, first and last, upwards of 40000 *l.* and a good Part of the first was laid out in this Propriety and *Carolina* near the *Mississipi*; which Project failing, as has been said, the Doctor was so streightened by it, that he resolved to remove to *West-Jersey*, and manage his Propriety himself. Accordingly he set out for the West of *England*, intending to embark at *Plimouth*, contrary to the Opinion and Consent of his Family and Friends, whose Hopes were not so much flattered by Expectations from this Country as his own were. A Gentleman, who was a Friend of mine, went after him, at their Request, having great Influence over him, and overtaking him at *Salisbury*, prevailed with him to return, and give over that Design; which however he would not have done, had he not met with some good Purchasers in a little time after, who bought of him as much Land in *West New-Jersey* as they paid him near 10000 *l.* for in *London*, which, at 20 *l.* for 100 Acres, will amount to 500000 Acres. Sir *Thomas Lane*, afterwards Lord Mayor, was one of these Purchasers, and all of them making the Purchase with a View of getting by Sales to under Purchasers, and not to go thither to plant or to trade, the high Price they demanded to make their Market by it balkt these Sales, and consequently the Settlements and Plantations in this Country. There is, at this time, a Parcel no less than of 5000 Acres bordering on *Cox's* Lands in Advertisement for Sale.

The most Easterly Point in this District is *Cape May*, at the Mouth of *Delaware* River, and over-against *Suffex* County in *Pensylvania*. A fine Situation for the Pleasantness and Fertility of the Country, and for foreign Trade. The Tract of Land between this and *Little Egg* Harbour, which divides *East* and *West New-Jersey*, still several Proprieties, tho' one Government, goes by the Name of *Cape May* County; but it has no Jurisdiction nor Officers. Here are several straggling Houses on the Neck of Land, the Chief of which is called *Cox's Hall*, and does or did lately belong to Col. *Thomas Cox*, the Doctor's Son. Most of the Inhabitants are Fishermen, there being a Whalery at the Mouth of the Bay; on this, as well as the opposite Shore. Next to *Cape May* is *Maurice* River, the biggest in the District. Next to that is *Cobenzy*, a small River; but deep and navigable for small Craft. Ten or twelve Miles up the River is *Cobenzy* Town, where are about 80 Families. The Bay and River of *Delaware* washes all the *South-East*, *South* and *South-West* Part of *West New-Jersey*. The Plantations, some of which are so close, that they have assumed the Name of the Town, lie all along on that

that Bay and River, and most of them on Creeks. This District abounds with Rivers and Creeks, and every thing convenient and pleasant for People and Life, but not with People. *New-York* on one Side, and *Pensylvania* on the other, suck away the Nourishment, which might else feed this Plant, the Soil being equally fruitful, and all other Conveniencies answerable.

*Antioch*, a little Village, call'd also a Town, lies on a Creek. *Gibbon's Creek* is nearer the Mouth of *Delaware River*; then *Alloway Creek*; then Fort *Elsembourg* at the River's Mouth, and over-against *Newcastle County* in *Pensylvania*. Near it the River *Salham* falls into the *Delaware*. There's a Town about half way up this River, from whence it takes its Name, which seems most likely to be *Salem*, not only from that noted in *New-England*, but being Scriptural, which was pretty much affected by Adventurers in the first *English* Settlements. 'Tis 20 Miles from *Cobenzey*, and had Counties been settled, as was intended, this Place was to have given Name to one of them.

*Fins's Point* and Town, hardly fizeable with an indifferent Village, lies over-against *Newcastle Town*. Next to it is *Naman Creek*, then *Racocos Creek*, then *Almon Creek*, *Low Island*, and *Wash Creek*; the latter opposite to *Chester* in *Pensylvania*; then *Great Mante Creek*, then *Woodberry River*, *Green-Bank*, and then *Gloucester Creek*, over-against *Philadelphia*; a delightful Country, healthy and commodious for the Business and Pleasure of Life. *Gloucester* is a pretty good Town, and was to have given Name to a County, had the *Shiring* of this District gone forwards. It contains above 100 Houses. Above that is *Panthakin Creek*; then *Northampton*, or *Racocos River*, and then *Burlington Town*, the Capital of the Province, over-against *Bristol*, in *Pensylvania*; 20 Miles above which there are few or no Plantations. Here the Courts and Assemblies of *West Jersey* used to be kept, when it was a Proprietary Government; and it might have been so still, had not Disappointment put some Persons out of Humour with others, and carried Matters to such a Heighth, that their readiest way to Peace was to surrender their Rights and Privileges to the Crown. It contains about 250 Families, and has an answerable Number of Acres laid out for Plantations. The Houses are well built, and almost all of Brick. The Market affords Plenty of all sorts of Provisions, which are as good here as any where in *America*. *Keeth*, the Quaker Convert to the Church of *England*, returned from thence hither, and a Church being built, a Minister was settled here, Mr. *John Talbot*, who had 60 l. a Year;

Burlington.

a Year; and the Church, I know not whether consecrated by *Keith* or *Talbot*, had a Dedication to the Virgin *Mary*; how the People there were edify'd by it I know not. Above this Town is one much less, called *Maidenhead*, containing about 50 Houses. 'Tis built on *Dr. Cox's* Lands. Above the *Falls* there's a Town still less than that, with *Out Plantations*, bordering on the *Minisinks*, an *Indian* Nation. The River *Æsopus*, between this Province and *New-York*, flows into *Hudson's* River near *Kingston*.

This Province has also an easy Communication with *Maryland*, there being a River within its Limits, which runs not above 8 Miles from the Bottom of *Chesapeake* Bay; and there was once a Project to cut thro' it 8 Miles; but my Author says, *Virginia* and *Maryland* opposed it so vehemently, that it did not succeed; and what they should have it cut for, till there were People to make Use of their Canal, I can no more comprehend, than how they would have raised the Money to defray the Expence, when they had so many more necessary Calls for it otherwise.

The Trade of *West New-Jersey* and *East New-Jersey*, as also the Soil and Conveniencies of Rivers and Creeks, are much the same, except that *West New-Jersey*, by its Situation on *Delaware* River, abounds more in the latter. The Soil, Air, Trade and Product of both have a near Relation with those of *Pensylvania*. The Country yields Plenty of all Sorts of Grain, and the Inhabitants are said to have been so scrupulous, that they would not enter upon it before they had purchased it of the *Indians*, at no very dear Rate. 'Tis computed that they are about 16000 Souls, and about 3000 Men fit to bear Arms. There are not 200 Souls among the *Indians* of this Province. Indeed neither here nor elsewhere, in the *British* Empire, are the *Indians* of any Account, unless in Cnojunction with the *French* at *Canada*, or the *Spaniards* in *Florida*. The *Indians* are now rather Help than Hurt to the *English*, and here especially they wish there were more of them.

Besides Provisions for the Sugar Islands, the Inhabitants drive a Trade in Furs and Skins, and little in Tobacco; but it would be well if the Colonies cultivated that less, and Provision more, or any other Commodities that are fit for Markets, which are much clog'd by the Product of our Tobacco Plantations. They ship off Train Oil, Fish, Corn and some other Provisions for *Portugal*, *Spain* and the *Canaries*. Ships may be built at *Perth*; but *New-England* engrosses that Trade, and has the best and the most Materials for it: And it must be owned, that *New-York* is the best Market



*Jersey* has for buying and selling any considerable Quantity of Goods of any kind.

Having finished the Geographical and Mercantile Part of our History of this Province, we must enlarge a little upon the Events.

About the Year 1676, the Lord *Berkely* assigned his Right in this Province to

Second Proprietari s.

*William Pen*, Esq;

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

*Mr. Nicholas Lucas*, of *London*, Merchant.

*Mr. Edward Bylling*.

These, not long after, agreed upon the Partition of the Province with Sir *George Carteret*; and this Proprietary dying, the Earl of *Bath*, a near Relation, and others of his Executors, with the Consent of his Lady, assigned over his Share, which was the Northern Division, to

\* *William Pen*, Esq;

*Robert West*, Esq;

\* *Mr. Thomas Rudyard*,

*Mr. Samuel Grove*,

\* *Mr. Thomas Hart*,

\* *Mr. Richard Mew*,

*Mr. Thomas Wilcox*,

*Mr. Ambrose Rigg*,

*Mr. Hugh Hartshorn*,

\* *Mr. Clement Plumsted*,

\* *Mr. Thomas Cooper*,

*Mr. John Hayard*.

The Proprietors, soon after, sold Shares of *East New-Jersey* to the following Persons:

*James Drummond*, E. of *Perth*.

*John Drummond*, Esq;

*Sir George Mackenzie*,

*Robert Barclay*, } of *Ury* Esqrs.

*David Barclay*, }

*Robert Gordon*, Esq;

*Mr. Robert Burnet*,

*Mr. Gawen Laurie*,

*Mr. Thomas Nairn*,

*Mr. James Braine*,

*Mr. William Dockwra*,

*Mr. Peter Sonmans*,

*Mr. William Gibson*,

*Thomas Cox*, Esq;

*Mr. Walter Benthal*,

*Mr. Robert Turner*,

*Mr. Thomas Barker*,

*Mr. Edward Bylling*.

Who, with the six Proprietors distinguished in the second List by the *Asterisks*, procured a Confirmation of the Patent, by another from the Duke of *York*, in the Year 1682, by which they were invested with all the Powers and Privileges, which the Duke had granted to Sir *George Carteret*, or which the King had granted to his Brother. By these Lists we perceive, that all the Patentees of the Lord *Berkley's*

ley's Division, or *West New-Jersey* were Proprietaries of *East New-Jersey*, except Mr. *Nicholas Lucas*; yet they did not procure any Conjunction of the two Provinces. On the contrary, separate Governors were appointed over each of them. The first Governor of *East New-Jersey* was *Robert Barclay*, Esq; and his Deputy *Gawen Laurie*, Esq;

Robert Barclay, Esq; Governor.  
Gawen Laurie, Esq; Deputy-Governor of East New-Jersey.

Among these Proprietaries are several extraordinary Persons besides the Lord *Perth*, as *Robert West*, Esq; the Lawyer, who distinguished himself by the execrable Evidence he gave against the most noble and most beloved Lord *Russel*, the Assertor of and Martyr for *English Liberty*: Here's *William Pen*, the Head of the *Quakers* in *England*, and *Robert Barclay*, the Head of the *Quakers* in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and at the same time, *John Archdale* the *Quaker*, who was chosen Member of Parliament for *Wycombe*, was a Proprietary of *Carolina*. Mr. *Barclay* came hither in Person with his Family. Most of the first Inhabitants here were *Dissenters*, and most of them *Quakers* and *Baptists*, an industrious sober People, and therefore the fitter for Enterprises that depend chiefly upon Industry and Oeconomy. The People here are still *Nonconformists* for the most Part; but 'tis to be hoped, if they had had Missionaries from the *Society*, that the Purity of their Doctrine and Lives would have gone a good way to reconcile them to the *Act of Conformity*. My Author insinuates, that the Inhabitants were afraid of building Parish Churches, lest it might be a Temptation to *orthodox* Ministers to come and take Possession of them; but that is an out of the way Consideration.

The Proprietaries made Mr. *William Dockwra* Register and Secretary of the *Colony*, Offices which he had above 30 Years, and Mr. *George Lockhart* Marshal. They also executed a Deed among themselves to prevent Survivorship, and agreed upon *Constitutions* or general Concessions for the Management of the Province, as to laying out Land for *Counties*, *Tribes*, *Towns* and *Parishes*, about which they have not yet had much Employment. They reserved one Part in seven for themselves, and they might have reserved one Part in two if they would, for any Likelihood of their being cut out by a Croud of new Comers. It will always be so, when Proprietors of *American* Countries do mind more the laying out Land for planting, than encouraging Planters by their Example. People, unless driven by Persecution and Oppression, will not cross the *Atlantick* for other Mens Advantage. The Terms of Purchase here were promising enough, if the main Things had not been wanting, Inhabitants and Traffick. Every Master of a Family was to have 50 Acres set out, and Conditions of Sale

25 for his Wife; and each of his Children and Servants, paying 12 d. a Head to the Register; Servants, when their Times expired, were to have 30 Acres. All Persons to pay 2 d an Acre Quit-Rent; or purchase their Freeholds at 50 s. for every 25 Acres taken up. I am afraid much has not gone at these Rates, tho' I was told that Land has been sold for 70 and 80 l. an Acre. I wish the Proprietors would sell every Acre, tho' at less than a tenth Part of it.

A Council was nominated to assist the Governor, or Deputy Governor. The latter, Mr. *Laurie* did not give Content in Mr. *Barclay's* Absence, being a Proprietary of *West New-Jersey*, it was thought he had the thriving of that District more at Heart than that of *East New-Jersey*, where he had the Government before Mr. *Barclay's* Arrival. It is mentioned as an Instance of it, that the Proprietaries having written to him to remove the Courts from *Elizabeth Town* to *Perth*, and to make that Place the Governor's Residence, that People might be encouraged to build by his Presence, Mr. *Laurie* disobeyed these Orders, and kept the Courts and his Residence at *Elizabeth*. The Proprietaries flattered themselves that if, in Obedience to their Orders, he had removed thither, *Perth* would, in a few Years, have rival'd *New-York* and *Philadelphia*; but they considered not that *New-York* had been possessed by the *Dutch* 40 Years, and every one knows the *Dutch* do not leave any Place they settle in so long without full Improvement. As for *Philadelphia*, the Character and Interest of Mr. *Pen*, his immense Application and Expence exceeding many times the Value of the Propriety of *New-Jersey*, were Advantages the latter could in no wise pretend to; and despairing to see their City of *Perth* bear any Proportion to the Town of *Philadelphia* and *New-York*, the Inhabitants of this Province have discontinued building there.

Lord Neal  
Campbel,  
Governor.

After Mr. *Barclay* came hither, he stay'd not long, and on his Arrival, the Lord *Neal Campbel*, Uncle to his Grace the present Duke of *Argyle*, was nominated Governor, in whose time the Assertor and Denyer of *Quakerism*, *George Keith*, came to *New-Jersey*, and taught School here. The Government appointed him *Surveyor-General*, which would have been a very good Place, had there been good *Layings out*. He staid here two or three Years, and then removed to some other *British Colony*, and from thence to *England*, where he declared himself *orthodox*, abused his old Friends and Benefactors, and became beneficed in *Suffex*. Mr. *John Reed* succeeded him in *New-Jersey*, as *Surveyor-General*; and some time after *Keith* returned in the Service of the Society  
for



for propagating the Gospel, who sent him to convert as well the Dissenters as the Indians, and he made an equal Progress in both. If 'tis rightly said in the Society Paper, that he brought Comfort to the Church, which was more than he did in Old England.

In the Year 1696, Col. Andrew Hamilton was appointed Governor of this Province, in which Post he did not long continue; for in the next Year Mr. Jeremy Basse was sent from England with this Character, which he also kept but a little while; for Col. Hamilton procured Mr. Basse to be recalled, and himself reinstated in his Government, which was again of as short Duration as Basse's, who also, in a Year's time, or less, was restor'd. Such Confusion in the Conduct of both Proprietaries and Governors did not put their Affairs forward in their Colony; yet People did purchase here and settle; and Lands near the Coast and Towns bore a pretty good Price at this time. Tho' the Majority of them were Quakers, who affect a peculiar Tameness of Spirit; yet a Militia has been form'd, and, at a Muster above 30 Years ago, 1400 stout Men appeared in Arms, Col. Thomas Cox, Son of Dr. Cox, being then Commander.

Col. Andrew Hamilton, Governor.

We have been speaking of East New-Jersey, while a separate Government from West New-Jersey, and we must now speak of the latter.

The first Governor of this District was Edward Bylling, Esq; one of the Proprietaries, who was put into that Office in 1683, and continued in it several Years. After which the greatest Part of the Province was sold to Dr. Daniel Cox before-mentioned, who took the Government into his own Hands, and was about to remove thither, as has been related, as has also the Sale of very large Tracts of his Land to Sir Thomas Lane and others, who made very little of their Purchase, and were heartily weary of it, as I very well knew from their own Mouths: However their Discouragements did not arise from any Defects in the Country, which is as fruitful and delightful as any we have hitherto treated of, and as commodious for Commerce. That was not what those Purchasers aim'd at; they were in hopes that others would have made those Experiments, and have paid well for what they had bought. In which being disappointed, it created ill Blood amongst them, and, after that, 'twas not likely that their Province, under fluctuating Government, would ever answer the Charge and trouble it might put them to; so the Proprietors resolv'd to try how they might better themselves by parting with their Liberties and Privileges, which were the less valuable, for the Want of People to enjoy them.

Edmund Byllings, Esq; Governor of West New-Jersey.

The Proprietors of *East New-Jersey* understanding in what Disposition those of the other Partition were, as to the Surrender of their Charter to the Crown, thought it might as well be of some Advantage to them as to their Neighbours, and both *East* and *West New-Jersey* being agreed upon that Matter, on the 22d of *April*, 1702, Sir *Thomas Lane*, in the Name of the Proprietaries of *West New-Jersey*, and Mr. *William Dockwra*, in the Name of the Proprietaries of *East New-Jersey*, surrender'd their Patents for the two separate Governments, reserving their Rights to the Soil and Settlements. Queen *Anne* immediately appointed the Lord *Cornbury* to be Governor, and his Lordship made the late Governor, Mr. *Jeremy Basse*, his Secretary. The two Provinces, which had, till then, been separate Jurisdictions, became united, and goes by the Name of *New-Jersey*, which is govern'd like the *Sugar Islands*, by a Governor, Council and Assembly. The Governor chooses his Council out of each District, and appoints a Lieutenant-Governor. I have no manner of Notion that the Value of Propriety rose upon the parting with the Charter; and this Colony, which is now annex'd to the Government of *New-York*, is in much the same Condition as it was 30 Years ago. A Year or two after the Surrender, Serjeant *Hook* purchas'd 3750 Acres of Land in *West Jersey*, and gave the tenth Part of it as a Glebe to the Church. He was a Presbyterian; but I suppose *Glebe* is as consistent with that Denomination as any other. So many thousand Acres is very sounding; but 100*l.* Stock in *South-Sea*, Anno 1720, would have purchas'd it. At that time this Province was under these Officers,

*Edward* Lord Viscount *Cornbury*, Governor.

*Richard Ingoldsby*, Esq; Licutenant-Governor.

*Lewis Morris*, Esq;

Col. *Andrew Browne*,

*Thomas Revel*, Esq;

*Francis Davenport*, Esq;

*William Pinborn*, Esq;

*William Sandford*, Esq;

*George Deacon*, Esq;

*Daniel Leeds*, Esq;

Col. *Robert Quarry*,

*Peter Sonmans*, Merchant,

Secretary and Register Mr. *William Dockwra*.

Governor's Secretary, Mr. *Jeremy Basse*.

Counsellors.

Having mentioned several Parcels of Land to be sold in this Province, I shall add, in the *West New-Jersey*, *Pabatunk* Creek 2500 Acres. *Paquais* Creek a Branch of the *Delaware*, 1313 Acres more, 1250 Acres on both Sides of the Creek. Upon the Side of *Delaware* Bay is a Parcel of 1250 Acres, at *Tockhockangkunch* Creek 2500 Acres, more 5000 Acres, and on the Branches of that Creek 2500 Acres, on *Tuffonian* Creek 1250 Acres, and on *Muskamkoa* Creek 1250 Acres. The Proprietors Agents are *Jahn Budd*, Esq; at *Hanover*, a little Town so called, on the Creek *Whippany*, which gave Name to it formerly; *John Acading* of *Amwell*, Esq; and Mr. *James Steel*, of *Philadelphia*, unless any Change has happen'd in the Regency.

The Province of *New-Jersey* having been for several Years Part of the Government of *New-York*, the Climate, Soil, Product and Trade much the same, it does not appear needful to enlarge upon it in a particular Chapter, unless more extraordinary Events had happened there. Considerable Recruits of People have arrived here from *Europe* since the former Impression, and every Article of its State and Condition is much encreased and improved, which is as much as we can say of it in general. Of the Trade of this Province and *New-York*, Governor *Hunter* reported in the Year 1720, that they had no Manufactures there that deserved mentioning, and that their Trade consisted chiefly in Furs, Whalebone, Oil, Pitch, Tar and Provisions.

The Increase of the Trade and Produce of this Province may be judg'd by that of its Number of Hands, especially Negroes, which are ten times as many as when this History was first published, infomuch that lately there was a Conspiracy of the Slaves in *Somerset* County on *Raritan* River, which was discover'd. They intended to get together at a time appointed, to murder all the white People there, and then to make their Escape, with what Arms, Provisions and other things they could carry with them, in order to go and settle in some Place of Security up the Country. About 30 of the Plotters were apprehended, one only hang'd, probably because they could not well spare any more; they punish'd the rest by cutting off the Ears of some, and whipping others.

This Provice is now a separate Government from *New-York*, and the present Governor is *Lewis Morris*, Esq; who had been so unworthily treated by Mr. *Cosby*, as has been before related.



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

**T**HIS is one of the most considerable of our *American* Colonies; and for the few Years that the Tract of Land, which goes by this Name, has been inhabited, none has thrived more, nor is more rich and populous. The late Proprietary Mr. *William Pen*, was the Son of Sir *William Pen*, who commanded the *English* Fleet in Conjunction with other Admirals in the time of the *Rump*, whom *Oliver* sent with Col. *Venables* to *Hispaniola*; and tho' that Expedition failed through the Conduct of *Venables*, yet Admiral *Pen* is generally said to have behaved well. He was a strong Independent, and so continued till the *Restoration*; when finding Religion and Liberty at the Mercy of their Enemies, he very quickly made his Peace with King *Charles*, and his Brother the Duke of *York*; but his Son, the younger *William Pen*, bore his Testimony against the *Church* at its very first Appearance in Pomp and Power. He was a Student at *Christchurch, Oxon*, when an Order came down thither, after the King was restored, that the Surplice should be worn, according to the laudable Custom of ancient times. It was a Sight then at *Oxford*, and young Mr. *Pen* having engaged the Lord *Spencer*, his Fellow-Collegiate, afterwards that great Politician, *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland*, and some other young Gentlemen, to join with them, they fell upon the Students that appeared in Surplices, and pulled them every where over their Heads; upon which both Lord *Spencer* and Mr. *Pen* were sent for by their Parents to *London*, and from thence went to *France* together, with Intention to travel for two or three Years; but at *Turin* Mr. *Pen* received a  
Letter

Letter from his Father Sir *William* to return home, the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral, having pitch'd upon him to command the Fleet under him, and his Son's Absence would at that time have been very inconvenient for his Family. But Sir *William Pen* did not long enjoy his high Station, and dying in the West Country, where he was born, was buried in *Redcliff Church* in *Bristol*, having, in Reward of his Services, had a Promise of the Grant of this Country from King *Charles II.* Sir *William* had a Kinsman, who was one of the first Planters at *New-England*, and it was, doubtless, The Grant promised to Sir William Pen.

from him that we had exact and particular Information of the Advantages that might be made of Lands and Settlements in this Continent of *America*; but young Mr. *Pen* having filled his Head with *Quakerisms*, did not for some Years apply himself strenuously to solicit the promised Grant, till at last finding his Friends the *Quakers* were harass'd all over *England* by *Spiritual Courts*, he resolv'd to put himself at the Head of as many as would go with him, and remove to the Country of which he obtained the Grant in the Year 1679. He gave it the Name of *Pensylvania* some Given his Son. time before he was actually invest'd with it, and 'tis so call'd in the original Patent, bearing Date *March* the 4th, 1680.

*It contained all that Tract of Land in America, with all the Islands belonging to it, from the Beginning of the fortieth Degree of North Latitude, to the forty third Degree of North Latitude; whose Eastern Bound, from 12 English Miles above Newcastle, alias Delaware Town, run all along upon the Side of Delaware River. So that 'tis bounded on the East by that Bay and River, and the Eastern Sea; on the North by West New-Jersey, or rather New-York, for it runs a great way above the Jerseys; on the West by the Indian Nations, about the Heads of Susquahanaugh and Delaware Rivers, by which we see it stretches far within Land, that River running through it about 2 or 300 Miles; on the South 'tis bounded by Maryland, and reaching from Pensberry, near the Falls of that River, to Henlope, near the Mouth of the Bay, above 150 Miles directly; but 'tis narrow all along, being very much crouded in the Breadth by Maryland.* Extent and Bounds.

The Bounds and Extent we have mentioned are in the original Grant; but Mr. *Pen* having afterwards obtained Part of *Nova Belgia* of the Duke of *York*, it was added to the Country in the first Grant, and both together called *Pensylvania*, which is divided into three upper Counties and three lower. The three upper Counties, *Buckingham*, *Philadelphia* and *Chester*, are the *Pensylvania* so called in King *Charles's* Grant; the three lower Counties, *Newcastle*, *Kent* and *Sussex*,

*sex*, are taken out of *Nova Belgia*, or the Province of *New-York*. The upper Counties end at *Marcus Hook*, four Miles below *Chester Town*; the lower run along the Coast 120 Miles, and are 40 Miles deep towards *Maryland*: Thus the whole Province of *Pensylvania*, from the *Falls Township* to 20 Miles below *Hinlopen*, or *Cape William*, is in Length 330 Miles, and in Breadth 200. The River *Delaware*, above and below the *Falls* for a good Length, is called the *Freshes*, and near the Mouth are the *Marshes* very fertile and commodious.

The Tracts of Land, from about 25 to 60 Miles above *Philadelphia* are but thinly inhabited and planted, as may be seen by the large Parcels lately advertised to be sold. As

Lands not  
laid out.

- 5000 Acres at *Sawatares*, 60 Miles from *Philadelphia*.
- 14000 Acres on *Manataway Creek*, 35 Miles from that City.
- 8000 Acres near *Springton*, 30 Miles from *Philadelphia*.
- 10000 Acres at *Perkassie*, 27 Miles from that City.

These Lands lying above the Plantations we are coming to, I thought proper to give them Place. The Proprietary's Agent for disposing of these Lands is Mr. *James Steel*, of *Philadelphia City*. Other large Tracts, at any Distance from it, may be purchased, and doubtless will be in sale for Ages, new Comers generally choosing to settle in the trading Towns near, or in the Country nearest to them. The Province must swarm with People before the Land 60 or 70 Miles above *Philadelphia* will have Purchasers and Planters. 'Tis supposed that not a twentieth Part of the Province is planted; but it is cleared every where more than any other Parts of the Continent of *America* possessed by the *English*. Mr. *Pen* reserved 5 Manors in each County, as his particular Propriety; but doubtless with an Intention to part with them, as well as the rest, as soon as he could. The three lower Counties are more likely to intercept Planting and Trading, than the distant Parts of the upper attract it, the first of which is *Buckingham County*, and the first Town the *Falls Town*, consisting of about 50 Houses. The Villages here are generally denominated from Creeks, on which they are built, as *Nesmonah Creek*, then *Perkassie Creek*, then *Pommoneka Creek*; but this upper Part of the Province being, as is observed, thinly peopled, the Villages are not yet worth Names.

Buckingham  
County.

*Bristol* is reckoned the chief Town in this County. It is 20 Miles from *Philadelphia*, and consists of 70 or 80 Houses, and lies over-against *Burlington*, in *West New-Jersey*.

'Tis



'Tis noted for its Mills of several Sorts, built by Mr. *Samuel Carpenter*, an eminent Planter in this Country, formerly a *Barbados Merchant*. The next Place is *Pensberry*, on a Pensberry. small Creek. It was a Manor Mr. *Pen* reserved for himself. Here he built a very handsom House, finely situated, and the Situation much improved by the Plantation and Building. The Lord *Cornbury*, when he was Governor of *New-York*; visited this Manor, and was extremely well pleased with the House, Gardens and Orchards; the latter produced excellent *Pear-mains* and *Golden-Pippins*. 'Tis feated in a treble Island, the *Delaware* running three times about it. The House is built with Brick, and stands high and dry. There are 10 or 12 small Townships in this County, which send 6 Members to the Assembly; one of whom was, in my first Edition, *Joseph Growden*, Esq; who was then Speaker, and very instrumental in planting and settling this County; for which, and many other things, it is very much indebted to his Care and Services. Since that Edition I have had a Neighbour and Friend in his Son, late a Merchant at *Bristol*, and now in *Pensylvania*, and with Pleasure I repeat the Justice I did his Father when I wrote my History.

The next County is *Philadelphia*, so called from that City, Philadelphia County. the Capital of the whole Province. The first Town in this County is *Frankfort*; as big as *Bristol*, and as well built. The Inhabitants were at first *Swedes* and *Dutch*, who inhabited several Places in *Pensylvania*. The *Swedes* settled themselves mostly on the Creeks near the *Freshes*; and 'tis amazing to me, that *Swedes* and *Dutch*, knowing what a fine Country Swedes and Dutch here. here is from *Hudson's River Southward*, where Territories of Land might be purchased reasonably, and the Government, if not the Religion of the Provinces better than their own, should not have been tempted, in all this time, to remove to those warmer, more fruitful and more delightful Climes. The *Dutch* planted near *Oxford*; upon the *Bay* there is a Church of *England* Congregation, and about 80 Families in the Town. From hence we come to the City of *Philadelphia*.

*Philadelphia*, one of the best laid out Cities in the World, Philadel-phia. the Capital of *Pensylvania*; and was it full of Houses and Inhabitants, according to the Proprietary's Plan, it would be a Capital fit for a great Empire. As it is 'tis a large City, considering its late Foundation, most commodiously situated between two navigable Rivers, the *Delaware* and *Schuylkill*. He design'd the Town in Form of an oblong Square, extend- The Plan. ing two Miles in Length from one River to the other. The long Streets eight in Number, and two Miles in Length, he

Number of  
Houses.

he cut at right Angles by others of one Mile in Length, and sixteen in Number, all straight and spacious. He left proper Spaces for Markets, Parades, Keys, Meeting-houses (I can't imagine why they are not call'd Churches) Schools, Hospitals, and other publick Buildings. There were, *some Years ago*, a great Number of Houses, and it encreases every Day in building, which are all carried on regularly, according to the first Plan. The City has two Fronts on the Water, one on the East-side, facing the *Schuylkill*, and the other on the West, facing the *Delaware*, which is near two Miles broad, and navigable 300 Miles, at least for small Vessels. The Eastern Part is the most populous, on account of the *Schuylkill*, which is navigable 100 Miles above the *Falls*. We have observed that each Front of the Street was to be two Miles from River to River, as it was at first laid out; but one cannot suppose it is finished in that Manner. The Street that runs along the *Schuylkill* is three-quarters of a Mile in Length; the Houses are stately, the Wharfs and Warehouses numerous and convenient. This City flourished so much at first, that there were near 100 Houses, great and small, in it with in less than a Year's time, and it has made answerable Progress, the Number of Houses, at this time, being above 2000, and, generally speaking, better Edifices than in the Cities of *England*, a few excepted, and in those only a few Streets. These here have large Orchards and Gardens; the Land on which it stands is high and firm, and the Convenience of Cover, Docks and Springs have very much contributed to the Commerce of this Place, where many rich Merchants now reside, some of which are so wealthy, that they keep their Coaches. The Plan we have been speaking of was, by Mr. *Pen's* Procurement, drawn up by Mr. *Thomas Holme*, who was appointed Surveyor-General of the Province, which is a very beneficial Place in those Provinces, where People come to purchase and settle, as they did and do in *Pennsylvania*. Ships may ride here in 6 or 7 Fathom Water, with very good Anchorage; the Land about it is a dry wholefom Level. All Owners of 1000 Acres and upwards had their Houses in the two Fronts, facing the Rivers, and in the *High Street*, running from the Middle of one Front to the Middle of the other. Every Owner of 1000 Acres had about an Acre in Front, and the smaller Purchasers about half an Acre in the back Streets, by which means the least had Room enough for a House, Garden and small Orchard. *Highstreet* is 100 Foot broad, so is *Broadstreet*, which is in the Middle of the City, running from *North* to *South*. In the Center is a Square of 10 Acres, for the

State-

State-house, Market-house, School-house, as before hinted. The Names of the Streets here denote the several Sorts of Timber that are common in *Pennsylvania*, as *Mulberry-street*, *Sassafras-street*, *Chestnut-street*, *Walnut-street*, *Beach-street*, *Ash-street*, *Vine-street*, *Cedar-street*. There are also *King-street*, *Broad-street*, *High-street*. The Court-house is built of *Brick*, and under it is a Prison; several Houses on the Key are worth 4 and 5000 *l.* and 15 Ships have been on the Stocks at a time; some Hundreds have been built there. The Cellars or Ware-houses on the Key are made into the River three Stories high. Here are two Fairs a Year, and two Markets a Week. It sends two Members to the Assembly.

The Inhabitants being at first mostly *Quakers*, and so they continue, it was some time before there was a Church built after the Manner of *England*; but as soon as one was built, it was called *Christ-church*, much better named than *Christchurch* from *St. Boniface*, or *St. Becket*, &c. It had, in a few Years, a very numerous Congregation, and King *William* order'd an Allowance of 50 *l.* a Year to the Minister, which, with voluntary Contributions, made a very handsom Provision for him. There are above 1200 of the Inhabitants that are of this Congregation, who have for some Years had the Benefit of an Organ; and tho' it look'd and sounded strange to the *Quakers* at first, yet they are now so far reconciled to it, as to bear with their Neighbours having it without Grumbling. Here are, besides this, several *Meeting-houses*, as for the *Quakers*, who are properly the Church, as by *Law* establish'd, being the Originals, the *Presbyterians*, the *Baptists*, and a *Swedish* Church. The Rev. Mr. *Evans* was lately Minister of the *Church of England* Church, his Assisstant Mr. *Thomas*, the Schoolmaster Mr. *Club*, whose Allowance was 50 *l.* a Year from the Publick, besides the private Perquisites of his School.

According to the Plan, there is, in each Quarter of the City, a Square of 8 Acres, intended for the same Uses as was *Moorfields* in *London*, Walks and Exercises for the Citizens. The great Dock is form'd by an Inlet of the River *Delaware*, at the South-Corner of the Front of the Wharfs, and has a Bridge over it at the Entrance; several Creeks run into the City out of the two Rivers, and there's no City in *Holland* that is so naturally accommodated with fine and commodious Canals than this might be very easily. The Key is beautiful, above 200 Foot Square, to which a Ship of 500 Tons may lay her Broadside; and as these surprizing Advantages have already render'd it one of the best trading Towns



Towns in the *British* Empire out of *Europe*, so, in all Probability, it will continue to increase in Commerce, Riches and Buildings, till for Number and Magnificence it will have no Equal in *America*, where the *French* have not, nor are likely to have any thing like it. Here are almost all sorts of Trades and Mecanicks, as well as Merchants and Planters. Here the Assemblies and Courts of Judicature are held, and the Business of the Province is chiefly managed, as in all Capitals. Here is a Printing-house, and a *Gazette* weekly published. In a Word, here are all things necessary for an *Englishman's* Profit and Pleasure.

At a little Distance from *Philadelphia* is a pleasant Hill, very well wooded, on the Banks of the *Schuylkill*, called *Fair Mount*. *Wioco*, half a Mile from the Town, is a *Swedish* Settlement, where the People of that Nation have a *Meeting-house* for Religion. The *Pensylvanians* are so complaisant to Episcopacy, that, tho' *Quakerism* is, in some sort, the Religion of the Government, they will not presume to call their Congregations Churches; but give up that Form to those that confine it to Walls, and Roofs, and Floors that have been consecrated. The *Swedes* have another Meeting-house at *Tenecum*; but whether these Places are in *Buckingham* or *Philadelphia* County, we have not learnt.

*Abington* and *Dublin* are two pretty Towns in *Philadelphia* County; but the most considerable next to that City is *German Town*, a Corporation of High and Low *Dutch*; there are between 2 and 300 Houses in it; Peach-trees are planted all along before the Doors. The Town is very pleasant, and very well cleared from Trees.

Within Land lies *Radnor*, finely situated and well built, containing above 50 Families. In this Place is a Congregation of *Church of England* Men. 'Twas at first called *Amstel* by the *Dutch*, who began building here, from the Name of the River at *Amsterdam*. There are several Creeks in these two Counties, as *Derby* Creek, &c. *Amorstand* lies between that and another nameless Creek; from whence, passing by *Redloyer*, we come to *Chester* County, so called because the People who first settled here came for the most Part from *Cheshire*. The first Town in it is *Newton*, consisting of between 30 and 40 Houses. There are above 100 Houses in *Chester* Town, the Capital of the County, where's a very good Road for Shipping, the *Delaware*, on which it stands, being here three Miles over. Here are a Court-house and a Prison. This Place is also called *Upland*, and has a Church dedicated to *St. Paul*, with a numerous Congregation of those, whom, exclusive of all other Christians, we call

Swedish  
Churches.

Chester  
County.

call *Ortodox*, whose Minister was lately Mr. *Henry Nicholls*. His Income paid by the *Society* 50 *l.* a Year. The School also depends upon the Minister, and is of some Advantage to him. There's another Town called *Chichester*, as is also the Creek on which it stands, which is navigable. It has above 100 Houses; the little Town of *Concord* has not so many. The other *Townships* in this County are small, but the Land is well planted. *Marcus Hock*, four Miles from *Chester*, is the Boundary of the three upper Counties, properly called *Pennsylvania*. *Chester* County sends 6 Members to the Assembly.

Below *Chichester* is a great Creek, which we may be sure belongs to the *Dutch*, by the Name that is given it, *Brandywine*. Here's Room enough to lay up the whole Navy Royal of *England*, there being from four to eight Fathom Water. Between *Brandywine* and *Christina* is an Iron Mill; at *Christina* Creek the *Swedes* had a Town and Plantations; they inhabited this and the other Side of the *Delaware*, call'd *La Nouvelle Swede*, or *New Sweden*, by *Robbe* the French Geographer: It included Part of this Province and Part of *New Sweden* *Fersey*; the Creek is large, but the Village inconsiderable; tho' the *Swedes* had a Church here not long ago. Between this and the next Creek is *Newcastle* Town, from whence the adjoining County takes its Name. The Lands hereabouts are called the *Welsh Tract*, and there are near 40000 Acres, planted and laid out by and for *Welshmen*. 'Tis thick of little Townships, as *Haverford West*, *Merioneth*, and others. 'Tis populous, and the People are very industrious, by which means this Part of the County is the best cleared. The Inhabitants have many large Plantations of Corn and Bread, abundance of Cattle, insomuch that they are lookt upon to be in as thriving a Condition as any in the Province. *Newcastle County*.

*Mountjoy* is a Manor that belonged to a Daughter of Mr. *Pen*, and here the first *Lime-Stone* was dug that ever was found in *America*. This whole Country is remarkable for its excellent Gravel, very rare to be met with on all the Continent of *America*. It sends 6 Members to the Assembly. 'Tis inhabited by *English* and *Dutch*, and is the next Place for Bigness and Trade to *Philadelphia*, containing now between 5 and 600 Houses well built. Here live and thrive many Merchants and Tradesmen; the Church has a large Congregation, mostly *Welsh*. Its Minister was lately Mr. *Rofs*. The *Dutch* have also a Church here. The Court-house is for the Magistracy, who do not want Business. Ten Miles from it is *St. George's*, a pretty Village. I know not how it came to be fainted; for the *Quakers* do not believe in *Canonization*. Then *Blackbird* Creek, and over-against it lies

lies a little Island, called *Rhode Island*, in the *Delaware*, where there is 10 Fathom Water. *Apaquanany* Creek is honoured with the Name of a River; it has a little Town so called; the Country within 10 Miles of *Newcastle*, *North* and *West* is its proper Signiory. The County sends 6 Members to the Assembly. There's another Creek so called, and they are distinguished from one another by *North* and *South*. The Inhabitants have built a Church; but I know not whether it is yet endowed, or supplied with a Minister, tho' I suppose it is. Passing by *Bombay Point* and *Duck Creek*, we come to *Kent County*, in which are *Cranebrook*, *Dover*, *Murden*, and *Mispelliven* Creeks. *Dover* was formerly called *St. John's Town*, and consists now of about 50 Families; 'tis look'd upon as the Capital of the County, which is settled like *Virginia*, not in Townships, but in scatter'd Plantations. The Land is good, and this Shire is represented by 6 Members in the Assembly. Here is a Church of *England* Congregation. The Minister was lately *Mr. Thomas Crawford*, who had 50 *l.* a Year paid by the Society. It is in the Bay of *Delaware*, which is there about 7 Leagues over. *Cedar Creek* is, by some, dignify'd with the Name of a River. 'Tis the first in *Suffex County*. *Mr. Pen* gave it this Name, from his Seat in that County in *England*. The chief Town is *Lewes*, on a Creek so called, next to *Plum Creek*; it is handsome and large, standing on the beautiful Banks of a River between the Town and the Sea, which makes the Harbour.

Below this Place and the Mouth of the *Delaware*, is *Cape Hinlopen*, or *Cape William*, and 20 Miles below that, *Cape James*, the farthestmost Bounds of the Province of *Pensylvania*. The Whalery we mentioned was at *Cape William*. *Suffex County*, like *Kent*, is inhabited by Planters, whose Plantations lie also scattering, as suited best to their Convenience.

Every one of the six Counties has a Quarterly and Monthly Sessions, and Assizes twice a Year; there's a Sheriff for each. They run along 20 or 30 Miles on the Rivers and Bays, and backwards as far as they are planted, which is 20 Miles in some Places.

The Villages hereabouts are very thin, the *English* chusing to inhabit that Part of the Province which lies on the upper River; and since their Settlement in *Pensylvania*, the *Dutch* and *Swedes* have made very little Progress in their Plantations; whereas the *English* are increased so much, that there are between 80 and 90000 Souls of that Nation in this Colony, and of *Palatines*, *Dutch*, *Swedes* and *French* and *Negroes*, 10 or 15000 more. About three Miles below *Lewes's Creek* is the *Line of Partition*, which divides *Pensylvania* from *Maryland*.

Kent County.

Suffex County.

Number of Inhabitants.



land. The Society of Adventurers we shall have Occasion to speak of hereafter, had a *Whalery* near *Lewes*; but the *Whaleries* in the *British America* are now hardly worth mentioning.

As to the Climate, *Pensylvania* is, by its Latitude, at a like <sup>Climate and Soil.</sup> Distance from the Sun with *Naples* in *Italy*, and *Montpellier* in *France*, which Mr. *Pen*, in his Account of the Country, very artfully observed, to shew its Agreement with two of the most healthy and pleasant Places in the Universe; but it must be acknowledged, that the Climates in the Continent of *America* differ much from those of the same Latitude in *Europe*. *Hudson's Bay* and the *Thames* are much in the same Latitude, with respect to the Sun; yet the *Thames* is in a mild agreeable Climate, and *Hudson's Bay* almost in perpetual Frost and Snow. Naturalists can very easily give the Reason of it: The Air here is sweet and clear; the Fall begins about the 20th of *October*, and lasts till the Beginning of *December*; Frosty Weather and extreme cold Seasons are frequently known here; but, as in most Countries where are such Seasons, the Air is dry and hungry. The River *Delaware* is sometimes frozen over, notwithstanding its Breadth. From *March* to *June* the Spring lasts; but the Weather then is more inconstant than in the other Season, which it generally is in other Countries. The Heats are extraordinary in the Summer Months, *July*, *August* and *September*; but mitigated by cool Breezes, which make them very tolerable. The Wind is *South-West* during the Summer; but generally *North-Westerly* Spring, Fall and Winter, which blowing from the Frosty and Snowy Mountains, and Lakes of the *Terra Canadensis*, is doubtless a main Reason of the excessive Cold here in Winter. <sup>Seasons.</sup>

The Soil in this Tract of Land is, in some Places, a yellow and black Sand, in others a loomy Gravel, in others a fat Earth, like the Vales in *England*, especially by inland Brooks and Rivers, where the Lands are mostly three to one richer than those that lie by navigable Rivers. There's also found a black Hazel Mould, on a stony Bottom. The Earth is fruitful, fat and easy to be cleared, because the Roots of the Trees lie almost on the Surface of the Ground. Some Allowance must be made for Mr. *Pen's* Propriety, in the tempting Description he gives us of the Country. We have said enough of the Rivers and Creeks in it, and shewn how commodious they are for Navigation and Communication. Among other Waters, Mr. *Pen* names the Mineral like those <sup>Waters.</sup> of *Barnet* and *Northall*, which were in very great Vogue when he wrote; but will be now no Recommendation of the Place. These Springs are about 2 Miles from *Phila-*

*delphia*, at a happy Distance for *Water-Drinkers*; but the Number of them is, since that, lessen'd extremely.

Product.  
Trees.

The natural Product here are Trees of almost all sorts, *Oak*, red, white and black *Ash*, *Beech*, *Spanish Chestnut*, *Cedar*, *Walnut*, *Cypress* and *Swamp*, the most durable of all. Here are *Poplar*, *Gumwood*, *Hickory*, *Sassafras*; and as for Shrubs, *Snakeroot*, *Sassaparilla*, *Jallop*, *Spruce* and *Cranberries*. Mr. *Pen* is very particular, and what follows is exactly in the Idea and Stile of a Proprietary, *Grapes*, *Plumbs*, *Strawberries*, *Mulberries*, *Walnuts*, *Chestnuts* grow naturally in the Woods; and there are prodigious Quantity of excellent *Peaches*.

Fruits.

Grain.

*Wheat*, *Barley*, *Oats*, *Rye*, *Pease*, *Beans*, *Water-Melons*, *Musmelons*, *Apples*, *Pears*, *Cherries*, *Apricots*, *Carrots*, *Tur-nips*, *Parsnips*, *Cabbages*, *Colworts*, *Potatoes*, *Radishes* as big as *Parsnips*, *Onions*, *Cucumbers*, *Quinces*, &c. (for there's enough) are in great Plenty here; as also *Indian Corn*, *Hemp*, *Flax*, &c. 'Tis common, from one Bushel of Grain sown here, to reap 40, often 50, and sometimes 60 Bushels. One Mr. *Edward Jones* had, for one Grain of *English Barley*, 70 Stalks and Ears of that Corn in his Plantation on the *Schuylkill*; but there's no Dependance to be made on such sort of Increase.

Fertility.

Animals.

Of living Creatures, there are, for Food and Trade, *Deer*, the *Elk*, as big as a small *Ox*, *Rabbits*, *Raccoons*, *Beaver*; Plenty of *Oxen*, *Cows* and *Sheep*; of the latter, 'tis common for Farmers to have 4 or 500 in a Flock; *Horses*, some very good, and stately enough.

Beasts.

Fowl.

Of Fowl, here are the *Land Turtle*, 40 or 50 Pounds Weight, *Pheasants*, *Heath-Birds*, *Pigeons*, *Partridges*, Clouds of *Black-birds*, *Swans*, *Geese*, *Brainds*, *Ducks*, *Teal*, *Snipe*. One would think Mr. *Pen* had made a Collection of all the most tempting Products and Animals that one or many Countries could furnish him with, to enrich his Account of *Pennsylvania*; but, in the main, his Information is true, as I have learnt from other Hands.

Fish.

The Fish here are *Sturgeon*, *Herrings*, *Eels*, *Smelts* and *Perch*; the latter caught in Abundance in *Delaware Bay*; and in the River, above the *Freshes*, *Oysters*, *Crabs*, *Cockles*, *Muscles*. There are also *Rock-Shat*, *Catshead*, *Sheepshead*, and other Fish, not worth naming.

I shall be a little the longer concerning the *Indians*, because, besides his printed Relation, I had frequent Discourse with him on that Head.

Indians.

The *Indians*, and this Description will serve for all other Continent Colonies, are generally tall, straight, well built and

and proportioned. Their Complexion is black by Design, as the *Gypsies* in *England*. They anoint themselves with Bear's Fat clarify'd, and using no Defence against the Sun or Weather, their Skin is swarthy or tawney. Their Eye is little and black. As to their Faces, Mr. *Pen* says, *The thick Lip and flat Nose, so frequent with the East Indians and the Blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like Faces among them of both Sexes, as on our Side the Sea; and truly an Italian has not much more of the White; and the Noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.* But the Nose and the Lip too, by what I have since seen of some of the *Indian Monarchs*, did not deserve this Compliment. Of their Language he says, it is lofty, but narrow; the Accent and Emphasis of some of their Words are great and sweet, as *Ostorockon, Rancocas, Orietton, Shakameron, Poquessin*, all Names of Places, and as sonorous as any in *Attica*; then for Sweetness, they have their *Anna* Mother, *Iffimus* Brother, *Ne'ap Sin*, and *Usque Oret* very good, *Pone Bread*, how near *Pain* in *French*, which I mention only to shew the *Lusus Linguarum* before spoken of.

They wash their Children in Water as soon as they are born, and plunge them often in the Rivers when they are young; thence come their straight and strong Limbs. An *English* Mother would much rather venture the *Crooked* and the *Cripple*, than give her Children the Cold Bath to straighen and strengthen their Limbs, which the *Indian* Mothers harden also by wrapping the Infant up in a Clout, and then laying it on a straight Board, a little more than the Breadth and Length of the Child, which they swaddle fast on the Board to make it straight. This is the Reason why all the *Indians* have flat Heads. Thus the Mother carries the Child at her Back till nine Months End, and then it generally goes, and would generally do so in *England*; with the like Nursing; for I knew, and was very nearly related to one that without it went with something of Weight in both Hands at 9 Months End. The Boys fish till they are fifteen, then they hunt, and having given some Proof of their Manhood, by a good Return of Skins, they may marry, else 'tis a Shame to think of a Wife. If Mr. *Pen* intended this as a Fable for a Moral, 'tis very good, and shews that no Man should think of marrying till he knows how to maintain a Wife and Family; but as to the *Indian* Youth, he had the whole unmarried Sex of Women before him, and might take any one of them that would be taken without Shame, which must make the young Man not over hasty to marry. The Girls here with their Mothers help, hough the Ground,



plant Corn, and carry Burdens. Wives are the true Servants of the Husbands, otherwise the Men are very affectionate to them. Females marry at 13 or 14, Males at 17 or 18. Their Houses are Mats, or Barks of Trees, set on Poles, hardly higher than a Man. They lie on Reeds of Grass. When they travel they lodge in the Woods, make a great Fire with the Mantle of Doffils they wear by Day wrapt about them. They sit mostly on the Ground, close to their Heels, their Legs upright; and after having saluted their *European* Visitors, if they have any, with an *Hab*, or *Good be to you*, perhaps say not a Word more; but observe all Passages. No such great Oddity to the *Pensylvanians*, so accustomed to silent Meetings. They are pleased if you give them any thing, and so are others indeed; but never beg. It cannot be so said of others, and if they are not asked to eat, go away sullenly. I shall abridge my former Relation with respect to the *Indians*, because, as far as *Pensylvania* is concerned in it, there's little or no Agreement between the Customs and Manners of the *Indians* in Mr. *Pen's* time, and those in the present times; and to read what they were sixty Years ago, has very little in it to satisfy the Curiosity of any *Englishman* in or out of *Pensylvania*.

I must not omit one Passage told me by Mr. *Pen*, that when he travelled in the *Back Countries*, towards the *Iraquois*, he was entertained by one of their great *Sachems* with more than ordinary Civilities, according to his Knowledge and Abilities, the Emperor, or Captain-General of the other *Sachems*, being well apprized of his Dignity and Power in his Province; and at Night, when the Royal Family were about to take to their Beds, which were Heaps of Stubble, or rather Turf, with Beasts-skins spread over them, Mr. *Pen* was conducted to his in the same Wigwam; and after all were lain down, and himself ready to go to Sleep, a young *Indian* Lady, no less than the great King's Daughter, came and laid herself down by him, without any Ceremony. He profess't to me it very much shock'd him; he was sensible this was intended as a Mark of particular Favours to him, and that it would be taken ill if he did not accept of it; but tho' the Lady was very young, and she was as it were at Mercy, yet his Virtue prevailed; and, after having lain some time by her, without shewing any manner of Disposition to return her Gallantry, she rose from him, and retired into another Partition of the *Wigwam*. Mr. *Pen* was then about 40 Years old, a very sanguine Person, and much interested in the Great King's Good-will, and whether he open'd himself intirely to me on that Subject, perhaps the Reader may suspect, as well as I did.

Few are the Events relating to this Colony to be any where met with. The *Pennsylvanians* have had no Wars with the *Indians* or *French*, and consequently little Action has happen'd here. The Bustle of Trade is much the same at all times, in all Places, and concerns no Body but the Traders; but the great Events of War concern every one that lives in the Country, that was the Seat of it, or has any Relation to it, and besides, is always surprizing and pleasing by the *Revolutions* that it generally produces.

As soon as Mr. *Pen* had got his *Patent*, he invited several Persons to purchase Lands under it. Tho' he did not satisfy himself with the Title granted him by *Charles II.* and his Brother, he also bought the Land of the *Indians*, which, doubtless, was the best Right he had to them.

*New Euro-  
pean Inhabi-  
tants.*

The *Swedes*, who had encroach'd upon the *Dutch*, the first Planters here, as well as at *New-York*, settled upon or near the Freshes of the *Delaware*. The *Finns*, or Inhabitants of *Finland*, Part of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, apply'd themselves chiefly to Husbandry. The King of *Sweden* appointed a Governor here, who had often Disputes with the Governor that presidid over the *Dutch*. The latter apply'd themselves mostly to Traffick, living upon or near the Bay, and by the Neighbourhood of *New-York*. The *Dutch* also were too powerful for the *Swedes*, who finding they could not maintain their Ground, submitted to their stronger Neighbours. Accordingly, *John Rizeing*, the *Swedish* Governor, made a formal Surrender of the Country to *Peter Styresfont*, Governor for the *States General*. After which, this Province continued subject to their Republick, till the *English* drove the *Dutch* out of *New-Amsterdam*, or *New-York*, which made the Possession of those Territories the more easy to Mr. *Pen*.

*Swedes sur-  
render to the  
Dutch.*

There were a few *English* here before Mr. *Pen* sent over the first Adventurers under his Patent, over whom he placed, as Governor, Col. *William Markham*, his Nephew, to whom both *Dutch* and *Swedes* submitted.

*Col. William  
Markham,  
Governor.*

Those that went over were generally Dissenters from *London*, *Liverpool*, and especially *Bristol*; for the *West* of *England* abounded with Dissenters, as well as a Herd of Persecutors, as *Phillips*, *Hellier*, *Hobs*, and other Justices in the County of *Somerset* more than other Counties, they ship'd themselves at *Bristol* in great Numbers for *Pennsylvania*. Mr. *Thomas Gouldney*, and Mr. afterwards Sir *John Duddlestone*, two Tobacco Merchants in that City, about this time fitted out the *Unicorn*, a Ship of 300 Tons for this Voyage, which putting into *Start*, took in a great many from *Bridge-water*.

Mr. Pen had sold 20000 Acres of his Propriety to Mr. James Claypool, Mr. Nicholas Moor, Mr. Philip Ford and others, who form'd a Company, and had a Street and a Side of a Street set out for them in *Philadelphia*, with 400 Acres of Land in the City Liberties. They set up a Tannery, a Saw-Mill, a Glass-house, and a Whalery; of the two latter, I suppose, they never made any great Hand. The Proprietaries Conditions of Sale were these, *Buyers* purchased after the Rate of 20 *l.* for 1000 Acres, so that he put 400 *l.* in his Pocket immediately; but that was a Trifle to what went out of it for the Grant and Experiments to people and settle the Country. The Quit-Rent was 12 or its Value for every 100 Acres. This was cheap enough; but I think the *Renters* were not so well used; for they were to pay 12 an Acre yearly. Thus these 20000 Acres which he sold the Company would, if rented, have brought him 1000 *l.* a Year. Since that time, the Value of Land is so much risen, that I have been credibly inform'd it has sold for 20 Years Purchase, at several Miles Distance from *Philadelphia*, and that, near it, it has gone at a Pound an Acre, and in some Places at more than a Pound yearly. We have mentioned near 40000 Acres to be at this time parcell'd out for Sale, some at 60 Miles Distance from *Philadelphia*; but none of those Parcels will fetch a tenth Part of such Rates as these. Servants, Men and Women, were to have 50 Acres when their times were out, and Owners of Land 50 Acres a Head for such Servants, Men or Women.

In the Year 1681 Mr. Pen went himself to *Pensylvania*, and carried with him, and there went over after him 2000 Souls; a prodigious Augmentation in less than a Year! and he might with Reason say as he did to me, *It was made at once a Country.* As soon as he arrived he took the Government into his own Hands, and enter'd upon Treaties with the *Indian Kings*, for purchasing his Patent-Lands and others, as is before hinted. One may assure oneself he gave but little for them; and if the *French* and *Spaniards* scorned to pay such a Compliment to Natural Right, and chose rather to seize the Lands of the *Indian Natives* by Violence, it was what might have been expected from the Religion and Tyranny of the Country from whence they came. Twenty Miles of Territory was thus bought of the *Indians* for less than an Acre of the best Ground about *Philadelphia* would be valued at; but the *Indians*, in a little time, observing what Profit the *English* made of the Land they sold them, and that, by the coming over of such Numbers every Year, it would be more and more wanted, they raised the Price ten times

Rates of  
Land at first  
and now

William  
Pen, Esq;  
Governor.

Buys the  
Country of  
the Indians.



times as much as it was at first; and yet it was unconscionably cheap, and for a long time purchased by the Mile, and not by the Acre. Indeed they knew not what to do with it; they had not Hands enough to cultivate the hundredth Part, and if they could have raised such a Product, there was no Body to buy it. The Purchase was all clear Gains to them; and, by the Coming of the *English*, this Peltry Trade became so profitable, that they were soon in a Condition to better their manner of Housing, and Clothing and Living, as they did very much, and are now, in these Articles, as well accommodated as the *European* Peasantry in many Places.

When the Province began to be a little planted, almost to the Mouth of *Delaware* Bay, 'twas laid out into the before-mentioned Counties, in order to choose Representatives and establish Courts for the Distribution of Justice. The original Draught of the Constitution for this Province was, made by that great Lawyer and Patriot Sir *William Jones*, and, by it, *the Governor and People have a Legislative Power*. Sir *William Jones* had too much Understanding, Virtue and Honour to throw the People out of the Question, when their Religion, their Liberty, their Property, their well-being in this World and the next, were so nearly concerned in it. *No Law can be here made, nor Money raised, but by Consent of the Inhabitants. The Rights and Freedom of England were to be in Force there. They were to make no Law against Allegiance, and then they might enact what Laws they pleased for the Good, Prosperity and Security of the Province.* Mr. *Pen* held two General Assemblies while he was in the Country, and with such Unanimity and Dispatch, that tho' they made Laws by the Scores, no less than 70, yet they had done their Business in three Weeks time. How often has it happened in our own Country that 70 long Acts of Parliament could not have been once read in that time, much less debated and pass'd after three Readings.

They presented the Proprietary with an Impost on certain Goods; but he remitted it, which was artful enough, to have a thing given, on purpose to give it away again to those that gave it. He establish'd Courts of Justice in every County, with proper Officers. Truly one would think the laying out Shares and Districts in this and other Colonies, was, for the Sake of making Offices; for, as yet, a Number of them could not be wanted, if they are now. To prevent Law-suits and Contention among this passive People, there were three *Peacemakers* chosen by every County Court, in the Nature of *common Arbitrators*, to hear and end Differences between Man and Man. I cannot think that any

Constitution upon Earth is the more perfect for rejecting such *Arbitrators*; but that it would be of very great Advantage in the Practice of the Law, whatever it might be to Practitioners, which, in such Case, seems not to be worth Consideration. Every Spring and Fall there's an *Orphan's Court* in each County, to inspect and regulate the Affairs of *Widows* and *Orphans*.

Mr. *Pen* was visited by the Kings and Queens, and great Men among the *Indians*, of whom the greatest did not think himself too good to go on the Proprietary's Errand, if he had thought fit to send him. Both the *Dutch* and the *Swedes*, within his Jurisdiction, were very well pleased with his Coming and his Conduct; and there were, at that time, almost as many *Swedes* and *Dutch* in *Pensylvania* as *English*.

Mr. *Pen* staid here about two Years, till he had settled things to his own and the People's Liking; he then returned to *England*, to forward the Affairs of the Propriety there, as he had done here. He was generous and free of his Thoughts and Expressions, which were not always sufficiently guarded; and after the *Revolution*, he became suspected, on Account of his great Access to the abdicated King, who, when Duke of *York*, had given him a good Part of *Nova Belgia*, which included the *Ferseys* as well as *New-York*. Whatever Favours he had received from that King afterwards, more than good Looks and good Words, I know not; but I know the People thought they were great, and he himself took no Pleasure in undeceiving them. I shall digress a little in a Passage on this Head, as near as I can in his own Words.

“ People generally believe, said he, that King *Charles* “ was governed by his Brother the Duke of *York*, in his “ most exceptionable Measures; but it was the quite con- “ trary. I have had it from the Duke's own Mouth, that “ his Brother has often proposed such and such things to “ him to propose in Council, which he has done to please “ him, and afterwards, when the thing has been disrelish'd, “ and caused Complaint, the King by his Emissaries made “ it believed that his Brother put him upon it; for, con- “ tinued Mr. *Pen*, tho' he affected Negligence, and to play “ with his Dogs both at Church and in Council, no Prince “ ever govern'd more according to his own Opinion and “ Will, nor was more positive than he was.” I imagine this Representation of the Matter, with respect to the King and the Duke, will be thought partial on the Side of the latter, and that Mr. *Pen* had affected the Duke more than his Brother. He certainly did not affect King *William* as I could very easily prove.

The

Mr. Pen in  
Favour at  
Court.

The Government of this Province being taken out of Mr. *Pen's* Hands, on Account of Disaffection, his Majesty King *William* gave it to Col. *Fletcher*, who was afterwards Governor of *New-York*; but as Mr. *Pen* had stood by the *Quakers* in the late Reigns, they stood by him in that King's, and, by their and their Friends Interest, he recovered the Right of Nomination to the Government of his Propriety, which he gave to Capt. *Blackwell*, an old Republican, who had been Pay-master to the Parliament's Army. The Secretary was *William Markham*, Esq; the President of the Council *Thomas Loyd*, Esq; the Surveyor-General Mr. *Thomas Holmes*. Mr. *Blackwell* govern'd the Province with equal Prudence and Success. It thrived apace; its Inhabitants and Commerce' encreased; they fell into the *Tobacco* Trade, and it became so considerable, that 14 Ships have been laden with that Commodity from *Pensylvania* to *London*, and other Parts of *England* in a Year; but it has not lately been so much cultivated, and it is no Matter whether it ever be again. *Virginia* and *Maryland* have more than *Tobacco* enough for all the Markets in the World, which have been often too much glutted with it; consequently those, who, for the future, fall into that Trade, will do them Hurt, without doing themselves Good; and the *Pensylvanians*, by breeding Cattle, raising Corn and Provisions, Lumber and Ship-building, and by any other Schemes of Traffick, which may be likely to turn to Account, will have a better Chance to make Profit of it, than by running into a Trade that is already overstockt. This has been a very great Oversight in the Sugar Colonies, where the Planters, thinking they could never have Canes enough, and that they should never want any thing else, neglected *Cotton*, *Cocoa*, and other beneficial Products, which would have been raised with fewer Hands, and by taking them off from Sugar have given a Check to the immoderate Produce of it, which would have kept up the Price, and consequently made the Commodity more valuable at home and abroad. Capt. *Blackwell* was Father of Sir *Lambert Blackwell*, Envoy Extraordinary from Queen *Anne* to several Courts of *Italy*. His Successor in the Government of *Philadelphia* was *Thomas Loyd*, Esq; whose Administration was as successful as his Predecessor's; but he did not long enjoy it. Upon his Death Mr. *Pen* appointed his Nephew, *William Markham*, Esq; to be Governor, or rather Deputy-Governor, for the Proprietary himself was Chief Governor, and he went thither in Person in the Year 1698.

Col Fletcher  
Governor.

Capt. Black-  
well Gover-  
nor.

Tobacco not  
to be prefer'd  
here.

Thomas  
Loyd, Esq;  
Governor.

William  
Markham,  
Deputy-Gov-  
ernor.

There being no Persecution in *England*, the *Quakers* here found the Country begin to be settled with People who came



came thither to mend their Fortunes, and not to enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences; for the *Toleration* gave them that at home. These Men being of the Church of *England*, *Presbyterians*, and *Baptists*, would have had a *Militia*; but the *Quakers* being the Majority, were against it, their Principles not allowing them the Use of Arms. Besides that, such a wrong way of Thinking is unworthy the Name of Principles. The *Quakers* themselves, not long before Mr. *Pen's* second Voyage thither, did very readily fall in with an armed Force; for a Ship of theirs being taken by *Pirates*, they hired Men, and supply'd them with Ammunition and Fire-Arms, to recover their Ship from the *Pirates*. And now, in the Case of the *Militia*, such as were of another Opinion, were allowed to train themselves, and take such Military Care for their Defence, as consisted with the Peace of the Country.

The political Affairs of the Colony did not prosper the more for Mr. *Pen's* losing his Credit at Court; several leading Men began to form a Party against the *original Contract*, as the *Constitution* may be called, and supposed they might carry any Point, whether the Proprietors liked it or not. What they most objected against, was the best thing in that Constitution, the Election of Officers by *Ballot*. They said they were *Englishmen*, and not bound to give their Votes in *Huggermother*; their Faces and their Voices should always go together, and accordingly the first Order of Government was broken in upon in the most essential Part of it; upon which, Factions of Course encreased, and Tumults followed, to the great Disturbance and Detriment of the Colony. This Mischief was not at all lessen'd by the Preachings of *George Keith*, whom we have mentioned in *Fersey*, who to make an Augmentation to his extraordinary Merit, threw off the Garment of *Quakerism*, and put on a Surplice; but before he received the only regular and infallible Ordination at home, he broach'd here Tenets that were very far from being orthodox in the *Quakers* Establishment, such as *Rites*, *Common-Prayer* and *Ceremonies*, *Holidays* and *Vestments*, &c. for which the Government here took hold of him, and threw him into Prison; for Mr. *Neal* says, "The *Quakers* themselves confess, that a turbulent provoking Carriage to the Government we lie under, requires the Notice of the civil Magistrate; and for this Reason they fined and imprisoned *George Keith*, and obliged him to leave the Province; and I am of Opinion, it was not merely for Crimes against the State, but for his new Doctrine, which had like to have made a *Schism* among them."

How

The Ballot  
abolish'd.

George  
Keith, the  
orthodox Mi-  
nister, impris-  
oned.

How can this be made out, that the *Quakers*, who in *England* are *Schismatics*, should be the *Orthodox* in *Pensylvania*, and *George Keith*, who was *Orthodox* in *England*, be a *Schismatick* in *Pensylvania*? If *Orthodox* and *Schismatics* are made alternately by Establishments of Countries, and not unalterably by the Rule of Faith in all Countries, the Scripture, I think the Terms have little more in them than the Sound.

Mr. *Pen* returned to *England* in the Year 1701, having had the better of the Lord *Baltimore* in a Law-suit for the three lower Counties, *Newcastle*, *Kent* and *Suffex*. He left the Colony in an extraordinary flourishing Condition; tho' there was little Likelihood of its continuing in it, by his Nomination of a Deputy-Governor, Col. *Andrew Hamilton*, Col. Hamilton Deputy-Governor. whose Behaviour in the *Ferseys* did not seem to recommend him to the Proprietary's Choice in *Pensylvania*, where his Government gave Discontent to some principal Inhabitants. All Parties fell into a Ferment, and Matters ran so high, that we have been inform'd they came to hanging on one Side or another; but the Particulars not having come to our Knowledge, we shall be silent. Whether this Man, by favouring the *Orthodox*, which is very likely from his Character, and those that sided with them, provoked the others, who were the Majority, we cannot decide; but it is certain he discharged his Trust very unhappily, and was not very much lamented when he died in the Year 1704.

Upon his Death Mr. *Pen* sent over Col. *John Evans* to be Deputy-Governor, and he was approved by the Queen; for all the Lords Proprietaries at *America*, were, by Act of Parliament, obliged to have the regal Approbation for all the Governors they sent thither. Col. Evans Governor. Approved by the Queen.

All Mr. *Pen's* first and fine Constitution was, by this time, destroy'd, and this Province, like others, became governed by a Governor, Council and Assembly, each with much the same Power and Privileges with the Governor, Council and Assemblies of the other Colonies; but as to the Confirmation of Laws, this Colony differs from theirs; for the Laws their Assembly prepare, are not so liable to be abrogated in *England*; they are not obliged to send these Laws to *England* to be confirmed by the King in Council in three Years, as the *Massachusetts*; but only to send a Transcript of their Laws to the Privy-Council, within five Years after they are pass'd, and if his Majesty does not think fit to repeal them in six Months from the time such Transcript is so deliver'd, it is not in the Power of the Crown to repeal them afterwards. Constitution alter'd.



Mines.

The People's Hearts here, and every where else in the American Continent, were much set on Mines, and Mr. Pen, in the Account he gave of the Country, said, *The Earth abounds with Mines, Samplers of most Sorts of Ore having been taken up in every County.*

Trade and Labour.

What he adds is certainly true; no Country in the World is better stored with Rivers and Creeks, most of them navigable for Ships of Burden, and all of them for small Craft; and tho' the Mines here, and those at *Carolina*, are by no means like the Description the Proprietors gave of them; yet if there's such Plenty of Iron-Stone or Ore here, as is talk'd of, they need not want the Profit of Metal to enrich them. I take what follows out of a Letter Mr. Pen wrote me: " We consume about 180000*lb.* yearly of *English* Growth, and return of our Productions directly, and by way of the Islands, what augments the Revenue of the Crown 30000 *l.* The Highlands of *Virginia* and *Maryland* are very profitable, having moderate Hills and large Vales, full of Springs and little Rivers, emptying themselves into the two great Rivers *Susquehanagh* and *Delaware*, where Ships of the largest Burden may ride. Its Length is about 300 Miles, its Breadth 200. All Provisions are reasonable, but Labour dear, which makes it a good poor Man's Country, Husbandmen and Mechanicks getting 15 and 20 *l.* Wages per Annum for their Work, besides Diet." Such as Carpenters, Smiths, Joiners, Tailors, Shoemakers, Cartwrights, Shipwrights cannot want Work, there being always many Ships on the Stocks here, tho' not so many as at *New-England*. The Trade of all the *British* Continent Colonies is much the same, especially to the Sugar Islands, which from *Pennsylvania* is very considerable, in Corn, Flower, Bread, Beef, Pork, Bacon, Tallow, Fish, Leather, Starch, Staves, Heading, Board, Bricks, Soap, Shingles, Apples, &c. Finding these Particulars in the *Barbados* Bills of Entry, I mention them as being thereby very sure of the Traffick. Wine from *Madeira* and the *Azores* are imported here; but not in such Quantities as in the Islands, where they have not the Drinks to supply the Place of Wine, as in *New-England*, *New-York* and here; Cyder, Beer, and Ale being plenty, and for Goodness equal to our best middling sort. *Negroes* sell here and in the other Continent Colonies very well; but not by Ship Loadings, as they have sometimes done at *Maryland* and *Virginia*. The Trade with *England* from hence is the same as the inland Trade of *London* and the Country, and differing in nothing, it need not be repeated. The *English* here want and buy  
all



all the Commodities that the *English* do at home, which for the most part, may be said of the *Island* Colonies also.

The Troubles that befel Mr. *Pen*, the Proprietary of this Province, on Account of his Propriety, in the latter Part of his Life, are of too private a Nature to have place in a publick History. He trusted an ungrateful unjust Agent too much with the Management of it; and when he expected to have been thousands of Pounds the better for it, found himself thousands of Pounds in Debt, insomuch that he was restrained of his Liberty within the Privilege of the Fleet, by a tedious and unsuccessful Law-suit, which, together with Age, broke his Spirits, not easy to be broken, and render'd him incapable of Business and Society, as he was wont to have been in the Days of his Health and Vigour both of Body and Mind.

Nothing remarkable happening in *Pennsylvania* in the following 6 or 7 Years, we shall insert the List of the chief Officers in the Colony in 1710,

*William Pen*, Esq; Proprietary.

Col. *John Evans* Lieutenant-Governor.

*Edward Shippen*, Esq;

*Samuel Carpenter*, Esq;

*William Trent*, Esq;

*Thomas Story*, Esq;

*Richard Hill*, Esq;

*William Rodney*, Esq;

*Kaleb Jesty*, Esq;

*James Logan*, Esq;

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

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

*William Clark*, Esq;

*Edward Shippen*, Esq;

*Joseph Growden*, Esq;

*William Guest*, Esq;

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

*Samuel Carpenter*, Esq; Treasurer.

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

*R. Lowther*, Esq; Attorney-General.

*Peter Evans*, Esq; Register.

Mr. *Edward Pennington*, Surveyor-General.

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

} Members of the Council.

} Judges.

The Office of Surveyor-General is now managed by the under Surveyors, accountable to the Secretary.

William  
Keith, Esq;  
Governor.  
1716.

I find no Governor between Col. *Evans* and *William Keith*, Esq; afterwards Sir *William Keith*, formerly Surveyor-General of the Customs in *America*, who was very acceptable to the Inhabitants, as appears by the Addresses to him.

1718.

In 1718 died *William Pen*, Esq; who had for some time lived a retired Life, not far from *Reading* in *Berkshire*; he left this proprietary Country to his Son; but so greatly incumber'd by the vast Sums he had laid out upon it, and the unjust Dealings of his Agent, that Mr. *Pen* his Son had little Benefit by it for several Years.

1722.

Sir *William Keith* his Treaty with the *Indians* is spoken of in the Article of *New-York*.

New Comers  
tax d.

1729.

This Colony now increased prodigiously in Numbers of People patenting and cultivating of Lands, in Shipping and Trade. Nay, they had some Manufactures among them; but their Cloth was a coarse Sort, and served only for the Use of the common People. They now built many Ships at *Philadelphia*, *Newcastle* and other Ports, and sold them to the Sugar Colonies; but the Country being not a quarter planted, and the Soil very good for Plantation, we cannot but agree with the Reflection of a *Pensylvanian* on the Assembly here laying a Tax of 5 s. per Head on all new Comers, upon which he thus reflects: " We have had so many " Vessels from *Ireland* and *Scotland*, loaden with Passengers " for this Colony, that we began to be overthronged with " Strangers; this occasioned our grave Magistrates to propose a Tax to be laid upon all new Comers; a Practice " so contrary to the true Interest of an unfinished half- " planted Colony, such as this is, that on the Reverse we " ought rather to have exerted our utmost to have received " them chearfully, and laid them out Lands for their Settlement in the Country.

" This Repulse as it proved, has, since that time, caused " several Ships, which were full of these People, to put in " at *New-Jersey*, *New-York* and *Long Island*, and others " are gone to *Nova Scotia*, where they give them all possible " Encouragement, to the inestimable Loss of this Colony, " where we still want People, especially such as brought " Substance with them to plant, as most of these did; also " several of these People are gone to *South Carolina* to settle, " where they will not fail of Encouragement.

1730.  
Fire at Philadelphia.

In the following Year 1730, there happen'd a terrible Fire in the new and fair City of *Philadelphia*, which was now " become

become large and populous, and drove a very considerable Trade to the *British Colonies* and home, of which the following Particulars were sent from *Pensylvania*. “ Some say it began in a Store-house, among Rigging; others, in a Copper-shop. Seven large Store-houses under one long Roof on a Wharf, all belonging to Mr. *Fishburn*, were so suddenly in Flames, that it was impossible to save much of the Goods in either of them. From these a vast Pile of Staves took fire, which so encreased the Heat, that there was no coming near the Place. Many lesser Piles of Staves and wooden Buildings were so nigh, that all that End of the Town was in imminent Danger; but the Wind was low. Two Copper-shops in *Kingstreet*, at the West-end of the Street, communicated the Fire to two new Houses of Mr. *Fishburn*’s, and at the same time spread the Flames a-crofs that narrow Street to Mr. *Fishburn*’s House, Mr. *Plumsted*’s new House, and Mr. *Dickenson*’s large fine Buildings, all which were reduced to Ashes, except Mr. *Plumsted*’s, which is not wholly destroy’d. Many Gentlemen have lost considerable Quantities of Goods and Furniture by this Fire and Thieves. Several Gentlemen have taken this Occasion (for People would not be moved at another time) to make a Collection of Money for better Engines than we now have, and for good Buckets.

This Year the following Declaration was published, relating Association for the Support of Credit. to the Currency of the Credit-Bills in *Pensylvania*: “ Where- as divers Acts have been passed in the lower Counties upon *Delaware* for the Emission of Paper-Money, a considerable Part of which, in the ordinary Course of Trade, is daily brought into this Province; and altho’ the Credit thereof subsists on an equal Foundation with that now current in *Pensylvania*; yet its Circulation here has been in a great measure unhappily stop’d, to the Discouragement of Trade, and Breach of that good Agreement which ought naturally to subsist between the Inhabitants of these Counties and those of this Province, upon Pretence that the Bills of Credit will not discharge the Engagements to the Loan-Office of *Pensylvania*; yet, inasmuch as the receiving the part of the present Currency of the said Counties in all Payments, will be no Inconveniency to the Borrowers here, and to the End that the Value of the said Paper-Credit may be kept, and the true Design and Intention thereof, viz. that of a Medium of Commerce, fully answered, we whose Names are un-  
I “ der-



“ der-written have agreed, and do hereby promise and  
 “ oblige ourselves, every Man for himself, that from and  
 “ after the 15th Day of *January* instant, we will accept  
 “ and receive in all Payments of Money, now due to us, or  
 “ hereafter becoming due to us, on any Account whatsoever,  
 “ one fourth Part thereof in Currency of the said Counties,  
 “ as the same is now established, and stands limited to the  
 “ Sum of 12000*l.* promising farther to do what in us lies,  
 “ towards abolishing all Distinction between the said Cur-  
 “ rency and that of this Province.

Major Gor-  
 don Govern-  
 or.

The Assembly now sitting, passed the following Acts, which the Governor signed; which Governor we imagine must be Major *Gordon*, for we find him so to be in 1732.

*Acts pass'd.*

*Act for regulating Pedlars and Vendues, &c.*

*Act for better enabling divers Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania, to hold Lands, and to invest themselves with the Privileges of natural-born Subjects of the said Province.*

*Act for lending the Sum of 300*l.* in Bills of Credit, for building a Prison and Court-house in Lancaster County, &c.*

*A Supplementary Act to an Act of Assembly of the Province, entitled, an Act against buying Land of the Natives.*

*Act laying an Excise on all Wine, Rum, Brandy and other Spirits, retail'd in this Province.*

*Act imposing a Duty on Persons convicted of heinous Crimes, and to prevent poor and impotent Persons from being imported into this Province.*

*Act for continuing the Encouragement for raising good Hemp, and imposing Penalties on Persons manufacturing unmerchantable Hemp into Cordage.*

This Act shews us that some Progress had been made in the Manufacture of Hemp, and great Pity it is, that proper Encouragement has not been given for the raising of Hemp in the *British* Colonies for Manufacture, and shipping home, which would complete our Supplies of Naval Stores from our *American* Provinces, and free us from any Dependance on a *Baltick* Trade for them.

Having mentioned a great Number of People transporting themselves from *Ireland* and *Scotland*, we think it proper to explain that Matter by the following List.

Account of Passengers and Servants landed in Pennsylvania, from Christmas 1728 to Christmas 1729.

English and Welsh Passengers	—	—	199
Servants	—	—	68
Irish Passengers	—	—	925
Servants	—	—	230
Scots Passengers	—	—	000
Servants	—	—	43
Palatine Passengers	—	—	243
Servants	—	—	000

In Newcastle Government have been landed about 4500 Passengers and Servants, chiefly } 4500 from Ireland.

In all 6208

The Law which taxed new Comers was in a short time either repeal'd or suspended, and the *Pensylvanians* were so sensible of their Mistake in that Law, that they encouraged their coming as much as any other of the Colonies, and accordingly have received thereby a farther Increase of the Inhabitants through the whole Province; which Increase will appear more plain by the Bills of Mortality for the City of *Philadelphia*, by which it appears that 24 Persons were buried out of that Town in the Month of *May*, besides 10 Negroes; that Month being generally one of the wholesomest Months of the Year, we may compute that at least twelve times that Number, viz. 488 white Persons, and 120 Negroes die in a Year; and if we take the common Calculation, that one in thirty die every Year, or the thirtieth Part of the People, we must reckon the Number of People in that Town to be 12240, which Computation makes the City of *Philadelphia* to be near as big and populous as the City of *Exeter*.

1731.

Number of Inhabitants in Philadelphia.

On the 11th of *August*, 1732, *William Pen*, Esq; Son and Heir to the late Proprietary *Pen*, arrived at *Chester* in this Province, and was received with great Marks of Honour, Affection and Esteem by the whole Province; many of 'em went to meet him on Horeback, as soon as they heard of his Arrival, so that before he got to *Philadelphia*, his Cavalcade amounted to 7 or 800 Horse; the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of *Philadelphia* went out to meet him in their Formalities, and the Recorder made him a congratulatory Speech upon his Arrival: He was received every where with the joyful Acclamations of Multitudes of People, all expressing

1732.

Mr. Pen arrives.

expressing their Satisfaction at seeing the Son of so worthy a Father, who had established so just and well-regulated a Government, which will be a perpetual Testimony of his Wisdom and Prudence, as well as of his Benevolence to Mankind.

*League with  
the Indians.*

Soon after his Arrival he met with the Heads of the five, now six, Nations, who had met the late Governor *Keith* at *Albany* some Years before, and the ancient Chain of Friendship with them was renewed. Upon which large Presents were made them on the Part of the Government, consisting of *Blankets, Kettles, Guns, Powder, Shot, &c.* and the Proprietary *Mr. Pen* presented them with 6 Guns, curiously wrought, the Stocks inlaid with Gold, as a Mark of his Affection, one to the King of each Nation.

These Nations were then in Peace with the *French* and *French Indians*; but they had a little before sent to forbid their going on with a new Fort and Settlement which they were erecting at *Crown Point*, and advised them to remove from thence, lest their Proceedings should occasion a Rupture. This we take to refer to the Incroachments mentioned by President *Van Dam* of *New-York*, in his Letter to Governor *Belcher* of *New-England* before-mentioned.

1733.

*Floods.*

In *February 1733*, we have an Account that there was a very great Frost, the Ice was 15 Inches thick, and the River *Delaware* was quite fast, except a little Opening before the Town; the Frost in the River *Skuykill* was broke up by prodigious Floods, occasioned by heavy Rains, and the melting of the Snow on the Mountains, whereby the River rose several Inches in a Minute. By these Floods Trees growing in the low Grounds, of a Foot over, were torn up by the Roots, and the Ferry-Boats, and a great deal of the Causeys were carried away; some Persons and several Cattle were drowned, and a great deal of other Damage done, particularly by the Flakes of Ice, which were piled up so, that in some Places it lay above three Yards high.





PART of  
WEST  
NEW  
JERSEY

P. of PEN  
SILVANIA

A New Map of  
**VIRGINIA,**  
 and  
**MARYLAND.**  
 By H. Moll Geographer.

■ Plantations.

▲ Indian Skoules & Plan-  
tations. C. for Creeks.

M  
A  
R  
County

Patowmeck Falls  
Anacostian I.



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
MARYLAND,

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CHAP. I.

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

**T**HIS Province was always reckon'd a Part of *Virginia*, till the Year 1631, when King *Charles* made a Grant of it to *George Calvert*, Lord *Baltimore*, of which we have made some mention in the History of *Virginia*; when and by whom 'twas discover'd, will there be seen. *George Lord Baltimore* not living to see his Grant made out, his Son *Cæcilius Calvert*, Baron of *Baltimore* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, took it out in his own Name, and it bears Date the 20th of *June*, 1632. We cannot better ascertain the Bounds of this Country, than by making use of the Words of the Patent. 'Tis all that Part of a Peninsula, lying between the Ocean on the East, and the Bay of *Cheseapeak* on the West, and divided from the other Part by a right Line drawn from the Cape call'd *Watkins Point*, (situate in the aforesaid Bay, near the River of *Wighco*) on the West, unto the main Ocean on the East, and between that Bound on the South, unto that Part of *Delaware Bay* on the North, which lies under the 40th Degree of Northern Latitude, &c. And all that Tract of Land from the aforesaid

Y 2 Bay





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Y 2

Bay

Bay of Delaware, in a right Line by the Degree aforesaid, to the true Meridian of the first Fountain of the River Patowmeck, and from thence tending towards the South, to the farther Bank of the aforesaid River, and following the West and South Side of it to a certain Place called Cinquack, situate near the Mouth of the said River, where it falls into the Bay of Chesapeake, and from thence by a straight Line to the aforesaid Cape, call'd Watkins Point, &c.

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

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

The Lord *Baltimore*, having obtained this Grant, resolv'd to go thither in Person; but afterwards changing his Mind, he appointed his Brother, *Leonard Calvert*, Esq; to go Governor in his stead, with whom he joined in Commission *Jeremy Hawley*, Esq; and *Thomas Cornwallis*, Esq; The first Colony that was sent to *Maryland*, was in the Year 1633, and consisted of about 200 People. The Chief of these Adventurers were Gentlemen of good Families, and *Roman Catholicks*; for Persons of that Religion being made uneasy in *England*, as well as Protestant Dissenters, they transported themselves to this Province, hoping to enjoy there the Liberty of their Consciences, under a Proprietary of their own Profession, as the Lord *Baltimore* was. These Adventurers sail'd from *Cowes*, in the *Isle of Wight*, the 22d of *November*, and having stop'd at *Barbados* and *St. Christopher's* some time, arriv'd at *Point Comfort* in *Virginia*, the 24th of *February* following. The Names of the principal Persons among them were as follows:

*Leonard Calvert*, Esq; Governor.

*Jeremy Hawley*,  
*Thomas Cornwallis*, } Esqrs. Assistants.

*George Calvert*, Esq; Brother to the Governor.

*Richard Gerard*, Esq;



Edward Winter, Esq;  
 Frederick Winter, Esq;  
 Henry Wiseman, Esq;  
 Mr. John Saunders,  
 Mr. Edward Cranfield,  
 Mr. Henry Green,

Mr. Nicholas Fairfax,  
 Mr. John Baxter,  
 Mr. Thomas Dorrel,  
 Capt. John Hill,  
 Mr. John Medcalfe and  
 Mr. William Saire.

They carried Letters in their Favour from his Majesty to the Governor of *Virginia*, who treated them in his Province with great Humanity. On the 3d of *March* they left *Point Comfort*, and came to *Patowmeck* River, which is about 24 Leagues distant. The Governor called the South Point of the River *St. Gregory's*, and the North Point *St. Michael's*. Sailing up *Patowmeck* 14 Leagues, they came to *Heron* Island, and anchor'd under a neighbouring Isle, to which they gave the Name of *St. Clement's*. Here Mr. *Calvert*, in his superstitious way, set up a Cross, and took Possession of the Country for our Saviour, and for our Sovereign Lord the King of England. He went 4 Leagues higher up the River, with two Pinnaces, to make Discoveries; and landing on the South-side, found the *Indians* were fled for Fear. Thence he sailed 9 Leagues higher, and came to *Patowmeck* Town, where the *Werowance* being a Child, *Archibau* his Uncle governed his Territories in his Minority, and received the *English* in a friendly Manner. From *Patowmeck* the Governor went to *Piscattaway*, about 20 Leagues higher, where he found many *Indians* assembled, and among them an *Englishman*, Capt. *Henry Fleet*, who had lived there several Years in great Esteem with the Natives. Capt. *Fleet* brought the *Werowance* or Prince aboard the Governor's Pinnace, to treat with him. Mr. *Calvert* ask'd him, whether he was willing he and his People should settle in his Country, in case they found a Place convenient for them. The *Werowance* reply'd, *I will not bid you go, neither will I bid you stay; but you may use your own Discretion.* The *Indians* finding the *Werowance* staid aboard longer than they expected, crowded down to the Water-side, to look after him, fearing the *English* had kill'd him, and they were not satisfy'd till he shewed himself to them to appease them. The Natives who fled from *St. Clement's* Isle, when they saw the *English* came as Friends, returned to their Habitations; and the Governor not thinking it adviseable to settle so high up the River, in the Infancy of the Colony, sent his Pinnaces down the River, and went with Capt. *Fleet* to a River on the North Side of *Patowmeck*, within 4 or 5 Leagues of its Mouth, which he called *St. George's* River. He went up 4 Leagues in his Long-Boat, and came to the Town of *Yoamaco*, from whence

whence the *Indians* of that Neighbourhood are called *Yoamacoës*. The Governor landed, and treated with the *Werowance* there, acquainting him with the Occasion of his Coming; to which the *Indian* said little, but inviting him to his House, entertain'd him very kindly, and gave him his own Bed to lie on. The next Day he shew'd him the Country, and the Governor determining to make the first Settlement there, order'd his Ship and Pinnaces to come thither to him. To make his Entry the more safe and peaceable, he presented the *Werowance* and *Wifos*, or principal Men of the Town, with some *English* Cloth, Axes, Houghs and Knives, which they accepted very kindly, and freely consented that he and his Company should dwell in one Part of their Town, reserving the other for themselves. Those *Indians* who inhabited that Part which was assigned the *English* readily abandoned their Houses to them, and Mr. *Calvert* immediately set Hands to work to plant Corn. The *Natives* agreed farther to leave the whole Town to the *English* as soon as their Harvest was in, which they did accordingly, and both *Indians* and *English* promised to live friendly together. If any Injury was done on either Part, the Nation offending was to make Satisfaction. Thus on the 27th of *March*, 1634, the Governor took Possession of the Town, and named it *St. Mary's*.

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

The first thing Mr. *Calvert* did, was to fix a Court of Guard, and erect a Store-house; and he had not been there many Days, before Sir *John Harvey*, Governor of *Virginia*, came thither to visit him, as did several *Indian* *Werowances*, and many other *Indians*, from several Parts of the Continent: Among others came the King of *Patuxent*, and being carried aboard the Ship, then at Anchor in the River, was placed between the Governor of *Virginia* and the Governor of *Maryland*, at an Entertainment made for him and others. A *Patuxent* *Indian* coming aboard, and seeing his King thus seated, started back,

back, thinking he was surprized; he would have leap'd over-board, and could not be perswaded to enter the Cabin, till the Werowance himself came and satisfy'd him he was in no Danger. This King had formerly been taken Prisoner by the *English* of *Virginia*. After the Store-house was finish'd, and the Ship unladen, Mr. *Calvert* order'd the Colours to be brought ashore, which was done with great Solemnity, the Gentlemen and their Servants attending in Arms; several Volleys of Shot were fired a Ship-board and ashore, as also the Cannon, at which the Natives were struck with Admiration, such at least as had not heard the firing of Pieces of Ordnance before, to whom it could not but be dreadful.

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

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



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

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

The Government of this Colony, when it began to grow more numerous, was framed much after the Model of that in *England*. The Governor had his Council in the Nature of the House of Lords, and Privy-Council in *England*; and when the Country was divided into Counties, each had Representatives in the Assembly of the Province, and these Representatives form'd the Lower-House; the Upper House consisting of the Governor and Council, and such Lords of

Manors and others, as the Lord Proprietary, or his Lieutenant, from time to time shall call thither by Writ. This Assembly the Proprietary, or his Deputy, conven'd, prorogued, or dissolved at Pleasure; and their Acts being ratify'd by the Proprietary, or his Deputy, were of the same Force there, as an Act of Parliament is in *England*, and cannot pass, or be repealed, without the concurring Assent of the Lord Proprietary, or his Deputy, with the other two Estates.

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

Having mentioned the Counties in this Province, we must observe, that as the Number of the Inhabitants encreased, Mr. *Calvert*, the Governor, thought fit to divide the Country into Shires; of which there were at first but 10, as 5 on the West-side of the Bay of *Cheseapeak*, and 5 on the East-side. Those on the West-side were *St. Mary's*, *Charles*, *Calvert*, *Ann Arundel*, and *Baltimore*; to which has lately been added *Prince George County*, which makes the whole 11 in all. Those on the East-side were, and still are, *Somerset*, *Dorchester*, *Talbot*, *Cecil* and *Kent* Counties. There were Towns laid out in each of them, but they never came to Perfection; and for the same Reason that there are no Towns in *Virginia*, which the Reader will find in the following Pages.

The Governor built a House in *St. Mary's* for himself and Successors, and governed the Country till the Distractions happened in *England*, when the Name of a Papist became so obnoxious, that 'twas not likely the Puritans, who were then uppermost, would leave any Power in the Hands of a *Roman Catholick*. The Parliament assumed the Government of this Province into their own Hands, and appointed \_\_\_\_\_ Esq; to be their Governor here; but upon the King's Restoration the Lord *Baltimore* recovered the Right of his absolute Propriety; and about the Year 1662, sent over his Son, *Charles Calvert*, Esq; the present Lord *Baltimore*, to be his Governor; and Mr. *Calvert* lived there almost twenty Years;

Years, a long time after his Father died, and his Title and Estate fell to him. By his Wisdom and Presence this Colony flourished apace, and there were computed to be 16000 Souls in *Maryland*, so long ago as the Year 1665.

All the *Indian* Nations about this Province submitted to the Lord Proprietary of *Maryland*, and put themselves under his Protection; so that in the Year 1663, one *Naocoffo*, who was chosen Emperor of *Piscattaway* (that is, he was advanced to an Office of more Authority than the rest of the *Indian* Kings or Werowances) was not thought to be absolutely confirmed, till Mr. *Charles Calvert*, now Lord *Baltimore*, approved of their Choice.

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

But notwithstanding all his Lordship's Care to prevent any Rupture with the *Indians*, when they were at War with the *Virginians*, they committed some Hostilities in the Year 1677, on the East-side, and killed four Men and a Woman near *Nomani*, which put the Colony in Fears of farther Mischief; however that Cloud blew over, those that did the Mischief were punish'd, and no more Blood was shed in the Quarrel. While the Lord *Baltimore* lived here, he married one of his Daughters to Col. *Diggs*, a Gentleman of the Country, of great Interest in it, and a considerable Merchant or Factor also. But when the Lord Proprietary removed to *England*, he did not appoint him to be Deputy, but put in another Gentleman, whose Name we have not been able to learn, nor that of his Successor, in whose time the Government of *England* took from the Lord *Baltimore* that of *Maryland*. And we must observe, King *James II.* intended to take it from him before the Revolution, instigat-



ed to it by Father *Peters*. What Reason that Jesuit had to do the Lord *Baltimore* such a Disservice we know not, and would have thought the Agreement between Father *Peters* and this Lord in Religion, might have influenced the Priest more in his Favour. But 'tis very certain that he was the first Instrument of the Lord Proprietary's losing the Government; and perhaps the Court might think, that as much as the Papists were favoured in *Maryland*, they might hope for more Favour from a Proprietary of their own persecuting Principles. The Lord *Baltimore* might have expected more than Justice from a King of his own Religion; yet his Patent was then questioned, and 'tis supposed the Prerogative of naming a Governor would have been taken from him, if King *James* had not abdicated his own Government. After the Revolution, this Lord had no Reason to look for any thing but strict Justice; for 'twas known he was not a little zealous in opposing it.

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

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

*publick Revenues, or debar the Assembly, or any other Person, of their Right or Claims to the same.*

The Government of this Province is now the same with that of the other Colonies, which are immediately under the Crown; by a Governor made by the King or Queen, a Council named by the same, and an Assembly chosen by the eleven Counties. The Lord Proprietary still enjoys the Profits of the Province, arising by certain Revenues granted to him by several Assemblies, as a Duty on each Hoghead of Tobacco exported, and other Incomes; which, with the Sale of Lands uncultivated and unpurchased, amount to a considerable Sum yearly; and the Duty of Tobacco increasing, as that Product increases, 'tis probable that Revenue will one Day rise to a very great Sum. Besides this, the Lord *Baltimore* has a large Plantation at *Mettapany*; and in the Whole, his Estate and Interest in this Province are very well worth his Care to maintain them.

About the Year 1692, the Lord Bishop of *London* appointed Dr. *Thomas Bray* to be his Commissary in *Maryland*. That Doctor went over thither to settle the Churches, according to the Rites and Worship of the Church of *England*. For by an Act of Assembly in the same Year, the eleven Counties were divided into thirty Parishes, sixteen of which are supply'd with Ministers, who have a competent Maintenance settled upon them, with Glebes and other Advantages. Libraries are fix'd, and many thousand practical and devotional Books have been dispersed among the People, by the assiduous Care of Dr. *Bray*, who staid there two or three Years.

Besides these Churches are several Chapels, and the Number of Papists and Dissenters are not inconsiderable. Mr. *George Macqueen* and Mr. *Robert Keith* have been employ'd by the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts to advance that good Work here; but 'tis said the *Quakers* and *Papists* equally obstruct it.

A very ingenious Man, who was in this Province in Col. *Nicholson's* time, sends this Account of the State of it to the Royal Society: "The Inhabitants of *Maryland* are govern'd  
 " by the same Laws as in *England*, except that they have  
 " some Acts of Assembly relating to particular Cases, not pro-  
 " vided for by the Laws of *England*. The Church of *Eng-*  
 " *land* is pretty well established among them: Churches are  
 " built, and there's an annual Stipend allowed to every Mini-  
 " ster, by a perpetual Law; which is more or less, accord-  
 " ing to the Number of Taxables in each Parish. Every  
 " Christian Male 16 Years old, and Negroes Male and Fe-  
 " male above that Age, pay 40 *lb.* of Tobacco to the Mi-  
 " nister,

nister, which is levy'd by the Sheriff among other publick  
 Revenues, and this makes the Revenues of the Ministers,  
 one with another, about 20000 lb. of Tobacco, or 100 l.  
 Sterling a Year. It has been the Unhappiness of this  
 Country, that they had no Protestant Ministers hardly a-  
 mong them till Governor *Nicholson's* time (who has been  
 a great Promoter and Encourager of the Clergy) but  
 now and then an itinerant Preacher came over, of very  
 loose Morals, and scandalous Behaviour; so that what  
 with such Mens ill Examples, the *Roman* Priests Cunning,  
 and the Quakers Bigotry, Religion was in a manner turn'd  
 out of Doors: But, by Col. *Nicholson's* Protection, the  
 Face of it mended, and the orthodox Churches were  
 crowded as full as they could hold. The People grew sen-  
 sible of the *Romish* Superstition and the Enthusiasm of the  
 Quakers, insomuch that their Parties, joining now both  
 together, are very inconsiderable to that of the Church of  
*England*. Indeed the Quakers struggle hard to maintain  
 their Footing; and their *Teachers* (especially of the Fe-  
 male Sex, who are the most zealous) are very free of their  
 Reflections and Scandal against the orthodox Divines and Pro-  
 fessors. The People here have not yet found the way of affo-  
 ciating themselves in Towns and Corporations, by reason of  
 the Fewness of Handicrafts-men. There are indeed several  
 Places allotted for Towns; but hitherto they are only titu-  
 lar ones, except *Annapolis*, where the Governor resides  
 Col. *Nicholson* has done his Endeavour to make a Town  
 of that Place. There are about 40 Dwelling Houses in  
 it, 7 or 8 of which can afford a good Lodging and Ac-  
 commodations for Strangers. There are also a State-  
 house and a Free-School, built with Brick, which make  
 a great Shew among a Parcel of Wooden Houses; and the  
 Foundation of a Church is laid, the only Brick Church in  
*Maryland*. They have two Market Days in a Week,  
 and had Governor *Nicholson* continued there a few  
 Months longer, he had brought it to Perfection.

Col. *Nicholson* mightily promoted the Advancement of Re-  
 ligion in this Province, as did his Successor Col. *Nathaniel*  
*Blackiston*, with whom the Country, tho' healthy in itself,  
 did not agree, and he was forced to return to *England* for  
 the Recovery of his Health; in whose stead her Majesty was  
 pleased to make Col. *William Seymour* Governor of this Pro-  
 vince, who, in *September* 1703, embark'd aboard the *Dread-*  
*nought* Man of War, which, with others, was appointed to  
 convoy the *Virginia* and *Maryland* outward bound Fleet;  
 but being separated from the rest by Strefs of Weather, the  
 Governor



Governor put into *Barbados*, where he arrived the 2d of *February*. The Ship was forced off the Coasts of *Maryland* by contrary Winds, and did not arrive in the Bay till *April* or *May*, 1704; so that Col. *Seymour* was near 8 Months in his Voyage, which is commonly made in 6 Weeks. This Governor has given general Satisfaction to the Inhabitants, and is indeed a Man of Honour, worthy the Post her Majesty has been pleas'd to continue him in to this time.

It cannot be expected that we should be able to give as perfect an Account of every Colony, as we have done of *New-England*, *Virginia*, *Carolina*, *Barbados*, and some others. Our Helps have not been at all equal, tho' our Application has. Those Gentlemen to whom we applied, who could have given us full Information, and neglected it, are to answer for what is imperfect in this History of *Maryland*, which is however the largest that has been published; and had we been better supplied with Memoirs, we should have given a better Account of this Colony, which we confess deserv'd it. The Gentlemen concern'd in it will excuse us, when we tell them we have done our best, and in another Impression shall enlarge in our History of *Maryland*, if they will transmit us Materials, to enable us to do it. We kept this Account backward, in hopes of such Assistance; and perhaps these Gentlemen will be as angry with themselves as with us, when they see how industrious we have been in the Histories of those Countries that we were fully inform'd about, and what a Figure they make in the *British* Empire in *America*, where *Maryland* is far from being the least considerable Portion of it. 'Tis true it does not increase much in Towns, and those that are honoured with the Name, would not pass for any thing but little Villages in other Countries. This, as has been hinted in *Virginia*, is the Humour of the Inhabitants, and all Endeavours to bring them to build and settle at *Annapolis*, or *Williamstadt*, have been ineffectual. Those two Towns are not bigger than they were, if they hold to be so big; and there are Villages in *Pensylvania*, which may vie with them for Number of Houses and Inhabitants.

The Lord *Baltimore* disputed at Law with Mr. *Pen* for the Propriety of that Part of *Pensylvania*, known by the Name of the *Three Lower Counties*, as if it had been included within his Patent for *Maryland*; but Mr. *Pen* has maintain'd his Title, and 'tis probable will always maintain it against the Lord *Baltimore's* to those Countries. *Pensylvania* has lately endeavour'd at a Tobacco Trade; but *Maryland* and *Virginia* will hinder the Progress of any other Colony in this Commodity: They have been long settled in it, and can make  
enough

enough to supply all the Markets in the World; and their minding this Traffick wholly prevents their falling into that of Provisions so much as *New-England*, *New-York*, *Pensylvania* and *Carolina*, which Provinces may flourish by that Trade and Manufacture, and leave to *Virginia* and *Maryland* their natural Trade; for by their long Continuance and Perfection in it, it deserves that Name.

## C H A P. II.

Containing a Geographical Description of the Province of *Maryland*; an Account of the Climate, Soil, Product, Animals, Trade and Inhabitants, *English* and *Indian*.

**T**H<sup>O</sup>' we have given a large Description of *Virginia*, and the Bay of *Cheseapeak*, and have also set out the Bounds of *Maryland*, as we found it bounded in the Lord Proprietary's Patent; yet having had, some Years since, a complete and distinct Account of both Provinces from an ingenious Gentleman, an Inhabitant of the Place, with whom we have been long acquainted, the Reader will be better satisfy'd to see what he says, than to take it from us: Such then is the Description communicated to us by Mr. *Philemon Lloyd* of *Maryland*; "The Colony of *Virginia* and Province of *Maryland* are situate upon the Bay of *Cheseapeak*, whose Mouth or Inlet is between the Capes call'd *Cape Henry* and *Cape Charles*, and yet so as neither of the Provinces is placed on one particular Side, but are both of them on each Side water'd by that commodious Bay, which divides as it were in half both Governments; so that Part of the Colony of *Virginia* is on the West-Side of the said Bay, and the other Part on the East-Side, the Bay running through the Center of them. The Colony of *Virginia* on the West-side of the Bay, is divided from *Maryland* by the great River *Patowmeck*, and on the East by the River *Pokomoak*, whose Head lies near the Sea to the Eastward. The Boundary of the Province of *Maryland* begins at the River of *Patowmeck*, and runs along the Bay-side Northwards, till it intersects a Line drawn West from the Mouth of *Delaware Bay*, situate  
" in

“ in 40 Degrees North Latitude, having for its Bounds on  
 “ the West high Mountains, and on the East the said Bay.  
 “ The Eastern Side of the Province of *Maryland* is bounded  
 “ on the West by the Bay of *Cheseapeak*, on the East by the  
 “ main Ocean, on the North by *Delaware Bay*, and on the  
 “ South by the River *Pokomoak*, which is the Line of Divi-  
 “ sion between it and the Colony of *Virginia*. The Pro-  
 “ vince of *Maryland* is divided into eleven Counties, six on  
 “ the Western, and five on the Eastern Side of the Bay.  
 “ Those on the Western Side are *St. Mary’s*, *Charles*, Prince  
 “ *George*, *Calvert*, *Ann-Arundel*, and *Baltimore* Counties.  
 “ Those on the Eastern Side of the Bay are *Somerset*, *Dor-*  
 “ *chester*, *Talbot*, *Kent*, and *Cecil* Counties. This Province  
 “ has but one City in it, call’d the City of *St. Mary’s*,  
 “ from whence one of the Counties took its Name, be-  
 “ ing commodiously situate between the Rivers of *Patow-*  
 “ *meck* and *Patuxent*. This was formerly the Seat of Go-  
 “ vernment, and the Place where the Representatives of the  
 “ severall Counties assembled, to concert and determine things  
 “ for the Good of the Colony. There are also two prin-  
 “ cipal Towns, call’d by the Names of Ports, as the Port  
 “ of *Anapolis*, and the Port of *Williamstadt*. There are fe-  
 “ veral other Towns, but of no Consideration. The prin-  
 “ cipal Rivers of this Province are *Patowmeck*, which divides it  
 “ from the Colony of *Virginia*; *Patuxent* and *Severn*  
 “ on the Western Shore; and on the other Side are *Chiptonk*,  
 “ *Chester* and *Sassafras* of greatest Note. The Extent of  
 “ the Province of *Maryland* runs further Northward than  
 “ the Head of the Bay of *Cheseapeak*, being situate on both  
 “ Sides of it.

In speaking of the Counties, we shall begin with those on the West-side of the Bay.

*St. Mary’s* is the first of these, and is bounded thus: It be-  
 gins at Point *Look-out*, and extends along *Patowmeck* River,  
 to the lower Side of *Bud’s* Creek, and so over to the Head of  
*Indian* Creek in *Patuxent* River. About the Year 1698  
 some Medicinal Waters were discovered in this County, call’d  
 the *Cool Springs*, which the Government order’d should be  
 purchased, with the Land about it, and Houses built for the  
 Entertainment of the Poor. In the City of *St. Mary’s* the  
 General Court is holden, for which there’s a State-house,  
 and the Council is kept the first *Tuesday* in *September*, *Novem-*  
*ber*, *January*, *March* and *June* for Orphans. This City  
 chooses two Citizens to represent the rest in the Assembly,  
 and the Government is by a Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen  
 and Common-Council; tho’ true it is, so much Magistracy  
 might



might have been spared, and considering there are not above 60 Houses in it, and since *Anapolis* has been made the Seat of Justice, and the publick Offices, there's no great Likelihood that the City of *St. Mary's* will increase much in the Number of its Houses and Inhabitants.

*Mettapany* in this Country is noted only for having been the Lord *Baltimore's* Seat, when he dwelt in this Country. Here he built a handfom House, tho' more for Convenience than Magnificence; it stands near the Mouth of the River *Patuxent*. In *St. Mary's* County are the Parishes of *St. John's*, *St. Clement's* and *Hervington*, the latter usurping the Name of a Town.

*Charles* County Bounds begin on the upper Side of *Indian* Creek and *Bud's* Creek, where *St. Mary's* County ends, and extends to *Mattawoman* Creek, including all the Land lying on the upper Part of *Bud's* Creek and *Indian* Creek Branches. In this County the chief Places or Parishes are *Bristol* and *Piscattaway*.

*Prince George's* County is the newest in the Province, being laid out, *A D.* 1695. It includes the Land from the upper Side of *Mattawoman* and *Swanfon's* Creek, extending upwards by *Pantowmeck* in the West, and *Patuxent* River in the East. In this County is the Parish of *Masterkont*, and others.

*Calvert* County borders upon *Charles* County, from which 'tis divided by the River *Patuxent*, as also from *Prince George's* County. In this County are three Towns or Parishes, *Harrington*, *Warrington*, and *Calverton*.

*Ann-Arundel* and *Baltimore* Counties are divided by three mark'd Trees, standing about a Mile and a Quarter from *Bodkin* Creek, on the West-side of *Chesapeake* Bay, and this Division runs thence West, till it crosses the Road from the Mountains of the Mouth of *Maggaty* River to *Rich. Beard's* Mill, and so continues Westward to two mark'd Trees, one for *Ann-Arundel*, the other for *Baltimore* County, and still continues West from *Maggaty* and *Potopsc* Rivers, till it comes to a Mountain of white Stone, from thence to the main Road to *Potopsc* Ferry, and two mark'd Pines written at large on the North-side of the said Trees *Baltimore*, and on the South-side *Ann-Arundel* County; from thence West-North West to *Elk Ridge* Road to two mark'd Trees there, thence to *Patuxent* River, and so up the said River to the Extent of it, for the Bounds of *Baltimore* County. All the Tract of Land on the North-side of those Division-Lines is in *Baltimore* County, and all the Land on the South-side in *Ann-Arundel* County. The chief Town in the County of *Ann-Arundel* is

*Anapolis*, which was formerly call'd *Severn*, and by an Act of Assembly, 1694, was made a Port Town, and a Collector and Naval Officer were order'd to reside there; the Name of *Anapolis* was then given it. The County Court was removed to this Place, a Church was order'd to be built within the Port, which was made a Parish; and in the Year 1699, the Port of *Anapolis* was made the chief Seat of Justice within this Province, for holding Assemblies and provincial Courts, and all Writs, Pleas, and Process returnable to the Provincial, or to the Court of *Chancery*, were made returnable to the Port of *Anapolis*. All Roads leading through any County to this Port were, by another Act of Assembly, order'd to be mark'd on both Sides with two Notches on a Tree, and where the Road to *Anapolis* broke off from any other Road, it was to be distinguished on the Face of the Tree with the Letters *A. A.* The Assembly, about ten Years ago, pass'd an Act for founding a Free-School here, to be called King *William's* School. Other Schools were order'd to be erected under his Patronage, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was to be Chancellor of them. Trustees were appointed and incorporated by the Name of the *Rectors, Governors, Trustees and Visitors of the Free-Schools of Maryland*; what has been the Effect of this good Bill we know not, but believe it is very inconsiderable. The first School that was to be built was to be at *Anapolis*. The County Court for Orphans is kept here the second *Tuesday* in *September, November, January, March* and *June*. The Records of the County of *Ann-Arundel* were removed to this Town, where are now about forty Houses, but it lately has not flourish'd according to Expectation; and while the Planters and Merchants in *Maryland* affect to live separately, as they do at *Virginia*, there's no great Probability of this Town's making any considerable Figure.

In *Baltimore* County is a Parish or Town so call'd; but the Houses are so disjointed in this, and others, that the Townships are not worth the Name.

Thus we have given a short View of the Counties on the West-side of the Bay, and must observe, that the great River *Sasquehanagh* falls into that Bay, a little above *Baltimore*.

On the East-side of the Bay are the five other Counties; the first of which, proceeding from West to East, is

*Cecil* County, the Western Part of which is so near the *Delaware*, that the Cut would not be above eight or ten Miles to join that Bay and River to *Chesapeake*. This County runs along parallel with *Newcastle* and *Kent* County in

*Pensyl-*

*Pennsylvania.* We have not learnt how many Parishes are in it, and know nothing more of it, so we proceed to

*Kent County*, which runs out like an Isthmus into the Bay of *Chesapeake*. We know not the Names of the Parishes in it. The next County is

*Talbot County*, divided from the County of *Kent* by a double Line of mark'd Trees. That Part of this County that lies on the North-side of *Corseica* Creek, is the Southerly Bounds of the County of *Kent*, and on the North the County of *Cecil*. *Oxford* was formerly the Capital of this County; but by an Act of Assembly in the Year 1695, it was named *Williamstadt*, and made a Port Town. One hundred Acres of Land adjacent to it were order'd to be purchased. for a common Pasture for the Benefit of the Town. The second School that was to be built was appointed for this Place, and the Roads to it were to be mark'd out in the like Manner with those of *Anapolis*. A Collector and Naval Officer were order'd to reside here. Besides *Oxford*, here are the Parishes of *St. Michael's* and *Bollingbroke*. The next County is

*Dorchester County*. The chief Parish is *Dorchester*, where the County Court is kept. 'Tis a small Place of about ten Houses. The Land here lying on the North-side of *Nanticoke* River, beginning at the Mouth of *Chickacoan* River, and so up to the Head of it, and from thence to the Head of *Anderton's* Branch, and so down to the North-West Fork, to the Mouth of the aforesaid *Chickacoan* River was, by an Act of Assembly in the Year 1698, declared to belong to *Panquash* and *Annatouquem*, two *Indian* Kings, and the People under their Government, their Heirs and Successors for ever, to be holden of the Lord Proprietary, under the yearly Rent of one Beaver-skin. There are more *Indian* Towns in this than in any other of the Counties.

*Somerset County* has a Parish of the same Name in it. The Names of the other Parishes in this and the other Counties are not come to our Knowledge; and we know nothing particularly remarkable in them, so we shall proceed to our Account of the Climate, &c.

The Climate of this Province, the Soil, Product, and all that's mentioned in the Contents of this Chapter, are the same, in a great measure, with those of *Virginia*: Both here and there the *English* live at large at their several Plantations, which hinders the Increase of Towns; indeed every Plantation is a little Town of itself, and can subsist itself with Provisions and Necessaries, every considerable Planter's Warehouse being like a Shop, where he supplies not only himself with what he wants, but the inferior Planters, Servants and



Labourers, and has Commodities to barter for Tobacco, or other Goods, there being little Money in this Province, and little Occasion of any, as long as Tobacco answers all the uses of Silver and Gold in Trade. There are few Merchants or Shop-keepers, who may properly be so call'd, we mean who are not Planters also, but live wholly by their Trades. The Tobacco of this Province, call'd *Oroonoko*, is stronger than that of *Virginia*, and no *Englishman*, who has not a very coarse Relish in his Smoke, will bear it; yet 'tis as profitable to the Planter, and to the Trade of the Nation in general, being in demand in the Eastern and Northern Parts of *Europe*, where 'tis prefer'd before the sweet-scented Tobacco of *James* and *York* Rivers in *Virginia*. The Planters in *Maryland* finding so good Vent for their Commodity in foreign Markets, have cultivated it so much, that the Province is thought to produce as much or more Tobacco than that of *Virginia*. The Soil is here at least as fruitful, the Country being a large Plain, and the Hills in it so easy of Ascent, and of such a moderate Height, that they seem rather an artificial Ornament to it, than one of the Accidents of Nature. The Abundance of Rivers and Brooks is no little Help to the Fertility of the Soil; and there's no Grain, Plant, or Tree, which grows in *Virginia*, but thrives as well here. The Product, the Animals, and every thing is the same here as there, only the black and yellow Bird, called the *Baltimore* Bird, goes by another Name in *Virginia*. It had that given it, because the Colours of the Field of the Lord *Baltimore's* Coat of Arms are *Or* and *Sable*.

If the Reader has the Curiosity to know more of this Country in any of the Particulars mentioned in the Title of this Chapter, let him see the History of *Virginia* on the same Heads, and there's nothing there which may not also be said of *Maryland*, except it is added here.

The Air of the two Provinces has the same Agreement; and if there's any Difference in the Health of the one Country and the other, *Virginia* perhaps has the Advantage. The Province of *Maryland* however thrives in a great Degree, tho' 'tis the younger Colony; and that is a plain Proof of the Profit of the coarse Tobacco, preferable to the sweet-scented, or rather that which is sold to a foreign Market turns to a better Account every way, than what is made for a home Consumption with more Labour and Cost, and at last with less Gain.

The Number of Ships trading hither from *England*, and other Parts of the *English* Dominions, were computed to be 100 above 30 Years ago; and we may imagine how many  
more

more there come now, from the Increase of the Inhabitants, who were then calculated to be 16000, and are now judg'd to be 30000 Souls. The Lord Proprietary had a Mint here, to coin Money; but it never was made use of.

As to the *Indians*, their Language, Manners and Customs are the same with those of *Virginia*. At the first settling of *Maryland* there were several Nations of 'em, govern'd by petty Kings; but 'tis thought there are not now 500 fighting Men of them in all the Province, if the Account Mr. *Hugh Jones* transmitted to the Royal Society of it be true: For Mr. *Glover*, who some Years before sent the same Society an Account of *Virginia*, says, *The Indians in the Lord Baltimore's Territories, at the Head of the Bay, where the English were later seated, are more numerous, there being 3000 of them still in some Towns; but these being in continual Wars with each other, are like shortly to be reduced to a small Number; which justifies Mr. Jones's Relation of their Number in Maryland, since in Mr. Glover's time there was not above 3000 Indian Souls in all Virginia; out of which one cannot reckon there were many more than 500 fighting Men. The same Mr. Jones gives us a large Account of several things in this Province worth Notice.*

The Bay of *Chesapeake*, which runs *N. by W.* about 200 Miles, or more, divides *Maryland* as well as *Virginia*, into two Parts, which the Inhabitants of the two Provinces call the Eastern and Western Shores. The Land is generally low on both Sides; no Hill that is to be seen, or is known by them 50 Yards perpendicular; but above 100 Miles West of them, towards the Heads of the Rivers, the Ground rises, and appears in very high Mountains and rocky Precipices, running North and South; from the Top of which a Man may have a clear Prospect of both *Maryland* and *Virginia*.

All the *Low-land* is very woody, like one continued Forest, no part cleared, but what is cleared by the *English*; who tho' they are seated pretty close one to another, cannot see their next Neighbour's House for Trees. Indeed 'tis expected that 'twill be otherwise in a few Years; for the Tobacco Trade destroys abundance of Timber, both for making of Hosheads and building Tobacco Houses, besides clearing of Ground yearly for planting.

The Soil of *Maryland* is generally sandy, and free from Stone, which makes it very convenient for Travelling, and there's no Occasion for shoeing their Horses, except in frosty Weather; and what with the Goodness of their little Horses, and the Smoothness of the Roads, People, upon Occasion,

can travel 50 Miles in a Summer's Afternoon, and sometimes 100 Miles in a Day; but then their Miles are not accounted so long as in *England*.

The rich and plentiful Gifts of Nature add much to the Happiness of the Place; the three Elements affording Plenty of Food for the Use of Man, as Deer, Fowl, both Water and Land; and for the Preservation of Health, many excellent Herbs and Roots, the Discovery of whose Virtue is chiefly owing to the *Indians*.

They have Timber of several kinds, good for Building, and of them several sorts of Oak; as Red, White, Black, Chestnut, Water, Spanish, and Line Oaks (which last bears a Leaf like a Willow) Cedar white and red; the latter serves only for Posts and Ground-sels; the white to rive or split into Boards, that being the freest from Knots, and goes under the Name of Cypress, tho' 'tis falsely so term'd. There's a Tree call'd Cypress, which is extraordinary large in Bulk, and bears a Leaf like the *Sensitive Plant*. 'Tis soft, spongy, will not rive, and is fit for no Use. Their black Walnut is mightily esteemed by the Joiners for its Grain and Colour. There's a sort of Poplar that makes good white Plank. 'Tis a large Tree, and bears a Flower like a Tulip. They have Plenty of Pine and Dogwood, which is a fine Flower-bearing Plant, Sassafras, Locust, a Tree of quick Growth, and very durable in Building. Hickery, of which there are two sorts, red and white; the latter serves chiefly for Fire-Wood, being the best for that Use. There's abundance of Chestnuts and Chinquapines, another Species of Chestnuts; a sort of Elm like a *Dutch Elm*; and the Sugar mentioned in the History of *Virginia*, as well as others named here. In *Maryland* is a kind of Elder, whose Bark is closely guarded with Prickles, like a Briar. The Tulip-bearing-Laurel and Myrtle of several Sorts, one of which bears a Berry that is work'd up in the Eastern Shore to a kind of green Wax, very proper to make Candles with, if mix'd with Tallow.

The Humming-Bird and Mocking-Bird are the most curious Birds in this Province, as well as in the next; and the Rattle-Snake in both is the most noted of their Reptiles.

The Air is now more wholesom than formerly, which proceeds from the opening of the Country, the Air having by that means a freer Motion. The Summers now are not extreme hot, as in the first seating; but their Winters are generally severe. The North-East Wind is then very sharp, and even cools the Air very much in the Heat of the Summer,



when a sudden North-Western Blast too often strikes their Labourers with Fevers, if they are not careful to provide for it, by putting on their Clothes while they are at work.

There's little or no Woollen Manufacture followed by any of the Inhabitants, except what is done in *Somerset* County: Tobacco is their Meat, Drink, Clothing and Money; not but that they have both *Spanish* and *English* Money pretty plenty, which serves only for Pocket-Expences, and not for Trade, Tobacco being the Standard of that, as well with the Planters and others, as with the Merchants. Their common Drink is Cyder, which is very good; and where it is rightly order'd, not inferior to the best white Wine. They have Wine brought from *Madeira* and *Fyall*, Rum from *Barbados*, Beer, Malt, *French* and other Wines from *England*. There's Plenty of good Grapes growing wild in the Woods, but no Improvement is made of them.

Most of the *Indians* live on the Eastern Shore, where they have two or three little Towns: Some of them come over to the other Side in Winter-time, to hunt for Deer, being generally employ'd by the *English*. They take Delight in nothing else, and 'tis very rare that any of them will embrace the Christians way of Living or Worship. The Cause of their diminishing proceeded not from any Wars with the *English*, for they have had none with them worth speaking of; but from their own perpetual Discords and Wars among themselves. The Female Sex also has swept away a great many, insomuch that their Number is now very inconsiderable.

One thing is observable in them, tho' they are a People very timorous, and cowardly in Fight, yet when taken Prisoners, and condemn'd, they will die like Heroes, braving the most exquisite Tortures that can be invented, and singing all the time they are upon the Rack.

If we have at any time mentioned the same thing in two several Provinces, we have taken all possible Care not to describe it but in one, that the Reader might not be tired with needless Repetitions. But it will be observed, that every Nation of these *Barbarians* has some particular Customs, which distinguish 'em from the rest; and to make the History of each Province as perfect as lay in our Power, we have, as far as we could, describ'd the Manners and Customs of all of them. We have nothing more to say of this Colony, and shall conclude with the Names of the Governor and Council, as in the former Impression.]

Col. *William Seymour*, Governor.

<i>Thomas Tench</i> , Esq;	}	Members of the Council.
<i>Samuel Young</i> , Esq;		
<i>John Hammond</i> , Esq;		
<i>Francis Jenkins</i> , Esq;		
<i>Edward Loyd</i> , Esq;		
<i>William Holland</i> , Esq;		
<i>Kennelau Chittleton</i> , Esq;		
<i>William Courcy</i> , Esq;		
<i>Thomas Ennals</i> , Esq;		
<i>Robert Quarry</i> , Esq;		
<i>Thomas Grinfeild</i> ,	}	
<i>John Contee</i> ,		

Secretary to the Government, Sir *Thomas Lawrence*.  
 Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. *Thomas Smithson*.  
 Naval-Officer at *Anapolis*, Mr. *William Bladen*.

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THE  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
V I R G I N I A.

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C H A P. I.

Containing the History of *Virginia*, from its  
Discovery to the present Times.

**B**Y the Name of *Virginia*, was formerly call'd all that Tract of Land which reach'd from *Norembegua* to *Florida*, and contain'd the Country, now known to the *English* by the Names of *New-England*, *New-York*, *New-Jersey*, *Pensylvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia* and *Carolina*. The Natives call'd it *Apelehen*; and 'twas, as 'tis said, first discover'd to the *Europeans* by *Sebastian Cabot*, a *Genoese* Adventurer, who lived at *Bristol*, and who, in the Year 1497, was sent by King *Henry VII.* to make Discoveries in the *West-Indies*, *Columbus's* Successes five <sup>1497.</sup> Its Discovery. Years before, having set all the trading Nations in the World upon Expeditions into *America*, in hopes of sharing the Treasures of the *new-discovered World* with the *Spaniards*.

The *French*, who will never allow any Nation to be before them in any thing, pretend this Country was discovered by *John Verazzan*, who took Possession of it in the Name of *Francis I.* that he call'd it *Mocosa*; and with *Canada*, to which he gave the Name of *New-France*, added it to the Robbe  
Geog.  
*French*



*French Dominions.* But this is a Fiction of their own, exploded by all Authors who treat of the Discovery of *Virginia*: For which the Crown of *England* is certainly indebted to the Care and Expence of the famous *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, who having, as appears by his admirable History of the World, made strict Enquiries into the State of the Universe, and hearing of the prodigious Profit the *Spaniards* drew from their Settlements in the *West-Indies*, resolv'd upon an Adventure for farther Discoveries.

His Mistress, *Queen Elizabeth*, was then too much employed in *Europe*, to think of making Attempts for Acquisitions in *America*. She was apprehensive of a War with *Spain*, and was busied in protecting the States of the United Provinces, and the *French* Protestants, against the Tyranny of *France* and *Spain*. *Sir Walter* therefore found himself under a Necessity of undertaking the Adventure on the Account of private Persons, who bearing the Charge of it, were to have the Advantage.

*Sir Walter Rawleigh undertakes it.*

1583.

To this Purpose, in the Year 1583, he procures several Merchants and Gentlemen to advance large Sums of Money towards carrying on the Design; and in the Year following, obtain'd Letters Patents from the Queen, bearing Date the 25th of *March* 1584, *To possess, plant and enjoy for himself, and such Persons as he should nominate, themselves and their Successors, all such Lands, Territories, &c. as they should discover, not then in the Possession of any Christian Nation.*

1584.

In *April*, the Gentlemen and Merchants, by *Sir Walter Rawleigh's* Direction, fitted out two small Vessels under the Command of *Capt. Philip Amidas* and *Capt. Arthur Barlow*, two of *Sir Walter's* Servants, who knowing no better Course, sail'd away to the *Canaries*, from thence to the *Charibbee* Islands, and crossing the Gulph of *Mexico*, made the Coast of *Florida*. With *Amidas* and *Barlow* went

*Amidas and Barlow's Voyage.*

*Mr. William Greenville,*  
*Mr. John Wood,*  
*Mr. James Browick,*  
*Mr. Henry Green,*

*Mr. Benjamin Wood,*  
*Mr. Simon Ferdinando,*  
*Mr. John Hawes,*  
*Mr. Nich. Perryman.*

I take *Greenville* to be a Relation of *Sir Walter Rawleigh's*, and of the Family of *Greenville*, afterwards titled *Bath* and *Landsdown*; from *Amidas* descended that famous Navigator *Sir John Hawkins*.

They were so ignorant of Navigation, that by Computation of able Seamen, they went above a thousand Leagues out of their Way. Their Voyage was however prosperous; and they anchor'd at the Inlet by *Roenoke*, at present under

the

the Government of *North Carolina*. They landed on certain Islands on the Coast, between *Cape Fear* and the great Bay of *Chesapeake*. They afterwards went ashore on the Continent, in a Country called *Wingandacoa*, over which there reign'd a King, whose Name was *Wingina*. They traded with the *Indians*, and made good Profit of their Truck, the Natives parting with their Furs for things of a much inferior Value. With this Commodity, *Sassafras* and Cedar they loaded their two Vessels, and returned home, carrying with them some Pearl, which was taken for an evident Sign of the great Riches of the Country. *Amidas* and *Barlow* had made a very advantageous Voyage; and to encourage their Owners, the *New West-India-Company*, to continue the Trade, they represented the Place they had discovered to be so plentiful, and so desirable, the Climate so pleasant and healthy, the Air so sweet, the Sky so serene, the Woods and Fields so fruitful and charming, and every thing so agreeable, that all that heard it were taken with the Description; and such as had not Conveniencies to live pleasantly at home, were tempted to remove to this Paradise.

But the Discovery was in its Infancy, and the *English* then could only admire, without daring to attempt the enjoying the Sweets of so delicious a Country. Besides the Pleasantness of the Place, and the Profit of the Trade, *Barlow* and *Amidas* highly extol'd the Innocence and Goodnature of the *Indians*, and the Advantages that might be made by their Ignorance, and their Love of the *English*. To this they added an inviting Account of the Productions of the Soil, the Variety of Fruits, Plants and Flowers there, and their Beauty and Excellence.

They also brought over with them some Tobacco, the first Tobacco first brought into that was seen in *England*; and two *Indians*, whose Names England. were *Wanchese* and *Manteo*.

Queen *Elizabeth* was herself so well pleased with the Account these Adventurers gave of the Country, that she honoured it with the Name of *Virginia*, either because it was first discover'd in her Reign, a Virgin Queen; or, as the *Virginians* will have, because it still seem'd to retain the *Virgin Purity and Plenty of the first Creation*, and the People their primitive Innocence.

The *English* Merchants were the more fond of farther Adventures to *America* at this time, for that her Majesty's Ships had lately intercepted a *Spanish* Vessel bound home from *Mexico*, which had Letters aboard, containing a Description of the vast Treasures that were dug out of the Mines there. And the Company erected under the Auspices of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*,

*Rawleigh*, who some affirm gave the Name of *Virginia* to the Country himself, resolv'd on a second Voyage thither.

Sir *Walter* intended to have commanded in this Expedition himself, and to have carried with him a sufficient Number of Forces to have compleated his Design of making a Settlement there; but being at that time jealous that his Absence might be prejudicial to his Interest at Court, which the Earl of *Leicester* sought all Occasions to lessen, he committed the Conduct of this second Enterprize to his Lieutenant, Sir *Richard Greenville*, who, on the 9th of *April*, set sail from *Plimouth* with seven Ships fitted out by the Company, of which himself and several other Gentlemen were Members; and this Company was the first of that kind that was establish'd in *Europe*. These King *James* incorporated by the Name of the *Governor and Company of the West Indies*, which, for their Male-administration, was dissolved by his Son, King *Charles I.*

1585. Sir *Richard Greenville*, for want of better Information, sail'd round by the *Western* and *Charibbee* Islands. He had laden his Ships with Provision, Arms, Ammunition, and spare Men to settle a Colony: With these he took the two *Indians*, to assist him in his Negotiations with their Countrymen; and having a prosperous Voyage, he arrived at *Wokokon* on the 26th of *May*, being the same Place where the *English* had been the Year before.

In *August* following he began to plant at *Roenoke*, an Island about 5 Leagues from the Continent, which lies in 36 Degrees of Northern Latitude. He also made some little Discoveries more in the *Sound* to the Southward, trading with the *Indians* for Skins, Furs, Pearl and other Commodities, which they barter'd with him for things of inconsiderable Value.

Mr. Ralph<sup>1</sup>  
Lane first  
Governor.

He left 108 Men on *Roenoke* Island, under the Command of Mr. *Ralph Lane* and Capt. *Philip Amidas*, to keep Possession of it; and himself return'd to *England*. With Mr. *Lane* remained

Mr. *Philip Amidas*,  
Mr. *Thomas Harriot*,  
Mr. *Allen*,  
Mr. *Stafford*,  
Mr. *Thomas Luddington*,  
Mr. *Marwyn*,  
Capt. *Vaughan*,  
Mr. *Kendal*,  
Mr. *Gardiner*,

Mr. *Prideaux*,  
Mr. *Rogers*,  
Mr. *Snelling*,  
Mr. *Harvey*,  
Mr. *Anthony Rusbe*,  
Mr. *Michael Pullisn*,  
Mr. *Thomas Buckner*,  
Mr. *James Mason*,  
Mr. *David Salter*.



As soon as Sir *Richard* was gone, the Men he left behind set themselves about discovering the Continent, and rang'd up and down 80 Miles Southward, and 130 Northward, venturing indiscreetly too high up the Rivers, and too far into the Country, by which the *Indians*, growing jealous of their Designs, began first to be weary of their Company, and cut off their Stragglers when they fell into their Hands; they also form'd a Conspiracy to destroy the rest, but were happily prevented.

The Journals of the Colony's Proceedings were duly transmitted to the Company in *England*, who were not so careful as they should have been, to send them Supplies of Provision; and the *English* not understanding the Nature of the Climate, had neglected to gather Food in Season, as the *Indians* did, by which means they were reduced to terrible Streights. The Natives never after kept Faith with them, but watch'd all Opportunities to cut them off. And as this obliged them to be more wary in their Enterprizes on the Main, so it hinder'd their receiving any Supply from them: However, they endured all with incredible Resolution, and extended their Discoveries near 100 Miles along the Sea-Coasts.

They kept the *Indians* in Awe, by threatening them with the Return of their Companions, and the Reinforcement of Men; but no Ships coming from *England* in all that Winter, nor in the Spring following, nor in Summer, they despaired of being able to support themselves any longer; the Natives beginning to despise them, when they saw them as it were abandoned by their Countrymen, and the *English* expected daily to be sacrificed to their Cruelty.

In this Distress their chief Employment was to look out to Sea, in hopes of finding some means of Escape or Recruit: And when they were almost spent with Want and Watching, Hunger and Cold, in *August* they spy'd Sir *Francis Drake's* Fleet, who was returning from an Expedition against the *Spaniards* in *North-America*, and had been commanded by the Queen to visit this Plantation in his way, and see what Encouragement or Assistance they wanted.

1568.

The Sight of Sir *Francis's* Fleet was the most joyful one that ever the Eyes of the poor Wretches who were left on *Roenoke* Island beheld. Their first Petition to him, was to grant them a Supply of Men and Provisions, with a small Ship or Bark to attend them; that in case they could not maintain themselves where they were, they might embark in it for *England*.

An end of the  
first Settlement.

Sir *Francis* granted their Request, and they set all Hands to work to fit the Ship he had given them, and furnish her with all manner of Stores for a long Stay; but a Storm arising, which drove the Vessel from her Anchor to Sea, and the Ship suffering so much in it, that she was not fit for their Use, they were so discouraged, that notwithstanding Sir *Francis* offer'd them another Ship, they were afraid to stay, and earnestly intreated him to take them with him home, which he did; and this put an end to the first Settlement.

In the mean time Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, being very solicitous for the Preservation of his Colony, solicited the Company to hasten their Supplies of Men and Provisions, resolving to go with them in Person; and fearing the Colony would suffer by their Delays, he fitted out the Ship he was to go in with all possible Speed; and when it was ready, set sail by himself. A Fortnight after, Sir *Richard Greenville* sail'd again from *Plimouth*, with three other Ships for *Virginia*.

Sir *Walter* fell in with the Land at *Cape Hattaras*, a little to the Southward of *Roenoke*, where the 108 Men settled; whom, after strict Search, not finding there, he returned.

The *Virginians* positively affirm, that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* made this Voyage in Person; but the Histories of those times, and the Authors of the Life of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, which has been twice written, make no mention of it. 'Tis more probable, that the common Account of it is true, that he fitted out a Vessel of a hundred Tun, loaded it with Necessaries, and dispatch'd it away to relieve his little Colony.

Before this Ship arrived, the *English* had abandoned their Settlement, and returned with Sir *Francis Drake*. And the Master of the Vessel not being able to get any Information concerning them, made the best of his way home.

Tho' the Author of the *History and present State of Virginia* assures us Sir *Walter Rawleigh* went then himself, 'tis not likely a Man of his Quality and Character would hazard his Person so far, and in no better an Employ than the Master of an Advice Boat or Tender.

When Sir *Richard* arrived, which was a few Days after the Departure of the Vessel we have mentioned, he found the Island *Roenoke*, where he left his Men, entirely deserted. He knew nothing of Sir *Francis Drake's* having been there, and thought they had been all murder'd by the *Indians*, till *Manteo* satisfy'd him to the contrary; but he could not tell how they got away. However, Sir *Richard* left fifty Men more (some Accounts say but 15) in the same Island, order'd

Navigant,  
Itinerant.  
A second  
Settlement.

der'd them to build Houses, giving them Materials, and two Years Provision; after which he returned, having assured them that they should be speedily and constantly supply'd.

In the Year following Mr. *John White* was sent thither by the Company with three Ships. He carried with him a Supply of Men and some Women, as also plentiful Recruits and Provisions, having a Commission to settle there, and to preside over the Settlement as Governor.

He arrived at *Roanoke* the 22d of *July*, 1587, but found no *Englishmen* there; at which he was very much troubled. He enquired of *Manteo* what was become of them; this *Indian* informed him, that the Natives secretly set upon them, kill'd some, and the rest fled into the Woods, where they were never heard of afterwards. 1587. Destroy'd

To confirm *Manteo's* Information, the Fort they had built he found demolish'd, their Huts empty, the Place of their Habitation all grown up with Weeds, and at the Entrance of the Fort the Bones of a dead Man.

This did not discourage Mr. *John White* from making Attempts towards a third Settlement; so he sat down in the same Place, repaired the Houses, and when he had put all things in the best Order he could for their Preservation, he proceeded to constitute a Form of Government among them, consisting of a Governor and twelve Counsellors, incorporated by the Name of the Governor and Assistants of the City of *Rawleigh* in *Virginia*. The Counsellors were A third Settlement. Mr. John White Governor.

Mr. <i>John White</i> Governor.	Mr. <i>John Sampson</i> ,
Mr. <i>Roger Bayley</i> ,	Mr. <i>Thomas Smith</i> ,
Mr. <i>Ananias Dare</i> ,	Mr. <i>Dennis Harvey</i> ,
Mr. <i>Simon Ferdinando</i> ,	Mr. <i>Roger Pratt</i> ,
Mr. <i>Christopher Cooper</i> ,	Mr. <i>George Hare</i> ,
Mr. <i>Francis Stephens</i> ,	Mr. <i>Anthony Gage</i> .

On the 13th of *August*, *Manteo* the faithful *Indian* was christened, and created by the Governor Lord of *Dassamon-peak*, an *Indian* Nation so called, as a Reward of his Fidelity and Services to the *English*; and on the 18th of the same Month was born the first Child that was the Issue of Christian Parents in that Place, being the Daughter of Mr. *Ananias Dare*. She was, after the Name of the Country, christen'd *Virginia*. The Indian Manteo christen'd.

'Tis from these small Beginnings that we are to trace this Colony, which has increased so much since, that 'tis now one of the best Branches of the Revenue of the Crown of *England*.



Good Government and Industry soon render'd Mr. *White* and his Men formidable to the *Indians*, who courted their Friendship and made Leagues with the Corporation, which they kept or broke, as they thought themselves too weak or too strong for the *English*, who, as much as they seem'd to thrive, underwent so many Hardships, for want of due Supplies from *Europe*, that nothing but the invincible Constancy, which is the distinguishing Character of their Nation, could have supported them in so much Misery; yet so far were they from repenting of their Undertaking, or desiring to return, that they disputed for the Liberty of remaining at *Roenoke*, and obliged Mr. *White*, their Governor, to return for *England*, and sollicite the Company to send them Recruits of Men and Provisions.

Mr. *White* undertook to negotiate their Affairs; and leaving 115 Men in the Corporation, set sail for *England*, where he arrived in Safety, and was two Years there before he could obtain a Grant of the necessary Supplies: At last he had three Ships fitted out for him, with Provisions, and more Men for the Colony.

1589.

He sail'd from *Plimouth* in the latter End of the Year 1589, taking the usual Course round by the Western and *Charibbee* Islands; for no other was then known. Tho' they were skill'd in Navigation, and in the Knowledge of the Use of the Globes, yet they chose rather to follow a prevailing Custom, and sail three thousand Miles about, than to attempt a more direct Passage.

On the 15th of *August* he arrived at Cape *Hattaras*, and landing on the Island *Roenoke*, found, by Letters cut on Trees, in large *Roman* Characters, that the *English* were removed, but he could not tell where. They saw the Letters *C. R. O.* on several Trees; and searching farther, on one of the *Palifadoes* of the Fort which they had quitted, they found cut in large Capital Letters the Word *Croatan*; one of the Islands forming the Sound about 20 Leagues Southward of *Roenoke*.

An end of  
the third  
Settlement.  
Mr. White  
returns.

On this Advice they embark'd in quest of their Fellows at *Croatan*; but they were scarce aboard all of them before a dreadful Storm arose, which separated the Ships one from another. They lost their Anchors and Cables; and durst not venture in with the Shore; so they all shifted for themselves; and with various Fortunes arrived in *England* and *Ireland*.

There were no more Attempts to find and relieve the 115 Men Mr. *White* left at *Roenoke* for sixteen Years following; and what became of them God only knows, for they were never heard of to this Day. 'Tis supposed the *Indians*, seeing them forsaken by their Countrymen, fell upon them and destroy'd them. This

This Misfortune was enough to put a Stop to any farther Enterprizes of this Nature for some time; and 'tis rather a matter of Wonder, that the *English* ever after attempted a Settlement in *Virginia*, than that they neglected it so long, this being their third Miscarriage, and the two last with most terrible Circumstances. These were certainly the Reasons that the Design of settling a Colony there was laid aside for so long a while, and not Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* Troubles, as the Author of the *History* before-mentioned pretends; for Sir *Walter*, from the Year 1590 to the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, was in full Favour at Court, and at the Head of several famous Expeditions.

In the Year 1602, in which Queen *Elizabeth* died, Capt. <sup>1602.</sup> *Bartholomew Gosnold* fitted out a small Vessel at *Dartmouth*, <sup>Captain Gosnold's Voyage.</sup> and set sail in her from that Port, with 32 Sailors and Passengers for *Virginia*. He had been one of the Adventurers in a former Voyage thither, was an excellent Mariner, and had found out that there must be a shorter Cut to that Part of *America* than had hitherto been attempted; wherefore he designed a more direct Course, and did not stand so far to the Southward, or pass by the *Charibbee* Islands, as all former Adventurers had done, by which they not only sail'd many hundreds of Leagues out of their Way, but were exposed to the difficult Shores and dangerous Currents of the Islands, and Coasts of *Florida*.

He attained his End in avoiding those Coasts and Currents, and taking a nearer Course than any had done before him.

He arrived in the Latitude of 42 Degrees, and a few Minutes, to the Northward of *Roenoke*, among the Islands, forming the North-side of *Massachuset's* Bay in *New-England*; where not finding the Conveniencies he desired, he set Sail again; and when he thought he had got clear of the Land, he fell upon the Bay of *Cod*, now Part of *New-England*.

By his Method of Navigation he shorten'd his way 500 Leagues, and yet went farther about by as many more than our Ships do now.

Captain *Gosnold* staid some time on the Coast, trading with the *Indians* for their Furs, Skins, &c. with which, *Sassafras*, and some other Commodities, he loaded his Ship and returned, having too few Men in his Company to pretend to a Settlement. This Voyage was so healthy, that neither himself, nor any of his Crew were in the least indisposed in all the time. He was the first that had made it turn to any Account since *Barlow* and *Amidas's* Voyage; and gave such a good Description of the commodious Harbours, pleasant

Places, and profitable Trade he had met with, that the *English* once more began to talk of a Plantation in *Virginia*; and several Merchants, particularly the Mayor and some Aldermen of *Bristol*, with whom Mr. *Hackluit*, who made a very good Collection of Voyages to *America*, was concern'd, set out Ships to trade to the same Places.

Two Vessels fitted out by the *Bristol Men*, fell in with the same Land Capt. *Gosnold* had done, followed his Method and Traffick, and returned with a rich Lading.

The *Bristol Merchants*, encouraged by this Adventure, continued their Voyages thither, and encreased their Commerce from time to time so much, that for many Years they were the most considerable Traders to that Colony; and, considering the Inequality of their Numbers, out-did the *Londoners* by much, till the Merchants of *Liverpool* drove them out of the *Irish Trade*, and rivall'd them in that to *Virginia*.

The next Ship that sail'd thither from *England* was commanded by Capt. *Martin Pring*, fitted out by the *Bristol Men*, who came to *Whitsan Bay*, anchor'd there, and traded with the Natives to Advantage.

The same Year Capt. *Gilbert*, in the *Elizabeth* of *London*, made a Voyage to *Virginia*, but not with the like Success. He traded with the Savages in the *Charibbee Islands*, viz. *St. Lucia*, *Dominica*, *Nevis*, *St. Christopher's*, and thence proceeded to the Bay of *Cheseapeak* in *Virginia*, being the first that sail'd up into it, and landed there. The *Indians* set upon him and his Company in the Woods, and Capt. *Gilbert* and 4 or 5 of his Men were kill'd by their Arrows, upon which his Crew return'd home.

The trading Voyages of *Gosnold* and the *Bristol Men* began to put the *English* on new Attempts for a Settlement; but before it could be brought to pass, *Henry Earl of Southampton*, and *Thomas Lord Arundel* of *Wardour*, fitted out a Ship under the Command of Capt. *George Weymouth*, who fell upon the Eastern Parts of *Long Island* (as 'tis now call'd) where they landed, and traffick'd with the *Indians*, made Trial of the Soil by *English Grain*; and found the Natives more affable and courteous than the Inhabitants of those other Parts of *Virginia* which the *English* had discover'd; but the Adventurers, being greedy of Gain, over-reach'd the *Indians*, imposing on their Ignorance; of which they growing jealous, it occasion'd the many Murders and Massacres that follow in the Course of this History.

Capt. *Weymouth* enter'd the River of *Powhatan*, Southward of the Bay of *Cheseapeak*. He sail'd up above forty Miles,



Miles, finding the Channel deep and broad, being a Mile over, and 7 to 10 Fathom in Depth, having Creeks on every Side at every half Mile Distance, all deep and safe, in which Ships of 500 Tons may ride in many Places, with a Cable on Shore in the soft Oaze.

As he coasted along this River he traffick'd with the Natives, bartering his Trifles for their Treasures, the *Indians* giving him to the Value of 10 or 12*l.* in Furs, Beaver, Otter and Sable, for five Shillings worth of Knives, Combs, Beads and Toys.

In one Place where he traded, he and his Crew had like to have been surprized by the Natives, who inviting him ashore on Pretence of Traffick, placed 300 Men with Bows and Arrows in Ambuscade; but Capt. *Weymouth* march'd with so much Caution, and so well arm'd, that they durst not attack him. He sent his Boat 70 Miles up the River, in which his Ship lay six Weeks. While he was there he made Trial of the Soil of the Country with *English* Grain, which he found thrived, as it did in other Parts of *Virginia*, where the Experiment had been made.

Having laden his Ship with the Commodities of the Place, such as Furs, Sassafras and Tobacco, he returned to *England*, carrying three or four Savages whom he had taken Prisoners with him.

The Account he gave of his Voyage when he came home tempted others to adventure thither; but none had the Courage to think of a Settlement. They had forgot the 115 Men whom Mr. *White* had left at *Roenoke*: Their Pity was too weak for their Avarice; Trade and Profit was all they thought of; and these private Adventurers would have put the Design of a Colony out of the Peoples Head, had not Capt. *Gosnold* so effectually solicited the Settlement of *Virginia* in the Court of King *James*, that several Gentlemen contributed towards it; and the King incorporated two Companies in one Patent, bearing Date the 10th of *April*, 1606, 1606.

The first Company were Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, the Rev. Mr. *Richard Hackluit*, Prebend of *Westminster*, and *Edward Maria Wingfeild*, Esq; who were the The South Virginia Company. *London* Adventurers, and had Liberty by their Patent to seat themselves, and such as should join with them, at any Place on the Coast of *Virginia*, between the Degrees of 34 and 41 of Northern Latitude. They were allowed to extend their Bounds from the Place of their Plantation, 50 *English* Miles each way, and 100 Miles up in the Country, directly from the Sea-Coast, and none was permitted to plant or dwell

dwell there, without Leave of the Company, or their Council.

This Patent included *Maryland, Virginia* and *Carolina*, as they are now distinguish'd from each other.

The second Company were *George Popham, Esq;* and others, as we shall shew in the History of *New-England*; these were call'd the *Plymouth* Adventurers.

They had Liberty by their Patent to plant and inhabit any Part of the Continent, between the Degrees of 38 and 45 of Northern Latitude, with the like Privileges and Bounds as the first Company.

In this Patent was included *New-England, New-York, New-Jersey* and *Pensylvania*, as they are now divided into several Provinces; but the whole Country was then call'd *Virginia*, that which was granted to the second Colony, as well as that which was granted to the first. The latter was the earliest in their Settlement; for in the same Year with the Date of their Patent they fitted out two Ships under the Command of Capt. *Newport*, who fell in with the Coast near *Cape Henry*, the Southermost Point of the Bay *Che-seapeak*.

1606.

Capt Newport.

First Colony that remain'd.

With him went the Honourable Mr. *Percy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Capt. *Gosnold*, Capt. *Smith*, Capt. *Ratcliffe*, Capt. *Martin*, Mr. *Wingfield*, of whom the five last were of the Council. They took a Minister, and abundance of Handicraft Tradesmen with them. Capt. *Newport* raised a Fort at the Mouth of the River *Powhatan*. Here he left 100 Men, with Provisions, Arms, Ammunition, and other Necessaries to make a Settlement; and this was the first Colony that remain'd on the Place. The first Company resolving to prosecute their Undertaking vigorously, had taken Capt. *John Smith* into their Service. He was a noted Seaman, who from a mean Original had acquired a great Reputation by his Adventures. Capt. *Smith* cheerfully undertook the Employment, and ventured his All on that Bottom. The Company were impower'd by their Patent to choose a President and Counsellors, to grant Commissions, and exercise judicial Authority. Accordingly they gave a Commission to the Gentlemen above-mentioned to establish a Colony in their Territories, and govern it by a President and Council, who were invested with sufficient Authorities and Powers.

The Gentlemen who went over with Capt. *Smith* were very unkind to him, and envying his Zeal and Experience in Maritime Affairs, they used him so ill, that 'twas thought they intended to put him to Death. This was carried on by

the

the President Mr. *Wingfield*, a covetous haughty Person, Mr. Wingfield President. who, while Capt. *Smith* was trading and treating with the *Indian Kings*, contrived his Ruin: False Witnessses were produced to swear ill Designs against him, and he was not only refused to be admitted into the Council, but thrown into Prison, where he lay till all the Forgeries of his Enemies were detected. He then was admitted a Member of the Council; Mr. *Wingfield* was deposed from his Presidency, Capt. Radcliffe President. and Capt. *Radcliffe* chosen President, who knowing Capt. *Smith's* Ability, left the Administration of Affairs to him.

The Company gave Capt. *Newport*, when he set out, Orders to sail to that Part of *Virginia* where Mr. *White* left his miserable Colony, tho' there was no Security of Harbour there. Capt. *Smith* was the Pilot of this little Fleet, and, as good a Seaman as he was, went the old round-about way, by the Western and *Charibbee* Islands, and past his own Accounts of Navigation twice or thrice, insomuch that his Companions began to despair of reaching the Place they were bound for, and to think of returning to *England*; but when they were at the Point of returning, Capt. *Smith*, with two of his Vessels, luckily fell in with *Virginia*, at the Mouth of *Cheseapeak* Bay. Some Authors distinguish Capt. *Smith's* Voyage from Capt. *Newport's*, and affirm, that the first Settlement which remain'd was made by *Smith*, but others make the Voyage of Capt. *Newport* prior to *Smith's*; but, on further Enquiry, we have Reason to believe *Smith* was with *Newport* in his Voyage: For the *Virginia* Company's Commission mentions these following, as Directors of the Voyage and Settlement.

<i>Edward Wingfield</i> , Esq;	Mr. <i>John Martin</i> ,
Capt. <i>Christopher Newport</i> ,	Mr. <i>John Radcliffe</i> ,
Capt. <i>Bartholomew Gosnold</i> ,	Mr. <i>John Smith</i> .

Leaving this Dispute to be decided by the Company's Books, and the *Virginians*, we proceed in our History.

Capt. *Smith*, when he had the Management of Affairs, built a Fort on the Southern Cape, which he named *Cape Henry*, from Prince *Henry*, King *James's* eldest Son: The Northern he call'd *Cape Charles*, from Prince *Charles*, afterwards *Charles I.* and the River *Powhatan* he call'd *James* River, after the King's own Name.

Before the President and Council proceeded to a Settlement, they made a full Search of *James* River, and then James Town built. they unanimously pitch'd on a Peninsula, about 50 Miles up the River, to build a Town upon, which they called *James* Town.



The Soil about it is very good, the Place itself two thirds environ'd by the main River, which affords good Anchorage, and the other third by a small narrow River, capable of receiving Vessels of 100 Tuns, by which means the Ground the Town stands upon is a Sort of an Island. Here they built Castles and a Fort, and might have gone on with Success, had not their own Divisions put a Stop to the Growth of their Settlement, and given the *Indians* an Advantage over them. One hundred and eight Men staid upon the Place.

1607.

'Tis certain that in this Year 1607, the Plantation of *Virginia* was first settled by about one hundred Persons, and that from these small Beginnings it rose to the Figure it has since made in the *British* Commerce. The two Ships were sent back by the President and Council to fetch Recruits of Men and Provisions, and in the mean while, those that remain'd fell to planting and sowing, to building, fortifying and trading with the *Indians*, making a prodigious Profit by their Traffick: But each private Trader being at Liberty to sell his Goods at what Rates he pleas'd, the *English* underfold one another: by which means the Natives, who had bought dearer than their Neighbours, thought they were cheated, and so conceived an Aversion to the *English* in general, which ended in a National Quarrel.

The Trade was farther interrupted by a sort of yellow *Dust-Isinglass*, which was found to be wash'd down by a Stream in a Neck of Land on the Back of *James Town*. This the *English* mistook for Gold, and all their Hearts were set upon it, to the Neglect of their real Profit by Traffick, and their Security and Preservation, by making Provision for a time of Necessity, which then came upon them; for while they were all running mad after this visionary Gold, their Town was burnt, their Stores consumed, and they were reduced to the last Extremities of Wants. Many of them were also destroy'd by the *Indians*, none minding their Defence, so much were they infatuated with the Hopes of Mountains of Wealth, by the Help of these new-found Sands; and they already began to despise the Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru*, in comparison of their own inestimable Stream. In the mean time they laboured under unspeakable Difficulties, which however they bore with Patience, being comforted by their golden Dreams. One of the Ships that had been sent back to *England* for Provisions, returned, and they loaded her home with this *yellow Dust*, thinking all the Stowage wasted that was bestow'd on Furs or Drugs, and could hardly afford any Room for Cedar. Not long after her Departure the other

other Ship arrived, and her they also loaded home with this imaginary Gold Dust, with Cedar and Clap-board to fill up. They were all so busy in fishing for the Dirt, that they could spare no time for Discoveries, till the Heat of their Avarice began to cool a little, and some of the wiser sort to suspect that, according to a good old *English* Proverb, *All was not Gold that glister'd*. At last Capt. *Smith*, with part of the Colony, made several Discoveries in *James River*, and up *Cheseapeak Bay*, with two Sloops which they had brought with them for that Purpose.

In the same Year 1608, the *English* first gather'd *Indian* Corn of their own planting, and they might have flourish'd, had not their Feuds, Folly and Negligence hinder'd their Success, and been the Cause of their future Mischiefs; for in Capt. *Smith's* Absence Matters fell into Confusion, several uneasy People were for deserting the Settlement, and attempted to run away with a small Vessel, which was left to attend it; but they were prevented.

1608.

Capt. *Smith*, in his Expedition among the Savages, was surprized, assaulted, and taken Prisoner by them. He was then making Discoveries on the River *Chicohomony*, where *Oppecamcanough*, a King of that Nation, fell upon him treacherously, and put all his Men to Death, after he had forced them to lay down their Arms. He not only spared Mr. *Smith's* Life, but carried him to his Town, feasted him, presented him to *Powhatan*, the chief King of the Savages, who would have beheaded him, had he not been saved at the Intercession of *Powhatan's* Daughter *Pocahonta*, of whom we shall have Occasion to say more hereafter. Capt. *Smith* returning to *James Town*, found the Colony in such Distractions, that 'twas likely to break up. When he had prevailed upon them to remain there, Capt. *Newport* return'd with Supplies of Men and Provisions, and they both paid a Visit to *Powhatan*, who received them in great State. Capt. *Newport* did not stay long in *Virginia*, and Capt. *Radcliffe* resigning his Presidency, Capt. *Smith* was unanimously desired to accept of that Office. He made a second Expedition for Discoveries, leaving Mr. *Scrivener* Vice-President; but the Affairs of the Settlement still ran to Destruction.

Capt. Smith  
President.

In the Year following, 1609, *John Layden*, and *Anne Burroughs* were married, which was the first Christian Marriage in *Virginia*; and in the same Year the President and Council at *James Town* sent out People to make two other Settlements, one at *Nansamund*, under Capt. *Martin*, in *James River*; and the other at *Powhatan*, six Miles below

the Falls of *James River*, under the Honourable Mr. *West*: Mr. *Martin* attempting to seize the King of *Nansamund*, was forced to fly from his Settlement, and Mr. *West* did not stay long at his.

The Colony was by this time so increased by Recruits from *England*, that the People of *James Town* could spare 120 Men for each of these Settlements. Not long after another Settlement was made at *Kiquotan*, at the Mouth of *James River*. *Powhatan* was an Indian Town, and was bought of *Powhatan*, King of *Werocomoco*, for some Copper.

The Company in *England* understanding how prejudicial the Divisions in their Colony were to the Advancement of the Settlement, petition'd the King for Leave to appoint a Governor, which was granted them in a new Patent. Pursuant to this Grant they made the Lord *Delaware* Governor of the Colony, whose Brother, Mr. *West*, lived then in *Virginia*. My Lord appointed three of the Members of the Society, Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers* and Capt. *Newport* to be Joint Deputy-Governors.

Sir Thomas  
Gates, Sir  
George Sum-  
mers, Capt.  
Newport,  
Dep. Gover-  
nors.

These three Gentlemen embark'd in one Ship, and set sail, with eight more in their Company, loaden with Provisions and Necessaries. The Ship in which the Governors were being separated from the rest in a Storm, was driven ashore, and staved at *Bermudas*; but the Crew were all saved, and the three Governors with the rest, who, notwithstanding the Dangers they had run, were always jangling, to the great Detriment of their Affairs.

While they were there, the two Knights had perpetual Quarrels among themselves, form'd Factions, and their Differences grew to such Heighth, that they would not embark in the same Vessel; so they built each of them one of Cedar, picking up the Furniture of their old Ship for Rigg- ing; and instead of Pitch and Tar, they made use of Fish- Oil, and Hogs-Grease, mix'd with Lime and Ashes.

Several of the nine Ships that came out with the Governors, arrived in *James River*; and by their Arrival increas- ed the Disorder in the Settlements there; for pretending that the new Commission dissolved the old one, they would not submit to the Government they found on the Place; the fatal Consequence of which we shall see hereafter.

We must now return to Capt. *Smith*, who, while the Company was preparing to dispatch away the three Gover- nors, and those Gentlemen staid at *Bermudas*, continued his making Discoveries with great Difficulties and Hazards, in which he was opposed by *Powhatan*, with whom he made War, and had frequent Advantages of the *Indians*, tho' not  
without



without Loss; himself was twice taken Prisoner by him, once, as was hinted before, as he was making a Discovery of the Head of *Chicohomony* River, and another time by an Ambuscade at *Onawmoment*. The manner of his Treatment among the *Indians*, and his Escape, his Friendship to *Nautiquaus* the King's Son, and the surprizing Tendernefs of *Pocahonta*, his Daughter, for him, when he was about to be executed, are Incidents equally agreeable and surprizing, but pretty romantick and suspicious, *Capt. Smith* having never dropt his main Design to make himself the Hero of his History, in which *Sir William Keith* copies him very faithfully. We must not omit the wonderful Humanity of *Pocahonta*, who, when *Mr. Smith's* Head was on the Block, and she could not prevail with her Father to give him his Life, put her own Head upon his, and ventured the receiving of the Blow to save him, tho' she was then scarce thirteen Years old: A remarkable Instance how vain we are to our selves, in thinking that all who do not resemble us in our Customs are barbarous.

*Capt. Smith's  
Adventures.*

*The Friend-  
ship of Poca-  
honta, an  
Indian Prin-  
cess.*

We shall have Occasion, in this Chapter, to say something more of this generous Lady, who was the first *Virginian* that ever spoke *English*, or had a Child by any *Englishman*, and the first Christian of that Nation.

*Capt. Smith* having twice got out of the Hands of the *Indians*, proceeded in advancing the new-settled Colony, which was now so numerous, that there were 500 Men in *James City*, and Plantations up and down the Country; but *Mr. Smith* happening to be blown up by the accidental firing of some Gun-powder in his Boat, was so wounded that his Life was despaired of, and his Friends obliged him to embark for *England* to be cured.

*Capt. Smith  
returns to  
England.*

*Capt. Smith's* Relation of his Adventures in this Country relates not so much to the Country, Settlement and Trade, as to himself; most of them are, as we have said, carefully preserved in *Sir William Keith's* History of *Virginia*, to which I refer the curious in such things, and to the History of *Virginia* by *R. B. Gent.* who has bestowed more of his Labour upon the *Indians* tho' not above 500 in the whole Province of *Virginia*, than on the History of the *English*. He has also incorporated a good Part of *Smith's* ancient History into his modern one, to which I also refer for such like Curiosities.

He was no sooner gone, but those he left behind, *Capt. Radcliffe* and *Capt. Martin*, fell out among themselves, and the Confusion encreased upon the Arrival of the Ships belonging to the three Governors Fleet. The Colony soon mis'd their

their

The miserable  
State of the  
Colony.

their late President Capt. *Smith*, who, by his Wisdom, Vigilance, Courage and Care, preserved the Settlements in good Order. Without him they had certainly been destroy'd, either by their own Laziness and Negligence, or the Treachery and Cruelty of the *Indians*: He always kept their Granaries full, and by fair means or Force obliged the *Indians* to bring in Corn and Provisions. He aw'd them so much by his Valour, that they durst not make any Attempts against the *English*, for whose Defence he rais'd Forts and Batteries, and was indeed the Soul of the Settlement; for as soon as he left it the People decreased daily, and by the Treason of the Natives, or Want and Hunger, to which they were soon reduced, their Numbers were lessen'd to 60, when Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Summers* arriv'd: 'Tis true, they made some unsuccessful Attempts to defend themselves. Capt. *Sicklemore* and Capt. *Radcliffe*, with a Company of Men, going amongst the *Indians* to trade, were surpriz'd, and 60 Men slain by *Powhatan*, who would have no Dealing with them after Capt. *Smith's* Departure. All those that had settled in any other Part of the Country, fled from the *Indians* to *James Town*, except the Planters at *Kiquotan*, who being defended by *Algernoon-Fort*, maintain'd themselves against the Natives, but could not subsist for want of Provisions, which they, as well as their Countrymen at *James Town*, had wasted, and, like them, they were almost famish'd. Their Distress was so great, that they fed on the dead Bodies of the *Indians* whom they slew, and even dug up and eat those that were buried.

This dreadful Famine is still remember'd in *Virginia*, by the Name of the *Starving Time*. The Persons who came in the last Ships continued their Dissention amidst these Calamities; during which, some of them, who pretended to be of the three Governors Council, assumed the Administration; and tho' the Commission was not arriv'd, usurped the Power of governing, to the Ruin of the Settlement, which, by Famine and Sickness, bred by bad Diet, were reduced from above 500 to 60 Persons.

1610, The three Governors in the mean while set sail on the 11th of *May*, 1610, from *Bermudas*, in their two small Cedar Ships, with 150 Men in their Company, and in 14 Days arriv'd in *Virginia*. They went up to *James Town* with their Vessels, where they found the poor Remains of the Colony.

Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, and Capt. *Newport* pitied their deplorable State, and immediately call'd a Council, to consult of what should be done for their Relief. They informed

informed them they had but 16 Days Provision aboard, and demanded of them whether they would venture to Sea with that, or stay in the Settlement, and take their Fortunes, in which they would very willingly share with them.

They soon resolved to abandon *James Town*, and return for *England*; and, because Provisions fell short, to call at the Banks of *Newfoundland*, in hopes to meet some Fishermen there, and in such Case, to divide themselves into several Crews, and go aboard several Ships, for their better Accommodation.

This Resolution being taken, they all went aboard, and fell down to *Hog-Island* the 9th of *June*, at Night; and the next Morning to *Mulberry-Island*, 13 Miles below *James Town*, and 30 from the Mouth of the River; where they spy'd a Ship's Boat coming up to them, which the Lord *De-*  
*laware* had sent before him to sound the Channel.

The Lord  
Delaware  
arrives.

This Lord brought with him 3 Ships, very well provided with all manner of Provisions and Necessaries, and 250 People to recruit the Colony. The Lord *Delaware* persuaded them to return to *James Town*, and, by his good Conduct, brought the Settlement into a flourishing Condition. He restored Discipline among them, renewed their Trade with the *Indians*, which had been interrupted by their Wars with them, and made the Savages once more afraid of attacking them, either openly, or by Surprise.

In his time the Government had the Form of an Establishment, and several Men of Quality bore Offices in it, as the Lord *Delaware*, Lord Governor, and Captain-General, Sir *Thomas Gates* Lieutenant-General, Sir *George Summers* Admiral, the Honourable *George Piercy*, Esq; Governour of *James Town* and Fort, Sir *Ferdinando Wenman* Master of the Ordnance, Capt. *Newport* Vice-Admiral, *William Strachy*, Esq; Secretary; an Appearance of Officers that has not since that time been seen in *Virginia*.

Sir *William Keith* makes *Wenman* Master of the Horse; but considering there was not one Horse in the Company, and 24 Guns in the Fort, I think the Mastership of the Ordnance is the most likely Preferment to bestow upon him. There is something ridiculous in this Parade of Civil and Military Officers over a Colony of 60 or 70 Persons only, for they found no more there.

My Lord sent Sir *George Summers* and Capt. *Argall* to *Bermudas*, to fetch Provisions. Sir *George* died in the Voyage; but Capt. *Argall* got a Supply of Cod-fish at *Sagadahoc* in *New-England*.



The Hon,  
George  
Piercy, Esq,  
Deputy-Governor.

Sir *Thomas Gates* was sent for by the Company at *London*, to give them an Account of their Proceedings; and the Lord *Delaware* being taken sick, left Mr. *Piercy* Deputy-Governor, and returned to *England*, where he made the Adventurers such a pleasing Report of their Affairs, that they order'd it to be publish'd.

Sir Thomas  
Dale Marshal.

There were now about 250 Men on *James River*, over whom Sir *Thomas Dale* was placed, with the Title of Marshal General, by the *London Council*. He arrived there the 10th of *June*, 1611, with three Ships laden with Provisions and Necessaries, having Supplies of Men, and some live Cattle, and Hogs aboard, for Labour and Breed.

On his Predecessor's Departure the Colony fell into their old Disorders, and began to be in Want, occasioned by their Sloth and Dissention. They depended on their Supplies from *England*, and neglected to plant Corn, to subsist them in case of a Disappointment, which they might reasonably have expected, considering the Length and Hazards of the Voyage.

From this Knight's Government the Prosperity of the Plantation may be dated; for he set all the *English* to work, and did not disdain to put his own Hand to the Spade and the Axe, to help to turn up the Earth, and fell Trees; and that they might no more depend on the Natives for Corn, he put them upon sowing Grain of their own, which, tho' they did not begin to prepare the Ground till the Middle of *May*, yielded an indifferent good Crop. He order'd Land to be wall'd in, for Fences from wild Beasts, and the wilder *Indians*: He enlarged the *English* Bounds, surveyed the Rivers to find out a Place convenient for the building a new Town, which was done at his own Charge, and was from him called *Dales Gift*.

Dales Gift  
built.

It was situated 12 Miles above the *Falls*, naturally fortify'd, and almost surrounded with Water. Here, in a short time, he so well employ'd his Men, that he not only palisado'd the Place, but erected Watch-Towers at each Corner, built a Church, a Store-house, a Dwelling-house for himself, and Lodgings for his Men. Many hundred Acres of Land were taken in, and Plantations laid out, 8 or 10 Miles about, which continues to this Day one of the most flourishing Parts of *Virginia*.

The Company in *England*, notwithstanding they had hitherto met with very little Encouragement, continued to supply their Colony with all sorts of Necessaries, solicited to do it by the Lord *Delaware* and Sir *Thomas Gates*. The latter was sent with six Ships more, having 350 Men on board,

board, 100 Head of live Cattle, and Plenty of Provisions, and Tools for Labour and Life.

Sir *Thomas* arrived in *August*, took upon him the Govern-<sup>Sir Thomas Gates Govern-  
nor.</sup>ment, and in *September* he settled a new Town at *Arrahattuck*, about sixty Miles above *James City*, calling it *Henricopolis*, or *Henry's Town*, in honour of *Henry Prince of Wales*.<sup>Henricopolis  
built.</sup>

Here he built Forts and Centry-boxes, and ran a Palisadoe on the other side of the River at *Coxendal*, to secure their Hogs.

The *English* now plough'd the Ground, whereas before they planted all their Corn with the Spade. They also spread themselves abroad in the Country, and possessed themselves of private Plantations, which they cultivated, and planted Tobacco and Corn, each Planter paying a Quit-Rent to the Treasury of the Colony.

Their Cattle, especially their Hogs, increased prodigiously; Laws and Order began to flourish, Industry to thrive, and the Plantation to have the Face of a Settlement that look'd to be lasting; yet it was not long before new Dangers threatned their Destruction; from which however the Hand of God deliver'd them.

The Company at *London* finding the Colony was in a flourish-<sup>Churches  
built.</sup>ing Condition, thought it their Duty to provide for the Welfare of their Souls, as well as their Bodies; and to that End invited many charitable Persons to contribute to the building them Churches, and founding Schools for the Education of their Youth. Many devout People, in hopes of propagating the Gospel, open'd their Purses; Ministers were sent over, Churches built, and supply'd with Preachers; as will be shewn more at large in its proper Place.

In the Year 1612, Capt. *Argall*, afterwards Sir *Samuel*,<sup>1612.</sup> arrived from *England*, with two Ships more for the Use of the Settlement. Sir *Thomas* sent *Argall* to *Potowmack* to buy Corn, where he met with *Pocahonta*, the Lady of whom we have before made honourable mention. He invited her to come aboard his Ship, which, with some small Difficulty she consented to, being betrayed by the King of *Pastacny*, Brother to the King of *Potowmack*, with whom she then resided.

*Argall* having got her in his Custody, detain'd her, and carried her to *James Town*, intending to oblige her Father King *Powhatan* to come to what Terms he pleased, for the Deliverance of his Daughter. Tho' the King loved her tenderly, yet he would not do any thing for her sake which he thought was not for his own and his Nation's Interest;<sup>Pocahonta  
seized by  
Capt. Ar-  
gall.</sup>

nor would he be prevail'd upon to conclude a firm Treaty of Peace, tho' Sir *Thomas Dale* went himself to treat with him about it, being then Marshal under Sir *Thomas Gates*, till he heard his Daughter, who turned Christian, and was christen'd *Rebecca*, was married to Mr. *John Rolfe*, an *English* Gentleman, her Uncle giving her in Marriage in the Church.

*She marries  
Mr. Rolfe.*

1613.

*Powhatan* approved of the Marriage, took it for a sincere Token of Friendship, and was so pleased with it, that he concluded a League with the *English* in the Year 1613. Intermarriage was proposed at that time as a sure means of continuing the Peace with the *Indians*; and how far it would have answered that End, the Reader may judge; but the *English* were not fond of taking the *Indian* Women to their Beds as their Wives. Whether it was on account of their being Pagans or Barbarians, we cannot decide; or whether that Nicety was not very unseasonable in the Infancy of the Settlement.

By *Powhatan's* Alliance with the *English*, and Mr. *Rolfe's* marrying an *Indian* Princess, a great Nation were made Friends to the Colony; and thus they conceived Hopes that they had secured themselves from the Insults of the Savages; but we shall see, in a Page or two, they flatter'd themselves in their Security, when they were never nearer Destruction. Tho' Sir *Thomas Gates* was on the Spot, yet Sir *Thomas Dale* had a great Share in the Government; and Capt. *Argall* reduced the *Chicobomony* *Indians*.

*Capt. George  
Yardly, Dep.  
Governor.*  
1616.

These two Gentlemen were very industrious in the Service of the Colony; and the former, Sir *Thomas Dale*, upon Sir *Thomas Gates's* Return to *England*, in the Year 1614, presided over it two Years; during which time it flourished; and he then going for *England*, left Capt. *George Yardly* Deputy-Governor; took Mr. *Rolfe* and his Wife *Pocahonta* with him, and arrived at *Plimouth* the 12th of *June*.

*Pocahonta  
arrives in  
England.*

Capt. *Smith* hearing the Lady who had been so kind to him was arrived in *England*, and being engaged at that time in a Voyage to *New-England*, which hinder'd his waiting on her himself, petitioned Queen *Anne*, Consort to King *James*, on her Behalf, setting forth the Civilities he had received from her, and the Obligations she had laid upon the *English*, by the Services she had done them with her Father.

The Queen received his Petition graciously; and before Capt. *Smith* embark'd for *New-England*, Mr. *Rolfe* came with his Wife from *Plimouth* to *London*. The Smoke of the City offending her, he took Lodgings for her at *Brentford*, and thither Capt. *Smith* went with several Friends to wait on her.

*Pocahonta*



*Pocahonta* was told all along that *Capt. Smith* was dead, to excuse his not coming to *Virginia* again, from which he had been diverted by settling a Colony in *New-England*. Wherefore, when this Lady saw him, thinking the *English* had injured her in telling her a Falſity, which ſhe had ill deſerved from them, ſhe was ſo angry, ſhe would not deign to ſpeak to him; but at laſt, with much Perſuaſion and Attendance, was reconciled, and talk'd freely to him: She then put him in mind of the Obligations ſhe had laid upon him, reproached him with forgetting her, with an Air ſo lively, and Words ſo ſenſible, that one might have ſeen Nature abhors nothing more than Ingratitude, a Vice which even the very Savages deteſt.

She was carried to Court by the Lady *Delaware*, and entertained by Ladies of the firſt Quality, towards whom ſhe behaved herſelf with ſo much Grace and Maſteſty, that ſhe confirm'd the bright Character *Cap. Smith* had given of her. The whole Court were charm'd with the Decency and Grandeur of her Deportment ſo much, that the poor Gentleman her Husband was threatned to be call'd to an Account for marrying a Princeſs Royal without the King's Conſent.

*Her Treatment at Court and Behaviour.*

Tho' in that King *James* ſhew'd a very notable Piece of *King-Craft*; for there was no Likelihood that *Mr. Rolfe*, by marrying *Pocahonta*, could any way endanger the Peace of his Dominions, or that his Alliance with the King of *Wiccomoco* could concern the King of *Great Britain*: Indeed we are told that upon a fair and full Representation of the Matter, the King was pleaſed to be ſatisfy'd.

The Lady *Pocahonta* having been entertained with all manner of Reſpect in *England*, was taken ill at *Graveſend*, where ſhe lay in order to embark for *Virginia*: She died there with all the Signs of a ſincere Chriſtian, and true Penitent.

*She dies in England.*

She had one Son by *Mr. Rolfe*, whoſe Poſterity are at this Day in good Repute in *Virginia*, and inherit Lands by deſcent from her.

*Capt. Yardly*, whom *Sir Thomas Dale* had left Governor, let the Buildings and Forts run to Decay, being ſo eager in planting Tobacco, that he neglected the Security of the Settlements, and would not ſpare Hands enough to keep the Fortifications in repair; he alſo omitted ſowing Corn. And thus the Colony fell into their uſual Diſtreſs, were reduced to great Want, and expoſed to the Mercy of the *Indians*.

In the following Year *Sir Samuel Argall* came over Governor, who was grieved to ſee the Number of the People leſſen'd, and every thing running to Ruin,

1617.  
*Sir Samuel Argall Governor.*

The

The *Indians* also, by mixing with the *English*, had learnt the Use of Fire-Arms; and the Planters, out of Laziness, employ'd them to hunt and kill Wild-Fowl for them.

Sir *Samuel Argall* did what he could to regulate these Disorders; but the Mischief had taken so deep Root, that he could not hinder its Growth.

1618. Capt. *Yardly* returned to *England*, and Sir *Samuel Argall* govern'd the Colony in Peace till the next Year, 1618, when the Lord *Delaware*, who all this time seems to have been Chief Governor, and those that succeeded him only his Deputies, came near the Coast with 200 choice Men, fresh Recruits of Provisions, and all manner of Necessaries.

My Lord still sail'd the old Way, by the *Canary* and *Charibbee* Islands. The Length of the Voyage had an ill Effect on his People, of whom 30 died, and the Lord *Delaware* himself did not live to reach *Virginia*; so that Sir *Samuel* continued in the Government.

Lord Delaware dies on the Coast

Sir *Samuel Argall* having Advice that the *Virginia* Company in *England* were about sending a great Number of Recruits, in Expectation that there would be Corn enough raised by the *English* for their Subsistence, he wrote home Reasons that might hinder any such Store, and represented the main one, which was sending over Gentlemen and Soldiers, as if they were only to fight for what they could get, and not Farmers and Day-Labourers, who know and could do the Business of the Field.

*Powhatan* dying in *April*, left his Kingdom to his second Brother *Itopatin*, who renewed the League with the *English*; but this Prince was soon outed of his Dominions by *Oppecancanough*, his younger Brother, who reign'd over *Chicohomony*, made himself Master of all the Nations around him, and his Empire at last became formidable to the *English*.

Sir *Samuel Argall* finding his Colony was in Peace, and that they thrived apace under his Government, began to look about him a little, and resolved to undertake an Expedition on the Coasts, to make Discoveries, and dislodge the *French*, who had settled in *Acadia*.

Sir Samuel Argall's Expeditions against the Dutch.

In his way he drove out some *Hollanders*, who had seated themselves on *Hudson's* River; he then attack'd a Settlement of *French*, to the Northward of *Cape Cod*; and afterwards drove Monsieur *Biencourt* from *Port-Royal* in *Canada*, where the *French* had sow'd and reap'd, built Barns, Mills, and other Conveniencies.

Those of them that were for returning to *France* he permitted to embark, which some of them did, and others went

went up the River of *Canada*, to make out a new Settlement there.

With the Plunder of these two Forts Sir *Samuel* return'd to *Virginia*; and how he could justify his attacking the Subjects of a Prince who was at Peace with his Master King *James*, does not appear in the Histories which mention this Event; only we are told, that some Months after it there arriv'd a small Vessel from *England*, which did not stay for any thing, but as soon as Governor *Argall* was on board, it set sail and carried him home. The Occasion of his being recall'd is not known, and therefore 'tis imputed to his attacking the *French*. *He is recall'd*

He left Capt. *Nathaniel Powell* Deputy, who the same Year resign'd his Office to Sir *George Yardly*, whom King *James* had knighted, and the Company made Governor. *Capt. Nath. Powell Deputy Governor. Sir George Yardly Governor.*

There arriv'd with Sir *George*, and some Months after him, 1300 Men in 28 Ships, the Earl of *Southampton*, one of the Company at *London* being zealous to furnish them with Supplies of Men, Cattle and other Provisions. These seated themselves in all the Plantations that had been deserted, and planted new ones. And now the Colony grew so numerous, that to have the Consent of the whole in the passing of any Laws or Orders for the publick Good, Representatives were appointed to be chosen for every Precinct, whom the People were to elect in their several Plantations.

These Representatives being the first Assembly that sat at *Virginia*, met at *James Town* in *May*, 1620. The Governor and Council at first sat with them, as the High Commissioner, Lords and Commons were wont to sit together in the Parliament in *Scotland*; here the Affairs of the Settlement were debated. We shall see, in the following Chapters, how this Method of their Session came to be alter'd. *The first Assembly. 1620.*

In *August* a *Dutch* Ship put in there with Negroes, and the Merchant sold 20, which were the first Slaves that were brought thither from *Guinea*. This Year also the Boundaries of *James City* were mark'd out, and Land was laid out in several Places, to the Company, to the Governor, the College, the Churches, and particular Persons; new Settlements were made in *James* and *York Rivers*; very great Supplies continually came over: A Salt-work was set up at *Cape Charles*, an Iron-work at *Falling Creek*; and Sir *George Yardly* seem'd to make Amends for his former Male-Administration; yet he still suffer'd the People to grow secure, and neglected providing for their Defence. He was succeeded in the Government by Sir *Francis Wyat*, a young Man, who arrived in *October*, 1621; and this Year more Men settled there, *Sir Francis Wyat Governor. 1620.*



there, who falling to planting, they made so much Tobacco, that the Market was over-stock'd, and the Commodity yielded little or nothing. The King pitying their Loss by it, commanded that no Planter should the next Year plant above 100*l.* of Tobacco a Man, advising them to turn their spare time to provide Corn and Stock, and make Potash or other Manufactures. In *November* Capt. *Newport* arrived with 50 Men on his own Account, and settled a Plantation at the Place, which from him is call'd *Newport's News*. Settlements were made as far as *Patowneck* River, where the *Indians* never molested the *English*; on the contrary, they were always friendly and serviceable to them.

The General Assembly appointed inferior Courts, call'd County-Courts, to be held for the more convenient Distribution of Justice in Causes of less moment: The rest were tried before the Governor and Council, who were the supreme Court of Judicature in the County. The Prosperity and Increase of the Colony render'd the *English* careless of their Safety. They conversed frequently and openly with the *Indians*, admitted them to eat, drink, and sleep with them, and would often do the same at their Cabins; by this means the Savages became acquainted with their Strength, and learnt the use of Guns. They knew their Places of Residence and Resort, and their Fear of them by Degrees wearing off, prepared them for any bold Enterprize against them on the first Occasion: And 'twas not long before their Emperor *Oppecanough* took an Affront for the Murder of one of his Captains, a Man very eminent in his Nation for his Valour. This Fellow had robb'd one *Manning*, and kill'd him, for which he was about to have been apprehended and carried before a Justice of Peace, when he came next time into the *English* Boundaries; but making some Resistance he was shot dead.

*Oppecanough*, on News of the Death of his Captain, resolv'd to be revenged, and he and his *Indians* contriv'd a general Massacre of the *English*, which was to be executed on *Friday* the 22d of *March*, 1622, and most of the Nations of the *Indians* were engag'd in the Conspiracy, which was revealed to Mr. *Pace* by a converted *Indian*, or the Massacre in all Probability had been general.

The Discovery he made being but 4 or 5 Hours before the intended Execution of it, the remoter Plantations could not take the Alarm, and the *English* that dwelt nearest to the Savages were barbarously butcher'd, Men, Women and Children, by them, to the Number of 334 Persons. Mr. *Pace* fled to *James Town*, and so did all to whom he could give

1622.  
The English  
massacred by  
the Indians.

give Notice of the Conspiracy. Others stood on their Defence, and made a retreating Fight to their Forts. The Plantations were deserted, and the Planters who lived at a Distance commanded to set their Houses, Barns, Store-houses, &c. on Fire, to repair to the Forts, and defend themselves against the common Enemy. Most of those that were kill'd, fell by their own Weapons, Instruments and Working Tools. Those who were at the Work in the Iron Mines near *Falling Creek*, were all murder'd, except a Boy and Girl, who hid themselves. This Iron-work could never after be restored, nor the Lead-mines, which the Superintendent had just then discovered, be found out. The Project of Glass-houses at *James Town* was ruined by the Massacre, which put Improvements out of Peoples Heads: From this time they were so enraged at the Natives, that they never gave over warring with them till they had almost utterly extirpated the Nations that were concerned in the Massacre. They dealt the same measure to them that they had received from them; and the Savages, fearing the *English* after they were collected into one Body, fled to the Woods. The Governor invited them to return to their own Habitations, and plant their Corn, which, on Promise of Peace, they did; and when they were as secure as the *English* had been, the latter fell upon them, cut great Numbers of them to pieces, and destroyed their Corn and Habitations. They attack'd and entirely destroy'd *Powhatan*, *Opeccanough's* Royal Seat, where, in Imitation of the *English*, he had built him a House, and was so pleased with the Contrivance of a Lock and Key to fasten the Door, that 'tis said his Imperial Majesty spent most part of his time in locking and unlocking it, wondring how such a slight Turn of his Hand should have such an Effect on the Door and Postern. The *English* continued to assault the *Indians* wherever they found them; they deserted those Parts where they then inhabited, and the Colony receiving fresh Supplies from *England*, and Arms and Ammunition out of the Tower by the King's Command, extended themselves every way, and planted over all the Country, as 'tis now peopled and cultivated.

Some time after this Massacre, several Gentlemen procured Grants of Land in *England* from the Company, and others came over on their private Accounts to make Settlements; among the former was one Capt. *Martin*, who was named to be of the Council. This Man raised so many Differences among them, that new Distractions follow'd, which the *Indians* observing, took Heart, and once more

fell upon the *English* on the Borders, destroying them without pitying either Age, Sex, or Condition.

These and other Calamities being chiefly imputed to the Mismanagement of the Proprietors, whose Losses had so discouraged most of their best Members, that they sold their Shares; King *Charles I.*, on his Accession to the Throne, dissolved the Company, and took the Colony into his own immediate Direction. He appointed the Governor and Council himself, order'd all Patents and Proceſs to issue in his own Name, and reserved a Quit-rent of 2 s. for every hundred Acres.

We have been the larger in our Account of this Discovery and Settlement of *Virginia*, because that Part of the History of the Colony is slightly touch'd by most of the Writers who have treated of it; and we have from all of them taken so many Particulars, as will together give the Reader an Idea of the Infancy, Growth and Increase of this Settlement, from Capt. *Amidas* and Capt. *Barlow's* Discovery of the Country, to the Government of Sir *John Harvey*, who was the first Governor of *Virginia* after the Dissolution of the Company. The King order'd the future Form of its Constitution to be by a Governor, a Council of 12 Gentlemen, and the Assembly, consisting, as has been said, of Representatives deputed by the several Towns and Counties in the Colony. He granted large Tracts of Land to Gentlemen and others in *England*, and to some of them added Authority independent of the Government, giving each Gentleman the same Power in his Province as the Proprietors of *Virginia* had formerly. The greatest of these Grants was that of the whole Territory of *Maryland*, which was given by the King to *George Calvert*, Lord *Baltimore*.

The *Virginians* pretend that this Division of their Country into separate Provinces, created separate Interests, and that the general Advantage of the Whole has often suffered by their Opposition to the Regulations which have been made for the common Good. They tell us, that when the Government of *Virginia* has thought fit to prohibit the Exportation of bad Tobacco to help the Market in *England*, the Planters of *Maryland* have poured in as much Trash as they could make, to take the Advantage of that Market. Whether the People of *Maryland* have not the same or the like Complaints to make against the *Virginians*, is to be doubted, and that the Industry and good Management of that Colony have set an Example even to her Mother-Plantation, which it had been better with her if she had followed. We must leave this Dispute to be decided by the Gentlemen concern'd in it, and continue

continue

King Cha. I.  
dissolves the  
Company.

The present  
Constitution  
settled



tinue our History of *Virginia*, during the Administration of Sir *John Harvey*, who was a great Promoter of the large Grants that were made of Land in his Province, and often went so far, that he procured the very Settlements which had been made before to be included. In a Word he was a very bad Governor, severe in his Extortions and Exactions, in Fines and Forfeitures, proud and turbulent in his Councils, and so unjust and arbitrary, that the Gentlemen of the Colony, not being able to endure his Tyranny, seized him, and sent him Prisoner to *London*, in the Year 1639. They deputed two of their Members to accompany him, and exhibit their Grievances to King *Charles I.*, who was so far from redressing them, that he immediately order'd Sir *John Harvey* to return to his Government. But the Cry of the Plantation was so loud, that it was to be feared it might reach the Parliament: To prevent which, Sir *John* was soon recall'd, and Sir *William Berkley* order'd to succeed him.

1639.  
Seized and sent to England.

In Sir *John Harvey's* time, says *Bullock*, in his Discourse of *Virginia*, what perplex'd Condition were both he and the Gentlemen and the Country in, when, upon his Complaint, they were sent for from *Virginia*, to answer here in England at the Council-Board; and again, upon their Complaint, he and his Friends must come to *London*, to answer at the same Place, and this iterated, besides continual Heavings and Showings between two Parties, &c.

Sir William Berkley Governor.

The Differences between the Governor and the Colony occasioned so much Confusion, that the *Indians*, who watch'd all Opportunities to fall upon the *English*, surprized them again, and cut off 500 Men, Women and Children.

*Oppecananough* highly resented the Incroachments that had been made on his Dominions by the late Grants, and had contrived another general Massacre; but the *English* were scattered up and down in so many separate Plantations, that 'twas impossible for him to destroy them at once, without an entire Conquest, to which he could not pretend. However, he order'd the Savages in all Quarters to massacre the Borderers, and himself and his *Indians* were the most active of all in destroying those that had settled on *York* River, by the Natives called *Pamaunkee*, where he himself kept his rude Court, and had fix'd the Seat of his Empire. This Prince is by Mr. *Smith* said to be *Powhatan's* Brother. He was of a large Stature, a noble Presence, and understood the Arts of Government as well as 'tis possible for a Man to do, who was entirely unacquainted with Letters. The *Indians* by Tradition report, that he was not related to their King *Powhatan*, but came from a far Country,

Another Massacre.

try, which lay South-West of theirs; and, by their Description of it, must be near *Mexico*, or the Mines of *St. Barbe*. This Action of *Oppecanough* provoked the *English* so much, that they never would give the Savages Peace, but continued to make War upon them till they took their Emperor, and led him into Captivity; for Sir *William Berkley* hearing he was at some Distance from the Place of his usual Residence, march'd against him with a Party of Horse, surprized and took him Prisoner in the Western Parts of *Henrico* County. Sir *William* intended to send him to the King; but a Soldier, in revenge of the many Miseries the Colony had endured by his Incurfions, shot him in the Back, of which Wound he died. Before his Death he carried himself with a Magnanimity truly royal. He was very old, worn out with Age, and the Hardships of War. His Eye-lids were so heavy, he could not see without the Help of his Servants to lift them up. When he was a Prisoner, hearing a Noise about him, he caused them to be lifted up, and perceiving 'twas the Noise of a Rabble that were then come to see him, he reflected with Indignation on the ungenerous Treatment of the *English*, in making a Sight of him, and exposing him to the Insolence of the Multitude; and calling for the Governor Sir *William Berkley*, he said, *Had it been my Fortune to have taken you, I would not basely have exposed you as a Show to the People.*

On the Death of this Emperor, the Nations whom he had subjected became afraid of the Power of the *English*. There remained no Prince of an equal Genius to keep so many several Kingdoms united. They set up Sovereigns of their own, and their Strength being weaken'd by this Division, the *English* were no more afraid of any Disturbance by them, unless it were those who lay nearest to them, and consequently were more liable to be surprized by them; but Sir *William Berkley* made Peace with all of them, and the Savages knowing they could get nothing by War, kept it a long time unviolated.

The manner of *Oppecanough's* Death is variously related by the Writers that have made any mention of it; some say he was kill'd in the Action, when Sir *William Berkley* came to surprize him. Others, that he was taken and committed to Prison, where he died. The most authentick Account of it is what we have taken from the *Author of the History of Virginia*: 'Tis certain, that with him the Power of the *Indians* was entirely destroy'd. The Colony was in a fair way of improving this great Advantage, and there were no less than 15000 Men, besides Women and Children, on

the

Seizes the  
Emperor Op-  
pecan-  
ough.

Ballock.

the Place. When News came of the Troubles in *England*, which naturally affected all the Colonies, besides, that the Relations and Friends of the Inhabitants were involved in them, they depended on that Kingdom for Supplies and Protection, and a constant Market to take off the Commodities their Plantations produced. *Virginia*, for a while, was more concern'd in them than any of the other Settlements: For Sir *William Berkley* stood out against the usurp'd Powers in *England*, after the Murder of King *Charles I.* and by his Loyalty hinder'd the Commerce of the Planters there with their Friends and Correspondents at home. Their Supplies of Provisions were cut off, their Tobacco lay on their Hands, and the *Virginians* were obliged to subsist by themselves, which they were now in a Condition to do; for the Planters had great Stocks, 30000 Head of Cattle, an infinite Number of Hogs; Beef and Pork were 16 *d.* a Stone, Wheat and Barley very cheap, but few Beasts of Burden, for there were no more than 200 Horses and Mares, and 70 Asses at this time. However, as much as they abounded in Provisions, they could not long have supported themselves without Assistance from *England*, nor have been able to have kept up their Stocks for want of other Necessaries for their Maintenance; such as working Instruments and Tools, Hoes, Axes, &c.

Ibid.

The Parliament of *England*, who were very careful to secure the Plantations, sent a Squadron of Men of War to the *West Indies*, under the Command of Sir *George Ascue*, with Instructions to reduce *Barbados*, the *Charibbee* Islands, and the Northern Colonies to their Obedience. We shall see, in the History of *Barbados*, what Sir *George* did at that Island, from whence he detach'd Capt. *Dennis*, with a small Squadron of Ships to land some Forces, and drive Sir *William Berkley* out of *Virginia*. Sir *William* still continued his unshaken Principles of Loyalty. He hired some *Dutch* Ships that were then in his Harbours, and made a brave Resistance. The *Virginians* being animated by his Example, Capt. *Dennis* attack'd them to no Purpose; and finding he should lose a great many Men, and perhaps not succeed at last in his Enterprize by Force, he had Recourse to Policy. He gave out that he had two very rich Cargoes of Goods belonging to two of the *Council* aboard one of his Ships, and if they did not surrender themselves to him, and engage the rest to do so too, he would detain the Merchandize. The *Council* were too well inclined to comply with the Wickedness of the Times: 'Twas only the Governor who was willing to hazard all, rather than submit to those Powers, to whom

Capt. Dennis reduces Virginia to the Obedience of the Parliament.



three potent Kingdoms had already submitted. He would hearken to no Terms till the two Counsellors, whose Hearts were bent on the Safety of their Goods, engaged the Majority of their Brethren to agree to a Surrender; and Sir *William* was not so very resolute, as to pretend to oppose both an Enemy without, and a Faction within his Government; so he was forced to lay down his Arms, and retire to his Plantation. We cannot omit correcting a Mistake of the Historian we have often mentioned in this History, who says Capt. *Dennis* was sent by *Oliver*. He has run into the vulgar Error of those, who call all the Governments from the King's Death to *Cromwel's*, *Oliver's*; whereas *Cromwel* did not turn out the Rump till two or three Years after Sir *George Ascue's* Expedition.

Sir *William Keith* gives into the vulgar Opinion, and, in a strange Fit of Orthodoxy and Loyalty, asserts, that *Virginia* neither submitted to, nor acknowledged *Cromwel's* Authority; not distinguishing between the Parliament and *Cromwel*. He also glories in the Happiness of Sir *William Berkley's* Government, that there were no Puritans in *Virginia*; whereas the Truth is, that the Puritans of *Virginia* sent to *New-England* for Ministers to come and preach to them; but Sir *William Berkley* would not admit them to continue among them. 'Tis somewhat extraordinary that Sir *William Keith*, who probably imbibed his first religious Principles among the Presbyterians in *Scotland*, and so long resided among the Quakers in *Pensylvania*, should have so high an Opinion of Sir *William Berkley's* wise Administration, who acted so much against the true Interest of the Country he governed, that he got restraining Acts to keep Protestants out of *Virginia*, at the same time that Lord *Baltimore*, a *Roman-Catholick*, gave Encouragement to Protestant Dissenters to come to and settle in his Province of *Maryland*; and this succeeded so well, that it soon rival'd *Virginia* in the Tobacco Trade. In other things Sir *William Berkley* behaved like a Governor, who had a landed Interest in his Province.

*Cromwel* was in *Scotland* then, and had nothing to do with the Admiralty of *England*, farther than as his Councils influenced the Affairs of the Commonwealth. When he was actually in Possession of the sole Administration, he busied himself about the Plantations, as much as any other part of the *English* Dominions, and *Virginia* fell under his Cognizance as well as the rest.

We read, in an old Historian, that Major-General *Pointz*, who was made Governor of the *Leeward Islands* by the Parliament, sail'd from *St. Christopher's* to *Virginia*, before  
Sir

Sir *George Afcue* sent *Dennis*, who, it seems by that Author, found the Business done to his Hand, and that Country the only Retreat for Cavaliers, was forced to submit on Terms of Indemnity.

Col. *Diggs* was first made Governor of *Virginia* by the Parliament, during whose Government nothing remarkable happen'd. He was succeeded by Mr. *Bennet*, and he by Mr. *Matthews*. The two last Governors only were put in by *Oliver*; tho' the same Historian says, that *Diggs*, *Bennet* and *Matthews* were all Governors during the small time of *Cromwel's* Protectorate. If so, there must have been some other Governor between Sir *William Berkley* and Col. *Diggs*, if not the changing of Governors was not so extraordinary as he pretends. Before the End of our History, we shall more than once find three Governors in seven Years; for so long it was from Sir *William Berkley's* Submission to *Oliver's* Death; and this was the less rare, because Mr. *Matthews* died in his Government.

Col. Diggs  
Governor.  
Mr. Bennet  
Governor.  
Mr. Mat-  
thews. Go-  
vernor.

The Trade of *Virginia* flourished in those Days, notwithstanding the Act which past in one of *Cromwel's* Parliaments, to break off that Colony's Correspondence with other Nations, and to prohibit their exporting or importing any Commodities whatever, but what should be loaden aboard *English* Ships, navigated by *English* Seamen; which Act, commonly call'd the *Act of Navigation*, was justify'd after the Restoration, by another Act of Parliament to the same Purpose; but with several Restrictions and Prohibitions, by Bonds, Securities, &c. Sir *William Berkley* having shewn a great Concern always for the Good of the Colony, was mightily beloved by the People. On the Death of Mr. *Matthews*, when they were without a Governor, they immediately cast their Eyes upon him, and by an obliging Violence compelled him to assume the Government; which however he would not consent to, unless they all promised to join with him in venturing their Lives and Fortunes for the King, who then was in Exile; but not at that time in *France*, as our Historian affirms.

This was indeed a very bold Action, for as yet there had no News arrived of *Oliver's* Death, and the Anarchy in *England* that succeeded.

The *Virginians* accepting of the Terms he propos'd, he accepted of the Government, and, we are told, forthwith proclaimed *Charles II.* King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, *Ireland* and *Virginia*. It happen'd well for him and his Colony that King *Charles* was not long after restored to the Throne of his Ancestors; yet we don't find that the King

gave

gave Sir *William Berkley* any greater Reward than continuing him in his Commission, and making him one of the Proprietors of the Province of *Carolina*, when he erected it into a Principality about the Year 1663.

Col. Francis  
Morrison  
Deputy.

Sir *William* going for *England* to congratulate his Majesty on his Restoration, left Col. *Francis Morrison* his Deputy.

1660.

His Beha-  
viour.

When he came to Court, he was graciously received by the King, who, in Honour of his loyal *Virginians*, is said to have worn a Robe at his Coronation made of the Silk that was sent from thence. Col. *Morrison*, in the mean time, behaved himself to the general Satisfaction of the Plantation. He order'd the Laws to be revised and collected into a Body, to be laid before the Assembly at their next Session. He took the same Care of the Church, as he did of the State. He regulated the Parishes, settled the Ministers Allowances, got a Revenue for the Support of the Government, and other Laws for the Encouragement of the Linen and Woollen Manufactories, the Breeding of Silkworms, Tanning and Salt-works. While the Deputy-Governor was so busied for the Service of the Colony, Sir *William Berkley* was in *England*, taking his Instructions from the King, for his future Conduct. His Majesty order'd him to promote Husbandry, Manufactures, Silk and Vineyards, that all Ships trading to *Virginia* should go to *James Town*, and be enter'd at the Custom-house there before they broke Bulk, which Order was given with an Intent that by it the People might be tempted to come thither and dwell there, for the Convenience of Trade; and had it been obeyed, it might have increased the Number of Buildings in that City, which is now much less than it was four-score Years ago, every Body coveting to live at his Plantation, and settle where he thinks he shall have the best Crops and Conveniencies of Shipping. This is the Reason that there are so few Towns in *Virginia*, and those that are there so very small. Sir *William* being fully instructed by the King how he should proceed on his Return to his Government, set sail from *England* to *Virginia*, where he arrived in the Year 1662, and immediately put the People upon improving their Plantations, and advancing Manufactures. He summon'd an Assembly, and got an Act pass'd for building of *James Town*. Each County was to build so many Houses, and some actually built their Quota, which, notwithstanding the Act, were converted into Taverns and Eating-houses, and the Town was very little the bigger for them.

1662.

Sir William  
Berkley Go-  
vernour.



By Sir *William's* Behaviour on the Revolutions in *England*, one may perceive he was no Friend to the Puritans. Before the Civil War, he procured severe Laws to be made against them; and now he had an Act past, laying great Restraints upon them, which not only drove many People out of *Virginia* to *Maryland* and other Colonies, but kept others from coming thither.

Tho' the Order for all Ships to enter at *James' Town* was dispensed with, yet the rigorous Circumscription of Trade, by the Act of Navigation, the Persecution of Dissenters, and the low Prices of Tobacco, raised great Clamours among the *Virginians*, fomented by some of *Cromwel's* Soldiers, who had been banished thither. *Clamours in Virginia.*

At last the Mutiny grow to such a Head, that several Planters and others enter'd into a Conspiracy against the Government: The Servants were the chief Promoters of it, with a Design to kill their Masters, and seize their Plantations: Among those, one *Berkinhead*, a Servant to Mr. *Smith*, of *Purton* in *Glocester* County was one, and he repenting, discover'd it. Upon which Notice was sent to the Governor at *Greenspring*, his Seat so call'd, who understanding that the Conspirators were to rendezvous at *Poplar Spring* near *Purton*, sent a Party of Militia Horse to surprize them as they came. Accordingly some were taken, others made their Escape, and informing their Fellows of the Discovery of the Plot, prevented such as were on the Road from coming to the Place appointed. Four of the Conspirators were hang'd, *Berkinhead* had his Freedom, and 200*l.* Sterling bestowed on him for a Reward; an anniversary Day of Thanksgiving was appointed on the 13th of *September*, the Day on which the Plot was to have been put in Execution. The King hearing of it, sent Orders to build a Fort at *James Town*, to curb the Mutineers, and serve for a Retreat to the Governor on the like Occasion; which Orders were never obeyed. Indeed the sending Orders from *England* to build Forts, or store up Ammunition without sending Money to do it, is making a Jest of the Security of the Inhabitants, and an Air of Government very far from begetting Reverence or Love. The *Virginians* being loth to be at the Charge, when the Danger was over, they only raised a Battery of some small Pieces of Cannon. A very poor Defence, if ever they should be forced to make use of it!

In *England* another Act of Parliament past, which was thought to be a Hardship upon this Colony. It prohibited their having any foreign Goods, but what were first landed in *England*, and thence exported to them, This reduced the

the Price of Tobacco still lower, and raised that of all *European* Goods. They, in return, prohibited, by an Act of their Assembly, the planting of Tobacco for one Year, in order to keep up the Demand for it; but this Act had not the desired Effect, because the Province of *Maryland* refused to consent to it, and stock'd the Market sufficiently to keep down the Price. They attempted again to have the planting of Tobacco stinted, and the Agents of *Carolina* and *Maryland*, who were then at *James Town*, consented to it; but the Governor of *Maryland* evaded it, and proclaimed the Act void. Thus the poor Planters drudg'd on to their Loss, their Tobacco yielded little or nothing, and all sorts of Goods that were imported from *Europe* bore very high Prices, which was enough to raise Discontents and Murmurs, and produce the Disturbances that soon after happen'd.

Tho' the *Virginians* had all the Reason in the World to expect a Compliance from the People of *Maryland*; yet they condescended to send Agents to *St. Mary's*, the Capital of the Provinces, as it were to petition for their Consent. In which they were unsuccessful also, the Governor telling them, *He would not call an Assembly on purpose.*

About this time there were Attempts made to prevent Ships unlading any where at the Master's Pleasure, that no foreign Goods might be imported, which had not been landed in *England*.

It had been found impracticable to oblige all Ships to enter at *James Town*, and afterwards disperse themselves up and down in the several Rivers whither they were bound, and were used to unload their Cargoes, and load again, even at the very Doors of the Merchants to whom they were consign'd, which gave them many Opportunities of bringing in prohibited Goods; wherefore his Majesty order'd that Forts should be built in the several Rivers; that all Ships should ride under those Forts; and those Places only be the Ports of Trade.

Had these Orders been obeyed, it would necessarily have caused People to have resorted to such Places, Houses would have been built, and Towns raised by Degrees, without the Force of an Act, which has little Influence on the Wills of People;—and in free Governments, where Mens Properties are concerned, the Laws are always tender of using too much Violence, unless the immediate Safety of the Commonwealth requires it.

The Plague and Fire happening at *London* when these Forts were about to be built, put a Stop to the Undertaking,  
and

and it never was prosecuted afterwards; for want of which the *Dutch* often insulted the Coasts in the Wars between *England* and *Holland*, and took the Ships out of the Harbours.

To defend them against any Invasion from the Enemy, a few Batteries were raised, which contributed little to their Security.

Sir *William Berkley*, to remedy the Evil of the low Price of Tobacco, earnestly recommended and heartily encouraged the Silk and Linen Manufactures, Pot-Ash and Hemp: He set an Example himself at his own Plantation; and it had been well for the Colony if they had industriously follow'd it.

The *Indians* all this while continued quiet; indeed they durst not offend the *English*, who were now grown so powerful, that they could send an Army of 6 or 7000 Men into the Field, and leave twice as many at home to look after their Plantations.

He sent out Capt. *Batt* with 14 *English* and 14 *Indians* to *Adventurers*. make Discoveries. This little Company, went from *Appamstox* in *Charles* County, and in seven Days time reach'd the Foot of the Mountains, which they cross'd with great Difficulty *Discoveries*. in three Days more, and then descended into fruitful Valleys, where they found an incredible Quantity of Deer, Elks, Buffaloes and Turkeys, so tame, that they would suffer them almost to reach them. They also found Grapes as big as small Plumbs.

Farther forward they came to a Rivulet, which descended backwards. They travell'd down that Stream several Days, and coming to some Cabins, they could perceive that *Indians* had lately been there, and, as they supposed, fled away at Capt. *Batt* and his Company's Approach.

The Savages he had with him could not be persuaded to pass some Marshes that were beyond those Cabins. They said there lived a Nation a little farther that made Salt, and sold it to their Neighbours; that they suffer'd no Body to return who had been amongst them: And notwithstanding Capt. *Batt* used all the Arguments he could think of to persuade them to go forward, the cowardly *Indians* would not stir a Step farther, so the Company was forced to return.

On the Report Capt. *Batt* made to the Governor of his Travels and Adventures, Sir *William Berkley* resolv'd to go in Person; he had made Preparations for it, named the Man who was to have been his Deputy-Governor, got the Assembly to pass an Act in favour of the Enterprize, and just as things were ready for his Departure, Col. *Bacon's* Rebellion broke *Col. Bacon's* out, which ruined the Design. *In Rebellion.*



In the Year 1670, four or five Years before Capt. Batt's Enterprize, Col. Collet, with 9 *English* Horse and 5 *Indians*, march'd up in the Country; and so did Major Harris, with 20 *English* Horse and 5 *Indians*; but to as little Advantage as Batt's: After whom, Sir William gave a Commission to a *German* Surgeon to discover the South-West Parts of *Virginia*.

He went along the Foot of the Mountains as far as the Lake *Sherre*, and discovered them to be passable in two Places. This Man reported, that while he was in an *Indian* Town near the Mountains, there came 4 Savages on an Embassy to the King of that Town, from a King who lived beyond the Mountains.

He brought back an Emerald, and some *Spanish* Money, which he had of the *Indians* bordering on the Lake there; and this rais'd Conjectures, that the *Spaniards* are seated near the Back of those Mountains.

The Rebellion we are going to speak of being one of the most extraordinary Events that ever happen'd in the *English* Plantations; we shall be larger in our Account of it, which we have taken from publick and private Authorities.

The Author of it, Col. Nathaniel Bacon, Jun. was a Gentleman who had been liberally bred in *England*, having studied some time at the *Temple*: He was young, bold, active, handsom and eloquent; his Merit advanced him to the Degree of a Counsellor, and his good Qualities got him the Love and Respect of the People, who were at that time very much disaffected with the Government, and ready to take Fire; which Bacon perceiving, blew up the Coals of Dissention among them so much, that at last it burst out into a Flame.

Before we come to the Facts, it will be proper to let the Reader into the Causes of the Peoples Murmurs and Resentments, of which these four were the chief:

The Causes  
of it.

1. The low Price of Tobacco in England, and the high Prices of all Goods exported thence to Virginia.
2. The Grants made by King Charles, of several Parts of their Country to Noblemen in England, in some of which several of their Plantations were included.
3. The Burdens laid upon them by the Parliament in England, and Taxes by the Assembly in Virginia.
4. The Disturbances given them by the Indians.

Of all these Grievances, that of the Grants was the most intolerable, their Property being given away from them, after

ter they had been at great Trouble, Hazard and Charge to make Settlements.

The Assembly taking the bad Condition of many of the Planters, by the vexatious Suits, and the Expence they were forced to be at about their Titles to their Plantations, into Consideration, deputed Mr. *Ludwell*, Secretary of *Virginia*, and Col. *Park*, to go to *England*, to represent the Matter to the King, and petition for Redress.

A new Tax was levy'd, to defray the Charge of their Voyage; and this was the more burthensom, because the *Agents* did not succeed in their Negotiation.

After a Year's Patience in waiting for News from them, they had Advice, that there was little Hopes of Redress. Upon which they grew outrageous, and their Rage ended in Rebellion. King *Charles* hearing of it, would not hearken to their Agents Remonstrances; and those of them who had Money were forced to compound with the Grantees for 3 or 400*l.* a Man.

The *Indians*, ever since their last Massacre, had kept very quiet till lately; and now they began to be troublesome at the Head of the Bay of *Chesapeake*, and on their own Frontiers. Those at the Head of the Bay used to trade with the *Dutch* in *Monadas*, since call'd *New-York*.

When the *Indians* travell'd thither, they pass, going and coming, by the Frontiers of *Virginia*, and traded with the *Virginians*, who had the first of their Market, and the Choice of their Furs. While the *Dutch* staid at *Monadas* this Traffick went on very peaceably; but as soon as the *English*, who had possess'd themselves of *New-York* and the Trade, understood the Advantage their Countrymen in *Virginia* made of it, they treacherously set the Savages against them, and succeeded so well, that instead of calling on them as Friends, they never came but to murder or rob them.

The *Indians*, on their own Frontiers, were provoked by the Loss of their Trade, which decay'd daily, and by Sir *William Berkley's* Attempts for Discoveries, which they apprehended was intended to destroy them; and therefore, whenever they had an Opportunity, they never fail'd to shew their Hatred and Cruelty to the *English*, who being grown peevish by their Losses and Grievances, were glad of an Occasion of venting their Fury on the *Indians*; and on the Cry of Murders committed by them, most of the poorer sort demanded to be led against them, resolving utterly to extirpate all the Nations of the Savages. They gather'd together in riotous and tumultuous Bands, running from one Plantation to another, without a Head, crying  
out

out against the Barbarity of the Natives, the Murder of their Countrymen, and engaging more and more every Day to undertake an Expedition for Revenge.

Sir William  
Bacon's  
Lesigns.

The Governor, who was jealous of his Prerogative, would not suffer them to judge when 'twas fit to make War; and the more they were for it, the more obstinate he was not to allow them to take Arms: However, they continued their Meetings, and Col. Bacon fell in with them, approv'd of their Zeal for the Service of their Country, aggravated the Calamities they endured by the *Indians*, and complain'd of the Want of a Regulation in Trade.

Bacon chosen  
General by  
the People.

The Multitude were transportt'd with Joy that they had got a Man of his Quality and Merit among them, and immediately chose him their General; which Post he accepted, and by his Eloquence and obliging Carriage so charm'd them, that they were all to a Man entirely at his Devotion.

He knew the Danger of the Step he had taken, and yet his Ambition, or his Interest (for 'twas thought his Design was to engross the whole *Indian* Trade to himself) still spur'd him on to open Rebellion. He muster'd his Men, exercised them, and prepared them for Action, the Pretence being a War with the *Indians*, which was at that time a very plausible one. To reconcile his Ambition with his Duty, he sent to the Governor for a Commission, and order'd the Messenger to represent the Mischiefs the Savages did so deplorably, that Sir *William* might think himself oblig'd, by the Necessity of their Affairs, to make him General.

The Council had such an Esteem of Col. Bacon's Merit that the Governor did not think it safe to deny his Request flatly; so he answer'd the Messenger, *He would consult the Council, and send him Word what Resolution they came to about it.* But Bacon had not Patience to stay for the Result of their formal Debates. He sent again and again to Sir *William*, to issue out a Commission, and dispatch it away to him, that he might lead the Voluntiers against the *Indians*, saying, *They had already chosen him for their General, and he and they resolv'd to begin the War, whether the Governor sent him the Commission or not.*

'Twas out of Caution that he desired it, to justify his taking Arms; and finding Sir *William* prevaricated with him, he, with 40 of his Men in his own Sloop, went to *James* Town himself; to get what he wanted: He took his Seat at the Council-Board, like a Man who, far from committing a Fault, deserved Thanks for his Zeal for the publick Good, and against the common Enemy.

He



He laid before the Council the *miserable State of the Borders*, how they were plunder'd and murder'd by the Savages, and how ready the *Voluntiers* were to drive them from the Borders, and prevent such Calamities for the future; if they had a Warrant to do so.

The Governor, instead of granting *Bacon* a Commission, commanded him to disperse; and, for speaking too freely before the Council, suspended him; by which he exasperated a Man who had it in his Power to be revenged, when he himself had not Strength to oppose him.

*R. B.* owns he went *beyond his Instructions*, in suspending *Bacon*; but I believe he did not do so in procuring a Law to persecute Protestants for Conscience Sake. He is angry with me for saying he withdrew from the Government, which I did not say; but might have said it, when he left it to an Assembly chosen by *Bacon's* Writs.

*Bacon* broke up from the Council-Table in a Heat, and went out with an Intention to retire to his Men. *Sir William* fill'd a Long-boat, and made after him, sending away some Horse to stop him, when he landed at *Sandy-Point*, the Place he design'd to go ashore at.

His Orders were obey'd here, and *Bacon* forced to return to *James Town*. The Governor, instead of chastizing his Insolence, received him very graciously, and by fair Words endeavoured to dissuade him from his intended Enterprize; but *Bacon* was resolute, and persisted in his Demand of a Commission, knowing *Sir William* durst not do him any Hurt, when there were near 1000 Men in Arms, who would severely have revenged whatever Punishment had been inflicted upon him: Besides, while they were disputing the Matter in Council, fresh News came of Murders and Robberies committed by the *Indians*, which seem'd to warrant *Col. Bacon's* Design and Demand.

However the Governor, who was as jealous of his Prerogative, as he was zealous for the Welfare of the Colony, would not grant him the Commission, because it look'd as if it was extorted from him, and that there was a Power in *Virginia* superior to his own.

*Bacon* seeing he could get nothing by fair Means, made his Escape out of *James Town*, and posted away to the *Voluntiers*, of whom he led 6 or 700 to the Town, and drew them up in Battalia before the State-house, where the Assembly was sitting; so that he had now the Governor, Council and Assembly of *Virginia* in his Power, and may be said to be Master of the Colony.

Forces the  
Governor to  
give him a  
Commission.

The Assembly, besides that many of them wish'd well to *Bacon's* Enterprize, were afraid of offending him; so they drew up a Commission themselves, and presented it, with an Address to Sir *William Berkley*, desiring him to sign it.

By this Commission he was constituted General of all the Forces in *Virginia*; and Sir *William*, much against his Inclination, sign'd it.

As soon as *Bacon* had it, he march'd towards the Frontiers, and was chearfully followed by his Men; and no doubt, had not Sir *William Berkley* done what he could to hinder his Proceedings, these Forces, under such a General, would have conquer'd all the Nations of the *Indians* to the Mountains.

'Tis true the *Virginians* did not want Room, yet the Savages were so false and cruel to them of late, that it seems to have been their Interest to have got rid of such troublefom Neighbours; and so the People of *Virginia* generally thought at that time.

When *Bacon* had modestly withdrawn his Troops, to leave the Assembly free, the Governor prevailed with them to consent that his Commission should be revoked, which was done: Then Sir *William* proclaimed him a Rebel; commanded his Followers to deliver him up, and disperse, on pain of being treated like Traitors: He also issued out Orders for raising the Militia, and made Preparations for a Civil War.

He is pro-  
claim'd a  
Rebel.

The People were generally exasperated at this double Dealing with Col. *Bacon*, and his Soldiers unanimously resolv'd to live and die with him. Instead of marching against the *Indians*, as they design'd, they demanded to be led back to *James Town*, and in their March they fell upon the Lands and Houses of such as sided with Sir *William*.

The Governor  
flies from  
him.

The Governor fled to *Accomack*, on the other Side of the Bay, hoping the Inhabitants of that County, which was at a Distance from those Parts where *Bacon* had the greatest Interest, would espouse his Quarrel, having still no better Disposition to Peace, than before he had proclaimed Col. *Bacon* a Rebel.

A little Moderation in him would have remedied these Disorders, which put the King and Colony to 100000 *l.* Expence to compose them; and would have endangered the Ruin of the Country, had not *Bacon's* Death prevented it; for upon the Governor's leaving *James Town*, and abdicating the Government, Col. *Bacon* assembled the Gentlemen of the Country at *Middle Plantation*, himself and four others of the Council signing the Writ of Summons, where

The Gentle-  
men join with  
him.

they

they publish'd a Declaration of the Occasion of their meeting, and an Association to stand by *Bacon* against all Opposers, till the King was fully inform'd of the Matter, by Persons deputed by General *Bacon*.

They declared, among other things, that *Sir William Berkley* had fomented and stirred up the People to a Civil War, and withdrawn himself from his Government, to the great Astonishment and Unsettlement of the Country. That the Army raised by *Bacon* was for the publick Good; and that the Country justify'd him in all his Proceedings. And publish  
a Declaration  
against the  
Government.

In the mean time *Sir William* was busy in getting his Friends together, to make Head against the Rebels, whose Reasons would have had little Weight with King *Charles*, while they argued with their Swords in their Hands. The Governor was still obstinately bent on reducing *Bacon* by Force; and in order to it, several Sloops were provided to transport the Men he had raised over the Bay. Some of his Parties met with some of *Bacon's*, and Rencounters happen'd, in which some Men were kill'd, and some taken.

Thus every thing tended to a Civil War, which must have had very terrible Effects, for *Bacon's* Men were resolute, and enraged at the Hardships they endured; and *Sir William Berkley's*, animated by the Loyalty of their Leader, were as furious and implacable as the Generals, whom they call'd and treated as Rebels.

*Bacon* was much superior in Numbers; but the Governor depending on Supplies from *England*, assured himself that he should at last be too strong for him and all his Adherents.

The King, when he was inform'd of this Rebellion, was so far from hearkening to the Pretences of *Bacon's* Assembly, that he order'd a Squadron of Men of War to be fitted out, and a Regiment of Soldiers to embark aboard it for *Virginia*. This Squadron was commanded by *Sir John Berry*, and set sail about *Christmas*, in the Year 1676. The Hopes of these Succours confirm'd the Governor in his Severity, and all Terms of Accommodation were offer'd to no Purpose. Such was the dreadful Prospect of Affairs in *Virginia*, when, happily for the Peace of the Colony, *Col. Bacon* died at *Dr. Green's* House in *Glocester* County. He was privately buried, and the Place kept very secret, to prevent his Enemies insulting his Body, as would have been done, could the Corpse have been found; for strict Enquiry was made after it, with a Design to expose his Bones to publick Infamy. 1676.  
*Col. Bacon*  
*dies.*

*Mrs. Afræa Behn* the Poetess wrote a Tragedy on this Event, call'd *Bacon of Virginia*. 'Tis probable she was the fonder of the Story, because she lived some time in



*America*, her Father being Deputy-Governor of *Surinam*, when in *English Hands*, and her Conversation with the Negroes there, did doubtless give her the Hint of her Novel *Oroonoko*, the Foundation of those excellent Scenes of Mr. *Southern*.

The Death of the General broke all the Measures of the Malecontents, Col. *Ingram*, his Lieutenant-General, and Col. *Walklate*, his Major-General, laid down their Arms on Promise of Pardon: The rest followed their Example, and Sir *William Berkley* returned to *James Town*, after *Bacon* and his Assembly had been about six Months in Possession of the Government of all the Countries on that Side of the Bay, and had influenced the Affairs on the other Side. Peace being restored, the Governor had Leisure to punish the Criminals; but having promised them all Pardons, on their Submission, could not do it without breaking his Word. Col. *Johnson* and Col. *Walklate* were turned out of all their Places, and incapacitated of bearing Offices in the Colony for the future. As for his Proceeding with the rest, he could not come to any Resolution till he had Orders from *England*, which he did not receive; for that Affair was left to Commissioners, that were sent on purpose by King *Charles* to enquire into it; and the Lord *Colepepper*, who succeeded him in the Government, was intrusted with the Power of punishing or pardoning those who had a Hand in the Disorders committed in the late Rebellion, which were very fatal to the Country.

*James Town*, the Capital of the Colony, was burnt to the Ground by Capt. *Richard Lawrence*, an Officer under *Bacon*, who, when his Men refused to set fire to the Houses, did it with his own Hands; and thus this unfortunate City, which never deserved that Name, suffer'd so much, that she has not since recover'd even the Condition she was then in.

All Sorts of Improvements were neglected, Stock ran to Ruin; the *Indians*, taking an Advantage of these Confusions, fell upon the Borders, and butcher'd the Inhabitants without Mercy. They destroyed the Plantations on the Frontiers so much, that the *Virginians* have hardly to this Day been able to plant them and stock them, much less to extend their Bounds; tho' the Savages are brought so low, that their Liberty is precarious, and they are little better than Slaves to the *English*. *Bacon* was dead and the Country in Peace before Sir *John Berry* arrived with his Squadron, and the Regiment he had aboard, which landed in *February* following. The Soldiers were kept in pay, tho' there was no Employment for them; and soon after Sir *William Berkley* went for

Sir William  
Berkley re-  
turns,

for England, leaving *Herbert Jeffreys*, Esq; his Deputy-Governor. *Sir William* fell sick on his Arrival in England, and his Sicknes confined him to his Chamber till he died. The King, who had all the Reason in the World to be pleas'd with him, enquir'd often after his Health, and forbad him to hazard it, by making too much Hast to Court. *Sir William* never saw his Majesty: However he had the Satisfaction to hear the King had done him the Honour to declare he highly approv'd of his Conduct in *Virginia*.

*Herbert  
Jeffrey, Esq;  
Deputy-Governor*

*Sir William  
Berkley dies  
in England.*

He had been Governor of that Colony from the Year 1640 to 1678, when he died, in all 38 Years, if we take in the time of the Usurpation, when his Commission was virtually in force, tho' not actually.

*Mr. Jeffreys's* first Care, after *Sir William Berkley's* Departure, was to make Peace with the *Indians*: To that Purpose he held an Assembly at *Middle Plantation*, where *Bacon's* Convention met, and Overtures of Peace were agreed on and concluded in *May* 1677. On the 29th of that Month, the Kings of the several Nations were invited to come and sign the Peace, and partake in the Rejoicings of that Day, which the Governor celebrated with more than usual Solemnity, in Commemoration of his Majesty's Birth and happy Restoration.

The *Indian* Kings and Queens came to the Place appointed, and were kindly received by the Commissioners and Council; and Silence being proclaim'd, the Articles of Peace were publickly read, and each of them expounded by Interpreters. After which, the Queen of *Pamunke* was desired to come within the Bar of the Court to sign the Treaty, in Behalf of herself, and several Nations that were united under her Subjection. She did it chearfully, and deliver'd the Instrument to the Governor, of which he gave her back the Counter-part; and on the exchanging these Instruments, the Field-pieces were discharged.

*A solemn  
Peace with  
the Indians.*

The Queen and the other *Indian* Princes were nobly entertain'd by the *English*, and the next Day returned to their Kingdoms. This is the last formal Peace that was made with the Savages; and now they are sunk so low, that if they should dare to give the *English* any Disturbance, a Troop of Militia-Horse would cut 'em all to pieces. They do the *Virginians* more Good than Harm by their Trade and Services, and are suffer'd to enjoy the vain Name of Kingdoms, tho' *Kentish Town* is an Empire, compared to the biggest of them, as will appear in another Chapter. The Governor and Assembly had given the Law to them in this

Treaty, which, tho' they thought hard Measure, they were obliged to comply with.

1673.  
Sir Henry  
Chickely  
Deputy-Governor.

Mr. *Jeffreys* died the following Year, and Sir *Henry Chickely* was appointed Deputy-Governor in his Place.

He did nothing extraordinary, or worthy to be remember'd, except procuring an Act of Assembly, for building Magazines at the Heads of the four great Rivers, where Men in constant Pay were order'd to keep Guard, and Stores of Arms and Ammunition were laid up, to the great Terror of the Savages. The same Assembly observing that Tobacco was frequently imported from *Carolina* and *Maryland*, pass an Act against it, to streighten those Colonies for want of Shipping.

1679.  
The Lord  
Colepepper  
Governor.

In the Year 1679, the Lord *Colepepper*, whom the King had made Governor of *Virginia*, arrived there, and brought with him several Acts drawn up in *England* to be pass into Laws.

He summon'd an Assembly, and the Members understanding he had a Power to call such to an Account, as had been concern'd in *Bacon's* Rebellion, to keep him in a good Humour, pass several Acts, wherein the Authority and Interest of the Governor were enlarged, and he, in Return, gave his Consent to some that were grateful to the Country.

The Lord *Colepepper* obtain'd a Salary of 2000 *l.* a Year of the King, which before was but 1000 *l.* He, on Account of his Quality, got an Allowance of 150 *l.* a Year for House-Rent, and turned the usual Presents made him by Masters of Ships, of Wine and Provisions, into a certain Sum of Money, settling the Rate at 30 *s.* for each Ship above one hundred Tun, and 20 *s.* for each below that Burden, which Duty has since been levy'd as strictly as if it had been given by an Act of the Assembly. Besides these Advantages, his Lordship had one in view that would have turn'd very well to Account, had it taken Effect. The Assembly taking into Consideration their Loss by lowering their Coin, which had occasioned the Country's being almost drain'd of it by Exportation to Places where it pass for more than it did in *Virginia*, order'd a Bill to be brought in for raising it.

The Governor interposing in the Matter, told them it was the King's Prerogative to alter the Value of the Coin, and the Prerogative being intrusted with him, he would do it by Proclamation. The Assembly durst not oppose such an Argument. Those were not times to dispute the Prerogative Royal; so the Governor's Reasons were allowed, and the Act dropt.

His



His Lordship, having gain'd his Point, privately bought up all the light Pieces of Eight he could get, at 5 s. the Piece; and then put forth a Proclamation, to raise the Value of them to 6 s. He soon after produced an Order to pay and disband the Regiment that had been sent over by Sir *John Berry*; and accordingly he paid them off with those Pieces at 6 s. a piece; and they were forced to take them at that rate.

This Lord however found very great Inconveniencies by his raising the Coin, as well on account of his own Salary, his Duty on Ships, as of the King's Taxes, which were paid in Pieces of Eight at 6 s. a piece: The Loss was like to be more than his Gain, by injuring the poor Soldiers. He affected a despotick way of governing; and, by his Proclamation, repeal'd several Laws. The *Virginians* began to be afraid that the Acts of their Assembly would stand in force no longer than the Governor should think fit; and that his *Will and Pleasure* would be set over them instead of Laws and Ordinances.

This occasioned fresh Murmurs, and had not *Bacon's* Rebellion been so lately suppress'd, it might have ended in Mutiny. The Assembly, at their next Session, to put a Stop to like Evils, pass'd a particular Act to provide against the ill Conveniencies of them.

The Lord *Colepepper* did not stay quite a Year in *Virginia* before he embark'd for *England*. He left Sir *Henry Chickely* his Deputy-Governor, the Country well settled, and the Crop so good, that the Planters made too much Tobacco, by which the Market was glutted, and the Price fell yet lower: And this produced a new Riot; for some of the Inhabitants, to raise the Price, agreed with their Neighbours not only to destroy their own Tobacco, but all the Plants round the Country, wherever they found them, while they were yet in their Beds.

*A Riot about Tobacco.*

Accordingly they cut up their own first, and then did so in other Plantations, whether the Owners consented or not.

They destroy'd a great deal of sweet-scented Tobacco, and threaten'd to cut up all; but they had not Courage enough to go through with their Design. The Offenders were seized, imprison'd, tried and were condemn'd to be hang'd; their Plant-cutting being adjudg'd to be Felony and Sedition, and was declared to be so by an Act of the next Assembly.

The Lord *Colepepper* returning in the following Year, began to think of trumping up his Title to the *Northern Neck*, a large Territory containing several Counties.

1680.

These Counties had the Privilege of sending Representatives to the Assembly, as well as the other: And the Assembly being the supreme Court, to which all others were to appeal, he was afraid his Propriety would never be allow'd by them; wherefore he contrived to get the Appeals out of their Hands; and to that End, rais'd such Divisions between the Representatives and Council, that the former pretending to the sole Power of Appeals, were encouraged in their Pre-ferences secretly by the Governor, till he had Instructions from the King; to whom having represented the Quarrel to the Disadvantage of the Representatives, his Majesty order'd that all Appeals should be made to the Governor and Council: and now this noble Lord thought he might put in his Claim to the *Northern Neck*, by a Grant from the Crown. There were several others concern'd in the Patent, and these he bought off; after which, he prevail'd with his Cousin Mr. *Spencer*, Secretary of *Virginia*, who lived in the *Northern Neck*, to side with the Patent; which he did till he died: For his Lordship, notwithstanding he had broken the old Constitution of the Assembly, thought fit to proceed by fair means, and engage as many of the Inhabitants as he could to own his Propriety, as he did Col. *Philip Ludwell*, when he was in *England*, in the Year 1690.

The Lord  
Colepepper  
gets the  
Northern  
Neck.

This Gentleman undertook to manage his Matters for him, but could make nothing of it.

Col. *George Brent* and Col. *William Fitzbugh*, who also were Inhabitants of the *Neck*, engaged, as Col. *Ludwell* had done, to serve him as their Proprietor; but had no better Success than Col. *Ludwell*.

The People of the *Neck* address'd the Assembly, and they the King; which had no Effect, because they had no Agent in *England* to sollicit the Affair: So the Inhabitants being tired with expecting Relief in vain, and wearied by vexatious Suits with the Proprietor's Agents, thought it their Interest to compound with him, and pay him Quit-Rent. The first that did it was Col. *Richard Lee*, one of the Council, whose Example was followed by the rest; and Col. *Robert Carter*, another of the Council, and one of the greatest Freeholders of the *Northern Neck*, is at this time the Proprietor's Agent.

We have been the longer on this Propriety, because it was the Occasion of altering the Constitution of the Government; and besides, is a very large Parcel of the Colony.

I must own I have been extremely concern'd to find Grants upon Grants to Creatures of the Times after the *Restoration*, of large Tracts of Land in *America*, that had  
been

been discovered, planted and settled, at the sole Expence, Fatigue and Hazard of private Persons, who could only have a Right to the Property of them. If the Crown was at the Charge of the Discovery and Settlement, most certainly the Right is in the Crown to sell or to give the Country in whole or in Part, that was so discovered and settled. This *Northern Neck* had before been granted to *Henry Earl of St. Albans*, *John Lord Berkley*, *Sir William Martin*, and *John Tredway*, Esq; but that hinder'd not its being granted away again to the Lord *Colepepper*, after whose Death it came to his Daughter, married to the Lord *Fairfax*, whose Son, the present Lord *Fairfax*, has lately took a Voyage thither in Person, and caused an exact Survey to be made of the *Neck*, in order, as *Sir William Keith* writes, to determine Disputes about the Limits and Boundaries; and doubtless, with more special Regard to the Quit-Rents of the Premises.

In other things Lord *Colepepper's* Administration was very commendable; he regulated several Abuses that had crept into the Practice of the Courts, and prevented the Chicanery, so much complain'd of in *England*, which was beginning to corrupt the Law, and lessen'd the Expence the Clerks had contrived to put their Clients to. He demolish'd the Forts built by *Sir Henry Chickely*, they being a great Charge and of little use to the Country. In their stead he procured an Act to be pass'd, for some Troops of Horse to range on the Borders by turns, till there was no more fear of the *Indians*.

In the Year 1683 he returned to *England*, and would go thither no more; upon which, *Francis Lord Howard of Effingham*, was sent over Governor. The Lord *Colepepper* had declared his Kinsman *Mr. Spencer* President of the Council, tho' there were other Members, who, with more Reason, pretended to that Honour, being elder than he, and the oldest Counsellor used always to be President, as the President, in the Absence of the Governor, or Deputy-Governor, always supplies his Place.

*Mr. Spencer's* Presidentship was attended with nothing remarkable. And the next Year, 1684, the Lord *Howard* arrived, with the same Resolution to get Money as his Predecessor had done; he condescended to share the Fees with his Clerks, obliged all Lawyers and Schoolmasters to take out Licences to teach and plead, for which they paid according to their Abilities; he extorted excessive Fees for sealing Probats, Wills, and Letters of Administration, without considering the Value of the Estates of the deceased:

He

1683.

Francis Lord  
Howard of  
Effingham,  
Governor.

1684.



He threw Men into Prison, and kept them there without Trials; he repeal'd Laws by Proclamation as much as in him lay; for the Judges did not mind those Proclamations, but allow'd the Laws to be in as full force as ever, one excepted, and that was the Law for paying Quit-Rent, by which the Planters were permitted to pay Quit-Rent in Tobacco at 2 *d.* a Pound. Tobacco falling afterwards, that Law was repeal'd by Proclamation, and the Payment demanded in Money, or Tobacco at a Penny a Pound.

To which Order the *Virginians* submitted, no Man daring in that Case to stand Trial with the Governor, especially because the Quit-Rent was reserved in Money by the Words of his Patent.

This Lord, by many other Exactions, so exasperated the Colony, that they sent Col. *Ludwell* over to *England*, to make their Complaints to the King. Mr. *Ludwell* did all that could be expected from a wise and a faithful Agent; but did not prevail to have his Lordship removed.

We are obliged, for Connexion of things, sometimes to make bold with Chronology; and the Convenience the Reader will find in it, will, we hope, more than excuse the Freedom we take.

1685.  
The Imposit on  
Tobacco.

In the Year 1685, that severe Duty, which has so long loaded Tobacco, had been the Occasion of selling many thousand Hogsheds at 12 *d.* a Hoghead, rather than pay the Custom and Charges was imposed on this Commodity three Months after King *James's* coming to the Crown: It was obtained when the Parliament were in a warm Fit of Loyalty, just on the Duke of *Monmouth's* landing.

This Imposition is the original Cause of all the Streights and Hindrances in Trade and Circumstances which the *Virginians* groan'd under above 50 Years. 'Tis amazing to consider, that a Commodity, worth, when it grows, a Half-penny a Pound, should have subsisted so long, above half a Century, under the Weight of an Imposition more than ten times the Value of the prime Cost. Sir *William Keith*, who had been a Collector of the Customs, as well as a Governor, was so little sensible of this Pressure, that he says not a Word. This Duty has raised above twenty Millions Sterling since it was first imposed.

The Bill had been read before; but 'tis thought would not have pass'd so easily, if the Duke of *Monmouth* had not landed opportunely, and quicken'd it by his Rebellion.

This heavy Imposition has been a great Discouragement to the Industry of the Plantation, and is the Source of all the Miseries the Planters since suffer'd, having kept them poor,

and deprived them of the means to support themselves in the long War that follow'd upon the Revolution.

The Lord *Howard* summon'd an Assembly, who laid the first Tax imposed upon Liquors imported from other Plantations. The Pretence was for rebuilding the State-house, which had lain in Ashes ever since. Capt. *Lawrence* burnt *James Town*.

His Lordship also erected a Court of Chancery; and took away that Jurisdiction from the general Court; he assum'd the Office of Chancellor, and the Counsellors were his Masters. He would not hold this Court in the State house, because the General Court used to sit there; and therefore, in Opposition to them, he heard Causes in a Dining-room in a private House.

He exacted exorbitant Fees in his new Court, and made it turn very much to account. This Novelty was laid aside on his Lordship's going for *England*, and the General Court again resumed their ancient Jurisdiction, which was as old as the Colony.

As the Lord *Howard* had shewn an extraordinary Joy on King *James's* Accession to the Throne, an Account of which was published in the Gazette; so he as joyfully proclaimed King *William* on the Revolution, and soon after went for *England*, leaving *Nathaniel Bacon, Esq;* Father of Col. *Bacon*, President; during whose Administration the Project of a College first began. A Scheme of it was drawn up by the Projectors, and presented to the President and Council, who approving of it, the Matter was prepared to be laid before the Assembly.

The President had not time to call one himself; for 'twas not long before *Francis Nicholson, Esq;* arrived with the Character of the Lord *Howard's* Lieutenant. This Gentleman, on his Arrival, studied to grow popular, by all the winning Arts which Persons in Power make use of to engage the People: He made himself familiar with them, was solicitous about improving Trade, and encouraging Manufactures: He instituted publick Games, and allotted Prizes to such as excell'd in Riding, Running, Shooting, Wrestling and Back-sword. He enter'd heartily into the Project of the College.

That the Project might not stand still for want of Encouragement from the Assembly, which was not then sitting, a private Subscription was propos'd and agreed to by the Governor, and 2500 *l.* subscribed, Mr. *Nicholson* and the Council setting the other Gentlemen of the Colony a good Example. The *London* Merchants also contributed generously towards

*Nathaniel  
Bacon, Esq;  
President,  
A College  
set on foot.*

*Francis  
Nicholson,  
Esq; Lieut.  
Governor.*



towards it; and in the next Year, when the Lieutenant-Governor summon'd an Assembly, the Matter was moved to them, who zealously engaged in it, drew up an Address to their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to grant a Charter for it, and sent the Reverend Mr *James Blair* into *England*, to present it, and solicit the Affair.

The Assembly pass'd an Act for the Encouragement of the Linen Manufactures, the Leather Trade, &c. and another for Cohabitation; yet all the Laws for it avail'd nothing, no Town was built by them, nor even *James Town* rebuilt to the State 'twas in, before 'twas burnt in the Rebellion.

Mr. *Nicholson* paid an extraordinary Respect to these and all other Acts of the Assembly, governing himself always strictly by them in the General Court.

1692.  
Sir Edmund  
Andros  
Governor.

The Lord *Howard* was dismiss'd from being principal Governor in the Year 1692, and his Place supplied by Sir *Edmund Andros*, who had been Governor of *New-England*, and behaved so very ill, that the Inhabitants seized and imprisoned him. He alter'd his Conduct here for the better: However, the employing a Man of his Principles in a *Revolution* Government, was one of the false Steps a *Motley* Ministry produced in King *William's* Reign, owing to such Men as the Earl of *Danby*, who had been deeply concern'd in the Grievances of the two last *Stuarts's* Reigns.

Sir *Edmund* arrived in *February*, and began his Government with calling an Assembly. These Representatives were so managed by the Governor, that they suspended the Law for Cohabitation, which the Merchants of *London* were against; and found it for their Ease and Advantage to have the Trade alike open in all Parts of the capital Rivers; and the Masters of their Ships could not endure to think of lying under a Fort, or at a Key, when they could come up to the Door of a Planter or Factor, live merrily and plentifully at his House, and unload and load at Pleasure.

In *England*, Mr. *Neal*, the famous Projector, had procured a Patent to be Post-Master-General of those Parts of *America*. This Assembly took the Patent into Consideration, pass'd an Act in favour of it; but by reason of the Distance of one House from another, 'twas found to be impracticable.

Lowthorp's  
Publ. Transf.  
Vol. 2 p.  
104.

In the following Year there happen'd a most violent Storm in this Province, which stop't the Course of the ancient Channels, and made some where never were any; by which means, between the Bounds of *Virginia* and *Newcastle* in *Pensylvania*, are many navigable Rivers for Sloops and small Vessels.



Sir *Edmund Andros* was very fond of introducing the Statutes and Laws of *England*, and even such as related to particular Customs in that Kingdom, which was like to have brought all things into Confusion in the Courts of Justice; for the Acts of the Assembly being despised, those Laws that were the best Title most of the Planters had to their Estates, were forced to give way to Customs and Usages adapted to the Tenures in *England*; by which the *Virginians* were alarmed, as if they were all at once threaten'd to be outed of their Holds.

No Body knew what was Law, and a great Man was so free as to declare frequently, *they had none of them any Right to their Lands*: Tho' what he meant by it was a Mystery he either could not or would not unfold.

Sir *Edmund* brought over the Charter for the College, and Dr. *Thomas Bray* went thither to be President of it, carrying with him a Library, well chosen for the Uses it was to be put to.

Several Professors also were preparing to go over; but all that was done and given towards it came to nothing: The People were very ready to subscribe, but not so ready to pay in their Money: However, Contributions were sent from *England*, which were promoted by the Example of their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, of glorious Memory, who, by their own Royal Bounty, invited others to assist so charitable an Undertaking; and there was Money enough raised to build the College, of which the Foundation was laid soon after Sir *Edmund Andros's* Arrival.

This Gentleman set up several Manufactures, and Fulling-Mills, and was earnest with the Planters to propagate Cotton. He regulated the Management of the Secretary's Office, which had been mightily neglected since *Bacon's* Rebellion. He commanded all the publick Papers and Records to be sorted, and kept in exact Order; and when the *State-house* was burnt, he was careful to have them preserved, and all that could be saved, to be again sorted and register'd. He put the Clerks into a Method of dispatching Business; and by these and other commendable Acts, went a great way in gaining the Esteem of the People.

He was endeavouring to find out easy means to rebuild the *State-house*, which might not be burdensom to the People; and in all Likelihood would have effected it, had his Stay been longer.

In the Year 1697, Admiral *Nevil's* Squadron, which had been at the *Havana* looking after Monsieur *Pointi* and the *French* Squadron, touch'd, in their Return home, at *Virginia*.

nia. The Admiral, Commodore Mees, Capt. Lytcot, Capt. Holms, Capt. Bellwood, Capt. Dyer, Capt. Studley, Capt. Foster, all the Dutch Captains out of six but one, and most of their Men, were dead of an infectious Disease, which the Remainder of their Crew brought to Virginia with them; and the Infection spread in James Town, and the Country on that River, carrying off several of the Inhabitants: The Plantation continued sickly a long time after it.

1619.  
Col. Nichol-  
son Gover-  
nor.

In November 1698, Col. Nicholson, who went from Virginia to Maryland, returned to Virginia with the Character of Governor. He removed the Seat of his Government from James Town to Middle Plantation, where he began to build a City in honour of the King, mark'd out the Streets in the Form of a *W*, and call'd the Town *Williamsburgh*.

He procured a stately Fabrick to be built there, over-against the College, and gave it the Name of the *Capitol*. Some Persons, who were not endow'd with any publick Principle, were against this Expence, the Impositions with which they were loaded in *England* and *Virginia*, keeping them always low. And now a Tax of 15 s. upon each Christian Servant, and 20 s. for each Negro, was laid upon them. Besides, this Year was very sickly, and the Crop so short, that the Ships returned home with not above one third Part of their Loading; but the next was healthy and plentiful.

About the Year 1700, a Pirate came into *Lynhaven-Bay*, near the Mouth of James River, and took out some Merchant Ships that were fallen down there, in order to sail for *England*. It happen'd that a small Vessel came into the Bay, and saw the Pirate engaged with one of the Merchant-men. This Vessel slipt by the Pirate, and got into the River, where the *Shoram*, a Fifth Rate Man of War, Capt. *Passenger* Commander, lay, being newly arrived from *England*.

There was another Man of War, a Sixth Rate, Capt. *Aldred* Commander, in *Elizabeth River*; but that was on the *Careen*, fitting out for a homeward Voyage.

The Master of the same Vessel posted to *Kiquotan*, where the Governor happen'd to be at that time, to send away his Dispatches for *England*, and Capt. *Passenger* was also gone thither to wait upon him, and pay his Respects to him on his Arrival.

When the Captain heard of the Pirate's being in the Bay, he was for hastening to his Ship as fast as he could, in hopes to come up with him. The Governor desired him to stay a little, and he would accompany him, so he and Capt. *Passenger* put to Sea, and getting between the Capes and the River, forced the Pirate to come to an Engagement. The

The Fight was sharp and bloody; but at last the Pirate struck, and surrender'd at Discretion, the Captain of the Privateer and his Crew being to be left to the King's Mercy.

*The Governor takes a Privateer.*

It was represented by the Agents of the Colony of *New-York* to King *William*, that *Virginia* being secured from the *Indians* and *French* by *New-York*, as by a Barrier, the *Virginians* ought to contribute towards building the Fort there.

The King refer'd the Matter to the Assembly of *Virginia*, and the Governor thinking it a reasonable Proposal, very zealously espoused it. The Assembly however drew up a Remonstrance against it, to this Purpose: *That neither the Forts then in being, nor any other that might be built in the Province of New-York, could in the least avail to the Defence and Security of Virginia; for that either the French or the Indians might invade that Colony, and not come within 100 Miles of any such Fort.*

This Remonstrance put a Stop to the Affair in the Assembly; whereupon the Governor contributed the 900*l.* himself, the Sum that was demanded of the *Virginians*. This was so generous an Action, that it seems to bear some Resemblance with that *Roman Spirit*, which the Heroes of all Ages since have been proud to imitate; and the Glory of it was what all the Governor's Enemies admired and envy'd.

Col. *Quarry* of *Virginia*, then in *England*, declared in a Memorial, deliver'd to the Council of Trade after Queen *Anne's* Accession to the Throne, *That as soon as Governor Nicholson found the Assembly of Virginia would not see their own Interest, nor comply with her Majesty's Orders, he went immediately to New-York; and, out of his great Zeal to the Queen's Service, and the Security of her Province, he gave his own Bills for 900*l.* to answer the Quota of Virginia, wholly depending on her Majesty's Favour, to reimburse him out of the Revenues of that Province.*

And as Col. *Nicholson* was generous in promoting the Security of the Province of *New-York*, so was he to encourage such as fought for the Defence of that of *New-England*, in the time of the *Indian War*; when two *New-England Women* having surprized and kill'd 10 or 12 *Indians*, and had a Gift from the Assembly there, he sent them also a very noble Present.

In the Year 1701, the Governor hearing the *French Privateers* were busy on the Coasts, laid an Embargo on all Ships, to prevent their going out, and falling into their

Hands.



Hands. The same Year some Camels were brought thither in some *Guinea* Ships; those Beasts would carry 1200 Weight; but we have not heard how they thrived there, and suppose the *Virginians* succeeded with them no better than the *Barbadians*, who were soon forced to lay down that sort of Carriage.

1703- On the 8th of *October*, 1703, there happen'd a very violent Hurricane at *Virginia*, which was the more remarkable, because that Country is not subject to such Accidents. In this Tempest several Ships were driven ashore in their Harbours, and others damaged in their Masts and Rigging; and much Mischiefe done by it in the Plantations.

1704- In the following Year Col. *Nicholson* returned to *England*, having in his Government deserved a better Character of the Province of *Virginia*, than the late Author of the History of that Country is pleas'd to bestow upon him. The Reception he met with at Court, is a sufficient Demonstration that her Majesty approved of his Conduct; and all the World must condemn that Historian, otherwise judicious and eloquent, for suffering a private Pique to prevail over the Justice and Gratitude which was due to the Merit of the Governor.

George Earl of Orkney Governor Edward Notte, Esq; Deputy-Governor. He was succeeded by *George Earl of Orkney*, Lieutenant-Governor of his Majesty's Armies, whose Deputy was *Edward Notte*, Esq; During their Authority nothing extraordinary has happen'd in *Virginia*, which Colony is now in a safe and flourishing Condition, having no just Reason to complain of any thing but those Taxes, which the Preservation of their Religion and Liberty at this time makes necessary.

The Earl of *Orkney* held this Commission 36 Years, and received for it, in that time, upwards of 42000*l.* Sir *William Keith* writing, "Out of the Salary of 2000*l.* a Year, 1200*l.* is paid him by the Lieutenant-Governor residing in the Country, whose Commission is from the King, with the same Authority of the Great Seal, as is the Chief Governor's; by this means the Titles of Honour and Power of acting are equally in them." If the Lieutenant-Governor, who was always on the Spot, and could and did the whole Duty of the supreme Magistrate of the Colony, 'tis a little extraordinary that he who had all the Care and Trouble of the Government, should have but 800*l.* a Year paid him by the *Virginians*, and the Governor, who never was to go to *Virginia*, have 1200*l.* per Annum, by virtue of his Office in this Government.

In another Place Sir *William Keith* extols the Benefit of this principal Commission to a Man of Quality living in *England*,

*England*, to be at hand if the Colony's Affairs require Application to the Court; but I cannot think that the late Lord *Orkney*, who yet probably did as much for the *Virginians* as any other Lord would have done, procured a tenth of the Advantage which 42000*l.* would have been to them; and I must own I have different Sentiments of the Fitness of a Nobleman to be Agent for a Colony in *England*, and that of a Planter or Proprietor, who knows its Wants by his own feeling. And as the Inhabitants of the *American Colonies* have a natural Right to the Protection of their Mother-State in all Cases, and do otherwise pay well for it, they surely will never stand in need of any other Mediation for them, than the Justice and Reason of the thing, which always requires Access to those that can protect them.

Mr. *Notte* prevailed with the Assembly to provide a Fund for building a convenient House at *Williamsburgh* for the Governor's Residence. He died in a few Years, and Brigadier *Hunter* was appointed to succeed him in this Government; but he being prevented by the then Enemy, proceeded no farther in that Design, upon which Col. *Alexander Spotswood* was appointed the Earl of *Orkney's* Deputy, or rather the Crown's Deputy-Governor. He was a good Soldier and Mathematician; he laid out the Ground and form'd the Plan for building the Magazine in the Center of *Williamsburgh*. He projected a Law for regulating the *Indian Trade*, and raising thereby an easy Fund for instructing the *Indian Children* in the Principles of Christianity.

Col. Spotswood  
Lieut. Govern.

Governor *Spotswood* promoted a Law for lodging all Tobacco in Store-houses, to be examined as to its Goodness before exported. Sir *William Keith* praises the Wisdom of this Project; but methinks the making any Man Judge of the Goodness or Badness of any Commodity, and the giving him the Power of rejecting it at his Choice, who may have his particular View or Interest in it, must have been a great Incumbrance to the Planter and on Trade; the Planter's Product not being always alike good, tho' his Care and Charge might always be alike, and his Growth must go as it came, promiscuously, unless pack'd on purpose for a better Market and Price than the common, sufficient to make Amends for the refuse Goods, which must have been thrown to the Dunghill in Governor *Spotswood's* Scheme, well intended by that Gentleman, a Man of Sense, Honour and Experience, who was very zealous, active and useful in promoting the common Good of the Colony; but this Law was not long in force.

In 1714 Governor *Spotswood* made in Person a Discovery of a Passage over the great Mountain, which has been before spoken of; a Discovery that deserves to be farther prosecuted at the publick Charge by knowing and active Persons; for doubtless it would let the *English* into the nearest way to come at the Banks of the River *Mississippi*, which lie behind that Mountain or Mountains. It being now a time of Peace, few Events happen'd in this Province that were transmitted to *England* to be communicated to the Publick, the quickest way I have had of collecting them.

About a Year before Mr. *Spotswood's* Removal, Capt. *Knot*, Master of a Ship belonging to this Province, discover'd to him, that eight Pirates of *Kalifax's* Crew had taken Passage in his Ship, concealing their late Crimes under Pretence of Trade or Employment, but that they were really Pirates; upon which, being tried, they were convicted, and four of them executed and hanged in Chains. Capt. *Knot* delivered up several valuable Presents the Pirates had given him for accommodating them with Passage, and obliged his Men to do the like.

Pirates  
hang'd.

1722.

This Governor was in the Year 1722 on the Congress at *Albany* with the *Indian* Kings, himself, the Governors of *New-York* and *Pensylvania*, which is related under the Head of *New-York*; and he continued in this Government, notwithstanding the dark and ungrateful Intrigues of some of the Council against him, till Major *Drysdale* was appointed Lieutenant-Governor. Col. *Spotswood* remained in *America* to his Death, which happen'd very lately, and at that Juncture when there were great Expectations of his being very serviceable in raising, exercising and embarking the Troops that were order'd to be levied in the Continent Colonies for the Expedition against the *Spaniards*. His Diligence and Success in making those Levies, his Military Skill, his Conduct and Bravery promised fairly for the best Service that could be performed by those Levies; but he unhappily died before that Embarkation.

Hugh Dryf-  
dale, Esq;  
Governor.

In the Year 1723, *Hugh Drysdale*, Esq; arrived at *Virginia*, and took upon him the Government under the Earl of *Orkney*, and having the following List of the Officers in *Virginia*, I give it Place here.

*George* Earl of *Orkney*, Governor:

*Hugh Drysdale*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

Members of the Council,

*Edmund Jennings*, Esq; President.



The Rev. Mr. *James Blair*, *Mann Page*, Esq;  
*Robert Carter*, Esq; *Cole Diggs*, Esq;  
*William Bird*, Esq; *Peter Beverley*, Esq;  
*Philip Ludwell*, Esq; *John Robinson*, Esq;  
*John Lewis*, Esq; *J. Carter*, Esq;  
*John Harrison*, Esq;

*John Carter*, Esq; Secretary.  
*John Clayton*, Esq; Attorney-General.  
*John Graham*, Esq; Receiver-General.  
*John Harrison*, Esq; Auditor.

Collector of the Customs, *James Price*, Esq;  
 Upper District, *John Bannister*, Esq;  
 Surveyor, Col. *Francis Lightfoot*.  
 Supplied by Col. *William Randolph*.  
 Collector of the Lower District, Mr. *Thomas Mitchel*.  
 Surveyor, Mr. *Irwin*.  
 Collector at *York River*, Mr. *John Ambler*.  
 Surveyor, Mr. *William Robinson*.  
 Collector at *Rappahanock*, Sir *Thomas Johnson*;  
 Supply'd by Mr. *Richard Chichester*.  
 Surveyor, Mr. *Christopher Robinson*.  
 Surveyor at *Cape Charles*, Mr. *Griffith Bowen*.  
 Collector of the *Accomack* and *Northampton* Counties,  
 Mr. *Henry Scarborough*.

To *Hugh Drysdale*, Esq; succeeded, as Governor of *Vir-* Major Gouge  
*ginia*, Governor. in whose Government, the Peace con-  
 tinuing, there is the same Dearth of Matter for History, as  
 in the time of his Predecessor.

## C H A P. II.

Containing a Geographical Description of *Virginia*;  
 of the Towns, Ports, Rivers, Forts, &c.

**I**N the former Chapter we have shewn how several Pro-  
 vinces, that at first went all under the Name of *Virginia*,  
 were divided from it, by Patents granted to other Proprietors,  
 who gave them other Names, as *New-England*, *New-York*,  
*Maryland*, &c, to the North, and *Carolina* to the South;

all which were a Part of the Country that was by Queen *Elizabeth* call'd *Virginia*.

Bounds.

In Proceſs of time that Name was loſt to all, except the Tract of Land lying along the Bay of *Chefeapeak*, in which are included *Virginia* and *Maryland*, and both, in common Diſcourſe, are ſtill call'd *Virginia*; but the Province that's properly ſo call'd, is bounded on the North by the great River *Patowmack*, which parts it from *Maryland*; and on the South by *Carolina*; on the Eaſt it has the *Virginian* Sea; and on the Weſt and North-Weſt, thoſe Wilderneſſes that have ſo often been in vain attempted to be diſcover'd, and are ſuppoſed to ſtretch themſelves to the *Californian* Sea.

The *American* Coaſt towards *Virginia* is greatly eſteem'd by Navigators, becauſe as ſoon as they have Soundings, and can ſtrike Ground with Leads, which is commonly in 80 or 90 Fathom Water, about 40 or 50 Leagues from Shore, it ſhoots gradually, ſo that an experienced Maſter can tell the Diſtance by the Depth of the Water, the Land being ſo low, that in 15 or 20 Fathom Water you can ſcarce ſee it from the Maſt Head.

The Bounds of this Country are not well ſettled, and in the Year 1703, the Aſſembly had it under Conſideration to fix them; but by common Computation, 'tis reckon'd to reach 200 Miles North from *Point Comfort*, at the Mouth of *Chefeapeak* Bay, and 200 Miles South, including all the Land, Weſt and North-Weſt, from the Weſtern or *Virginian*, to the *Californian* Sea, with the Iſlands on both Seas within 100 Miles of the Continent.

Both this Province and that of *Maryland* are ſituate on the great Bay of *Chefeapeak*, whoſe Mouth is *Cape Henry* on the South, and *Cape Charles* on the North. The Water in the Channel is for the moſt Part nine Fathom deep; but in ſome Places not above ſeven.

The Bay is eighteen Miles broad, and lies in 37 Degrees North Latitude. It runs about 100 Leagues up in the Country, and is ſeven Miles over, ſixty Leagues within Land. This is what our modern Sailors call the Capes of *Virginia*.

It receives into it abundance of navigable Rivers, which, like thoſe in the North of *England*, flowing into the *Humber*, all loſe themſelves in this Bay; ſo big, that 'tis ſaid all the Shipping in *Europe* can ride there. In it are ſeveral little Iſlands, ſome of which are planted.

Cape Henry  
and Cape  
Charles.

The two Capes *Henry* and *Charles* are 20 Miles diſtant from each other. The beſt Channel is near *Cape Henry*, exactly in 37 Degrees N. L. So that if a Sailor can depend on his Obſervation of the Latitude at Noon, the Day he expects to make  
the

the Land, he may safely venture in the Night-time, the Cape being a bold bluff Point, and by keeping the *South-shore* on board, he will come to a good Road, two Leagues within the Cape, a large Bay, call'd *Lyn-Haven* Bay; from the Parish, where Shipping commonly went for Billets, and outward-bound Fleets rendezvous in time of War. *Chefeapeak* Bay stretches from this Bay 200 Miles in Length, and <sup>Chefeapeak Bay.</sup> is from 10 to 15 Miles broad; but grows narrow towards the Bottom. It receives many large Rivers from the *Western Shore*, and a few smaller Streams from a narrow Slip of Land, a *Peninsula* from the *Westward*, which divides the Bay from the Ocean.

*Virginia* is divided into 25 Countries, in which are 49 Parishes; 34 with Incumbents on them, and 15 vacant. The latter are distinguished by the Letter *V*.

We shall begin with those that lie on *James River*, the most Southern in the Province: 'Twas, as has been said, call'd *Powhatan* by the *Indians*. Here the *English* first settled, and built two Forts for their Defence; but these are since demolish'd. It runs 140 Miles up in the Country, and is near a Mile broad as high as *James City*. It opens itself directly *West*, from *Cape Henry*; is navigable for large Ships 100 Miles. The first County on the South side of it is *Norfolk County*, which borders on *Carolina*.

In this Shire stands the Parish of *Elizabeth*; it contains 112019 Acres, and is water'd by *Elizabeth*, which rises in it, and runs into *James River*, between *East-Bay* and *West-Bay*. The next is,

*Princes Ann County*, on the Coast, in which are 98305 Acres of Land, and the Parish of *Lynhaven V*, below *Cape Henry*. The next is,

*Nansamond County*, in which are 131172 Acres of Land, and three Parishes, *Upper Parish*, *Lower Parish* and *Chukatuck*, all vacant. The River *Nansamond* rises in this Shire, and falls into *James River*, above *Bennet's Creek*. The next is,

*Isle of Wight County*; in which are 142796 Acres of Land, and two Parishes, *Warwick-Squeek* and *Newport*. Here's also a Spring that vents almost as great a Source of Water as *Holy-Well* in *Wales*. The next is,

*Surry County*; in which are 111050 Acres of Land, and two Parishes, *Southwark V*, and *Lyons Creek*. The next is,

*Henrico County*, the uppermost on the South-side of *James River*; it contains 148787 Acres of Land, and two Parishes,



Parishes, *Henrico* and *Bristol*. The next, over-against it, on the North-side of the River, are,

*Prince George* and *Charles* City Counties; in which are 161239 Acres of Land, and three Parishes, *Martin-Brandon*, *Wyanoke*, *Westover*. The Parishes in the three last Counties are all supply'd with Ministers. In the County of *Henrico* there was a Town call'd *Henricopolis*, which is fallen to Decay. Twenty Miles above the Falls is the *Monacan* Town, where the *French* Refugees have settled. And next below *Charles* County, on the North-side of the River, is

*James* County; in which are 108362 Acres of Land, and five Parishes, of which one lies on the other Side of the River, as does part of the County. The Parishes are *Wallingford* and *Wilmington*, *James* City, *Merchants Hundred* V, on the South-side of the River, and *Bruton*. This is reckoned the chief County, because

*James* City stands in it, in a *Peninsula* on the North-side of *James* River, about 40 Miles from the Mouth of it: There are several Brick Houses in it, and Taverns and Eating-houses, for the Convenience of Voyagers and Travellers; but the Buildings are not many nor contiguous, not above 60 or 70 Houses in all. In this Town there were formerly two or three Forts, and many fair Streets; but they have been ruined by Fire and Revolutions in the Government, or rather in the Disposition of the Governors. The Removal of the Courts of Justice to *Williamstadt*, by Col. *Nicholson*; his residing and holding the Sessions of Assembly and General Court there, and the building the College there, help'd to keep *James* Town in the mean Condition he found it; and the Humour of the *Virginians* to live upon Plantations, seem'd to forbid that City to hope for an Increase of Houses and Inhabitants.

It was long since observed, that this Town, or rather this intended Town, and every other Settlement on a River's Side, where the Water was brackish, produced slow intermitting Fevers and Agues, which was a very good Reason, had there been no other, for removing the capital Seat to *Williamsburgh*, a dry and healthy Situation.

Not far from *James* City Sir *William Berkley* built a handsom House for his Residence, call'd *Greenspring*, where is a Spring so cold, that 'tis dangerous to drink of it in the Summer-time. In the same County stands

*Williamsburg*, which, before the late Governor removed thither, was called *Middle Plantation*, is about seven Miles from *James* City within Land. In this Town are 20 or

30 Houses, and the Publick Assembly and Courts are held there; yet neither these Advantages, nor that of the College and Academy founded there, could procure it a better Figure than that of a Country Village. Here is a small Fort, or rather Battery, mounted with 10 or 12 Guns, which were brought thither from *James City*, by Order of Col. *Nicholson*, who caused a State-house or Capital to be erected, and several Streets to be laid out in the Form of a *W*; but we do not find that a *V*, or one Angle of it is yet finish'd, or ever likely to be so.

What follows is taken from the Accounts written by *R. B. Gent.* and *Hugh Jones*, A. M. Fellow of the College here. There are three publick Buildings here, which are said to be the most magnificent of any in *America*, the College, the Capitol, and State-house, as it was formerly call'd. Not far from this is also built the publick Prison of the Country for Criminals, which is a large and convenient Structure, with Partitions for the different Sexes, and distinct Rooms for petty Offenders; at the End of that, another Prison for Debtors. The Governor's House, not the largest, but by far the most beautiful of the other. It was granted by the Assembly in Governor *Notte's* time, begun in President *Fennings's* time; but received its Beauty and Conveniency, for the many Alterations and Decorations, of Governor *Spotswood*. In his time was also built a new Brick Church and Brick Magazine for Arms and Ammunition, and the Streets of the Town alter'd from the fanciful Form of *W's* and *M's* to much more Conveniencies. These are all erected at *Middle Plantation*, now named *Williamsburgh*; they are all built of Brick and covered with Shingle, except the Debtors Prison, which is flat-roof'd, a new and very useful Invention of Governor *Spotswood*: but Mr. *R. B.* was very ignorant, if he thought flat Roofs a new Invention. Mr. *Hugh Jones*, A. M. writes, the Front of the College, which looks due East, is double, and 136 Foot long, a lofty Pile advanced with a Cupola. At the North-end runs back a large Wing, which is a handsom Hall. There is a spacious Piazza on the West-side, from one Wing to the other. It is approach'd by a good Walk, and grand Entrance by Steps, with good Courts and Gardens about it, with a good House and Apartments for the *Indian* Master and his Scholars, Outhouses and a large Pasture inclosed like a Park, with about 150 Acres of Land. The Building was model'd by Sir *Christopher Wren*, and since it was burnt, has been rebuilt, nicely contrived, alter'd and adorned by the Direction of Governor *Spotswood*, and is not altogether unlike

*Chelsea* Hospital. Mr. *Jones* says he had been Fellow of the College several Years; his Salary 80 *l.* a Year, and 20 *s.* Pupilage, when Pupils where to be had. The *Visitors* appoint a House-keeper, Mrs. *Margaret Stith*, who boards the Master and Children at a very cheap rate.

Fronting the College, near its whole Breadth, is extended a noble Street, *the learned Author does not say of how many Houses*, mathematically right, for the first Design of the Town's Form is changed to a much better, just three quarters of a Mile in Length; at the other End of which stands the *Capitol*, as noble, beautiful and commodious a Pile as any of its kind. In this is the Secretary's Office, with all the Courts of Justice and Law, as in *England*, except the *Ecclesiastical Courts*, the Want of which, however, the reverend Author does not openly complain of. Here the Governor and twelve Counsellors sit as Judges at the *General Courts* in *April* or *October*, &c. The Building is in the Form of an *H*; the Secretary's Office and the *General Courts* taking up one Side below Stairs; the Middle being a handfom Portico, leading to the Clerk of the *Assembly's* Office and the House of Burgeffes on the other Side, which last is not unlike the *House of Commons*.

In each Wing is a good Stair-Cafe, one leading to the *Council Chamber*. Over the Portico is a large Room for Conferances, where Prayers are read to the Assembly by the *Chaplain* my Author, *Hugh Jones*, A. M. At one End of this is a Lobby, and near it the Council's Office; at the other End are Rooms for the Committee of *Claims*, *Privileges* and *Elections*, and over all these are Offices for the *Receiver General*, *Auditor*, *Treasurer*, &c.

Parallel to the main Street mentioned, is a Street on each Side; but neither quite so long nor broad; and at proper Distances are small cross Streets, for the Convenience of Communication. I am at a very great Loss how to accommodate these Streets with Houses; for there may be twice as many as when I first wrote of *Virginia*, and yet not above fourscore Houses in the whole City.

Near the Middle stands the Church, which is a large strong Piece of *Brick-work*, built in the Form of a *Cross*, adorned and convenient as the best Churches in *London*.

Near this is a large *octagon* Tower, a Magazine for Arms and Ammunition.

Not far from hence is a large Area for a Market-place; whether there is a Market or not, Mr. *Jones* does not tell us; but near it is a good Bowling-Green and a Play-house. I am very doubtful of the Excellence of the Performance on



the *Virginian* Stage, notwithstanding the Genius for Poetry, which Mr. *Jones* has given us a Specimen of in his own History, p. 96.

*God bless the Church, and George its Defender;*  
*Convert the Fanaticks and BAULK the Pretender.*

In another Place that reverend Divine laments the *Jesuitical Plots* of the *Presbyterians* in *Maryland*, to pull down the Church of *Virginia*, that is, *England*, as by Law establish'd; as I cannot think there are certainly any such Plots, I hope the Government of this Colony will have, in the first Place, a due Regard to the Morals and Abilities of the Clergy, and then reward, as they deserve, the orthodox and antimonarchical Principles, which the learned and reverend Author places among the finest Growths of *Virginia*.

The private Buildings were also at this time very much improved; several Gentlemen there having built themselves large Brick Houses, of many Rooms on a Floor; but they don't covet to make them lofty, having Extent enough of Ground to build upon, and now and then they are visited by high Winds. They love to have large Rooms, that they may be cool in Summer. Of late they have made their Stories much higher than formerly; and their Windows larger, and fast'd with Crystal Glass. Their Offices are Outhouses, and their Tobacco-houses built of Wood, as open and airy, as consistent with keeping out the Rain. Next to *James County* is

*York County*: It lies between the two Rivers, *James River* and *York River*, and contains 60767 Acres of Land, and three Parishes, *Hampton, V, York* and *New-Pokoson*; the latter stands at the Mouth of *York River*. The next County to it is

*Warwick County*: In which are 38444 Acres of Land, and two Parishes, *Denby, V, and Mulberry Island, V*. The River *Pokoson* rises in it, and runs into the Bay of *Chesapeake*, near the Mouth of *York River*. The next to this is

*Elizabeth City and County*, the least in *Virginia*, containing but 29000 Acres of Land, and one Parish. *Elizabeth City*, which, tho' never very great, is less than when 'twas first built: It had then several good Houses of Brick and Stone, and a Fort was raised there in the *Dutch War*; all which are Ruins already, there being a Sort of Fatality which attends the Towns in *Virginia*, so that they are like never to come to any thing, unless the very Nature of the Inhabitants is quite alter'd; for they have now nothing so little in their Thoughts, as the building of Towns. The  
 Parish-

Parish-Church of *Elizabeth City* is supplied with a Minister. Crossing the Neck of Land to *Pokoson*, we come to the Mouth of *York River*, which the *Indians* call'd *Pamunky*, a Name the upper Branch of this River in *King William's County* still retains.

This River is navigable 60 Miles with great Ships, and with Ketches and Sloops 30 more. It runs the same Course with *James River* for 100 Miles, and so near it, that in some Places 'tis not above 5 Miles over Land from one to the other; which Land between them being so well accommodated for Navigation, and so near two such great Rivers, is best inhabited, and here the richest Planters are seated. Forty Miles up this River it divides itself into two Branches, navigable a considerable way for Sloops and Barges. The small Slip of Land which divides *York River* from *James River*, is esteemed to be a very rich Soil, producing, at this time, the best Tobacco in the Country, known by the Name of *sweet-scented*, which is stript from the Stalk before 'tis pack'd in the Hoghead, and then so press'd, a Hoghead will sometimes weigh 14 or 1500 *l.* Weight, and some particular Crops of the most careful planting of this Commodity have frequently been sold at the Key for 12 *d.* a Pound. This Spot of Ground, so happily situated, has also Convenience of two Inlets, navigable by flat-bottom'd Boats; the one runs from *James River*, and stretches North a-crofs the Land about 5 Miles, to a safe Landing-place. The other runs South from *York River* up into the Land; so that there is a Space only of one Mile between the landing of these two Inlets, and that Mile a gravelly wholesom Soil, where stands the Capital *Williamsburgh*, which, by means of these two Inlets or Creeks, commands the Navigation of *James River* and *York River*. The College here is, by this time, I suppose, in worse Condition than when I first mentioned it, and *Sir William Keith's* writing of it is worth repeating: "As to the College erected in *Virginia*, and other  
 " Designs of the like Nature, which have been propos'd for  
 " the Encouragement of Learning, it is only to be observed  
 " in general, that tho' great Advantages may accrue to the  
 " Mother State, both from the Labour and Luxury of its  
 " Plantations; yet they will probably be mistaken who ima-  
 " gine that the Advancement of Literature and the Im-  
 " provement of the Arts and Sciences in our *British Colonies*  
 " will be of any Service to the *British State*.

After the *Indian Massacre*, 'twas propos'd to draw a Pale from one River to the other, and wholly clearing the Country of Savages, to live secure between the two Rivers, where they

Sweet-scent-  
ed Tobacco.

Williamf-  
burgh com-  
mands the  
Navigation  
of James and  
York River.

they had the Conveniency of Ships coming within a few Miles of every House; we must go up higher into the Country, and following the Course of the River through *Elizabeth, Warwick* and *York* Counties, before-mentioned, we come to

*New-Kent*; containing 171314 Acres of Land. This is one of the largest and most populous Counties in *Virginia*. 'Tis water'd by the Southern Branch of the River *York*, and has two Parishes in it, *Blisland* and *St. Peter's*. The Western Bounds of this County and the next are certain Hills, out of which issue forth a glittering Sand, like the Filings of Brass, which Sand was, as is shewn in the History, mistaken for Gold by the first Planters. The next County to this, nearer the Falls, is

*King William* County; in which are 84324 Acres, and one Parish, *St. John's*: *Pamunky* runs through it; 'tis the Southern Branch of *York* River. On the South of this lies

*King and Queen's* County; containing 131716 Acres of Land, and two Parishes, *Straton-Major* and *St. Stephens*. *Chicohomony* River rises in it, and falls into *James* River, near *Bromfield's* Plantation. From this County, returning through *King William* County, and *New-Kent*, down the North-shore of *York* River, we come to

*Gloucester* County; the best peopled of any in the Country. It has 142450 Acres of Land in it, and 4 Parish Churches, *Perjo, Abington, Ware* and *Kingston*. 'Tis parted from

*Middlesex* County, by the River *Prankitank*, which is navigable twenty or thirty Miles up, containing 49500 Acres, and one Parish, *Christ-church*. The County of *Middlesex* lies on the South-shore of *Rappahanock* River, which is very broad, deep and navigable 40 Miles within Land, where 'tis remarkable the Heads of *York* River and *Rappahanock* River issue out of low marshy Ground, and not of Hills and Mountains, as other Rivers do. Above *Middlesex*, towards the Falls, is *Rappahanock*, or

*Essex* County; containing 140920 Acres of Land. In this County and *Middlesex* lies the great Swamp, or Bog, call'd the *Dragon-Swamp*; 'tis near 60 Miles long, and is over-run with Briars, Thorns and wild Beasts, which herd there, because the Place being almost inaccessible, the Inhabitants can't come at them, at least not so easily as in the Woods and Savana's. In this County stands three Parishes, *South Farnham, Sittinburn, V, St. Mary's*. The South-side of it is water'd by *Mattapony*, the Western Branch of *York* River, which is navigable. Above it are the Counties of

*Richmond*



*Richmond* and *Stafford*; a Survey of which I have not seen; they are new Counties, and are not in the old Surveys, going all by the Name of *Rappahanock*. In these are three Parishes, *North-Farnham*, in *Richmond*, and *St. Paul's V*, and *Overworton* in *Stafford* County. The next below it, between *Rappahanock* and *Patowmack*, is

*Westmoreland* County, which is very large; but our Author has not communicated the Number of Acres. It has two Parishes in it, *Copely* and *Washington*. Below it lies the County of

*Lancaster*, on the North-shore of *Rappahanock* River; 'tis water'd by the River *Cartomain*, or *Corotomon*, which runs into *Rappahanock* River, about three Leagues from the Mouth of it. There are two Parishes in this County, *Christ-church* and *St. Mary's Whitechappel*. The next to this, and the last in the Province, on the South-shore of *Patowmack*, is

*Northumberland* County; in which are two Parish-Churches, *Fairfield* and *Bowtracy V*, and *Wiccomoco*. There is a River of the same Name *Wiccomoco*, which rises in this County, and runs into the Bay at the Mouth of *Patowmack* River, which is the Northern Bounds of *Virginia*, and divides it from *Maryland*.

The River *Patowmack*, where it falls into the Bay of *Chesapeake*, is 7 Miles broad, and from its Mouth to the Falls 140 Miles. There are Cataracts in it 40, 50 and 60 Miles from its Source at the Foot of the Mountains. At the Falls this River is divided into several Branches, one of which extends North-West a great way; another stretches South-West, and comes out from behind the *Apalachean* Mountains, which divide the Waters that run Eastward into the Sea, from those that flow Westward and fall into the *Mississippi*. Thus it appears, that by means of these Waters that vast River may be approach'd by the *English* 8 or 900 Miles from the Mouth of it; and that the *French* have no more Power than Right to usurp and engross the Navigation of it, whenever the *English* shall have the same Desire to it as They have. Col. *Spotswood*, a wise enterprising Governor, traversed the great Mountains, and had probably extended his Discoveries as far beyond it as that River, if he had been duly encouraged. Sir *William Keith* writes: "If the *English*, as one time or other they probably may, extend their Settlements in *Virginia* beyond the great Mountains, and come to possess on the Lake *Evic*, and so far back as the Branches of the River *Mississippi*, the *Indian* Trade would be very considerable, and cause such

“ a Vent for coarse Woollen and other Manufactures, as  
 “ will justly merit the Care and Encouragement of the State.

If the *French* have settled themselves any where at or near the Mouth of that River, or indeed 100 Leagues up the River, the Country planted and settled by them, is certainly their Propriety, or the *Indians*, whom they dispossess'd of it; and I do no where find that the *French* have made more Conscience than the *Spaniards*, of possessing themselves of the Lands of the *Indians* without Purchase. To pretend the *French* are Proprietors of the Countries all along the *Mississippi*, 1900 or 2000 Miles from its Mouth to *Canada*, when about 1000 Miles of *English* Settlements lie between them, the *Mississippi* running on the Back of *Georgia*, *Carolina*, *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Pensylvania*, *New-York*, is as great a Jest as it would be for the *Dutch* to claim the Propriety of *Terra Australis*, or half of the *American* World yet undiscovered, because a *Dutchman* touch'd on that Coast once, and call'd it *Orange*, or *Nassau*, in Honour of their Stadtholder, our late King *William*. There are 100000 *British* Souls, Capt. *Vring* says 150000; but his Computation is too large, in the Provinces just mentioned. There are many Rivulets that communicate with the Sea, which have their Rise in the great Mountains, which Rise is not far from that Lake that communicates with the Branches of the *Mississippi*, all which promises fair for Trade and Navigation, a more extensive Trade, and a quicker Navigation than the *French* have by the Bay of *Mexico*; besides the Advantage of so many Planters ready settled to carry it on, which the *French* could not hope to have in Hundreds of Years, if ever. The *English* increasing now in much greater Proportion than the *French* could do, tho' they sent ten times the Numbers to the *Mississippi* which they can maintain there.

The Neck of Land from *Wiccomoco* to the Bay is what goes by the Name of the *Northern Neck*, which we often mentioned in the first Chapter. We must now cross over the Bay, and all along the Shore from Cape *Charles*, at the Mouth of the Bay, to the River *Pocemoke*, which divides it from *Maryland* on the Eastern Bounds, the Province of *Virginia* still continues, and there are two Counties in it:

*Accomack*, which retains its *Indian* Name. This is the largest County in *Virginia*, and contains 200923 Acres of Land. 'Tis not so populous as those on the other Side of the Bay, and has but one Parish in it, that of *Accomack*, which is without a Minister. The River *Chiffoneffex* rises in this County, as do several others of less Note. The other County is

*Northampton*:

*Northampton*; a narrow County, that runs along in a Neck between the *Virginian* Sea and the Bay of *Chesapeake*. *Cape Charles*, in the most Southerly Part of it, is opposite to *Cape Henry*, and those two Points of Land are what is commonly call'd *the Capes of Virginia*. This County contains 99384 Acres of Land, and one Parish Church, that of *Hungers*, which is also without a Minister.

The History of *Virginia* by *R. B.* adds four Counties more, which are however included in the above. *King George* County, between *Rayahannock* and *Pateukneck* Rivers, in which is one Parish, call'd *Hanover*.

*Spotylvania* County in the Neck between *Rappahanock* and *York* Rivers, call'd *St. George*.

*Hanover* County, in the Neck between *York* River and *James* River; the Parish *St. Paul's*.

*Brunswick* County lies towards the Southern Pass of the Mountains; the Parish *St. Andrew*.

Thus we have visited the whole Province, and have taken notice of the most remarkable things; but as there are no Towns nor Mines, nor other Places worthy the Reader's Curiosity; so our Relation wants that Variety of Objects which renders such Descriptions delightful. The *Apelchean* Mountains are in the Western Bounds of *Virginia*, and are stored with Minerals, if we may believe some Travellers who have spoken of them; but we don't find that they have been of any other Advantage to the *Virginians*, than to furnish them with Earth, for the Experiments of their Virtuoso's at the College. The whole Country is water'd with Rivers, the most noted of which we have treated of; the Falls of each of those Rivers are but 15 or 20 Miles distant from one another; and besides them, there are *North-River*, *Eastermost* River, *Pungoteque*, *Apumatuc*, *Poyankekantank*, and others, that are navigable many Miles, and well stored with Fish. The Tides are scarce discernable when the Winds hold at N. W. but at other times they flow as they do in *England*, only they seem not so large, which is thought to be occasioned by the Tide diffusing itself into so many Rivers. The original Springs that make all these Rivers rise at the Foot of the *Appallean* or *Apelchean* Mountains; but the Cataracts or Falls are 60 or 70 Miles distant from those Hills. Having never met with any Account of Hills in *Virginia* so large as that in *R. B.* I shall copy him in this Article.

Lowth.  
*Phil. Transf.*  
p. 567, 568.

“ Some People that have been in that Country, without  
“ knowing any thing of it, have affirm'd that it is all a  
“ Flat, without any Mixture of Hills, because they see the  
“ Coast



“ Coast to the Seaward perfectly level; or else they  
 “ have made their Judgment of the whole Country  
 “ by the Lands lying on the lower Parts of the Rivers,  
 “ when, in truth, upon the Heads of the great Rivers there  
 “ are vast high Hills, and even among the Settlements, there  
 “ are some so *topping*, that I have stood upon them and  
 “ viewed the Country all around over the Tops of the high-  
 “ est Trees, for many Leagues together; particularly there  
 “ are *Mawborn-Hills*, in the Freshes of *James River*, a  
 “ Ridge of Hills about 14 or 15 Miles up *Mattapony Ri-*  
 “ ver, *Taliver’s Mount*, upon *Rappahanock River*, and the  
 “ Ridge of Hills in *Stafford County*, in the Freshes of *Pa-*  
 “ *towmeck River*, all which are within the Bounds of the  
 “ *English* Inhabitants.

There Shores are for the most Part sandy. What Stones are there, are almost all of them hard and transparent. Some will cut Glas like Diamonds, and are equal to them in Lustre. The Cliffs of these Rivers are full of great Veins of Iron Mine, and generally all the Highlands, under the Mould are a mere Rock of Iron. The Charge of raising an Iron-work is so great, that no Body in *Virginia* dares venture on the Expence; or the Planters are so intent on planting Tobacco, that they neglect all other Improvements.

There was another Town built in *James County*, call’d *Dale’s Gift*, but ’twas ruined by the Incursions of the *Indians*, Fire, and other Accidents. The Country lying between *York River* and *James River*, is the best inhabited. The Banks of the former are full of Plantations; and the best Tobacco growing there, the Trade of the Colony tends most that way. We have elsewhere observed in what Counties the *Indian* Nations still remain. Their Towns are very small, and their Houses or Huts such mean Dwellings, that they are rather like the Cabins of the Slaves in the Sugar-Islands, than the Habitations of free People. The Abundance of Rivers occasion Abundance of Mills in this Country: some of their Springs send forth such a Glut of Water, that in less than half a Mile below the Fountain-head, they afford a Stream sufficient to supply a Grift-mill. All these Rivers are full of Creeks, in which the Planters employ an infinite Number of Sloops and small Boats, to convey their Tobacco and Merchandize from and to the Ships that lie in the greater Rivers, or in the less. We have said little of the greatest River of them all, *Patowmeck*, because ’twill as properly come under the Article of *Maryland*, being the Boundary of that Province on the Western-side of *Virginia*. It cannot be expected, that in so little a Map as that is  
 which

which is annex'd to this History; so full a Description can be made of *Virginia*, as in the large one; but this is the newest Survey; and the Country is divided into the Counties that are the present Divisions of it, there being at this time six new ones, *Prince George*, *Princess Anne*, *King William*, *King and Queen*, *Richmond* and *Stafford*. In the former Surveys there were but 19 Counties; in this all of them are included, together with as many Plantations as would stand in so much Room; and the same Care has been taken in the Maps of the other Countries.

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### C H A P III.

Of the Inhabitants, and first of the *Indians*; their Government, Religion, Manners and Customs; Of the *English*, Masters, Servants and Slaves; their Numbers, Strength and Way of Living.

WHEN the *English* first discover'd *Virginia*, the *Indians* were divided into several Nations, as the *Kécongathans*, the *Weanocks*, the *Arrabattocks*, the *Appemetocks*, the *Nansemunds*, the *Cheseapeaks*, the *Paspahoges*, who possess'd the Ground where *James City* now stands. These Tribes or Divisions inhabited the Country lying on the River *Powhatan*, or *James River*. On the River *Pamunke* there dwelt the Nations of the *Youngtanunds* and the *Mattapaments*. On *Rappahanock*, or *Toppahanock River*, the *Manaboacs*, the *Moraughtacunds*, and the *Cuttatawomens*. The Country on which the *English* landed, when *Capt. Barlow* and *Capt. Amidas* discovered it, was called *Wingandacoa*, and the King of it *Wingina*. It lies Southward of the Bay of *Cheseapeak*, near the Frontiers of *Florida*. Sometimes the King of one of these Nations made War on the rest, and conquer'd three or four of them; the Dominion of which generally, after his Death, fell back to the natural Princes of those Countries. All these Nations are now entirely ruined, occasioned partly by their Feuds among themselves, and partly by their Wars with the *English*, who are Masters of all the Countries which they formerly possess'd: The *English*, for their Convenience, or out of Humanity, suffer'd them to enjoy their Lives and Liberties, and frequently enter'd into

Leagues

Leagues with them, which the faithless Savages kept no longer than they were forced to it. Those who dwell upon the Borders of the Province, which only retains the Name of *Virginia* at this Day, were the most treacherous and cruel to the *English* of all the *Indian* Nations. The People of *Wingandacoa* were affable and courteous to the first Adventurers, while *Grangamemo*, *Wingina's* elder Brother, reign'd. His Wife also did many good Offices to the *English*, who afterwards attempted to settle on the Island of *Roenoke*; but after *Grangamemo's* Death, *Wingina*, who perhaps liked them better for Dealers than for Neighbours, behaved himself very treacherously towards them; and when a Party of them was going towards the Kingdom of the *Mangoacs*, in quest of Copper-Mines, he stirred up several Tribes against them, and particularly *Temoatan*, Prince of the *Moratoes*, whose Father *Ensenore* prevented his falling upon them; and *Menatonon*, King of one of those Tribes, courted their Friendship by Presents of Pearl, as did *Okisco* King of the *Weopomeocks*, who submitted to become tributary to the Queen of *England*. *Wingina* finding all his Contrivances to destroy them were disappointed, thought it his Interest to affect a Friendship for them, as the other Kings did; but this Friendship lasted no longer than till he had an Opportunity to shew his Treachery, and when he thought he had them at an Advantage, he fell upon them, who putting his wild Army to flight, took him Prisoner, and cut off his Head. The *English* being forced to abandon those Settlements, Capt. *Smith* founded the present one, as we have elsewhere related, in the Dominions of *Powhatan* King of *Wicomoco*, who warr'd with the *English* all his Life-time, except a few Intervals of Peace, and the same did his Successor *Oppecananough*, the last Prince of any Fame of the Savages. They fell to decay after his Death, and tho' they committed several Murders on the Borders, 'twas rather like the Sallies of Robbers from their lurking Holes, than the Incurfions of a war-like Nation. They are now brought so low, that the *English* are not in the least fear of them, having it in their Power to extirpate them whenever they please; but they serve them in Hunting and Fowling, and other Services; which is the chiefest, if not the only Cause of their Preservation. One may judge, by *Oppecananough's* Greatness, who we are told could bring 20000 Men into the Field, that had all the *Indian* Tribes been united, it would have been impossible to have made a Settlement with such small Numbers as the *English* brought over, or from time to time sent to *Virginia*. Of all the Nations that were then



in being, at which time two or three thousand Bow-men lived in a Town together, the few that remain are scatter'd up and down on the Frontiers of the *English* Plantations; and tho' they live in Towns, or what some call Cities, we may perceive, by the following Account of them, they are reduced so low, that the Hand of Providence appears visibly in their Destruction.

They are much more afraid of the *Indians* who inhabit higher up in the Country, than of the *English*, to whom they pay Tribute of three *Indian* Arrows and 20 Beaver-skins each Town, for Protection.

On the North-side of the Bay,

In *Accomac* are 8 Towns, *viz.*

- Matomkin*, Lately almost depopulated by the Small-Pox.  
*Giugoteque*, What is left of this Place is now Part of the Kingdom of a Prince, who reigns over a Nation of *Maryland* *Indians*.  
*Kiquotan*, Almost ruin'd.  
*Matchepungo*, Some few Families remain there.  
*Occabanock*, There a few Families are also yet in being.  
*Pungoteque*, Govern'd by a Queen; a small Nation.  
*Oanancock*, Has but 4 or 5 Families.  
*Chiconessex*, Not any more.  
*Nanduye*, Govern'd by an Empress, to whom all the Nations on the Coasts are tributary.  
*Gangascoe*, In the County of *Northampton*, bordering on *Accomac*, as numerous as all the other Nations put together.

On the South-side of the Bay are,

- Wyanoke*, In *Prince George* County, almost come to nothing. The Remains of this Tribe are gone to live with other *Indians*.  
*Appamatiox*, In *Charles* City. These live on Col. *Byrd's* Lands; about 7 Families; they were formerly a great Nation.  
*Nottawayes*, In *Surrey*. This King can raise 100 Bow-men; the most thriving People of all the *Virginian* *Indians*.  
*Menkeering*, By *Nansamund*: Has about 30 Bow-men.  
*Nansamund*, About 30 Bow-men, and increase of late.  
*Pamunkye*, In *King William* County, has 40 Bow-men; they decrease. *Chicka-*

*Chickabomony*, Has 16 Bowmen; they increase, and were a powerful People when the *English* first landed here.

*Rappahanock*, In *Effex*; has but a few Families, and they live scatter'd on the *English* Seats.

*Port-Tobago*, In *Richmond*, 5 Bow-men.

*Wiccomo*, Of which Nation there are now but three Men living, who retain the Name of their Kingdom, and the particular Customs of their Ancestors. Of this People *Powhatan* was at first King, and conquer'd several others after them. If these three Men have a King, he must be of the same Rank with *Trincolo* in the *Tempest*, the Nation being much of the same Size. These Men are very proud of their Original, and live by themselves, separate from either the other *Indians*, or the *English*.

Were all these Nations or Tribes united, they could not raise 500 fighting Men; a poor Army, compared to the *Virginian* Militia, which, as we shall make appear in this Chapter, consists of near 10000 Men.

Those miserable Wretches still follow the Religion and Customs of their Ancestors; and are not become either more pious or more polite by the Company of the *English*.

As to their Religion, they have all of them some dark Notion of God; and some of them brighter ones, if my Author may be believed, who had this Confession from the Mouth of an *Indian*, *That they believed God was universally beneficent: That his Dwelling was in Heaven above, and the Influences of his Goodness reach'd to the Earth beneath: That he was incomprehensible in his Excellence, and enjoy'd all possible Felicity: That his Duration was eternal, his Perfection boundless; and that he possesses everlasting Indolence and Ease.* So far the Savage talk'd as rationally of the Being of a God, as a Christian Divine or Philosopher could have done; but when he came to justify their worshipping of the Devil, whom they call *Okee*, his Notions were very heterodox. He said, *'Tis true God is the Giver of all good Things; but they flow naturally and promiscuously from him: That they are shower'd down upon all Men indifferently, without Distinction: That God does not trouble himself with the impertinent Affairs of Men, nor is concern'd at what they do; but leaves them to make the most of their free Will, and to secure as many as they can of the good things that flow from him; that therefore*

*it was to no purpose either to fear or worship him: But, on the contrary, if they did not pacify the evil Spirit, he would ruin their Health, Peace and Plenty, he being always visiting them in the Air, Thunder, Storms, &c.*

As to the Idol which they all worship, and is kept in a Temple, call'd *Quiocasan*, he seem'd to have a very indifferent Opinion of its Divinity, and cried out upon the Juggling of the Priests--- This Man does not talk like a common Savage, and therefore we may suppose he had studied the Matter more than his Countrymen, who, for the Generality, pay a great deal of Devotion to the Idol, and worship him as their chief Deity.

Their Priests and Conjurers are highly revered by them: They are given extremely to Pawawing or Conjuring; and one of them very lately conjured a Shower of Rain for Col. *Byrd's* Plantation in a time of Drought, for two Bottles of Rum. We are not apt to give Credit to such supernatural Events: and had we not found this in an Author who was on the Spot, we should have rejected it as a Fable.

Their Priests promise fine Women, eternal Spring, and every Pleasure in Perfection in the other World, which charm'd them in this; and threaten them with Lakes of Fire and Torments, by a Fairy in the Shape of an old Woman. They are often bloody in their Sacrifices, and offer up young Children to the Devil. They have a superstitious Ceremony among them, which they call *Huskanawing*, and is perform'd thus: They shut up ten or twelve young Men, the most deserving among them, about 20 Years of Age, in a strong Inclosure, made on purpose, like a Sugar-loaf, and every way open like a Lattice, for the Air to pass through. They are kept there for several Months, and are allowed to have no Sustenance but the Infusion or Decoction of poisonous intoxicating Roots, which turns their Brain, and they run stark mad.

By this 'tis pretended they lose the Remembrance of all former things, even of their Parents, Treasure, Language, as if they had drunk of the Water of Oblivion, drawn out of the Lake *Lethe*.

When they have been in this Condition as long as their Custom directs, they lessen this intoxicating Potion; and by Degrees the young Men receive the Use of their Senses: But before they are quite well, they are shown in their Towns; and the Youth who have been *huskanaw'd* are afraid to discover the least Sign of their remembering any thing of their past Lives; for, in such Case, they must be *huskanaw'd* again; and they are disciplined so severely the second time, that it generally kills them.

After



After the young Men have passed this Trial, they are *Coucaroufes*, or Men of Quality in their Nations; and the *Indians* say they do it, to take away from Youth all *Childish Impressions*, and that strong Partiality to Persons and Things, which is contracted before Reason comes to take place.

The *Indian* Priests, to command the Respect of the People, make themselves look as ugly and as terrible as they can. The Conjurers always share with them in their Deceit, and they gain by it. The *Indians* consult both of them before they go on any Enterprize. There are no Priestesses or Witches among them. They erect Altars on every remarkable Occasion, and have Temples built like their common Cabins, in which their Idol stands, and the Corps of their Kings and Rulers are preserved.

They have no sort of Literature among them; and their way of communicating things from one to another, is by Hieroglyphicks. They make their Accounts by Units, Tens, Hundreds, &c. as the *English* do; but they reckon their Years by Cohonks, or Winters, and divide every Year into five Seasons, the Budding-time, the Earing of the Corn, the Summer, the Harvest, the Winter.

The Months they count by Moons. They divide the Day into three Parts, the Rise, Power, and Lowering of the Sun; and keep their Accounts by Knots on a String, or Notches on a Stick. Of which Capt. *Smith* relates a pleasant Story: That when the Princess *Pocahonta* came for *England*, a *Coucaroufe*, or Lord of her own Nation attended her; his Name was *Uttamaccomack*, and King *Powhatan*, *Pocahonta's* Father, commanded him, when he arrived in *England*, to tell the People, and give him an Account of their Number. *Uttamaccomack*, when he came ashore, got a Stick, intending to count them by Notches; but he soon found that his Arithmetick would be to no purpose, and threw away his Stick. At his Return, the King asked him, *How many People there were?* And he reply'd, *Count the Stars in the Sky, the Leaves upon the Trees, and the Sand on the Sea-shore, and you will know how many; for such is the Number of the People in England.*

They esteem the Marriage-Vow as the most sacred of all Engagements, and abhor Divorces; Adultery is the most unpardonable of Crimes amongst them.

Their Maidens are very chaste; and if any one of them happens to have a Child before Marriage, her Fortune is spoilt. This Account contradicts others, that describe them to be common Prostitutes; but the *Indians* and the *Virginians* disown the Scandal, which some Authors lay to their

Charge. They are very spritely and good-humoured, and the Women generally handfom. Their manner of handling Infants is very rough; as soon as the Child is born, they plunge it over Head and Ears in cold Water, and then bind it naked to a Board, making a Hole in it in the proper Place for Evacuation. Between the Child and the Board they put some Cotton-Wool, or Fur, and let it lie in this Posture till the Bones begin to harden, the Joints to knit, and the Limbs to grow strong. Then they loosen it from the Board, and let it crawl about where it pleases. From this Custom 'tis said the *Indians* derive the Cleannefs and Exactnefs of their Limbs, which are the most perfect for these Qualities in the World. Some of them are of Gigantick Stature, live to a greater Age, and are stronger than others; there being never a Dwarf, crooked, bandy-legg'd, or ill-shapen *Indian* to be seen. Some Nations of them are very tall and large limb'd, and others are short and small; their Complexion is a Chesnut brown and Tawny. They paint themselves with a Pecone-Root, which stains them of a reddish Colour. They are clear when they are young; greasing and sunning makes their Skin turn hard and black. Their Hair, for the most Part, is Cole black, so are their Eyes: They wear their Hair cut after several whimsical Modes, the Persons of Note always keeping a long Lock behind. The Women wear it very long, hanging it at their Backs, or twisted up with Beads; and all the better sort adorn their Heads with a kind of Coronet. The Men have no Beards, and, to prevent their having any, use certain Devices, which they will not communicate to the *English*.

Their Clothes are a Mantle girt close in the Middle, and underneath a Piece of Cloth tied round the WASTE, and reaching down to the Middle of the Thigh. The common Sort only tie a piece of Cloth or Skin round their Middle. As for their Food, they boil, broil, or roast all the Meat they eat; *Homony* is their standing Dish, and consists of *Indian* Corn soak'd, broken in a Mortar, and then boiled in Water over a gentle Fire for 10 or 12 Hours together. They draw and pluck their Fowl, skin and paunch their Quadrupedes; but dress their Fish with their Scales on, without gutting: They leave the Scales, Entrails and Bones till they eat the Fish, when they throw the Offals away. Their Food is chiefly Bevers, Turtle, several Species of Snakes, Broth made of Deers Humbles, Pease, Beans, &c. They have no set Meals, they eat when they are hungry, and drink nothing but Water. Their Bread is made of *Indian* Corn, wild Oats, or the Seed of the Sun-flower: They eat it alone, and not with Meat. They

They travel always on Foot, with a Gun or Bow. They live upon the Game they kill, and lie under a Tree upon a little high Grass. The *English* prohibit them to keep Corn, Sheep, or Hogs, lest they should steal their Neighbour's.

When they come to Rivers, they presently patch up a Canoe of Birch-Bark, cross over in it, and leave it on the River's Bank, if they think they shall not want it; otherwise they carry it along with them.

Their way of receiving Strangers is by the Pipe or *Calumet* of Peace. Of the later, *Pero Hennepin* has given a large Account in his Voyages, and the Pipe is as follows: They fill a Pipe of Tobacco, larger and bigger than any common Pipe, light it, and then the Chief of them takes a Whiff, gives it to the Stranger, and if he smokes of it, 'tis Peace; if not, War: If Peace, the Pipe is handed all round the Company.

The Diseases of the *Indians* are very few, and easy to be cured: They, for the most Part, arise from excessive Heats and Colds, which they get off by Sweating. As for Aches, and settled Pains in the Joints or Limbs, they use Causticks and scarifying. Their Priests are their Physicians, and from their Childhood are taught the Nature and Use of Simples, in which their Knowledge is excellent; but they will not communicate it, pretending 'tis a Gift of God; and by the *Mystery* they make it the more valuable.

Their Riches consist in Furs, Peak, Roenoke, and Pearl. Their Peak and Roenoke are made of Shells; the Peak like an *English* Buglas; the Roenoke is a Piece of Cockle, drill'd through like a Bead. Before the *English* came among them, the Peak and Roenoke were all their Treasure; but now they set a Value on their Fur and Pearl, and are greedy of scraping Quantities together. The Pearl is good, and formerly was not so rare as 'tis at this time.

They had no Iron Tools before the *English* brought them over: Their Knives were sharpen'd Reeds or Shells, their Axes sharp Stones. They rub'd Fire, by turning the End of a hard Piece upon the Side of one that is soft and dry, which at last would burn. They fell'd great Trees by burning them down at the Root, having ways of keeping the Fire from ascending. They hollow'd them with gentle Fires, scraped the Trunk clean; and this made their Canoes, of which some were 30 Foot long. They are very good Handicraftsmen, and what they do is generally neat and convenient.

In the first Chapter, we have said enough to shew that the Government of the *Indians* was Monarchical: Their Kindoms descended to the next Heir, Male or Female; and



they were very exact in preserving the Succession in the right Line. If, as it often happen'd, one great Prince subjected the other, those Conquests commonly were lost at his Death, and the Nations returned again to the Obedience of their natural Princes. They have no written Laws, neither can they have any, having no Letters. Their Lands are in common, and their *Werowances*, or Judges, are all Lord Chancellors, deciding Causes and inflicting Punishments according as they think fit. These *Werowances*, and the *Coucaroufes*, are their Terms to distinguish their Men of Quality; the former were their War Captains, and the latter such as have past the Trial of Huskanawing. Their Priests and Conjurers have great Authority among them. They have Servants whom they call *Black Boys*, and are very exact in requiring the Respect that is due to their several Qualities.--- And thus much of the *Indians*, who, from a State of Nature and Innocence, in which the *English* found them, are now infected with the *European* Vices of Drunkenness, Avarice and Fraud, having learned nothing of the new Comers but what has served to render their Ignorance the more detestable.

We must now treat of the *English* Inhabitants, their Rise, Numbers, Distinction, and way of Living. We have seen, in the Beginning of this Treatise, from what small Beginnings the *English* Colony rose to the State it is in at present: And it cannot be imagined, that the first Adventurers there were Men of Quality and Fortune, whatever the Proprietors in *England* were. Men of Estate would not leave their native Country, of which the *English* are of all Men most fond, to seek an Habitation in an unknown Wilderness: And what deterred such from going thither at first, will always deter them. 'Tis true, as the Colony encreased, and became settled, Men of good Families and small Fortunes removed to *Virginia*, thrived and grew great by their Industry and Success. And thus many Gentlemen of *Virginia* may boast as good Descents as those in *England*; but there's no need as yet of an Herald-Office to be set up at *James Town*; and the Colony are in the right to make slight of such empty Honours, in Comparison of the substantial Profit which is got by Planting and Traffick. Wherefore the honest Merchant and industrious Planter are the Men of Honour in *Virginia*; and it would not be the worse for *England*, if Industry and Honour were nearer a-kin than some vain Persons make them.

'Twas a long time before *Virginia* saw a Race of *English* born on the Spot; which was occasioned by the small  
Number

Number of Women that came over, the first Planters being so hard put to it, that they made no Scruple to buy a Wife, and to accept of any Woman that could give a tolerable Account of her Virtue. Women were not so scarce afterwards, when the Colony was come to a sort of Perfection, whose Families transported themselves thither from *England*, to mend their Fortunes, and others to enjoy that Liberty of Conscience which was denied them at home, in the Reign of *Charles I.* and his Son *Charles II.* Besides which, several Royalists remov'd thither during the Rump and *Oliver's* Usurpations.

By this means the Colony has so increased in Numbers, that there are now, by the nicest Computation, near 70000 Men, Women, and Children in *Virginia*, including the *French* Refugees, the Inhabitants of the *Northern Neck*, and the Negro Servants, who are but a few, in Comparison to the Sugar Plantations. Of these the Men are more numerous in Proportion than the Women, occasioned by greater Numbers of them going over thither; tho', of late Years, it has been customary for young Women, who are fallen into Disgrace in *England*, or are ill used by their Parents, to transport themselves thither, and, as they say, *Try their Fortunes*, which have often been very favourable. The People of *Virginia* are, as in *England*, distinguished by the Names of Masters and Servants. The Distinctions of the Masters are by their Offices or Birth, and of the Servants, by such as are for Life, and such as are for a Term; of Years; tho' Negroes and their Posterity are all Servants for Life; the white Men and Women for as many Years as they bind themselves; and if they don't bind themselves by particular Indentures, the Laws of the Country oblige them to serve till they are four and twenty Years of Age, if they are under nineteen when they commence their Service; if above, the Term is set to five Years, and then they are as much entitled to the Liberties and Privileges of the Place, as any of the Inhabitants or Natives are. Their Masters, when their Times are out, are obliged to give each Servant fifteen Bushels of Corn, and two new Suits of Clothes, Linen and Woollen; besides each of them may take Possession of 50 Acres of unpatented Ground, if he can find any; which is a Privilege that makes a Noise, and is tempting to the poor Creatures who go over; but is not worth the naming, for a Crown will purchase it at any time.

The Laws of *Virginia* take great Care for the good Usage of Servants, as to Necessaries, Diet and Clothes: And the Labour of the Country, which consists chiefly in Tilling,

manuring

manuring the Ground, sowing and planting Tobacco, is so easy, that, as hard Work as 'tis represented to be, the Day-Labourers in *England* are much the greater Slaves, if hard Work and hard Living are Signs of Slavery.

The Servants and Slaves are never listed in the Militia of the Country; but every Freeman, from 16 to 60 Years of Age, is enroll'd, and obliged to muster once a Year. Their Number is in all 9522, of which 2363 are Light-Horse, and 7159 Foot and Dragoons, according to the following Schedule, taken in the Year 1703, by which the Reader will have a clear View of the Strength of *Virginia*, without including the *Northern Neck*, or the *French Refugees* at the *Monachan Town*, which may increase the Number of Souls to near 70000.

Counties Names.	Number of Souls.	Males.	Females and Children.	Militia.	Horse.	Foot & Dra- goons.
<i>Henrico,</i>	2413	915	1498	345	98	247
<i>Prince George</i>	} 4045	1406	2639	625	303	422
and <i>Charles City,</i>						
<i>Surrey,</i>	2230	880	1350	350	62	288
<i>Ile of Wight,</i>	2714	841	1873	514	140	374
<i>Nansamund,</i>	2530	1018	1512	591	142	449
<i>Norfolk,</i>	2279	717	1572	380	48	332
<i>Princess Anne,</i>	2037	686	1351	284	69	215
<i>James City,</i>	2990	1297	1693	401	123	278
<i>York,</i>	2357	1208	1142	390	68	215
<i>Warwick,</i>	1377	282	895	201	49	152
<i>Elizabeth City,</i>	1188	469	719	196	54	142
<i>New-Kent,</i>	3374	1325	2049	420	120	300
<i>King William,</i>	1834	803	1031	} 691	189	509
<i>King and Queen,</i>	2842	1244	1598			
<i>Glocester,</i>	5834	2628	3206	594	121	473
<i>Middlesex,</i>	1632	776	856	199	56	143
<i>Essex,</i>	2400	1090	1301	438	139	299
<i>Richmond,</i>	2622	1392	1230	504	122	382
<i>Stafford,</i>	2033	863	1170	345	84	261
<i>Westmoreland,</i>	2736	1131	1605	451	133	318
<i>Lancaster,</i>	2155	941	1214	271	42	229
<i>Northumberland,</i>	2099	1168	931	522	130	092
<i>Accomack,</i>	2804	1041	1763	456	101	355
<i>Northampton,</i>	2081	712	1369	347	70	277

60606, 25023 | 35583, 9522 | 2363 | 7159



In *R. B.*'s *New History* are four Counties added, King *George's*, *Spotsylvania*, *Hanover* County, *Brunswick* County; but he takes no Notice of the Number of Inhabitants in each; and as they made Part of one or other of the above-mentioned Counties, when the Militia was muster'd, they must be therein included.

Besides the *English* Inhabitants, there are now several hundreds of *French* Refugee Families, who were sent thither by King *William*. These Refugees had a very rich Territory assigned them, twenty Miles above the Falls of *James* River, on the South-side of the River, formerly the Habitation of a War-like Nation of the *Indians*, call'd the *Monachans*; and the Town where the *French* Protestants settled, is call'd the *Monachan* Town.

The Assembly has granted them great Privileges, and been bountiful in their Charity to them, for their Encouragement. They are also very much obliged to the Generosity and Protection of Col. *Byrd*, whose Friendship has been serviceable to them on many Occasions. They are an industrious People, have made excellent Wine there, even of the wild Grapes, and are upon several Improvements, which will be very much to their own Advantage, and that of the Colony.

'Tis computed that the Number of Souls which either came over at first, or since, or have been born in the Country, amounts to near twelve hundred *French*. And the *Northern Neck* being larger than the largest of the other Counties, and almost as populous, may contain about six thousand; so that the whole Number of Souls in the Province of *Virginia*, exclusive of *Maryland*, is about 70000.

The Increase since the Year 1710, by Births and new Comers, is computed at 30000; so the whole Computation is 100000 Souls..

*R. B.* in his Account of the *Militia*, makes them to be 18000 Freemen in the Year 1722. Now add to these 2000 for the *French* Increase, and an half for the Servants, with the Increase of Females and Children to that time, the Computation of 140000 Souls in all, will be moderate.

As to the Customs and Manners of the *Virginians*, they are the same with the *English*; and one may as well go about to describe the Manners and Customs of any one particular County of *England* separate from the rest.

Their Diet is somewhat different, so is their Clothing, as also their Sports and Pastimes, and Diseases, occasioned by the Difference of the Climates. Besides Beef, Mutton and Veal, which the *Virginians* have in plenty, tho' not so good in its kind as we have in *England*, they have Pork, Bacon,  
and

and all sorts of tame and wild Fowl, better than any of the several Kinds that are in *England*.

Pork is sold from 1 *d.* to 3 *d.* a Pound; a large Pullet for 6 *d.* a Capon for 8 *d.* Chickens 3 *s.* a Dozen; Deer 8 *s.* a Head. The Bread which the better sort of People use is generally made of Wheat; the poorer eat Pone made of *Oppone*, or *Indian Meal*. Their Kitchen-Gardens supply them with all sorts of Roots, Sallads and Pot-herbs. Their Drink is according to their Circumstances; the Gentlemen brew small Beer with *English Malt*; strong Beer they have from *England*, as also *French Wine* and Brandy, with which they make Punch; or with Rum from the *Charibbee Islands*, or Spirits of their own distilling, from Apples, Peaches, &c. *Madeira Wine* is the most common and the most noble of all their strong Drinks. The Poor brew their Beer with Melasses and Bran, or *Indian Corn* dried in a Stove. They have several other Sorts of Potables, which are very wholesom and pleasant. They burn Wood every where, tho' there is Pit-Coal in many Places; but Wood being so plenty, that they may have it for cutting, no Body has thought it worth their while to dig for Coal.

Their Clothes are brought from *England* for Persons of Distinction, and are as much in the Mode as Art and Cost can make them. They are generally of the lightest Stuffs or Silks, both for Men and Women. The Men, for Coolness, as in other Parts of the *West-Indies*, wear, in the Heat of the Summer, Fustian and Linen-Jackets; and the Women Linen or Muslin Gowns. They have almost all their Necessaries, as to Dress, from *England*. Their Buildings are, as in *England*, of Brick, Timber and Stone, the Outside of their Houses being cover'd with Lime made of Oyster-shells, much more durable than *English Lime*.

Their Sports are Deer-hunting, Hare-hunting; but different from the *English Chace*. They learnt of the *Indians* to come up to the Deer under the Blind of a stalking Horse, as the Savages did under that of a stalking Head. They teach a Horse to walk gently by the Huntsman's Side, to cover him from the Sight of the Deer, and so they have an Opportunity to kill him. They have other ways of Deer-hunting; but this being the most remarkable, I have chosen to mention it in this Place.

Their Hares they hunt with Mungrils, or Swift-Dogs: The Hares generally hole in a hollow Tree, and then they are smoked out by the Hunters. They also have other sorts of Hunting, as Vermin-hunting, and Horse-hunting; the latter is much delighted in by young People, who pursue wild

wild Horses with Dogs, and sometimes without them. These wild Horses are such as are foal'd in the Woods in the Hill Country, and no Body knowing whom they belong to, every one is free to catch and keep as many as he pleases. Tho' they are of the *English* Breed, they are as shy as any savage Creature; but this sort of Cattle seldom is fit for Use.

They have several other Sports, as taking wild Turkeys and Wolves in Snares, Fishing, Fowling, and catching of Beavers, which is an excellent Pastime. 'Tis said that these last Creatures live in a sort of Monarchy, like Bees, and are very obedient to their Sovereign.

The Diseases most incident to the Place are Colds, caught by the irregular Conduct of People at their first Arrival; Gripes and Fluxes, occasioned by the same means, the *English* eating too greedily the pleasant Fruits of the Country; Cachexes, or *Yaws*, which is a violent Scurvy. The *Seasoning* here, as in other Parts of *America*, is a Fever or Ague, which the Change of the Climate and Diet generally throws new Comers into: The Bark is in *Virginia* a Sovereign Remedy to this Disease.

The *Virginians* have but few Doctors among them, and they reckon it among their Blessings, fancying the Number of their Diseases would increase with that of their Physicians. The few they have study and make use of Simples most, with which their Woods are plentifully furnish'd.

We will conclude this Account of the Inhabitants of *Virginia*, with a short Character of them. They are a prudent, careful, generous, hospitable People, their Houses being open to all Travellers, whom they entertain as heartily as Relations or Friends; and that fordid Wretch who offends against this laudable Custom of his Country, is the Object of every one's Contempt.

As for the Convenience of Society, the Gentlemens Houses are at not much greater Distance from one another than they are in *England*. The Planters are almost all sociable; and as every thing towards making their Friends welcome is cheaper than in *England*, so the Entertainments there are larger, the Reception more sincere, and the Mirth of the Company more hearty than in most of our Gentlemens Houses, among whom Hospitality is so far out of Fashion, that a Man who pretends to it is reckoned a Sot or a Bubble; and the costly and pernicious Vices that were introduced in the Place of it, in the last Century, has banish'd it from that Country where it formerly flourish'd, to the eternal Praise of our Ancestors, and the Shame of their Posterity.



## C H A P IV.

Of the Government of *Virginia*; of the Laws, Courts of Judicature, Publick Offices, and Revenues.

THE Government of *Virginia* was at first by a President, and a Council of twelve. Mr. *John White* was the first President, and when the Presidency was abrogated, there was a Commission granted by the Company or Proprietors in *England* to Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, and Capt. *Newport*, to be joint Governors. We don't find that the Governors and their Council had any more Power than the President and his Council; but the Name gave more Authority to their Acts in the Imagination of some Persons.

When King *Charles I.* dissolved the Company, he continued the Form of the Government by a Governor and Council for the executive Power, and placed the legislative in the Assembly. The Assembly had been appointed before, and met several times during the Governments under the Company. The chief Court next to the Assembly is the *General Court*, held by the Governor and Council, who are Judges of it, and take Cognizance of all Causes Criminal, Penal, Ecclesiastical and Civil. There is no Appeal from this Court, unless the matter in dispute amounts in Value to above three hundred Pounds, and then Appeals lie to the Queen and Council in *England*. In criminal Cases there never was any Appeal; but the Governor can pardon Persons for any Crime whatsoever, except Murder, and reprieve even for that till her Majesty's Pleasure be known therein. Indeed the Governor's Power in this and the other Plantations is very great. He is subject only to the Queen's Commands, and represents her Person in his Government: He assents to, or dissents from the Acts of Assembly, as he thinks fit, and by his Assent passes them into Laws. He calls, prorogues and dissolves the Assembly: He calls and presides in the Council; he makes Justices of the Peace; all Officers of the Militia, under the Degree of a Lieutenant-General; puts out Proclamations; is the Keeper of the Seal of the Colony, and disposes of the Queen's Lands according to the Charter and Laws of the Country; all Payments out of the Treasury are order'd by him, or in his Name; he is

Vice-Admiral by Virtue of a Commission from the Admiralty, and has a Salary of 2000 *l.* a Year; formerly 'twas but 1000 *l.* and about 500 *l.* Perquisites; 200 *l.* a Year was added by the Assembly in favour of Sir *William Berkley*, and the Lord *Colepepper* got it increased to 2000 *l.* a Year, and 150 *l.* a Year House-rent, which, with the Perquisites, make it worth near 3000 *l.* a Year to the Governor, and more if he oppresses the People, as too many Governors have done. When the Governor and Deputy-Governor are absent, the Administration falls to the President of the Council for the time being, who has a Salary of 500 *l.* a Year only, added to what is given him as a Counsellor, which is a very small Allowance. The Queen nominates the Counsellors by Letter or Instruction, which says no more, but that they be sworn of the Council. The Governor can fill up the vacant Places of such as die, or are removed without staying for Orders from *England*. These Counsellors have an equal Vote with the Governor at the Council-Table in many things, and are a Check upon him, if he offers to exceed the Bounds of his Commission, in calling Assemblies, disposing of the publick Revenue, placing and displacing Officers, Votes and Orders of Council, publishing Proclamations, making Grants, and passing all Patents. They are the upper House in the Assembly, and claim a negative Voice to all Laws.

Their Salary in all is 350 *l.* a Year, which is divided amongst them, according to their Attendance on General Courts and Assemblies. The lower House of the Assembly consists of the Representatives of the Counties, two for each, and one for *James City*, in all 51. The College also has Power by their Charter, to send a Member to the Assembly. The Assembly-Men are chosen by the Freeholders, by Virtue of a Writ directed to the Sheriff, which is read in every Church and Chapel in the County, and the Day of the Election then appointed. The Privileges of these Assembly-Men are the same with the Members of Parliament in *England*, and the Power much the same with that of the House of Commons, only they are very much influenced by the Pleasure of the Governor; and after their Acts have regularly past the lower House an upper House, and have had the Governor's Assent, they must send to *England* to be confirmed by the Queen; but, till she has declared her Negative, they are in full Force. These Assemblies meet once or twice a Year, as occasion requires. Besides the Governor and Council, the publick Officers are,

*The Auditor of the Revenue, Dudley Diggs, Esq;* whose Salary is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. of all the publick Money.

*The Secretary and President of the Council, Edmund Jennings, Esq;* whose Fees and Perquisites amount to above 400 l. a Year.

*The Treasurer, William Byrd, Esq;* whose Salary is 6 l. per Cent. of all Money that passés through his Hands.

*Collector of the Customs, Col. Gawen Corbin.*

These are General Officers and Servants of the Colony. There are other little Officers, as Clerks of Courts, Sheriffs, and Surveyors, &c. The Sheriff's Place of each County is very profitable by an Allowance of 10 per Cent. out of all his Receipts and other Advantages. The Revenues of *Virginia* arise,

- |  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. By the Queen's Quit-rents 2 s. for every 100 Acres.   | } 1200 l. a Year. |
| 2. By the Act for the Support of the Government, 2 s. for every Hoghead of Tobacco exported; 15 d. a Tun for every Ship; 6 d. Poll for every Passenger; Fines and Forfeitures, Waifs and Strays, Escheats of Land, and personal Estate, for want of a lawful Heir.   |                   |
| 3. By the Act reserved to be disposed of by the Assembly, 4 d. a Gallon on Wine, Rum and Brandy; 1 d. a Gallon on Beer, Cyder and other Liquors, 15 s. for each Servant not being a Native of <i>England</i> and <i>Wales</i> , and 28 s. for each Slave, or Negroe. | } 1200            |
| 4. The College-Revenue, a Duty on Skins and Furs.  |                   |
| 5. The Duty of 1 d. a Pound on all Tobacco exported to the other Plantations, and not carried directly to <i>England</i> , King <i>William</i> gave it to the College.   | } 200             |
|  |                   |
|  | 5700              |



The present Revenue, according to Sir *William Keith's* Calculation, is

Quit-Rents		3500 l. per Annum.
The 2 s. a Hoghead on Hogsheads.	32000 } 3200	
<i>Out of this Revenue the 2000 a Year to the principal Governor in England, and to the Lieutenant-Governor in Virginia is taken.</i>		
A Shilling a Ton on Shipping 10000 Ton.	} 500	
Marriage Licences, Probats of Wills, entring and clearing of Ships, Governor's Perquisites.	} 600	
		<hr/> 7800 l. <hr/>

I do not understand how he comes to put *Marriage Licences, Probats of Wills* among the Revenues of the Country; but so it stands in his Book.

The General Court, of which we have made some Mention, is also call'd the Quarter Court, as being held every Quarter of a Year. There are inferior Courts, which are kept every Month in each County, and are call'd the County-Courts, or Monthly-Courts, where Matters that are not of the highest Moment, such as do not relate to Life or Member, or exceed a certain limited Value are tried. From these Courts there lies an Appeal to the Quarterly Courts, in which no Action can be originally brought under the Value of ten Pounds Sterling. The Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers are Judges of these County-Courts; in which every Man may plead his own Cause, or his Friends do it for him; the *Virginians* understanding their Interest too well to encourage Lawyers, believing that as Diseases would be brought in by Doctors, so Lawyers would create Suits; a Mischief we in *England* all complain of, but despair of seeing remedied. The Justices of the Peace also hold Courts yearly in each County to look after Orphans, and take Care of them and their Estates; to provide for those Children that are Fatherless, and have no Body to provide for them. The Laws of *Virginia* are the Acts of Parliament and Statutes of *England*, which affect all her Majesty's Dominions in general; the Statutes and Acts of the Assembly, which relate only to the Affairs of

this Colony, in particular Orders of the Queen and Council in *England*, which in many things have the Force of Laws in the Plantations; the Usages of the Country, or the Civil Law, by which all Cases in the Admiralty are adjudg'd. But there being an excellent Collection of the Laws of this and all the other Plantations already publish'd, I refer the Reader to it for a larger and clearer Account of them.

## C H A P. V.

Of the Church, and Church Affairs, and the  
College in *Virginia*.

WHEN the Nobility, Gentry, Merchants and others first got a Grant of this Country, and resolv'd to make a Settlement upon it, they received large Contributions to carry it on from several devout Persons, who were for propagating the Gospel among the *Indians*, building Schools, Churches, and settling Ministers for their Conversion and Instruction. To this End a great Lottery was set up in *London*, the Profits of which were for the Benefit of the Colony; and what instigated many charitable People to put Money into it, were Hopes that a good Part of it would be laid out on the use for which it was by them intended. This Lottery was drawn in *St. Paul's Church*; but we do not find that the Money was employed as those religious Persons would have had it, or that there have been many Converts made by the *English* in this Country. The Religion of the *Virginians* is the same as in the rest of her Majesty's Dominions: The Body of the People are Members of the Church of *England*. There are some few Dissenters, and might have been more, had they not been persecuted by *Sir William Berkley*. Whether the *Virginians* glory in it or not, or honour the Memory of this Governor the more for it, we can't tell; but *Puritans* were certainly always discountenanced by him. In the Year 1641, *Mr. Bennet* went to *Boston* in *New-England*, to desire, in the Name of some other Gentlemen, that two or three Ministers might be sent them. *Mr. Phillips*, *Mr. Thompson*, and *Mr. Knowles*, a late Dissenting Minister in *London*, came thither, where they were kindly entertain'd by private Persons; but the Governor and his Council forbad them to  
preach

preach, and order'd, *That such as would not conform to the Ceremonies of the Church of England should depart th<sup>e</sup> Country.*

There are now 54 Parish Churches in the Province, of which 30 or 40 are supplied with Ministers. It w<sup>er</sup> to be wish'd that Care was taken to supply them with such Divines as might, by their Example as well as by th<sup>e</sup>r Preaching, invite People to a religious Life; the *Ind<sup>ian</sup>* Darkness being not more gloomy and horrid than what some of the meaner sort of the *Virginians* live in; and their Parsons, for the most Part, don't take much Pains to lead them into the Light of the Gospel. In each Parish there is a Church built either with Timber, Brick, or Stone and decently adorned with all things proper for the Celebration of Divine Service. In large Parishes there's a Chape' of Ease, and sometimes two, for the Convenience of the Parishioners. The Minister of the Parish preaches in them alternately, and each of them has a Reader to read Prayers in his Absence. The Minister's Maintenance is settled at 1000 *lb.* Tobacco each, yearly, besides Perquisites, as 40 *s.* for a Funeral Sermon, 20 *s.* for a Marriage. The Parish Affairs are govern'd by a Vestry of twelve Gentlemen chosen out of the Inhabitants; these are call'd the Patron of the Church, and on the Death of one of them, th<sup>e</sup> Survivors elect another in his Place. They have the Presentation of Ministers, and the sole Power of all Parish Assessments: No Man can be of the Vestry, but who subscribes an Instrument to be conformable to the Church of *England*; two of these are the Church-Wardens, whose Business it is to see the Orders of the Vestry obeyed, to collect the Parish and the Parson's Tobacco, to keep the Parish Accounts, and to present all Profaneness and Immorality, The Power of Induction, upon the Presentation of Ministers, is lodg'd in the Governor's Hands by Law. There are only two Presbyterian and three Quakers Meetings in this Colony. The Bishop of *London*, who is the Ordinary of this and all the other Plantations, appoints a Commissary here, whose Business is to make Visitations of Churches, and have the Inspection of the Clergy, for which he is allowed 100 *l.* *per Annum*; and by the strict Hand that the Clergy and Government have held over Dissenters, they have been kept low in *Virginia*, and never increased there; the Assemblies having done what their Governors would have them, to discourage them.

In the Year 1642, Sir *William Berkley*, then Governor, they pass an Act to prevent Dissenting Ministers preaching and propagating their Doctrines. They admitted none to preach in their Churches, but such as were ordained by some



Bishop of the Church of England; and in 1663, Sir *William Berkeley* being still Governor, great Restraints were laid upon them by a mistaken Zeal, to prevent their getting Ground. O what ill Consequence this has been to the Colony, I leave to those moderate *Virginians* to determine, who think they ought not to sacrifice the true Interest of their Country to the Revenge or Pride of a Party.

I have little enlarged the Chapter of Church Affairs, there having been publish'd a Piece by a Divine of *Virginia*, Mr. *Hugh Jones*, A. M. Chaplain to the Assembly, Fellow of the College, Mathematical Professor there, and Minister of *James City*, wherein these Matters are handled in a clerical manner, by a Hand more worthy of the Subject than a Lay one can pretend to; only I cannot help objecting to that Divine's laudable Zeal against Protestant Dissenters; he should not, methinks, have pressed to the Legislature the worst Part of the *Schism Bill*, by taking away the Liberty of teaching Children to read without Licence from the Parson of the Parish, or President of the College, who, on the present Footing, will never grant it to any one in Communion with the Church of *New-England*, or of their Religion in any Part of the World. I shall only add that Minister's edifying Complaint of the Causes of the Decay of Christian Piety there, if a thing can be properly said to decay that never flourished. *In Virginia there is no Ecclesiastical Court, so that Vice, Profaneness and Immorality are not suppress'd. The People hate the very Name of the Bishop's Court; there are no Visitations, and the Churches are not consecrated; there are no Confirmations; Ministers are often obliged to preach Sermons in Houses.* There is a great deal more on this Subject, which he closes thus: *All which things make it absolutely necessary for a Bishop to be settled there, to pave the way for Mitres in the English America.* I am satisfied a common Reader will be content with this Sample of the reverend Author's Church History.

In the former Chapter of this Treatise we have mentioned the Project of a College, which was built at *Middle Plantation*, now called *Williamsburgh*, mostly at the Charge of their late Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, who gave 2000*l.* towards it, and 20000 Acres of Land, the Duty of 1*d.* Pound on all Tobacco exported from *Virginia* and *Maryland* to the Plantations, and the Surveyor-General's Place, which was then vacant. He also granted them the Privilege of sending a Member to the Assembly. The Assembly afterwards added a Duty on Skins and Furs. The whole Profit amounts now to above 400*l.* a Year;

a Year, and the Revenue increases yearly. The Foundation was to consist of

A President.

Six Masters, or Professors; the chief Master was to have 100*l.* a Year.

100 Scholars, Graduates or Non-graduates.

They were enabled to purchase and hold to the Value of 2000*l.* a Year, and were to be governed and visited by certain Gentlemen named in the Charter, who were to be called the Governors and Visitors; and upon the Death of any one of them, were impower'd to choose another in his Place. One of these was to be Rector, and their Number in all to be 18. They were to name the President, Masters, and other Officers of the College, and had Power to make Statutes and Ordinances. The Building, when perfect, was to consist of a Quadrangle, and two Sides of it were carried up. The Kitchen, Brewhouse and Bakehouse were finish'd.

The Professors were to read on all the liberal Sciences; on Agriculture, Architecture, Art Military, Navigation, Gardning, Trade, and Manufactures, once a Week from *Easter* to *Michaelmas*, and twice a Week from *Michaelmas* to *Easter*. They began upon Experiments of Plants, Minerals, and were assisted by the *French* in the *Monachan* Town; their own Lead, Iron and Copper-Mines in the *Appallean* Mountains were under their Consideration, when the Fire put an End to their College and Studies.

The first President of the College by Charter, was Mr. *Blair*. Dr. *Bray*, who went to *Virginia*, procured considerable Contributions in *England*, towards collecting a Library. It proceeded so far, that there was a Commencement there in the Year 1700, at which there was a great Concourse of People; several Planters came thither in their Coaches, and several in Sloops from *New-York*, *Pensylvania* and *Maryland*. It being a new thing in *America* to hear Graduates perform their Academical Exercises, the *Indians* themselves had the Curiosity to come to *Williamsburgh* on this Occasion, and the whole Country rejoiced as if they had some Relish of Learning.

## C H A P. VI.

Of the Climate, the Soil, and its Productions, as  
Trees, Seeds, Plants, Roots, Fruits and Flowers.

WE may imagine, by the Situation of the Country, that the Climate is healthy; and indeed it generally agrees well with *English* Constitutions. 'Tis full of Rivers, and consequently the Soil very fruitful. The Sickness that the *English* who go thither complain of, is occasioned by Folly, Intemperance, or Carelessness; and a sober prudent Man will not only find every thing that preserves and confirms Health, but also all things that are charming, by the Beauty of the Prospect, and the Delight, the Fragrancy of the Fields and Gardens, the Brightness of the Sky, and Serenity of the Air affects the ravish'd Senses. The greatest Disturbance the People meet with there, are terrible Claps of Thunder, which however do very little Harm; the excessive Heats of the Summer, against which the Inhabitants are defended by the cool Shades of the Woods and Groves, and stinging Insects, as Frogs, Snakes, Musketa's, Chinchas, Seed-takes and Red-worms. The Rattle-snake is most talk'd of, and his Bite, without a present Application, is infallibly Death; but the Remedies are so well known, that there's ne'er a Servant, and scarce a Slave, who cannot cure it immediately, by applying the Rattle-snake's Heart to it, which restores the Patient in two or three Hours. Besides, 'tis very rare here, that these or any of the other poisonous Snakes are to be seen. The Musketa's are troublesome, like Gnats in Marshy Ground in *England*, but are only found in the Fenny Places there. They are stronger, and continue longer than the Gnats in *England*. As to the other Insects, there are ways to get rid of them, and the Trouble they put the People to is not worth naming. The Winter in all *Virginia* does not continue above three or four Months, *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, of which thirty or forty Days only are very bad Weather. The Frosts are severe, but attended with a clear Sky, and don't last long. The Rains are frequent and refreshing, and the Heats of the Summer, which are most violent in *June*, *July* and *August*, are much mitigated by them, and the fresh Breezes that are common in this Country contribute  
much



much to render the Heat tolerable to new Comers, and hardly sensible to the Inhabitants.

The Soil in general is a rich fat Mould three Foot deep, and under it a Loam, of which they make a fine Brick; but according as the Situation is moist or dry, the Soil varies. 'Tis distinguish'd into three Sorts, *High, Low* and *Marshy*, all which having Sand mix'd with them, makes their Land warmer than *Old-England*. The Highlands are most sandy: However, they bear good Crops of Tobacco, only the Soil does not hold in Strength so long as the Low-Lands, which are very rich, being a blackish Mould about a Foot deep, and this Soil will hold its Strength seven or eight Crops without manuring. Their Marsh-Lands bear Sedges and Rushes like ours, and are unimproved. Their Land, in general, is as good as in *England*; that at the Mouth of the Rivers is moist and fat, and produces Rice, Hemp and *Indian Corn*. There are Veins of cold, hungry, sandy Soil, where Huckleberries, Cranberries, and Chinkapins generally grow. Also Oaks, Poplars, Pines, Cedar, Cypress and Sweet-Gums, Hockly, Sweet-Myrtle, and the Live Oak are found here in great Quantities. The Land higher up the River is a various Soil, and stord with Chestnuts, Chinkapins, Oaks, Walnut, Hickories, Dogwood, Elder, Hafel, Locust, Sassafras, Elm, Ash, Beech and Poplar. The Land at the Heads of the Rivers, and its Productions are also various. Here are Trees of an incredible Bigness, and Plenty of Pasture-Ground, Physick-Earth, Dyers-Wares, Coal, Quarries of Stone, Iron and Lead-Mines; Col. *Byrd* being at this time searching for one, which was formerly work'd, but destroyed at the Massacre, as is related in the first Chapter; and Mr. *Wittaker*, Minister of *Henrico*, before the Dissolution of the Company, wrote home, That not far from the Fall, there was found some Silver Ore. Thus we see *Virginia* abounds in every thing that is for the Pleasure or Profit of the Inhabitants. We shall now describe some of the chief Productions of the Soil, and speak first of the Timber-trees, of which the most useful are Oak, Cedar, Cypress, Firs, two Sorts of Elm, Walnut and Ash. The Oaks are commonly of such prodigious Bigness, that they will measure two Foot Square at 60 Foot high. The first Ships that went to *Virginia* were used to load with Cedar and Clapboard, but some richer Commodities have been exported. There is not much of this Timber sent abroad, tho' the Country was then full of Woods: They were so clear from Bushes, Briars and Underwood, that a Man might have been seen above a Mile and a half among them,

and the Trees stood at that Distance, that a Cart or Coach might have been driven thro' the thickest of the Trees, they having no Boughs to a great Heighth; yet they were so tufted, that they afforded a very comfortable Shade in Summer. Yet tho' the Grapes are juicy and plenty, all that have attempted to fall into the Wine Trade, to raise Vineyards and make Wine, have never been able to bring their Designs to Perfection. The Reasons are, because the Fir and Pine-tree, with which the Country abounds, are noxious to the Vine, and the Experiments that have been made were in the Low-lands, subject to the Pine, and near the malignant Influence of the salt Water. This ruined Monsieur *Jamart*, a French Merchant's Vineyard on *James River*, near *Archer's Hope Creek*; and Sir *William Berkley's* had the same Inconveniencies, and the same Fate. Several French *Vignerons* were sent over in 1621, the Year before the Massacre, and wrote over very promising Letters of the Country, and the Vineyard they were raising; but that bloody Treason of the Savages put an End to them and their Undertaking, which the French Refugees at the *Monacan Town* talk of reviving. There are plenty of Shrubs, as well as of Timber; and besides the Berry we have before mentioned, there is a Brier growing something like the *Sarsaparilla*. The Berry is as big as a Pea, round, and of a bright crimson Colour. Besides the *Sassafras-tree*, whose Root was formerly one of the best Commodities that came from hence: Here are several sorts of Gums and Drugs, and most of the Shrubs that grow in *England*, or other parts of *Europe*. The whole Country is interspersed with an incredible Variety of Plants and Flowers, there being scarce any kind of either which does not thrive wonderfully in *Virginia*, and the Fruits are equally plentiful and pleasant.

Of Stone-Fruits, they have here Plumbs and Persimmons or *Putchamimes*. Here are three sorts of Cherries, which are as plentiful as they are in *Kent*, and larger than the *English*. The one grows in Bunches, like Grapes; the other is black without and red within. The third is the *Indian Cherry*, and grows up higher than the others do. Here is such Plenty of Peaches, that they give them to their Hogs; some of them, call'd *Malachotoons*, are as big as a Lemon, and resemble it a little. Quinces they have in abundance, as also Pumpions and Muskmelons. The Plumbs that grow here are the black and the Murrey Plumb. The *English* sorts of Plumbs do not ripen so kindly as they do in *England*. Their wild Plumb is like our White Plumb. The Persimmons or *Putchamimes* are of several Sizes, from the Bigness of a *Damson* to that of a *Bergamot Pear*; when 'tis eaten  
ripe,

ripe, 'tis as delicious as an Apricot; but if green, 'tis dangerous and causes Gripes and Convulsions. Their Taste and Colour resemble those of a Cherry; all those Fruits grow wild, and without cultivating, as most of those do that we have already treated of. Apples and Pears are so plentiful, that 50 Buts of Perry, and as many of Cyder, have been made out of two Orchards, few of which have less than 11 or 1200 Trees. The Bergamot and Warden are the most common. There's great Store of Quinces in *Virginia*, of which the People used to make Quince-Drink. Their Messamines are a kind of Grapes; the Cheinquamine is a kind of Fruit resembling a Chesnut; the Rawcamen, like a Gooseberry; the Macoquez, a kind of Apple; Mattaque-sumauks, a Fruit like an *Indian* Fig; Matococks a kind of Strawberry; *Oconghtanamins*, like a *Caper*; Figs grow as well there as in *Spain*; but Oranges and Lemons do not thrive. Besides the common Acorns, the *Virginians* find another sort, with which the Natives used to make a sweet Oil to anoint their Joints; and another sort of Acorn, better than the ordinary, the *Indians* dried and kept for their Winter Food, when Corn was scarce. Of Roots, they have the Puccoon and Musquasperm, the Juice of which is of a pleasant Colour, and the *Indians* made use of it to paint their Bodies and Warlike Arms. The Tockawaeigh, a very wholesom and savory Root. Shumack, Chapacour, and the famous Snake-root, so much admired in *England* for being a Cordial, and an Antidote in all pestilential Diseases. There is no kind of Garden Root but what they have in Perfection; Sallad-herbs and Pot-herbs grow there spontaneously, as do Purslain, Sorrel, &c. Their Flowers are as fine as any in the World; such as the Crown-Imperial, the Cardinal-Flower, the Moccasin-Flower, the Tulip-bearing-Laurel, the Tulip-tree, the Locust, like the Jessamin, the Perfuming-Crab-tree, and the Assentamin, a kind of Pink. They have Plenty of Muskmelons, Water-melons, Pumpions, Cushaws, Macocks and Gourds. Their Cushaws are a kind of Pumpions of a blueish-green Colour, streak'd with white. Their Macocks are a less sort of Pumpions; there are several kinds of them: The Savages never eat the Gourds, planting them only for the Shells, which serve them instead of Flaggons and Cups. The *Indians* had Pease, Beans and Potatoes before the *English* came among them; but the Staff of their Food was their Corn; of which we have given a large Description in the History of *New-England*.

Plantain of all sorts grow wild in the Woods; as also  
 Yellow-Dock and Burdock, Solomon's-seal, Egrimony,  
 Centery,

Lowth.  
 Philos.  
 Transf.



Centery, Scabions, Groundfel, Dwarf-Elder, yellow and white Maiden-hair; Afarum is gather'd on the Sides of the Hills, and Soldanalla on the Bay-side. Their Dittany grows a Foot and a half high; the Water distill'd from it the best Medicine for the Worms. The Turbil and Mechoacan, or Roots exactly like them, grow there.

Tobacco is the standing Commodity of the Country, and is so beneficial to the Planter, and so natural to the Soil, that all other Improvements give place to that. Indeed they could turn their Hands to nothing that would employ so many Slaves and Servants, and require so little Stock to manage it, or take up such a large Tract of Land; for the same Ground that is planted every Year with Tobacco, would produce, if Corn was sown there, more than all the Plantations in *America* could consume. This Plant is so common in *England*, that we need not describe it: It grows much like a Dock; and whereas, in our Gardens, it must be managed with as much Care as the choicest Fruit or Flower, in *Virginia* they leave it expos'd to all the Injuries of the Weather, which is very favourable to it, and 'tis seldom that the Crop suffers by it. The Tobacco of this Plantation was not at first so good as 'tis now. That of *Brazil* had once the greatest Reputation all over *Europe*; but now *Virginia* and *Maryland* has the best Price in all Markets. 'Tis not known how the *Indians* cured theirs; they now have it all from the *English*. 'Tis said they used to let it run to Seed, only succouring the Leaves, to keep the Sprouts from growing up and starving them. When it was ripe, they pull'd them off, cured them in the Sun, and laid them up for use. The *Virginia* Planters sow the Tobacco-Seeds in Beds, as the Gardeners in *England* do Colwort-Seeds; they leave them there a Month, taking care all that time to have them well weeded. When the Plants are about the Breadth of ones Hand, they are removed in the first rainy Weather, and transplanted into what they call Tobacco-Hills. In a Month's time the Plants will be a Foot high, and they top them, and then prune off all the bottom Leaves, leaving only seven or eight on the Stalk, that they may be the better fed by the Top, and these Leaves, in six Weeks time will be in their full Growth. The Planters prune off the Suckers, and clear them of the Horn-worm twice a Week, which is call'd Worming and Suckering; and this Work lasts three Weeks or a Month; by which time the Leaf from green begins to turn to brownish, and to spot, and to thicken, which is a Sign of its ripening. As fast as the Plants ripen you must cut them down, leave them

them in the Field for half a Day, then heap them up, let them lie and sweat a Night, and the next Day carry them to the Tobacco-house, where every Plant is hanged one by another, at a convenient Distance, for about a Month or five Weeks; at the End of which time they strike or take them down in moist Weather, when the Leaf gives, or else 'twill crumble to Dust; after which they are laid upon Sticks, and cover'd up close in the *Tobacco-house* for a Week or a Fortnight to sweat, and then opening the Bulk in a wet Day, the Servants strip them and sort them, the top Leaves being the best, and the bottom the worst Tobacco. The last Work is to pack it in Hogsheds, or bundle it up, which is also done in a wet Season; for in the curing Tobacco, wet Seasons are as necessary as dry, to make the Leaf pliant, which would otherwise be brittle and break. They take a great deal of Pains with it now, and with all their Trouble can scarce make it turn to Account. The *English* have carried over a thousand several sorts of the Productions of Nature, and have found all to succeed there: They have had such extraordinary Success with Apples and Pears, that there's never a Planter but has an Orchard, and makes large Quantities of Cyder and Perry, which is some of their common Drinks, and there is nothing in *England* belonging either to a Garden or Orchard, but what they have, or may have there in as great or greater Perfection.

## C H A P. VII.

## Of the Beasts, Birds, and Fish.

THE Beasts that are peculiar to this Country are the *Aronghena*, somewhat like a Badger. The *Affapanick*, or flying Squirrel; the *Mussascus*, a kind of Water-Rat; the *Utchunquois*, a wild Cat; the *Opassum*, a certain Animal, whose Female has a Bag under her Belly, wherein she carries her young one. The Woods are stock'd with Deer, the same in kind with ours in *England*, and larger and fatter for the most Part. There are *Raccoons*, *Beavers*, *Otters*, *Foxes*, wild Cats, *Martins* and *Minks* in the *Freshes*. The *Indians* are dextrous in catching them, and keep the Secret to themselves, that they may preserve the Fur Trade, which otherwise the *English* would soon drive them out of. *Lions*, *Leopards*,

Leopards, Elks, Bears and Wolves, especially the latter, are met with in *Virginia*, tho' not so frequently as in some other Parts of *North America*, and the Wolves are not much bigger than *English* Foxes. This Country was not overstock'd with any kind of Beasts, either wild or tame, when the *English* discover'd it, and the Cattle that are now to be found there, are all of *English* Breeding: Horses are as plenty and as good as in *England*.

Having mentioned the flying Squirrel, we think the Reader will not be displeas'd with a Description of it. This Creature has a fleshy Substance, which it extends in its skipping from one Tree to another, like Wings, and by the Help of these, he will fly, or rather skip, 30 or 40 Yards at a time, from Tree to Tree. The Opassum has a Head like a Hog, and a Tail like a Rat; 'tis about the Bigness of a Cat, and the false Belly, in which the Female carries her Young, is thus described by one that saw it. 'Tis like a loose Skin quite over the Belly, which never sticks to the Flesh, but may be look'd into at all times, after they have been concern'd in Procreation. In the hinder Part of it is an Overture big enough for a small Hand to pass, and thither the young ones, after they are full haired, and strong enough to run about, fly when any Danger appears, or when they go to rest or suck, and continue to do so till they have learned to live without their Dam. The strangest Part of this Description is, that the young ones are bred in this false Belly, without ever having been in the true one. They are form'd at the Teat, and grow there for several Weeks together, till they are in perfect Shape, and have Strength, Sight and Hair: They then drop off, and rest in this false Belly, going in and out at Pleasure. The Person from whom we took the Description says, he has seen them thus fasten'd to the Teat, from the Bigness of a Fly till they became as large as a Mouse. Neither is it any Hurt to the old one to open the Bag, and look in upon her Young. Some Panthers, Buffaloes and wild Hogs, which yield equal Pleasure and Profit to the Hunter, are caught up in the Country, near the Heads of the Rivers. The Reason of there being few Sheep, is because the Country is not yet cleared of Wolves; all other Beasts that are reckon'd wild, do no Damage to the *Virginians*, flying from the Face of a Man whenever they see one; and the Planters, by Pasture-Fences, secure their Cattle and Hogs from them. There were no Rats nor Mice there when the *English* first landed; but they soon multiplied so from the *English* Shipping, that once there was like to have been a Sort of Rat-Plague



*Plague* among the Planters. The *Virginian Water-Rat*, or *Muffascus*, smells like Musk. Pole-cats and Weasels are sometimes to be seen there; but the Plenty of Hares and Rabbits make Amends for it.

There is no Country more remarkable for the Variety of Birds in it than *Virginia*, where the Woods and Groves in the Spring, Summer, Autumn, and almost all the Year, are render'd as delightful by the Musick of the feather'd Choirs, as by the Coolness of their Shades, or the Fragrancy of their Flowers. Among these the Rock-Birds are the most diverting; they love Society so well, that whenever they see Mankind, they will perch upon a 'Twig near the Person, and sing the sweetest Airs in the World. The next is the Humming-Bird, who revels among the Flowers, and licks off the Dew and Honey from their Leaves. 'Tis not half so large as an *English Wren*, and its Colour is a shining Mixture of Scarlet, Green and Gold. There are Black-birds with red Shoulders, that come in prodigious Flights out of the Woods about the Fall of the Leaf; a sort of Nightingale, whose Feathers are very gay, of a crimson and blue Colour; but it seldom or never sings. The Mock-bird comes in about *March*, and stays till *June*, and in Bigness and Colour is like a Thrush. The Herons there are very large, and the Partridges very small. There's great Variety of wild Fowl, as Swans, Geese, Brants, Sheldrakes, Ducks, Mallard, Teal, Bluewings, Cranes, Curlews, Snipes, Woodcocks, Ox-Eyes, Plover, Larks, Pheasants, Pigeons; and which is best of all of them, wild Turkeys, much larger than our tame; they are in Season all the Year. The *Virginians* have several ingenious Devices to take them; among others, a Trap, wherein 16 or 17 have been caught at a time.

As for Fish, there's such prodigious Plenty of them, that 'tis hardly credible to an *European*. Some of the Stories that have been told of it are certainly romantick, and are rejected as fictitious, such as Shoals of Fishes, swimming with their Heads above Water, and to be taken by Hand, loading a Canoo with Fish in the open Sea by one *Indian* in half an Hour; but 'tis certain that no Rivers in the World are better stored than theirs, and that the *Virginian* Sea-Coast abounds in Cod and Sturgeon, of which some are eight Foot long. Indeed there's scarce any Fish but what may be caught either in the Sea or the Rivers; and yet there's only one sort peculiar to this Country, which is the Stinggrass. 'Tis good to eat; but has a long Tail, with a very dangerous Sting in it. There are other strange Fishes; but then they are also to be found

found in most Parts of *North America*, such as the Coney-Fish, Rock-Fish, Cat-Fish, and a Fish in the Form of a Dragon, to which there's no Name as yet assigned in our Language. The Toad-Fish, when 'tis taken out of the Water, swells till 'tis like to burst. Muscles and Oysters are very plentiful in *Virginia*, and so large that some of them are as big as a Horse's Hoof. Pearl has been often found in the Shells; the *Indians* had large, but the *English* found only Seed-Pearl, of which good Quantities have been sent to *England*. In the Spring-time the Brooks and Fords are so full of Herrings, which come up to spawn there, that 'tis almost impossible to ride through without treading on them. The Rivers are also at that time stock'd with Shads, Rock-Sturgeon and Lampreys, which fasten themselves to the Shad. In the salt Water, at certain times of the Year, there are Shoals of other Fishes; such as the *Old Wife*, something like a Herring, and the Sheeps-head, which the *Virginians* esteem in the Number of their best. Black and red Drums, Trouts, Taylors, Green-fish, Sun-fish, Bass, Chub, Place, Flounders, Whitings, Flatbacks, Maids, Wives, small Turtle, Crabs, Cockles, Shrimps, Needle-fish, Breame, Carp, Pike, Jack, Mulletts, Eels, and Perch. These are to be found in the Rivers and Brooks all the Summer long, and are eaten by the People. Those that follow are not eaten: The Whale, Porpus, Shark, Dog-fish, Gar, Thornback, Saw-fish, Land-Crabs, Fidlers and Periwinkles. Many of these Fishes will leap into Canoos and Boats, as the *English* or *Indians* cross a River; and there's such Quantities of them, that they often tire the Sportsmen with taking them; whereas in *England* they are generally tired for want of it. The manner of Fishing-Hawks preying upon Fish is very diverting. The Sport is to be seen every Summer in the Mornings, and sometimes all Day long. These Hawks are wonderful eager after their Game, when the Fish first come in the Spring. In the dead of the Winter 'tis supposed they fish further off at Sea, or remain among the uninhabited Islands upon the Sea-Coast. They have often been seen to catch Fish out of the Water; and as they were flying away with their Quarry, the bald Eagles have taken it from them again. The Fishing-Hawk will hover over the Water, and rest upon the Wing some Minutes together; and then from a vast Height dart down directly into the Water, plunge-into it for the space of half a Minute, and at last bring up a Fish with him, so big, that he can hardly carry it. When he is on the Wing, he shakes himself so strongly, that the Water comes off of him like a Mist, and then he flies to the

Woods with his Prey, unless the bald Eagle intercepts him, and takes it away from him. This Bird, as soon as he perceives the Fishing-Hawk with his Game in his Mouth, pursues him, and strives to get above him in the Air, which if he can do, the Hawk lets his Fish drop, and the Eagle leaves him to take up his Prey, which she shoots after with such surprizing Swiftness, that he catches it in the Air, before it falls to the Ground. These Fishing-Hawks, when the Seasons are extraordinary plentiful, will catch a Fish, and loiter about with it in the Air, on purpose to have a Chace with the Eagle for it; and if the Eagle does not come, he'll make a daring Noise, as if it were to defy him. This Sport has frequently been seen by the *English*, and by the Description of it, must certainly be extremely pleasant to the Spectators.

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### C H A P. VIII.

Of the Coins in *Virginia*; of the Trade to and from *England*, and other Parts of *Europe* and *America*: the prodigious Revenue that the Customs of Tobacco brings in; the Advantage that Trade has been to *England*, and the Disadvantages it lies under.

**T**H<sup>O'</sup> the common way of Traffick there is by Barter or Exchange of one Commodity for another, or of any for Tobacco; yet there is some Silver Coins, *English* and *Spanish*, and were much more, till the lowering of the Value tempted People to export the Coin to the other Plantations, where it went for more than it did in *Virginia*. The chief of their Coins are either Gold of the Stamp of *Arabia*, or Silver and Gold of the Stamp of *Spanish America*, or *English* Money. There's very little of either kind to be seen in this Country, for the Reasons above-mentioned: The Governments round about it often raising the Value of the Coin, is the Cause that *Virginia* is drained of the little it has. And 'tis impossible to prevent this Inconvenience, unless all the Colonies on the Continent were obliged to have one and the same Standard for their Coin, which there have lately been some Attempts made to effect, tho' with-



out the Success that was expected and desired. The Scarcity of Money is such in this Plantation, that Gentlemen can hardly get enough for travelling Charges, or to pay Labourers and Tradesmens Wages. It occasions also the commencing many vexatious Suits for Debt, which for this means are contracted. The Value of the several Coins that are there, is as follows :

	l.	s.	d.
The Spanish Double Doublon, - - -	03	10	00
The Doublon, consequently, - - -	01	15	00
The Pistole, - - - - -	00	17	06
Arabian Chequins, - - - - -	00	10	00
Pieces of Eight (except of Peru) weigh- ing 16 Penny-weight, - - - - -	00	05	00
French Crowns, - - - - -	00	05	00
Peru Pieces of Eight, and Dutch Dollars,	00	04	00

And all *English* Coin as it goes in *England*.

The Trade of this Colony, as well as that of *Maryland*, consists almost entirely of Tobacco; for tho' the Country would produce several extraordinary Commodities fit for Trade, yet the Planters are so wholly bent on planting Tobacco, that they seem to have laid aside all Thoughts of other Improvements. This Trade is brought to such Perfection, that the *Virginian* Tobacco, especially the sweet-scented, which grows on *York River*, is reckoned the best in the World, and is what is generally vended in *England* for a home Consumption. The other Sorts, call'd *Oranoac*, and that of *Maryland*, are hotter in the Mouth; but they turn to as good an Account, being in demand in *Holland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Germany*. Of this Commodity 30000 Hogsheads have been exported yearly; which, besides the other Advantages that the *English* reap by it, have clear'd 5 l. a Hogshhead in a foreign Market, and increased the general Stock of the Nation 150000 l. a Year. The whole Trade of Tobacco is indeed one of the most profitable of all the *English* Commerce; it employs above 200 Sail of stout Ships every Year, and brings in between 3 and 400000 l. to her Majesty's Treasury, one Year with another. Tho' this Calculation may seem too extravagant to such as know nothing of this Trade, and to some who make GuesSES of the Trade in general only, from their own in particular; yet it will appear to be modest to all that have Experience in the Matter. There are 200 Sail of Ships freighted with this Commodity *Communibus Annis*, from the whole Bay,

in which we include the Province of *Maryland*; and, one with another, we cannot reckon they carry less than 300 Hogsheads of Tobacco, in all 70000 Hogsheads, of which half we suppose to be sold and spent in *England*; and the Duty of those 35000 Hogsheads, at but 400 Weight of Tobacco each, will come to 8*l.* a Hogshead, and 280000*l.* for the Whole. The other Half which is exported will not produce above a 5th Part so much in the Exchequer, because all the Imposts are drawn back, and part of the Subsidy; yet allowing but 50000*l.* for the Duty of the 35000 Hogsheads exported, the whole Amount of the Customs for the 70000 Hogsheads of Tobacco, will come to 330000*l.* a Year, and so much it certainly brings into the Exchequer in a time of Peace. For in this War time our trade is more uncertain, and a just Calculation of this Branch of it, in part, or in the whole, cannot now be made; tho', considering that the *Virginia* and *Maryland* Merchants have escaped much better than those of *Barbados*, *Jamaica* and the *Charibbee* Islands, our Estimate, with some Abatement, according to the Number of Ships lost, may stand good. Some who pretend to be very well acquainted with the *Virginia* Trade, have assured us, that 100000 Hogsheads have been ship'd off from *Virginia* and *Maryland* in a Year, and 40000 of them spent in *England*; if so, we are rather too short in our Account than too long, both with reference to the Calculation of the Customs, and the Addition the Trade makes to the National Stock. But we have kept as close to Truth as we could by our own Experience, and the best Information; and to render what we have said the more credible to the Reader, 'tis necessary he should know how vastly this Trade is improved in all Parts of *England*, as well as in the Port of *London*. The Town of *Liverpool* has had 50 Sail of Ships unlade at her Key from thence in a Year, for several Years past, reckoning one Year with another; many of the Out-ports have 8 or 10 Sail employed yearly in the *Virginia* Trade, and the City of *Bristol* is said to pay above 60000*l.* a Year Duty for Tobacco herself, which will not appear improbable, if what we are very credibly informed by *Bristol* Men is true, that one Ship belonging to that Port, call'd the *Bristol Merchant*, has paid 8 or 10000*l.* Custom every Year for these twenty Years last past; and very often 30 or 40 Sail of Ships have come into the *Severn* at a time bound for *Bristol*, besides Runners and Stragglers. If the Out-ports together send 100 Sail to *Virginia* in a Year, as we think we have sufficiently proved, *London* will more than make up the other 100. And what we have said of

the Trade and the Customs, will seem very rational and certain.

Besides the vast Advantage that accrues to the National Stock, by the Exportation of Tobacco from *England* to all other Parts of *Europe*, we must consider how beneficial this Trade is, by the prodigious Number of Hands it employs, and Families it maintains in *England* and *Virginia*; no less than seventy thousand *English* Souls in *Virginia*, and as many in *England*. There are vast Quantities of Manufactures exported from hence daily to this Colony, who have all their Necessaries for Clothing, Labour and Luxury from *England*; and those Commodities that are sent hence lying most among Handicraft Trades, are such as employ the most Hands, feed the most Mouths, and consequently are the most beneficial to the Publick, such as *Weavers, Shoemakers, Hatters, Ironmongers, Turners, Joiners, Taylors, Cutlers, Smiths, Bakers, Brewers, Ropemakers, Hosiery*, and indeed all the Mechanicks in *England*; their Manufactures being good Merchandise in *Virginia*, when the Ignorance or Avarice of some Merchants do not glut the Market. The Commodities sent thither, besides Linen, Silks, *India* Goods, Wine, and other foreign Manufactures, are Cloth coarse and fine, Serges, Stuffs, Bays, Hats, and all sorts of Haberdashers Ware; Houghs, Bills, Axes, Nails, Adzes, and other Iron Ware; Clothes ready-made, Knives, Bisket, Flower, Stockings, Shoes, Caps for Servants; and in short, every thing that is made in *England*.

They formerly drove a considerable Trade with Pipe-Staves and Hoops from *Virginia* to *Madeira, Terceras, Fial*, and the other Islands call'd the *Azores*; but lately *New-England* and *New-York* have almost driven the *Virginians* out of that profitable Trade. They still keep part of the Trade to and from the Sugar Islands, on Account of the *York River* Tobacco, which is most smoked among the better sort of People; tho' the *Oranoac* will serve the Negroes, and the worst of the white Servants, as well or better than the sweet-scented. The *Virginia* Merchants and Planters export Tobacco, Cattle and Provisions to *Barbados* and the Leeward Islands; and in Exchange bring back Rum, Melasses and Sugar; for notwithstanding they make good Brandy of their own, and might have Sugar from their Sugar-tree, as has been proved by many Experiments; yet they are so lazy, that they will be at no Pains to provide themselves with any thing which they can fetch elsewhere for Tobacco. There are several Trades which they might fall into, besides that of Tobacco; and which would be a Service to that Commodity,



dity, because the less of it was made, the greater Price it would bear. The Country is certainly capable of large Improvements, by the Timber Trade and its Appurtenances, as Pitch, Tar, and Rosin. They might also manufacture Flax, Hemp, Cotton, and even Silk, the three first Commodities thriving there as well as in any Country in the World; and the Mulberry-tree feeding Silk-worms formerly in Abundance. *Edward Diggs*, Esq; was at great Charge and Pains to promote the Silk Manufacture, since it was given over by others; but wanting Encouragement, he also gave it over. Several of the late Governors have, for Reasons which they did not think fit to reveal, discouraged all such as went about Manufactures; and the Planters have been obliged to stick to their old Drudgery, the planting of Tobacco. Silk-Grass grows there spontaneously in many Places, and may be cut several times in a Year. The Fibres of this Plant are as fine as Flax, and much stronger than Hemp. A Piece of Grogram was made of it in *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, and presented to her; and yet the *English* neglect it, and make no manner of Use of it; not so much as the *Indians* did, who made their Baskets, Fishing-Nets and Lines with it. The *Virginians* might also drive as good a Trade with Cattle and Provisions, Horses, Cows, Oxen, Beef, Pork, &c. as the People of *New-England* and *Carolina* do to the Sugar-Islands; but all their Thoughts run upon Tobacco, and they make nothing of those Advantages, which would enrich an industrious People.

Indeed the Naval Stores that might be brought thence to *England* for the Queen's and Merchants Service, are of such Consequence, that 'twould be well if some Care was taken to oblige them to manufacture them, and due Encouragement was given to do it. It seems a little unaccountable, why the *English*, whose Plantations are so well furnished with those Commodities, should be at the Charge of buying them in the *Baltick* with ready Money, such as Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Turpentine, Plank, Timber, Masts, Yards, and Cordage. *New-England* and *Virginia* would plentifully supply all our Naval Wants, and we should not then be obliged to the People of the North, who do not always deal friendly or fairly by us. The *Virginians* are so far from thinking of improving these Manufactures, that tho' they see others send thither to build Ships, they seldom or never do it themselves. They not only neglect making a Trade of Provisions, but even to provide a necessary Store against an accidental Scarcity, contenting themselves with a Supply of Food from Hand to Mouth, insomuch that if a scarce Year should come,

there would not be enough in the Country to subsist them three Months. The only Excuse that the *Virginians* can plead for their Laziness is, that their Industry was never encouraged. Their want of Towns hinders them from receiving many Advantages by the Fruitfulness of their Soil; for the People who inhabited them would take those Commodities off their Hands, which every Planter in the Country is furnished with at home. By this want of Cohabitation they are uncapable of making a beneficial Use of their Flax, Hemp, Cotton, Silk, Silk-Grafs and Wool, which might otherwise supply their Necessities from their Towns, and their Tobacco would enrich them, as we have shewed elsewhere. The greatest of their Discouragements is the high Duties on their Commodities, the Custom being often ten times as much as the prime Cost; and if it wants in Goodness, there is no Abatement for it; no Consideration for Losses, for high Freights and Premio's of Insurance, for a small Crop, the Dearness of Hands, and other Accidents, which may prove the Ruin of this Plantation: For when his Goods come to Market, after Custom and the Factor's Bill for Commission is paid, the Net Proceed comes to little. The poor Planter is not only disappointed in the Value of his Goods, but his Bills that he drew came back protested, and he is forced to pay exorbitant Interest, to prevent being sued, or forced to sign Judgments to the Merchant there, who having got the least hold of his Estate, feeds him insensibly with Money, till the whole follows at a mean Rate. If this Fate does not attend his Bills, he is forced to buy the Necessaries at home at dear Rates, which he wrote for to *England*; and if he goes upon Trust, 'tis as such Prices, that a Usurer blushes to extort, but Custom makes it look like lawful. If he sells his Tobacco in the Country, the Factors take Care to beat down the Price so low, that 'twill hardly pay for cultivating. How can all this be remedied, you say, in War-time? By securing their Trade, which would make Insurances unnecessary: And how can it be secured? That Question has been so often answer'd to such as have the Care of these things, 'tis needless for us to decide it here. This we may venture to say, that the sending a Ship or two to this or other Colonies, under Commanders who think themselves Admirals, and defy all Power but their own, will never answer the End. A Representation of which was made to those that have the Management of these Affairs, in which 'twas said, *They make it their Business to oppose Authority, and when there is any Faction in any Place, they are sure to join with them against the Governor; they will*

lie in a Harbour for a Week together, without once going out to cruise. By their ill Usage of their Men they force them to run away from the Ship, and then they ruin the Merchants and Trade of the Place, by pressing away the Seamen from the Vessels. Some Instances of the ill Practices of these Captains are mentioned. One of them, when he was at Virginia, neither spared the Gentlemen of the Country, the Queen's Officers, nor the Governor himself, because they would not suffer him to marry a Gentleman's Daughter, when at the same time he had a Wife and Children at London. Upon which he attempted the Lives of the Gentlewoman's Father, several of her Relations, especially of a very worthy Gentleman, one Col. Cary, who courted the young Lady. The Governor was forced to secure the Peace: The Province being all in an Uproar by this Man's extravagant Actions. The Council of Maryland complained of another, representing, He was fitter for Bedlam than to command a Ship. And another at New-York. When the Lord Cornbury order'd him to take several Vessels loaden with Provisions on her Majesty's Account, in Pensylvania and Carolina, and convoy them to Jamaica, excus'd himself, saying, His Ship was laid up and unrigg'd. They might have been ready before Christmas; but he would not go till the 25th of March, promising then to set sail: However, he lay in the Harbour till the latter End of May; all which time her Majesty paid Demurrage, the Provisions lying on board, which is great Damage. He refused to obey the Orders he received to touch at Carolina, and take those Vessels under his Convoy.

But should we go about to write a History of all the Complaints that have been made against such Officers as these, for their Miscarriages in America, one might add another Volume to these of the Plantations.

We have also seen a State of Virginia, drawn by an In-<sup>A State of</sup>habitant of North America, and presented to the Lords of Virginia. Trade in England. The People are very numerous, dispersed though the whole Province. Their almost sole Business is planting and improving Tobacco, even to that Degree, that most of them scarce allow themselves time to produce their necessary Provisions, and consequently take little Leisure to busy themselves about Matters of State. They have always been respectful and obedient to Government, &c. Again, On every River of this Province there are Men in Number from ten to thirty, who by Trade and Industry have got very compleat Estates. These Gentlemen take Care to supply the poorer sort with Goods and Necessaries, and are sure to keep them always in their Debt, and consequently dependent on them. Out of this Num-



ber are chosen her Majesty's Council, the Assembly, the Justices and Officers of the Government. Many of these Gentlemen have apply'd themselves of late Years to procure from their Governors good Laws, for the better Government and Improvement of the Country, &c. Again, They consider this Province is of far greater Advantage to her Majesty, than all the rest of the Provinces besides on the Main; and therefore falsly conclude, that they ought to have greater Privileges than the rest of her Majesty's Subjects. Farther, The Assembly think themselves entitled to all the Rights and Privileges of an English Parliament, and begin to search into the Records of that Honourable House, for Precedents to govern themselves by. The Council imagine, they almost stand upon equal Terms with the Right Honourable House of Lords. We think a great Part of what follows in this Representation might have been spared, so we leave it as we found it.

Church Affairs.

The Society for propagating the Gospel, in the Account they have publish'd of their Success in *America*, tells us, *Virginia* is divided into fifty Parishes, and about thirty Chapels. Here was also a noble College, erected for the Education of the *American* Youth, in the Studies of Divinity and Philosophy. A Maintenance for the Students has been settled; but by Disuse has been impaired in many Places. Several Parishes are not supplied with Ministers, particularly in *Princess Ann's* County. There was no Mathematical Professor in *William and Mary* College. The Society have paid to *Mr. Tyliard* 20 *l.* and to *Mr. Wallace* of *Elizabeth City* Parish 15 *l.* in Books.

Of the College above-mentioned we have spoken already, but since that, have met with a better Account of it. A stately Fabrick was raised, a Royal Charter given, with ample Privileges and Immunities, a publick Fund was allotted for the Endowment of it, and a President appointed with an honourable Salary, &c. and in Honour of the Founder, it was call'd *William and Mary* College. But it could not be furnish'd with Professors and Students, nor advanced above a Grammar-School, before the whole College was unfortunately destroyed by Fire. And the great Service *Col. Nicholson* did this Society, and the Cause of Religion in this Province, while he was Governor, has been often acknowledged by them in publick and private.

We have nothing farther to observe relating to *Virginia*, but that on the Death of *Mr. Notte*, my Lord *Orkney's* Deputy in the Government of this Colony, *Col. Hunter* was appointed his Successor in that honourable Post, *A. D.* 1707. On which he embark'd for this Province, and in his Passage

was

See an Account of the Society for propagating the Gospel, &c. p. 26.

was taken by the *French*, and carried into *France*; from whence he returned into *England*, and now waits for a Con- voy to *Virginia*.

We have only to add a List of the chief Officers, Civil and Military, as is done in the other Parts of this Treatise.

Col. *Hunter*, Governor.

*Edmund Jennings*, Esq; President.

<i>Dudley Diggs</i> , Esq;	} Councillors.
<i>Benjamin Harrison</i> , Sen. Esq;	
<i>Robert Carter</i> , Esq;	
<i>John Custis</i> , Esq;	
The Rev. Mr. <i>James Blaire</i> ,	
<i>Philip Ludwell</i> , Esq;	
<i>Henry Duke</i> , Esq;	
<i>Robert Quarry</i> , Esq;	
<i>John Smith</i> , Esq;	
<i>John Lewis</i> , Esq;	
<i>William Churchill</i> , Esq;	

Commissary to the Bishop of *London*, the Reverend  
Mr. *James Blaire*.

Auditor of the Revenue, *Dudley Diggs*, Esq;

Secretary, *Edmund Jennings*, Esq;

Receiver-General, *William Bird*, Esq;

Collector of the Customs, Col. *Gawen Corbin*.

Attorney-General, *Stephen Tompson*.

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THE  
HISTORICAL  
OF  
CAROLINA.

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CHAP. I.

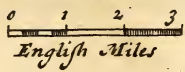
Containing an Account of the Discovery and Settlement of this Province, and of all the Wars, Factions, Disturbances, and other Events there, from that time to the present.

*Discovery.* **W**E are not ignorant of the Pretences of the Concern'd in this Province, who affirm 'twas discover'd by *Sebastian Cabot*. Mr. *Archdale*, one of the Proprietors, in his printed Description of *Carolina*, says, *Henry VIII*, about the Year 1500, furnish'd Sir *Sebastian Cabot* with Shipping, (He was born at Bristol, tho' his Father was a Venetian) to make a Discovery; and he fell upon the Coast of Florida, and having sailed along the Continent a considerable way North-East, returned. But this does not appear in any authentick Historian, nor that Sir *Sebastian Cabot* ever got so far to the South.

*Carolina* is the Northern Part of the vast Region of *America*, which was discover'd by *John Ponce de Leon*, in the Year 1512. He made Land about 30 Degrees from the *Equator*, near the River of *San Matteo*, the most Southerly



17



37

36

35



34

33

32

31

of the Island of  
**MUDOS.**  
into its Tribes, with  
its Forts &c. By A. M.

East from Edisto River:  
4. Lat. 32: 25.



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THE  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
C A R O L I N A.

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C H A P. I.

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ly







ly Part of this Province. He sailed thither from the Island of *Porto Rico*, and gave the Country the Name of *Florida*, for that the Face of it has the Resemblance of a continual Spring.

The *Spaniards*, who passionately desired to secure it to themselves, eight Years afterwards sent *Vasquez de Ayllon* to make a farther discovery of it, as belonging to *Charles V.* in whose Name *de Leon* had taken Possession of it. He came upon the North Coast, and call'd the North North-West River by the Name of *Jordan*. He did nothing memorable, except this infamous Action, of inviting many of the Natives aboard his Ships, where when he had got them, he hoisted Sail, and carried them into miserable Bondage.

Castel. of  
America.

In the Year 1526, *Charles V.* Emperor of *Germany* and King of *Spain*, sent *Pamphilio Narvesi* to *Florida*, who staid so long in the South-West Part of this Country, which is the most barren, that, says my Author, *they were fain to eat one another*, his Crew having spent their Provisions.

Ten Years afterwards, *Ferdinando a Soto* came hither in the Search of Gold and Silver Mines, having a little Army of 900 Foot, and 500 Horse. Himself and three Parts of his Soldiers died, either through Want, or by Sicknes, or the *Indians*; and the rest were led back by *Lewis Moscos* to *New-Spain*, tho' not without great Difficulty; for the Natives setting upon them several times in their March, kill'd all that fell into their Hands.

This unfortunate and expensive Expedition so discouraged the *Spaniards*, that for several Years they made no more Attempts in these Parts; and indeed they search'd no farther than that Part of the Continent which lies opposite to the Gulph of *New-Spain*, and not within and beyond the Streights of *Bahama*, which includes that Part of the Country we are now treating of, and which is the most fertile and rich, abounding in several merchantable Commodities.

The *French* perceiving the *Spaniards* neglected this long Tract of Land, Admiral *Coligny*, in the Reign of *Charles IX.* procured two of the King's Ships to be sent thither, the Command of which he gave to *Jean Ribaut*, who, after a Voyage of two Months, arrived at the River of *Dolphins*, between that of *San Mattæo* and that of *May*, lying about the 30th Degree.

The next River to that of *May*, he call'd the *Seine*; the next to that, the *Somme*; then the *Loire*; then the *Charente*, and the *Garonne*. At the Mouth of *Albemarle* River then called the *Great River*, the Port being safe and commodious, he built a Fort, which he call'd *Charles Fort*, and gave

gave it the Name of *Port Royal*, in 32 Degrees of Latitude, bordering on *Virginia*, now *North-Carolina*, where the first Settlement was made by any *European Nation*.

The Civil Wars raging in *France*, *Ribaut's* Soldiers mutinied, for Want of Supplies. The Natives, 'tis true, were very kind to them, out of Hatred to the *Spaniards*; but they could not furnish them with many Necessaries which they wanted; and the Admiral was so engaged in Politicks at home, that he had not Leisure to provide for the Wants of his Colony. So *Ribaut* having made some Discoveries in the North-East Part of *Florida*, returned to *France*; and, in his Return, if Credit may be given to an old Author, his Company were reduced to such Extremity, that they kill'd and eat one of their own Men; and probably would have done so by others, had they not accidentally met with an *English Ship*, the Master of which furnish'd them with some Provisions. A Peace being concluded two Years after in *France*, between the Papists and Protestants, *Coligny*, who was then in Favour at Court, procured other Ships to be sent to this Country, which was now call'd *Carolina*, from *Fort Charles*, as that was from the *French King*. The Command of those Ships, and the Men aboard, was given to *Lewis Laudoner*, who was order'd to carry on the Settlement. He arriv'd here the 20th of *June*, 1564, with three Ships, and was kindly received by the *Indians*; but could find no Gold and Silver Mines, tho' he spent much Labour and Time in Search after them. His Provisions being almost all gone, and the Natives either unable, or unwilling to furnish him with more, *Laudoner* resolv'd to return also to *France*: and as he was preparing to depart, *Jean Ribaut* arriv'd with three Ships, which had so good an Effect on the *Indians*, that they seem'd to be as welcome to them as to the *French*. The Kings of *Homoloa*, *Seravatri*, *Almacam*, *Malica* and *Castri* wait'd upon *Ribaut*, to congratulate his Arrival, and promised to conduct him to the *Apalataean Mountains*, which part *Carolina* from *Virginia*.

The *French* conceived great Hopes of this Settlement; but all vanish'd on the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, who with a Squadron of Ships and Land Forces, drove the *French* out of their Forts, kill'd *Ribaut* and 600 Men, after having given them Conditions of Life, and oblig'd *Laudoner*, with a few of his Countrymen who remained alive, to return to *France*.

The *French King* took no Notice of this Act of Violence committed on his Subjects, because they were Protestants; and indeed 'tis thought *Coligny* intended, by this Settlement,



to secure a Retreat for himself, and his Brethren of the reform'd Religion, in case they were conquer'd in *France*. *Peter Melanda* commanded the *Spaniards*, who dislodg'd the *French*, and so provoked the *Indians* by his Cruelty and Injustice, that they were very ready to revenge themselves when Opportunity offer'd, as it did not long after; for *Capt. De Gorgues*, a *French Gentleman*, at his own Cost, fitted out three stout Ships, and with 280 Men sail'd to *Carolina*, where he took the Fort, and put all the *Spaniards* within it to the Sword. They had built two other Forts, which he easily reduced, and served the Garrisons as he did that of *Fort Charles*. He demolish'd them, and was assisted by the Kings of *Homoloa* and *Seravatri*.

The *French* travell'd into the Dominions of the great King Dav. of Kid. P 247. of *Apalacha*, near the Mountains, where they converted many *Indians* to Christianity. These *Indians* were more civil than those to the Northward, their Kings Dominions larger, and their Manners, in a great measure, resembled the *Mexicans*.

We do not find that *Monfieur de Gorgues* made any Settlement here; or that the *Spaniards* attempted to recover the Country, which, from the Year 1567, lay deserted by all *European Nations*, till the Reign of King *Charles II.* of *England*. In the Year 1622, several *English Families* flying from Ibid. the Massacres of the *Indians* in *Virginia* and *New-England*, were driven on these Coasts, and settled in the Province of *Mallica*, near the Head of the River of *May*, where they acted the Part of Missionaries among the *Mallicans* and *Apalabites*. The King of the Country is said to have been baptized; and in the Year 1653, *Mr. Brigstock*, an *Englishman*, went to *Apalacha*, where he was honourably entertain'd by his Countrymen, who were there before him; and from his Relation of the Country ours is taken.

It will not be unacceptable to the curious, to see a Description of *Carolina*, as it was before the *English* settled there, which we find very distinctly related in a Discourse printed A Description of Old Carolina. *A. D.* 1644. The nearest River of any Note to *Virginia*, falling into the Sea, is the *Jordan*, which lies in 32 Degrees; from whence, about 20 Leagues downwards to the South, is the Promontory of *St. Helen*, near *Port-Royal*, which the *French* chose for the best and surest Place to begin their Plantations. Between the River *Jordan* and *St. Helens*, are *Oristanum*, Castell. p. 33. *Ostatum* and *Cayagna*; *Oristanum* lying 6 Leagues from *St. Helens*, *Ostatum* 4 Leagues from *Oristanum*, and *Cayagna* 8 Leagues from *Ostatum*. From *St. Helens* to *Dos Baxos Haven* is 5 Leagues. From thence to the Bay de *Asapo* 3 Leagues,

*Leagues, thence to Cafanufium 3, to Capula 5, to Saron 9, to S. Alcany 14, and to S. Peter 20 Leagues, lying in 31 Degrees of Latitude. The next Place is San Mattæo, 5 Leagues from St. Peter.*

'Twill be difficult for an Inhabitant of the present *Carolina* to reconcile all these Names to the modern, and the old Description to the new; wherefore we shall not pretend to it, at least but occasionally, and where we can be almost sure that we are in the right.

This Country having been abandoned by all *European Nations* for near 100 Years, it seem'd reasonable then, that any one who would be at the Expence of settling upon it, and cultivate it, should possess it; and the Pretence of *Sebastian Cabot's* discovering it gave the Crown of *England* a Title to it, which King *Charles II.* asserted; for some Noblemen and Gentlemen begging it of him, he made a Grant of it, by a Patent bearing Date the 24th of *March*, 1663, to *Edward Earl of Clarendon*, then Lord High Chancellor of *England*, *George Duke of Albemarle*, *William Lord Craven*, *John Lord Berkley*, *Anthony Lord Ashley*, *Sir George Carteret*, *Sir William Berkley*, and *Sir John Colliton*; who, to use the Words of the Grand Charter, being excited with a laudable and pious Zeal, for the Propagation of the Gospel, begg'd a certain Country in the Parts of *America* not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous People, who had no Knowledge of God, &c. wherefore the King granted them all that Territory in his Dominions in *America*, from the North End of the Island call'd *Lucke-Island*, which lies in the Southern *Virginian Sea*, and within 36 Degrees of North Latitude; and to the West as far as the South Seas; and so Southerly as far as the River *San Mattæo*, which borders on the Coast of *Florida*, and is within 31 Degrees of North Latitude, and so West, in a direct Line, as far as the South Seas aforesaid: With all Royal Fisheries, Mines, Power of Life and Limb, and every thing necessary in an absolute Propriety, paying a Quit-rent of 20 Marks yearly.

• We are not to enter into the Merits of the Cause, nor enquire by what Right King *Charles* became possess'd of this Province, and *Carolina* to be a Part of his Dominions in *America*; 'tis enough for us, that he gave the Proprietaries such a Charter, and that they proceeded towards a Settlement by virtue of it, which was in a few Years effected. Whatever has been said of the *French* and *Spaniards*, 'tis but just, that if one Nation does not think a Country worth cultivating, and deserts it, another, who has a better Opinion of it, may enter upon it, by the Law of Nature and Reason.

The Proprietaries, after they had got their Charter, gave due Encouragement for Persons to settle in this Province, and there being exprefs Provision made in it for a Toleration and Indulgence to all Christians in the free Exercise of their Religion, great Numbers of Protestants, Dissenters from the Church of *England*, retired thither.

This Toleration appears so firm by this Charter, that we wonder any Palatine could presume to break in upon it. The King granted the Proprietaries full and free License, Liberty and Authority, by such legal ways and means as they shall think fit, to give unto such Person and Persons, inhabiting and being within the said Province, or any Part thereof, who really in their Judgments, and for Conscience sake, cannot or shall not conform to the Liturgy, Form and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, and take and subscribe the Oaths and Articles, made and establish'd in that Behalf, or any of them, such Indulgences and Dispensations in that Behalf, for and during such time and times, and with such Limitations and Restrictions as they, &c. shall think fit.

Let us now see what the Proprietaries did, pursuant to the Power the King has invested them with, to grant Liberty of Conscience. We cannot have a better Authority than the *Case of the Dissenters in Carolina*, publish'd lately by a Gentleman of this Province.

*The first Proprietors were so sensible that nothing could people P. 27. that Province, and enrich it, but an universal and absolute Toleration, that they made the most exprefs and ample Provision for such a Toleration that ever was made in any Constitution in the World, as may be seen in the 96, 101, 102, 106 Articles of the Fundamental Constitutions; which provide, as the Lords Proprietaries word it in those Constitutions, That P. 36. since the Natives of that Place, who will be concerned in our Plantations, are utterly Strangers to Christianity, whose Idolatry, Ignorance, or Mistake, give us no Right to expel or use them ill; and that those who remove from other Parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different Opinions concerning Matters of Religion, the Liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them; and that it will not be reasonable for us, on this Account, to keep them out: Therefore, that sure Peace may be maintain'd, amidst the Diversity of Opinions, and our Agreement and Compact with all Men may be duly and faithfully observed, the Violation whereof, upon what Pretence soever, cannot be without great Offence to Almighty God, and great Scandal to the true Religion, which we profess: And also that Jews, Heathens, and other Dissenters from the Purity of the Christian Religion may not be scar'd, and kept at Dis-*  
tance



tance from it, but by having an Opportunity of acquainting themselves with the Truth and Reasonableness of its Doctrines, and the Peaceableness and Inoffensiveness of its Professors, may by good Usage and Persuasion, and all those convincing Methods of Gentleness and Meekness, suitable to the Rules and Designs of the Gospel, be won over to embrace, and unfeignedly receive the Truth. Therefore the said Constitutions provided for their Liberty; but declared, *That no Person above seventeen Years of Age shall have any Benefit or Protection of the Law, which is not a Member of some Church or Profession, having his Name recorded in some one religious Record.*

Thus did these Lords Proprietaries take care, that Persons of all Professions in Religion should be protected and secur'd in the free Exercise of them; and the Reader thus prepos'd with the Laws of the Country, on which the Government of the Colony is intirely founded, will be the better able to judge of the Principles of those Men, who, in the Sequel of this History, we shall find endeavouring to overturn the most considerable Articles of these Fundamentals; for great Numbers of Protestant Dissenters from the Church of *England*, removing with their Families to *Carolina*, when there were so many Inhabitants, that a Form of Government was necessary, the Proprietaries agreed on that above-mentioned, call'd the Fundamental Constitutions, consisting of 120 Articles, signed by the Duke of *Albemarle*, then Palatine of the Province, the Lord *Craven*, the Lord *Ashley*, Sir *John Colliton*, the Lord *Cornbury*, the Lord *Berkley*, Sir *George Carteret*, the 1st of *March*, 1699. Which Constitutions, as is expressed in the last Article, *shall be and remain the sacred and unalterable Form and Rule of Government in Carolina for ever.*

They were drawn up by that great Philosopher Mr. *Locke*, at the Desire of that famous Politician the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, one of the Proprietors, and the only one that could be suspected of having the least Inclination to favour the Dissenters. The first Article of these Fundamentals is, *That a Palatine shall be chosen out of the Proprietaries, who shall continue during Life, and be succeeded by the eldest of the other Proprietaries.* The Palatine has the executive Power in most Cases, and the rest of the Proprietaries have their Places and Privileges. Mr. *Archdale*, in the before-mentioned Treatise, says, *They center'd all their Power in four of them, viz. in a Palatine of their own choosing, and three more; who were authoriz'd to execute the whole Powers of the Charter. This is call'd the Palatine's Court; and their Deputies in Carolina execute it as they are directed by their Principals.*

By the Fundamental Constitutions, there are to be three hereditary Noblemen in every County, one call'd a Landgrave, and two call'd Cassiques. The Parliament consists of the Proprietors, or their Deputies, the Governor and Commons; and by the Fundamentals should have 25 Landgraves, and 50 Cassiques to make a Nobility; but the Number of Landgraves and Cassiques is very small, and they are not summon'd to make an upper House on that Account; so the Governor and the Proprietors Deputies arrogate that Title. The Commoners are chosen by the Freeholders of every County, as the Commons in *England*, and all were at first to sit in one House, and have equal Votes. This Parliament should meet once in every two Years, and oftener, if Occasion require. The Courts of Justice are, besides those of the Palatine's Court, the Chief Justices Court, the High Constable's Court, the Chancellor's Court, the Treasurers Court, the Chamberlain's Court, the High Steward's Court; besides which, there are the Great Council, and the Hundred Courts. Mr. *Archdale*, on this Head, tells us, "The Charter generally, as in other Charters, agrees on Royal Privileges and Powers, but especially at that time it had an overplus Power to grant Liberty of Conscience, tho' at home was a hot persecuting time; as also a Power to create a Nobility, yet not to have the same Titles as here in *England*; and therefore they are there by Patent, under the Great Seal of the Province, call'd Landgraves and Cassiques, in lieu of Earls and Lords, and are by their Titles to sit with the Lords Proprietors Deputies, and together make the upper House, the lower House being elected by the People. These Landgraves are to have four Baronies annex'd to their Dignities, of 6000 Acres each Barony; and the Cassiques two Baronies, of 3000 each, and not to be divided by Sale of any Part. Only they have Power to let out a third Part for three Lives, to raise Portions for younger Children." Every County has a Sheriff and four Justices of the Peace. Every Planter pays 1 *d.* an Acre Quit-rent to the Proprietaries, unless he buys it off. All the Inhabitants and Freemen, from 16 to 60 Years old, are bound to bear Arms, when commanded by the *Great Council*.

The Proprietaries enter'd into a joint Stock, and fitted out Ships on their own proper Charges, to transport People and Cattle thither, which Expence amounted to 12000 *l.* besides as much or more disburs'd by single Proprietors to advance the Colony; and all their Rents and Incomes have since the Beginning been laid out in publick Services.

Many Dissenters of good Estates went over, and many other Persons, in hopes to mend their Fortunes. And if they could tell how to improve the Opportunities that were put into their Hands there, they had seldom any Reason to repent of going thither.

Tho' the Difficulties and Dangers they met with at first were a little discouraging, all free Persons who came over were to have 50 Acres of Land for themselves, 50 more for each Man Servant, and 50 more for each Woman Servant, marriageable, and not marriageable 40 Acres. Each Servant out of his or her time was to have 50 Acres, paying the Quit-rent of 1 *d.* an Acre.

The Proportion of Land was much greater by the first Instructions which the Proprietaries sent their Governors, but they afterwards thought fit to reduce it to the present Allotment. Some Gentlemen who did not care to be liable to the yearly Quit-rent of 1 *d.* an Acre, bought their Lands outright.

The common Rate of purchasing now, is 20 *l.* for 100 Acres, and 10 *s.* a Year Quit-rent. The Proprietors, in all their Leafes, never forget to except all Mines, Minerals, and *Quarries of Gems*, and precious Stones.

Things being thus establish'd, the Lords Proprietaries appointed Col. *William Sayle* to be Governor of their Province, about the Year 1670. The first Plantations that came to any Perfection, were about *Albemarle* and *Port-Royal* Rivers; but *Ashley* and *Cooper* Rivers drew People that way, for the Convenience of Pasture and Tillage, for which Reason that part of the Country became most inhabited.

In 1671, the Proprietaries sent Capt. *Halsted* with a Supply of Provisions and Stores for the Colony, and created *James Carteret*, Sir *John Yeomans*, and *John Lock*, Esq; Landgraves.

The Constitutions having been found deficient in some Cases, Temporary Laws were added, and the Form of Government settled thus.

A Governor named by the Palatine.

A Council, consisting of

}	7 Deputies of the Proprietors.
}	7 Gentlemen, chosen by the Parliament.
}	7 of the eldest Landgraves and Cassiques.



An Admiral,  
A Chamberlain,  
Chancellor,  
Chief Justice,  
Secretary,  
Surveyor,  
Treasurer,

High-Steward,  
High-Constable,  
Register of Births, Burials  
and Marriages,  
Register of Writings,  
Marshal of the Admiralty.

All which were nominated by the Proprietors respectively. The *Quorum* of the Council were to be the Governor and six Councillors, of whom three at least were to be Proprietors Deputies; and because there were not Inhabitants to make a Parliament, according to the *Fundamental Constitutions*, 'twas order'd to consist of the Governor, the Deputies of Proprietors, and twenty Members chosen by the Freeholders, of whom ten were to be elected by *Berkley's* County, and ten by *Colliton* County; which Number was increased, as more Counties were laid out, and more People came to settle in the Province.

The Temporary Laws were made in the Year 1671: At which time *William* Earl of *Craven* was Palatine; on which Office he enter'd, after the Death of the Duke of *Albemarle*,  
Earl of Craven  
ven Palatine.  
who, as has been said, was Palatine when the *Fundamental Constitutions* were signed; but died soon after. In the same Year Capt. *Halsted* was order'd to make Discoveries up *Ashley* River, and a Model of a Town was sent, which it will be well if the People of *Carolina* are able to build 100 Years hence; but the Proprietaries, as appears by their Constitutions and Instructions to their Governors, thought 'twas almost as easy to build Towns, as to draw Schemes.

The next Governor to Col. *Sayle* was Sir *John Yeomans*,  
Sir John  
Yeomans  
Governor.  
Baronet, in whose time many of the before-mentioned Transactions happen'd; but we have not been able to distinguish the Events in his Government from those in *Sayle's*.

About the Year 1680, the Proprietaries made *Joseph West*,  
Joseph West  
Governor.  
Esq; one of the first Planters, their Governor. He was a Man of Courage, Wisdom, Piety and Moderation; and such an one was necessary in his time: For though many Dissenters had fled from the Rage of their Enemies in *England*, yet there were not wanting Men of other Principles, who by Factions disturb'd the Peace of the Infant Colony. Mr. *Archdale's* Word will, in this Case, be more acceptable to the Reader: "The most desperate Fortunes first ventured  
" over to break the Ice, which being generally the ill Livers  
" of the pretended Churchmen, tho' the Proprietors com-  
" missionated one Col. *West* their Governor, a moderate,  
H h " just,

“ just, pious, and valiant Person; yet having a Council of  
 “ the loose principled Men, they grew very unruly, and had  
 “ like to have ruined the Colony by abusing the *Indians*,  
 “ whom in Prudence they ought to have obliged in the high-  
 “ est Degree, and so brought an *Indian War* on the Country  
 “ like that in the first planting of *Virginia*, in which several  
 “ were cut off; but the Governor by his manly Prudence,  
 “ at least in a great Measure, extinguished the Flame, which  
 “ had a long Time threatened the Dissolution of the Colony.”

The two Factions were that of the Proprietaries and that of the Planters, like Court and Country Party in *England*. This Division got to such a Head, that one Mr. *John Culpeper* was sent Prisoner to *England*, with a Charge of High-Treason against him for raising a Rebellion in *Carolina*; for which he was tried at *Westminster-Hall*, and upon hearing the Matter, it appeared only to be a disorderly Quarrel among the Planters and Inhabitants of the Province, so he was acquitted.

Col. *West* held a Parliament in *Charles-Town*, A. D. 1682, in which several Acts were passed and ratified by him (*Andrew Percivall*, Esq; *William Owen*, Esq; and *Maurice Matthews*, Esq; Deputies of the Proprietaries) as, *An Act for Highways, for suppressing Drunkenness and profane Swearing, for Observation of the Lord's Day, and for settling the Militia*.

'Twas in this Governor's Time, that the *Wesloes*, a Nation of the *Indians*, were troublesome to the Colony, and attempted the Subversion of this hopeful Settlement, as the Act of Parliament to raise Money for repelling them words it. There was not much Blood shed or Money spent, for 4 or 500 l. paid the Charge of the War and other publick Expences.

The Lords Proprietaries erected a Commission for *Maurice Matthews*, Esq; *William Fuller*, Esq; *Jonathan Fitz*, Esq; and *John Boon*, Esq; to decide all Causes between the *English* and *Indians*. And Mr. *West* is charged with dealing in *Indians*: For which and opposing the Proprietaries Party, he was removed in the Year 1683, and *Joseph Moreton*, Esq; appointed Governor in his stead.

'Twas about this Time, that the Persecution, raised by the Popish Faction and their Adherents in *England* against the Protestant Dissenters, was at the Heighth, and no Part of this Kingdom suffered more by it than *Somersetshire*. The Author of this History lived at that Time with Mr. *Blake*, Brother to the famous General of that Name, being educated by his Son-in-law who taught School in *Bridgwater*; and remembers, though then very young, the Reasons old Mr. *Blake* used to give for leaving *England*: One of which was, That  
 the

the Miseries they endured, meaning the Dissenters then, were nothing to what he foresaw would attend the Reign of a Popish Successor, wherefore he resolv'd to remove to *Carolina*: And he had so great an Interest among Persons of his Principles, I mean the Dissenters, that many honest substantial Persons engaged to go over with him.

I must prevent all Prejudice to what I have said, by declaring that this Book is written by one who is not himself a Dissenter, but verily believes the true Church of *England* is the most orthodox and the most pure Church in the World. And by the true Church of *England*, he understands all those who live up to the Doctrine it professes, who by their Piety, Charity and Moderation, are Ornaments of our holy Religion, and who do not blindly espouse a Name out of Interest, or from the Impressions of Education; who pity, and not hate such as dissent from them, who are loyal to their Prince, submissive to their Superiors, true to their Country, and charitable to all: Of such a Temper is every true Churchman, and may their Number daily encrease, till we are all of one Mind and one Religion, as we have but one God and one Saviour.

If the Reader will pardon this Digression he shall have no more, and so much it was necessary to say, that he may not think whatever is said of Mr. *Blake* or his Brethren, is out of Respect to his Profession, but as a Christian: For though I doubt not there may be many good Christians of the same Principles, I should esteem them more if they would be convinced and conform, that the Union, so often recommended by our gracious and glorious Queen *Anne*, may be universal.

I say the more of Mr. *Blake*, because his Family is one of the most considerable in this Province, where he arrived in the Year 1683, with several other Families the Followers of his Fortune. What Estate he had in *England* he sold, to carry the Effects along with him, and though the Sum was not many Thousands, if it did at all deserve the plural Number, yet it was all that his great Brother left him, though for several Years he commanded the *British* Fleet, and in a Time when our naval Arms were victorious, and the Treasures of *New Spain* seldom reached Home.

By Mr. *Blake's* Presence in *Carolina*, the *Sober Party*, we call them so in Opposition to Mr. *Archdale's* *Ill Livers*, began to take Heart, and the other to be discouraged in their irregular Courses. The Gentleman I just mentioned, in his *Description of Carolina* writes thus: In Governor Moreton's Time, General *Blake's* Brother with many Dissenters came to *Carolina*; which *Blake* being a wise and prudent Person, of an



heroick Temper of Spirit, strengthened the Hands of sober inclined People, and kept under the first loose and extravagant Spirit, &c. The Governor, as we are told, married Mrs. Elizabeth Blake his Daughter, and by this Alliance, the Strength of their Party was so encreased, that we hear little of the other till Mr. Colliton's Government.

There being some Complaints against Mr. Matthews, and the other Commissioners for deciding Causes between the English and the Indians, they were discharged and the Commission abrogated. The Lords Proprietaries ordered the Indians 400 Miles from Charles-Town to be taken into their Protection.

The County of Berkley between Stono and Sewee was now laid out, and soon after Craven County on the North of Berkley, and Colliton County on the South: All which Counties were divided into Squares of 12000 Acres, for the several Shares of the Proprietaries, Landgraves and Cassiques.

Mr. Moreton at his entring upon his Office called a Parliament, which met in Form and passed several Acts; as, For raising 500 l. for defraying the publick Charge of the Province; for regulating the Surveyor General's Fees; for raising the Value of foreign Coin; for Trial of small and mean Causes under 40 s. for Damage of protested Bills of Exchange; for ascertaining publick Officers Fees; to suspend Prosecution for foreign Debts; to inhabit the trading with Servants or Slaves; for laying out and making good Highways; for preventing the taking away Boats and Canoes; for marking of all Sorts of Cattle; to prevent unlicensed Taverns and Punch-Houses, and ascertaining the Rates and Prices of Wine and other Liquors; to prevent Runaways. All which Acts were signed by Joseph Moreton, Esq; Governor, John Godfrey, Esq; John Boon, Esq; James Moor, Esq; Maurice Matthews, Esq; Andrew Percivall, Esq; Arthur Middleton, Esq; Counsellors and Deputies, and Mr. Joseph Oldys, Clerk to the Parliament. At this Time Robert Gibs, Esq; was Treasurer of the Colony; John Moor, Esq; Secretary; John Boon, Esq; Robert Daniel, Esq; Mr. Bernard Schinkingh, Mr. Peter Hearn, and Capt. Florence O Sullivan, were appointed Commissioners for stating and passing the publick Accounts. Maurice Matthews, Esq; was also Surveyor-General. The Trade of dealing in Indians continued, and several of the Proprietors Deputies were concerned in it: Whether the Governor Mr. Moreton favoured it or not, we cannot undertake to determine. 'Tis certain he did not long enjoy his Office: For it appears by the Copies of the original Instructions sent by the Proprietaries to his Successor, that in the following

Sir Richard  
Kyrle Go-  
vernor.  
Joseph  
West, Esq;  
Governor.

Following Year the Palatine made Sir *Richard Kyrle* Governor. He was a Gentleman of *Ireland*, and dying within the Year, *Joseph West*, Esq; was again chosen Governor by the Council, and being a Man of great Interest, the Proprietaries thought fit to confirm him in his Government: But they turned out *Maurice Matthews*, Esq; *James Moor*, Esq; and *Arthur Middleton*, Esq; from being Deputies and Councilors, for disobeying their Orders and sending away *Indians*. They also displaced their Secretary *John Moor*, Esq; and put *Robert Quarry*, Esq; in his Place.

Thus we see the latter has enjoyed honourable Offices many Years in the *American Colonies*; with the Interest of which he must by this Means be very well acquainted.

In Mr. *West's* second Government, the Right Honourable the Lord *Cardrosse* removed to *Carolina*, and with ten *Scots* Families settled at *Port-Royal*, esteemed the most convenient Place in this Province for Commerce, as being the best Port. The Lord *Cardrosse* having been disgusted with the Government of the Province, for some ill Usage he met with returned to *Scotland*, and the *Spaniards* dislodged the *Scots* who had seated themselves on that fine River. This Lord was of the House of *Buchan*, and in King *William's* Reign enjoyed the Title of Earl of *Buchan*.

Dissenters continuing to come hither from all Parts of *England*, the Colony thrived and encreased in Numbers and Riches.

*James Colliton*, Esq; of *Barbados*, Brother to Sir *Peter Colliton* Baronet, a Proprietary, being honoured with the Title of Landgrave, left the Island he lived in, and transported himself and Family to *Carolina*, where he seated himself at old *Charles-Town* on *Cooper River*, built a handsom House there, and being made Governor, his Seat is to this Day called the Governor's House. Had this Gentleman had as much Honour and Capacity as his Brother Sir *Peter*, we should have had no Occasion to excuse ourselves for keeping to the Truth of History in his Behalf. One of his Successors writes in this Manner of his Government: 'The Party Governor *Moreton* had gone a great Way in suppressing, grew now so strong among the common People, that they chose Members to oppose whatsoever the Governor requested, insomuch that they would not settle the Militia Act, though their own Security depended on it, and that it would be Grounds of their farther Strength.' The Reason of the Discontent the People lay under, were Disputes about the Tenure of their Lands and Payment of their Quit-Rents, which were not settled till Mr. *Archdale's* Government.

James Col-  
lition, Esq;  
Governor.

Mr. Arch-  
dale's De-  
scription of  
Carolina.

Mr. *Colliton* called a Parliament *A. D.* 1687. This Assembly not liking the Proprietaries *Fundamental Constitutions*, and thinking they could supply the Deficiencies in them, appointed a Committee to examine them: And these Gentlemen drew up a new Form of Government, differing in many Articles from the former, to which they gave the Title of *Standing Laws* and *Temporary Laws*. This Committee were *James Colliton*, Esq; Governor, *Paul Grimbball*, Esq; and *William Dunlop*, Esq; Deputies; *Bernard Schinking*, *Thomas Smith*, *John Farr*, and *Joseph Blake*, Esqrs; Commoners. But neither the Lords Proprietaries nor the People of *Carolina* accepted of them; and thus the *Fundamental Constitutions* keep their Ground to this Day.

Mr. *Colliton* gave such Discontent in his Administration, that he was banished the Province; a Fate few Governors of Colonies were ever so unhappy as to meet with.

Mr. *Archdale* tells us, Mr. *Smith* succeeded Mr. *Colliton*, and that he succeeded Mr. *Smith*, but then the latter must have been twice Governor: For we find several other Gentlemen who had that Title and Office before the Year 1694, when Mr. *Archdale* says, Governor *Smith* wrote over to the Proprietaries, to advise them to send one of their Number to *Carolina*. For Col. *Robert Quarry* was Governor about the Year 1690. After him Mr. *Southwell*. And in the Year 1692, Col. *Philip Ludwell* held this Government. In which it is certain, he was succeeded by the above-mentioned *Thomas Smith*, Esq; Landgrave of this Province.

We are not doubtful of any Error in this Order of the Governors except in Mr. *Southwell's*, our Informations having been uncertain as to him.

Mr. *Smith*, says Mr. *Archdale*, was a wise, sober, well-living Man, who grew so uneasy in the Government by Reason he could not satisfy People in their Demands, that he wrote over *Anno* 1694, *It was impossible to settle the Country, except a Proprietary himself was sent thither with full Power to hear their Grievances.* The Proprietaries took Governor *Smith's* Letter into Consideration, and the Lord *Ashley* was pitched upon by all the Lords as a Person every Way qualified for so good a Work, but he desired to be excused on Account of his particular Affairs in *England*. Upon which Mr. *Archdale* was chosen by the Proprietaries, to be sent over with large and ample Powers. Which having received, he embarked and sailed to *Carolina*. When he arrived and entered upon the Government in *August* 1695, he found all Matters in great Confusion, and every Faction applied themselves to him in Hopes of Relief. In order to

which

Thomas  
Smith, Esq;  
Governor.

Col. Robert  
Quarry  
Governor.  
Mr. South-  
well Govern-  
or.

Col. Philip  
Ludwell  
Governor.  
Thomas  
Smith, Esq;  
Governor.

John Arch-  
dale, Esq;  
Governor.



which he summoned an Assembly, and made a kind Speech to them. The Parliament chose *Jonathan Amary, Esq;* to be their Speaker, and having presented a dutiful Address to the Governor, proceeded to do Business. But the Divisions among them were so great, that had not Mr. *Archdale* exercised a great deal of Patience, neither his Power as Governor, nor his higher Title of Proprietary could have brought that Assembly to any Temper, which he at last effected, and the Disorders of the Province were remedied.

The Parliament presented an Address of Thanks to the Governor to be transmitted to the Proprietaries, and all Things ended well. In his Time the *Tammasees* an Indian Nation, who formerly lived under the *Spanish* Government and now under the *English*, made an Incurfion into the Territories of another Indian Nation near *Sancta Maria*, not far from *St. Augustino*, took several Prisoners, and intended to sell them for Slaves at *Barbados* or *Jamaica*, as had been usual among them. Mr. *Archdale* hearing of it sent for the King of the *Tammasees*, and ordered him to bring those Indians to *Charles-Town*, which he did. They were Papists, and the Kings of *England* and *Spain* being at that Time Confederates, the Governor gave the King of the *Tammasees* Orders to carry them to *St. Augustino*, with a Letter to the Governor, which may serve to give us an Idea of the Power of an Indian King, who receives Orders from a Governor of a small Province, as *Carolina* was then at least whatever it is now.

The *Spaniard* who commanded in *St. Augustino* returned Mr. *Archdale* a Letter of Thanks, and not long after another Indian King was sent by the *Spanish* Governor, with a Letter of Complaint, of Wrong done the *Spanish* Indians by those allied to the *English*.

The *Spanish* Indians were called *Churchcates*, of whom the *Apalachicoles*, *English* Indians, had killed three. The Governor commanded that Nation and all others depending on the *English*, to forbear molesting those within the *Spanish* Jurisdiction; which had so good an Effect, that when Mr. *Robert Barrow*, Mr. *Edward Wardell*, and other *Englishmen*, were afterwards cast away to the Southward of *Augustino*, the barbarous Indians offered them no Hurt; and when they arrived at that Town, the Governor supplied them with all Necessaries.

Col. *Bull*, one of the Council and a great Trader with the Indians, engaged that Nation which dwelt about *Cape Fear* to submit to the *English*, who however were afraid to trust them; for a Vessel coming from *New-England* being

shipwrecked on that Coast, the Passengers to the Number of 52 despaired of their Lives from those Barbarians, but resolved to defend themselves as well as they could: Accordingly they entrenched in their little Camp. The *Indians* came down, and by Signs of Friendship invited them to come forth, which they were afraid to do. At last when their Provisions were almost all spent, some of them ventured out, were kindly received and furnished by the *Indians* with Necessaries. The King invited them to his Town, treated them, and four or five of them travelling to *Charles-Town*, gave the Governor Notice of their Misfortunes; which hearing he sent a Ship to fetch the rest, and they arrived safely at the Capital of *Carolina*.

In Mr. *Archdale's* Time, two *Indians* quarrelling in their drinking, one of them presently killed the other, whose Wife being by immediately dismembered the Murderer to revenge her Husband's Death, cutting off his Privities with a Knife. The Governor happening to be near the Place where the Murder was committed, ordered the Criminal to be pursued. He was taken in a Swamp about 16 Miles from the Town, to which he was sent under a Guard. The Nation to whom the slain *Indian* belonged, hearing of his Death, their King came to Mr. *Archdale* and desired Justice upon the Murderer. Some of whose Friends would have bought him off as usual, but nothing less than his Death would satisfy the injured Nation; and according to the Custom of his own Country, the Governor ordered him to be shot by the Kinsman of the Deceased. As he was leading to Execution his King came to him, and bid him *die like a Man since he must die*, adding, *he had often forewarned him of Rum*, the Liquor which he was drunk with when he killed the Man, *and now he must lose his Life for not taking his Counsel*.

When he came to the Tree, he desired not to be tied to it but to stand loose, saying, *I will not stir when he shoots me*. So he was shot in the Head and fell down dead.

This Piece of Justice hindered a War between the Nations to which these two *Indians* belonged. The *Indians* inhabiting the Country about the River *Pemlico*, were almost all consumed by a pestilential Disease while this Governor was in *Carolina*; and the *Coranines*, a bloody and barbarous People, were most of them cut off by a neighbouring Nation.

In his Time several Families removed from *New-England* to settle at *Carolina*, and seated themselves on the River *Sewee* in *North Carolina*. These are all the Events which happened during Mr. *Archdale's* Government, at least he has thought fit to communicate no more to the Publick, and

as inconsiderable as they may appear to some Persons who are used to turn over the *Grecian* and *Roman* Histories, if they will give themselves the Trouble to examine the Affairs of these two Empires, they will find them as trivial in the Beginning at least, if they can distinguish the *History* from the *Fable*.

We cannot expect much Business in the Infancy of a Colony, and yet *Carolina* is not so young, but Factions have been as rampant there, as if the People had been made wanton by many Ages of Prosperity.

Mr. *Archdale*, to use his own Phrase, *Returned for England, being not sent for Home*. And *Joseph Blake, Esq;* Joseph Blake, Esq; Governor. Son of the before-mentioned Mr. *Blake* being become a Proprietary, was looked upon as the fittest Person to succeed him in his Government, in which Office he behaved himself to the Satisfaction of the Country, which he governed with equal Prudence and Moderation.

In his Time Major *Daniel* brought from *England* new Constitutions, consisting of 41 Articles, wherein as ample Provision was made for Liberty of Conscience, as in the fundamental Constitutions. These new Laws were called the last *Fundamental Constitutions*, and signed by *John Earl of Bath, Palatine; Anthony Lord Ashley, the Lord Craven, the Lord Carteret, the Earl of Bath, Sir John Colliton, William Thornburgh Merchant, Thomas Amy and William Thornburgh*; but they were never confirmed in Parliament at *Carolina*. John Earl of Bath Palatine.

Mr. *Blake*, though he was himself a Dissenter, finding there was no settled Maintenance for the Church of *England* Minister, procured an Act of Assembly (in which there were a great Number of Dissenters) for the settling a very convenient House with a *Glebe*, two Servants, and 150 *l. per Annum* upon the Minister of *Charles-Town* for ever. 'Twas by his Influence that Act past, and he gave his Assent to it; he as Governor, having a negative Voice to all Bills. His Lady also was one of the greatest Benefactors towards the Ornaments of the Church. And this Friendship deserved a more grateful Return than they met with from those who succeeded in the Government.

Mr. *Blake* dying about the Year 1700, after he had been Governor four or five Years, the Proprietaries Deputies met according to their Instructions in such Cases, and proceeded to the Election of a new Governor; which Post is generally conferred on the eldest Landgrave if there's no Objection to him, and no Person sent from *England* with that Character.



*Joseph Moreton*, Esq; being the eldest Landgrave, was elected Governor by the Deputies; but Capt. *James Moor*, one of these Deputies, knowing the Party he had among them objected against Mr. *Moreton*, as if he had made a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by the true and absolute Lords and Proprietaries, by accepting of a Commission from King *William* to be Judge of the Admiralty, when he had at the same Time a Commission from the Lords Proprietaries for the same Office.

Though this Objection was answered by Mr. *Moreton's* Friends, That it did not appear by the Charter, the Proprietaries can impower anyone to try Persons for Facts committed out of their Dominions, which is necessary for such a Judge, and the Proprietaries could not grant it; yet such was Mr. *Moor's* Interest, that on this his Objection Mr. *Moreton* was set aside, and his Opponent Mr. *Moor* chosen Governor. Mr. *Moreton* informed and complained to the Proprietaries, but was never redressed.

From this Election I date the Rise of all the Misfortunes that have since befallen this Colony, and that have given the Government of *England* so much Trouble.

The Earl of *Bath* was dead, and his Son *John Lord Granville* lately advanced to the House of Peers, was Palatine. All the World knew how zealous that Gentleman had been for promoting a Bill against occasional Conformists in *England*, and that he shewed his Aversion to Dissenters even in the Court of *Stannaries* in the *West* while he was Warden. The Bitterness of his Spirit appeared in the Speeches he made to the Representatives of that Court, and was such that he was not long employed by a Government, which is founded on Principles of Justice and Moderation; which has in all Things promoted Union, and which has united the Hearts of all the Subjects of the *British* Empire more than all the Princes could do since the *Conquest*, and many Ages before it.

In an ill Time therefore did this Palatine countenance the Divisions in *Carolina*, by encouraging this and the succeeding Governor in their vain Endeavours to establish that for a Law there, which had been rejected with such Marks of Abhorrence in *England* by our *Illustrious Representatives*.

Mr. *Moor* was easily confirmed in his new Dignity by the Palatine, and as he is said to have sought after it to enrich himself, so he made Use of it to that End, he being in mean Circumstances, if the Representation of the principal Inhabitants of the Colony does not deceive us.

Let us give the Reader the proper Words, that we may not be accused of Partiality, which we detest in all Things that hurt

Col. James  
Moor Go-  
vernour.

John Lord  
Granville  
Palatine.

hurt the Truth. But we know very well, that Faction will often accuse Fact of Partiality; and an Historian may write Things true, and yet by writing the Truth only of one Side, and concealing what is to its Disadvantage, it may give a plausible Appearance to a bad Cause; wherefore we solemnly declare, that after a full Enquiry we have not been able to learn any Thing that could excuse the Disorders we are about to relate, and vindicate the Administration in *Carolina* while the Lord *Granville* was Palatine. Whether that Lord or his Governors ought to be blamed most, let the World judge.

Mr. *Moor*, says the Author of the above-mentioned Representation, having thus boldly gotten the Government, resolved to make the best use of his Authority, and finding himself too poor with the Countenance of his Office to make any considerable Profit of the *Indian* Trade, he laid the Design of getting it wholly into his Power. He to that End procured a Bill to be brought into the Assembly then sitting, for regulating the *Indian* Trade: Which Bill was so drawn, that had it passed he would have engrossed all that beneficial Commerce. But Mr. *Robert Stephens*, and Mr. *Nicholas Trott* (who had not then forsaken the Country Interest) and some others, so plainly shewed the ill Aim of that Act, that it was thrown out of the Assembly: Which Mr. *Moor* dissolved, perceiving they would not answer his Ends.

*Case of Diff. in Car. p. 29, 30.*

We do not think ourselves obliged to keep to the Words of this Representation which are too rough in some Places, but we keep religiously to the Sense; and having referred the Reader in the Margin to our Authority, he cannot suppose we endeavour to impose on him.

The Governor called a new Assembly about the latter End of the Year 1701. At the choosing of which, though the Right of electing be in the Freeholders only, *he so influenced the Sheriff, that Strangers, Servants, Aliens, nay Malatoes and Negroes, were polled* and returned.

Such as at the Place of Election opposed these Practices were abused, and some assaulted by Mr. *Moor's* Favourites. By this Means having got several into the Assembly, Men of no Sense and Credit, who would vote as he would have them, he there kept them from being thrown out, on the Petition of those who were unjustly excluded.

*Colliton* County sent a Representation against him to the Palatine, containing in Substance the same as that we have spoken of before, therefore we cannot suspect the Truth of it.

When the Governor was afraid any of the Members he was sure was in his Interest would be turned out on Petitions, he

*Ibid. p. 34.*

he prorogued the Assembly; and when at last they were suffer'd to sit, the Enquiry into the Sheriff of *Berkley* County's Return was obstructed, by setting on foot an ill-contrived Design of raising Forces to attack *Sr. Augustino*, a Fort belonging to the *Spaniards*, to the Southward of *Carolina*. If any Member of the Assembly undertook to speak against it, and to shew how unable the Province was at that time to undertake such an Expedition, he was presently look'd upon by him and his Adherents as an Enemy and Traitor to his Country, and accordingly reviled and affronted; though the true Design of the Expedition, as the Representation from *Colliton* County tells us, was *no other than catching and making Slaves of Indians, for private Advantage*. He would have had this Military Enterprize been undertaken before the War with *Spain* was proclaimed; but the Assembly carried that in the Negative.

P. 35.

Before we treat of this Expedition, we must observe what pass'd farther in the Assembly. Mr. *John Ash*, one of the Members, propos'd to have the last *Fundamental Constitutions*, which Mr. *Daniel* brought over, confirm'd; but he was oppos'd by Mr. *Trott* and Mr. *How*, the Governor's Creatures.

Ibid.

This Mr. *Trott* had himself been Governor of *Providence*, and behaved himself so arbitrarily, that he was complain'd of to King *William* some Years before. *Trott* and *How* expos'd the Constitutions as ridiculous, and the Country was thus left in an unsettled Condition.

There's one Article in this Representation which is very extraordinary: *That the said late Governor Moor did grant Commissions to Anthony Dodsworth, Robert Mackoone, and others, to set upon, assault, kill, destroy, and take as many Indians as they possibly could; the Profit and Produce of which Indian Slaves were turned to his private Use. Whereas such Undertakings, unjust and barbarous in themselves, will in all Probability draw upon us an Indian War.*

Col. County  
Repr. Art. 5.

We have said enough to give an Idea of the Condition the People of *Carolina* were in under such a Government, and have taken it all from Memorials presented by their Agents to the Lords Proprietaries. The next thing that comes in our way is the War of *Augustino*.

Two thousand Pounds were rais'd by an Act of the Assembly, to defray the Charge of this Expedition. The Governor prest as many Merchant Ships as were necessary to transport the Troops he intended to embark, who were order'd to rendezvous at *Port-Royal*.



The Number of Men that were lifted for this Enterprize were 1200, 600 *English*, and 600 *Indians*, Col. *Moor* took the Command on himself, as General of all the Forces that should be raised within the Limits of his Government.

Col. *Robert Daniel*, a very brave Man, commanded a Party who were to go up the River in *Periagas*, and come upon *Augustino* on the Land Side, while the Governor sailed thither and attack'd it by Sea. They both set out in *August*, 1702. Col. *Daniel*, in his way, took St. *John's*, a small *Spanish* Settlement; as also St. *Mary's*, another little Village belonging to the *Spaniards*. After which he proceeded to *Augustino*, came before the Town, enter'd and took it; Col. *Moor* not being yet arrived with the Fleet.

The Inhabitants having Notice of the Approach of the *English*, had pack'd up their best Effects, and retired with them into the Castle, which was surrounded by a very deep and broad Moat.

They had laid up Provisions there for four Months, and resolv'd to defend themselves to the last Extremity: However, Col. *Daniel* found a considerable Booty in the Town. The next Day the Governor arrived, and a Council of War was immediately call'd, in which 'twas resolv'd to land.

Accordingly the Governor came ashore, and his Troops following him, they entrench'd, posted their Guards in the Church, and block'd up the Castle. The *English* held the Possession of the Town a whole Month; but finding they could do nothing for want of Mortars and Bombs, they dispatch'd away a Sloop for *Jamaica*; but the Commander of the Sloop, instead of going thither, came to *Carolina*, out of Fear or Treachery. Finding others offer'd to go in his Stead, he proceeded in the Voyage himself, after he had lain some time at *Charles-Town*.

The Governor all this while lay before the Castle of *Augustino*, in Expectation of the Return of the Sloop; which hearing nothing of, he sent Col. *Daniel*, who was the Life of the Action, to *Jamaica*, on the same Errand.

This Gentleman being hearty in the Design, procur'd a Supply of Bombs, and returned towards *Augustino*; but in the mean time two Ships appear'd in the *Offing*, which being taken to be very large Men of War, the Governor thought fit to raise the Siege, and abandon his Ships, with a great Quantity of Stores, Ammunition and Provision, to the Enemy. Upon which, the two Men of War enter'd the Port of *Augustino*, and took the Governor's Ships. Some say he burnt them himself. Certain it is they were lost to the *English*, and that he returned to *Charles Town* over Land,

300 Miles from *Augustino*. The two Men of War that were thought to be so large, proved to be two small Frigats, one of 22, and the other of 16 Guns.

When Col. *Daniel* came back to *Augustino*, he was chas'd, but got away; and Col. *Moor* retreated with no great Honour homewards. The *Periagas* lay at St. *John's*, whither the Governor retired, and so to *Charles-Town*, having lost but two Men in the whole Expedition. *Arratommakaw*, King of the *Yanioscaves*, who commanded the *Indians*, retreated to the *Periagas* with the rest, and there slept upon his Oars, with a great deal of Bravery and Unconcern. The Governor's Soldiers taking a false Alarm, and thinking the *Spaniards* were coming, did not like this slow Pace of the *Indian King* in his Flight, and to quicken him in it, bad him make more Haste: But he reply'd, No; though your Governor leaves you, I will not stir till I have teen all my Men before me.

1b. p. 30.

The first Representation, call'd also *the present State of Affairs in Carolina*, reflects a little too bitterly on Col. *Moor* on this Head; and one would suspect the Truth of what it contains, if it was not confirmed by the second. We are told there, *They sent Plunder to Jamaica by their trusty Officers, under Colour of seeking Supplies, and sending for Bombs and Mortars.* Which is a malicious Turn given by Col. *Moor's* Enemies to Col. *Daniel's* going to *Jamaica*, who, by the Dispatch he made there, shewed he went really for Mortars; and had the Governor staid till he had returned, the Castle of *Augustino* had perhaps now been in *English* Hands; for the *Spaniards* had not above 200 Men aboard the two Frigates. This Expedition, as unfortunate as it was in itself, was much more so in the Consequence of it; for it brought a Debt of 6000 *l.* on the Province. The Assembly had been under a Prorogation during the Governor's Absence, and when he returned they met. The first thing they went upon, was to raise Money, to pay off the Debt above-mentioned, and then they took into Consideration the Danger of the Country, as it lay exposed to the Southward. But while these Bills were passing, another, for the better regulating Elections, pass'd the lower House twice, and was sent up to the Governor and Council, by whom 'twas rejected without so much as a Conference. Upon which, several of the Members, jealous of their Privileges, and being so order'd by those that sent them, enter'd their Protestation, and left the House; but returned the next Day, offering to sit longer, if the rest of the Assembly would join with them in asserting their Right. The whole Assembly

See the Representation of the Members of Col-liton County

consists

consists of but 30 Members, and 15 of them protested against the irregular Proceedings of the Governor. Instead of tempering Matters, when they returned to the House, they were abused and treated with the most scandalous Reflections, unbecoming an Assembly that represented a whole Province. And as they were insulted within Doors, they were assaulted without; for a Day or two after, Lieutenant-Colonel *George Dearsby* drew his Sword upon *Thomas Smith*, Esq; a Landgrave, and once Governor of the Colony, threatening his Life. *John Ash*, Esq; a Member of the Assembly, was not only abused in the Streets, by a Company of drunken Fellows, but forced aboard a Ship belonging to Capt. *Rbett*, and threatned to be hang'd, or sent to *Jamaica*, or left on some desert Island. This Mr. *Ash* is the Man who was employed as Agent for the People of *Carolina*, to represent their Grievances in the first Memorial, call'd *the present State of Affairs in Carolina*; and the Persons who thus barbarously treated him, were *George Dearsby*, *Nicholas Nary*, *Thomas Dalton*, and others, whom, says the Representation of *Colliton County*, Article XI, *the Governor had treated immediately before the Riot began, and used such Expressions to them, as gave them, next their Drink, the greatest Encouragements for what they acted*; telling them, *The protesting Members would bring the People on their Heads, for neglecting to pay the Country's Debts. After the Riot began, of Part of which he was an Eye-witness, having first drank with some of them, he withdrew himself out of the way.* This Riot continued four or five Days; and *Edmund Bellinger*, Esq; a Landgrave, and Justice of Peace, attempting to suppress it, was call'd opprobrious Names by the Rioters, and *Rbett* can'd him for a considerable time. The Rioters assaulted Mr. *Joseph Boon*, a Merchant, deputed by *Colliton County*, to present the above-mention'd second Representation to the Palatine and Lords Proprietaries, and put him in Danger and Fear of his Life, without any Provocation. The same they did by Mr. *James Byres*, who, with the rest, complained to the Governor; and receiving no Satisfaction, they ask'd him, whether he did not look on himself, as Governor, obliged to keep the Peace of the Province? The Governor reply'd, *That's a Question I am not obliged to answer.* He told them, 'twas a Justice of Peace's Business.

The Rioters went one Night to the House of one *John Smith*, a Butcher in *Charles-Town*, and forcing open the Door, threw down a Woman big with Child, and otherwise misusing her, she brought forth a dead Child, with the Back and Skull broken. These Instances are enough to shew



shew any Man the Temper of this Governor and his Party; who were the same that stickled so much for the unhappy Bill we must speak of in the Sequel of this History. What follow'd upon this Riot, is told us in a late Tract, which I shall make use of in the Author's own Words, "As this

*Case of Dis-  
in Car. 19.*

" Riot was raised, encouraged, and countenanced by the  
 " said Governor and Council; and as no Assistance could  
 " be obtained to quell it, so all Methods to enquire into,  
 " and punish it, have been render'd ineffectual, and the  
 " Course of Justice intirely stop'd. For Sir *Nathaniel John-*  
 " *son* was made Governor in the Room of the said *Moor*.  
 " The said Governor *Moor* was presently made Attorney-  
 " General; and Mr. *Trott*, another of the chief Abettors  
 " of the Riot, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who,  
 " in this Province, is sole Judge. Sir *Nathaniel Johnson*  
 " was General of the *Leeward Islands*, in the Reign of the  
 " late King *James*; but he quitted his Government upon  
 " the Revolution, and retired to *Carolina*, where he lived  
 " privately till the Death of the late King *James*. Upon  
 " which, he first took the Oaths to the Government, and  
 " some time after, was made Governor of the Province.  
 " And he has, since his being Governor, appointed such  
 " Sheriffs, as prevent all Prosecutions of this Riot at their  
 " Assizes or Quarter Sessions (which are the only Courts of  
 " Justice in this Province) where Crimes of this Nature can  
 " be tried, and where the said Mr. *Trott* is sole Judge, by  
 " returning such Jurors as were known Abettors of the  
 " said Riot; so that there is a total Failure of Justice, and  
 " nothing but Corruption in the whole Frame and Admini-  
 " stration of Government.

*Colliton* County Representation tells us particularly, that Mr. *Bullinger* did what in him lay to have the said Riot enquired into. He gave in the Record of it to the Bench, and some of the Grand Jury urged to have it presented, but to no purpose. The first Representation informs us, that the Grand Jury presented it to the Court as a great Grievance, that the Riot was not look'd into, and the Rioters prosecuted; yet no Justice against them could be obtained, the Judge giving for Answer, 'Twas before the Council, his Superiors. The present Governor, That it was an Action done before his coming to the Government; that he thought the time of Prosecution laps'd; but would take Care the like should be no more.

This Answer had, in the last Part of it, a Face of Moderation; and such an Air was necessary, because an Assembly was about being elected. The *Conspirators*, as my Author

terms

Sir Nath.  
Johnson  
Governor.

terms them, saw that a new Parliament might set all things to rights again; and therefore when the time of a new Election came, which, according to their Constitution, is once in two Years; they resolved to procure a Commons House of Assembly of the same Complexion with the former, and by more illegal Practices, if those they had used in the former Elections would not do their Business. Their Designs took Effect, and such a Commons House of Assembly was returned, as fully answer'd their Expectations.

The first Representation brought over by Mr. Ash informs us, That at the Election for Berkley and Craven Counties, the Violence in Mr. Moor's time, and all other illegal Practices, were with more Violence repeated, and openly avow'd by the present Governor, and his Friends.

The second Representation adds, Jews, Strangers, Sailors, Servants, Negroes, and almost every Frenchman in Craven and Berkley Counties, came down to elect, and their Votes were taken, and the Persons by them voted for, were returned by the Sheriffs.

The Assembly meeting, chose Job How, Esq; to be their Speaker; and this was that Parliament, who, to oppress the Protestant Dissenters, brought in a Bill contrary to the first and last Fundamental Constitutions, to the true Interest of the Colony, and the Right of every Freeholder there. 'Twas intitled, *An Act for the more effectual Preservation of the Government, by requiring all Persons that shall hereafter be chosen Members of the Commons House of Assembly, and sit in the same, to &c. and to conform to the religious Worship in this Province, according to the Church of England, and to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Rites and Usage of the said Church.*

Every Dissenter that was turned out of the House, by virtue of this Act, made Room for the most bigotted of the Faction to get in; for it provided, that the Person who had the most Votes next to such Dissenter should be admitted in his Place; and those that opposed the Dissenters being generally, according to the before-mention'd Author, Men of violent and persecuting Principles, the Faction secured the Power in their own Hands.

There were 12 Members for this Bill, and 11 against it, in the lower House; and in the upper, Joseph Moreton, Esq; a Landgrave, and one of the Proprietaries Deputies, was deny'd the Liberty of entring his Protest against it. The Bill pass'd the 6th of May, A. D. 1704, and was signed by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Col. Thomas Broughton, Col. James Moor,

*Moor, Robert Gibbs, Esq; Henry Noble, Esq; Nicholas Trott, Esq;*

The Governor and Proprietaries Deputies, upon passing this Act, alarm'd all the Dissenters, who, according to the orthodox Minister of *Charles Town*, the Reverend Mr. *Marston's* Letter to the Reverend Dr. *Stanhope*, are *the soberest, most numerous, and richest People of this Province*; and this Assembly was compos'd of many Men of *very loose and corrupt Morals*.

Case of Diss.  
Part 2. p. 57.

We have shewn, in the Beginning of the History of *Carolina*, that by the Fundamentals of the Province, the Dissenters could not be justly excluded from any Rights of the Members of it; we have shewn here what a sort of Convention, and by what Government countenanced, this Assembly was; and there's no need of exaggerating Matters, to make the thing look black, wherefore we shall proceed in our History.

It cannot be imagin'd, that a People who had been used so ill, would sit still and tamely bear such barbarous Usage; especially considering those that were concern'd in the Riot were some of the worst, and those that suffer'd by it, some of the best Men in the Province.

Col. *Joseph Moreton* and *Edmund Bellinger, Esq;* Landgraves, and Deputies of the Lords Proprietaries, all the other Members of *Colliton County*, and several of the greatest Worth and Reputation in *Berkley County*, prevail'd with Mr. *Joseph Ash* to come for *England*, to represent the miserable State of the Province to the Proprietaries.

The Faction being apprehensive of their Danger in such a Proceeding, did their utmost to prevent Mr. *Ash's* Voyage; and 'twas not without the greatest Difficulty that he got away from *Carolina* to *Virginia*, where his Powers and Instructions were convey'd to him, as Agent for the Gentlemen and Inhabitants above-named.

Coming to *England*, he apply'd himself to the Lord *Granville*, then Proprietary of the Province; but finding he was entirely in the Interests of the prevailing Party in *Carolina*, he despaired of seeing the Grievances he came to complain of redress'd, he therefore drew up the first Representation, often cited in this Treatise, printed a Sheet of it, and intended to go through with it; but died before he could finish it, and his Papers, after his Death, were betray'd into his Enemies Hands.

How this Agency was liked in *Carolina*, we may suppose; and that the Author of *the Case of the Dissenters in Carolina*, does not impose upon us, in telling us, *The Governor and*  
his



his Agents prosecuted and insulted several of the Inhabitants, and particularly Landgrave Smith, on the Account of some private Letters which they sent to the said Ash, while he was in Virginia and England, and which were found among the Papers betray'd to the Governor's Agents.

Mr. Ash may probably represent Things with too much Partiality, especially if what Mr. Archdale says of him be true; Their first Agent seem'd not a Person suitably qualified to represent their State here; not that he wanted Wit, but Temper. Desc. of  
Car. p. 25.

What Share the Governor had in this Business, appears also in the same Tract. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, by a Chymical Wit, Zeal and Art, transmuted or turned this civil Difference into a religious Controversy; and so setting up a Standard for those call'd High Church, ventured at all to exclude all Dissenters out of the Assembly, as being those principally that were for a strict Examination into the Grounds and Causes of the Miscarriage of the *Augustino* Expedition. P. 23.

The Party did not stop here; for on the 4th of November an Act pass'd, and was sign'd by the Governor, and the Deputies above-named, entitled, *An Act for establishing religious Worship in this Province, according to the Church of England; and for the erecting of Churches for the publick Worship of God, and also for the Maintenance of Ministers, and the building convenient Houses for them.* P. 24.

Which Act Mr. Archdale acquaints us, notwithstanding its splendid Gloss, savour'd of a persecuting Spirit, and of a haughty Dominion over the Clergy itself; for they set up a High Commission Court, giving them Power to place and displace Ministers, and act much in the Nature of the High Commission Court erected by King James II. in England. These Commissioners were Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Thomas Broughton, Esq; Col. James Moor, Nicholas Trott, Esq; Col. Robert Gibbes, Job How, Esq; Ralph Izard, Esq; Col. James Risbee, Col. George Logan, Lieutenant-Colonel William Rbett, William Smith, Esq; Mr. John Stroude, Mr. Thomas Hubbard, Richard Beresford, Esq; Mr. Robert Seabrook, Mr. Hugh Hicks, John Ashby, Esq; Capt. John Godfrey, James Serurier, alias Smith, Esq; and Mr. Thomas Barton.

It will not be improper to give a Character of this James Serurier, who has been mightily employed by the present Government in Carolina; and we cannot do it better than in using the same Words Mrs. Blake, Mother of the Proprietary, Joseph Blake, Esq; writes to the Lords Proprietaries. *Towards the Satisfaction of the Augustino Debt, an Act was*

contrived for forcing the Currency of Bills of Credit to the Value of 6000*l.* These Bills were declared current in all Payments, and the Refuser of them sueable in double the Value of the Sum refused; whereby the boldest Stroke has been given to the Property of the Settlers in this Province, that ever was known in any Country not govern'd by arbitrary Power. And the bad Consequences of this forced Currency, in relation to Trade with Strangers, are so great, that they can scarcely be express'd. But there has nothing of this been weigh'd by your Lordships Deputies here, or by the pack'd Members of our Commons House of Assembly. Besides all this, the People are not satisfy'd how many Bills are truly sent abroad; and the great Concern Mr. James Smith, alias Serurier (who cheated the Scots Company of a considerable Sum of Money, and with his Keeper made his Escape from London hither) had in this Contrivance, gives a Jealousy of indirect Practices. By this the Reader understands what Inconveniencies the *Augustino* Expedition brought upon the Colony, and what sort of Persons were Promoters of this occasional Bill in *America*. But to shew that this Faction in the Assembly had nothing less in their View, than the real Advancement of Religion, and the Church of *England*, the Reverend Mr. *Edward Marston*, Minister of that Church in *Charles Town*, was censured by them, for three Passages of a Sermon preach'd there by him, two of which Passages were not in the said Sermon, and that which was, amounted to no more than that the Clergy had a Divine Right to a Maintenance. They deprived him of his Salary settled on him by Act of Parliament, and of 50*l.* besides, due to him by an Act of Assembly; tho' the chief Reason was his having visited Mr. *Landgrave Smith*, when he was in Custody of a Messenger, being committed by the Commons House, and living friendly with the Dissenters.

Case of Diff.  
Car. p. 23.

Seeb's Letter  
to Dr. Stan-  
hope, Part  
2. p. 57.

Of this Assembly the same reverend Divine says, *They made some very odd and unjustifiable Laws, which have occasioned great Feuds and Animosities here.* And in his Representation to the Lords Proprietaries: *Most of the late Members of the Assembly have been constant Absenters from the Holy Sacrament: So 'tis no Wonder they have inserted an absurd Oath in a late Act, &c.* I cannot think it will be much for the Credit and Service of the Church of *England* here, that such Provisions should be made, for admitting the most loose and profligate Persons to sit and vote in the making of our Laws, who will but take the Oath appointed by the late Act. And of the High Commissioners 'tis said, *Eleven of the twenty were never known to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*

P. 62.

P. 63.

And

And that this furious Faction were no Friends to the Church of *England* is plain, by their Design to wrest the ecclesiastical Jurisdiction out of the Hands of the Right Reverend Father in God, *Henry Lord Bishop of London*. Mr. *Marston* being threatened in Col. *Risbee's* House, *That at the next Sessions of Assembly he should see the Bishop of London's Jurisdiction abolished there.* And of this *Carolina* Parliament he adds farther, *Our lower House of Assembly imprison by a Vote of* <sup>pag. 67.</sup> *the House sine Die, and bid Desiance to the Habeas Corpus Act, though made in Force there by an Act of Assembly.* The Governor was very choleric with the Minister, because he had made <sup>pag. 60.</sup> *Landgrave Smith a Visit at the House of the Messenger; and a Bully lashed him causelessly with his Whip, and tore his Gown* <sup>pag. 58.</sup> *from his Back. His Creatures also in the Assembly were the Occasion of his Sufferings.*

If I am accused of being partial in representing this Matter, I answer, that besides the Memorials published by the Agent of *Carolina*, Mr. *Archdale's* Tract and others, I have diligently inquired into the Truth of the Fact, and have not been able to learn the least Hint that makes against it, or vindicates the Party that is complained of, and were powerfully protected by the Lord *Granville*, notwithstanding it was made out to him, that the Assembly in passing the *occasional Bill* in <sup>Part 1. p.</sup> *Carolina*, were guilty of the most notorious ill Practices, and <sup>38.</sup> were Men of corrupt Principles and Manners. That Bill was brought into the House the 4th of *May*, and carried so precipitately that it past the 6th, four Days before the Time to which they were prorogued. There never were above 23 Members present from the 26th of *April* to the 6th of *May*. There was but one more for it than against it, and of the latter many were Members of the Church of *England*.

There's one Thing very remarkable in the Act, which is the Stile: *Be it enacted by his Excellency John Lord Granville, and the rest of the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors of Carolina, &c.* A Stile never assumed by them till very lately. From whence we may observe how pleased that Faction is every where with the despotick and absolute Power, inso-much as to usurp the Name when they cannot obtain any Thing more. *The Case of the Dissenters in Carolina* is so full of Irregularities in the Course of this Affair, that we must refer the Reader to it. We have taken the most material, and now are to see what was done in *England* relating to this Matter.

The principal Merchants in *London* trading to *Carolina* drew up a Petition to the Lord *Granville* against passing this Act,



Act, or to order its Repeal. Which Petition they lodged with Mr. Boone, the Agent of Carolina, who solicited the Palatine seven Weeks before he could prevail to have a Board of Proprietaries called.

Mr. Archdale, one of the Proprietaries, opposed the ratifying the Bill against the Dissenters at the Board, and with such solid Reasons, that it is amazing to find the Palatine make this short Answer to all of them: *Sir, you are of one Opinion and I am of another, and our Lives may not be long enough to end the Controversy: I am for this Bill, and this is the Party that I will head and countenance.*

What other Tone could he have talked in had he been Sultan of Carolina? Mr. Boone prayed he might be heard by Council. The Palatine replied, *What Business has Council here? It is a prudential Act in me, and I will do as I see fit. I see no Harm at all in this Bill, and am resolved to pass it.* He should have added, *Car tel est notre Plaisir.*

As all Methods to procure Justice from this Board were ineffectual in the Case of the Dissenters, the same were they in Mr. Marston's Case, and the Abuses he met with from the Party the Lord Granville was resolved to head and countenance. And what that Party was in England, and how they have seen their unreasonable Attempts baffled and exploded, is too well known to need any Remembrance here.

Pag. 12.

The Bill which occasioned all the Complaints in Carolina, having past thus illegally and arbitrarily, the Dissenters in this Province being notoriously known to be above two Thirds of the People, and the richest and soberest among them according to Mr. Marston's Evidence, it was not likely that they would suffer themselves to be insulted and persecuted without seeking Redress. The very Assembly who passed the Bill, about half a Year afterwards passed another to repeal it when the House was full, but it was lost in the upper House; and the Governor in great Indignation dissolved the Commons House by the Name of the Unsteady Assembly. The Society for propagating the Gospel in America and elsewhere, meeting in St. Paul's Church, taking the Act for the establishing religious Worship, &c. into Consideration, resolved not to send or support any Missionaries in that Province, till the said Act or the Clause relating to the Lay Commissioners was annulled.

Pag. 41.

There being no Hopes of any Redress of the Grievances the Inhabitants of this Colony suffered in Carolina, nor from the Lords Proprietaries in England, they resolved to bring the Matter before the House of Lords in England, not doubting but to have entire Justice done them by that august Assembly, where the Language of their Palatine was never

never heard from the Throne, at least in this Reign or the last, both which are the Glory of the *British Annals*.

Mr. *Boone* was not only impowered by the principal Inhabitants of *Carolina* to act as their Agent, but he was assisted in his Agency by several eminent Merchants of *London*, who signed the Petition to the House of Lords; as Mr. *Micajah Perry*, Mr. *Joseph Paice*, Mr. *Peter Renew*, Mr. *Christopher Fowler* and others.

The Effect of which was, after a full hearing of the Cause at the Lord's Bar, that most honourable House, who have done such great Things for the Liberties of *England*, voted an Address to the Queen in Behalf of the Province of *Carolina*: But the Reader cannot be better satisfied than to have it in their Words, by which the State of the Case will be best seen.

“ The House having fully and maturely weighed the Nature of these two Acts, found themselves obliged in Duty to your Majesty, and in Justice to your Subjects in *Carolina* (who, by the express Words of the Charter of your royal Uncle King *Charles II.* granted to the Proprietors, are declared to be the Liege People of the Crown of *England*, and to have Right to all the Liberties, Franchises and Privileges of *Englishmen*, as if they were born within this Kingdom: And who by the Words of the same Charter, are to be subject to no Laws but such as are consonant to Reason, and as near as may be to the Laws and Customs of *England*) to come to the following Resolutions:

*The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, Die Martii 12, 1705.*

“ *First*, That it is the Opinion of this House, that the Act of the Assembly of *Carolina* lately passed there, and since signed and sealed by *John Lord Granville* Palatine, for himself, and for the Lord *Carteret*, and the Lord *Craven*, and Sir *John Colliton*, four of the Proprietors of that Province, in Order to the ratifying it, entitled, *An Act for the establishing religious Worship in this Province, according to the Church of England, and for the erecting of Churches for the publick Worship of God, and also for the Maintenance of Ministers, and building convenient Houses for them*; so far forth as the same relates to the establishing a Commission for the displacing the Rectors or Ministers of the Churches there, is not warranted by the Charter granted to the Proprietors of that Colony, as being not consonant to Reason, repugnant to the Laws of this Realm, and destructive to the Constitution of the Church of *England*.

“ Secondly, That it is the Opinion of this House, That  
 “ the Act of the Assembly of Carolina, entitled, *An Act for*  
 “ *the more effectual Preservation of the Government of this*  
 “ *Province, by requiring all Persons that shall hereafter be*  
 “ *chosen Members of the Commons House of Assembly and sit in*  
 “ *the same, to take the Oaths and subscribe the Declaration ap-*  
 “ *pointed by this Act, and to conform to the religious Worship*  
 “ *in this Province, according to the Rites and Usage of the*  
 “ *said Church lately passed there, and signed and sealed by*  
 “ *John Lord Granville Palatine, for himself and the Lord*  
 “ *Craven, and also for the Lord Carteret, and by Sir John*  
 “ *Colliton, four of the Proprietors of that Province, in Or-*  
 “ *der to the ratifying of it, is founded upon Falstity in Matter*  
 “ *of Fact, is repugnant to the Laws of England, contrary*  
 “ *to the Charter granted to the Proprietors of that Colony,*  
 “ *is an Encouragement to Atheism and Irreligion, destructive*  
 “ *to Trade, and tends to the depopulating and ruining the*  
 “ *said Province :”*

May it please your Majesty,

*We your Majesty's most dutiful Subjects, having thus humbly presented our Opinion of these Acts, we beseech your Majesty to use the most effectual Methods to deliver the said Province from the arbitrary Oppressions under which it now lies; and to order the Authors thereof to be prosecuted according to Law.*

To which her Majesty was graciously pleased to answer.

*I thank the House for laying these Matters so plainly before me, I am very sensible of what great Consequence the Plantations are to England, and will do all that is in my Power to relieve my Subjects.*

It appeared to the House, that some of the Proprietors absolutely refused to join in these Acts. This Matter being referred to the Lords of Committee of Trade, they examined into it; and finding all the Fact charged upon the Promoters of these Bills true, represented to her Majesty the 24th of May 1706, That the making such Laws is an Abuse of the Power granted to the Proprietors by their Charter, and will be a Forfeiture of such Power. They farther humbly offered to her Majesty, That she would be pleased to give Directions for re-assuming the same into her Majesty's Hands by *Scire Facias*, in her Majesty's Court of *Queen's-Bench*. Which Representation was signed by the Right Honourable the Lord Dartmouth, the Honourable Robert Cecil, Esq; Sir Philip Meadows, William Blathwayte, Esq; Matthew Prior, Esq; and John Pollexfen, Esq; On



On the 10th of *June* her Majesty was pleased to approve of the said Representation, and accordingly having declared the Laws mentioned therein to be NULL and VOID did Order, That for the more effectual Proceeding against the said Charter by Way of *Quo Warranto*, Mr. Attorney, and Mr. Solicitor General do inform themselves fully concerning what may be most necessary for effecting the same.

Thus did our most gracious Sovereign hear the Cry of the Oppressed, right the Innocent, and do Justice on the Oppressor. For no Distance of Country can put any of her Subjects out of her Protection; nor no Difference of Opinion (provided they are kept within the Bounds of Duty and Religion) prevent her favouring alike all her People, and doing her utmost to make them all happy, as the infinite God has made her Reign to herself and her Empire in a distinguished Manner.

The Assembly which passed these two memorable Acts were dissolved in the following Year, and a new one summoned to meet at *Charles-Town*. At the Election, *Craven* and *Berkley* Counties were so straitened by the qualifying Act, that they had not 20 Men to represent them, unless they would choose a Dissenter, or a Man not fit to sit in the Assembly. Nineteen of the Party against the *Occasional Bill* were chosen, and one Mr. *Job How* was elected by the Interest of the *Goosecreek* Faction, a Branch of the former. The *French* who were Freeholders voted for them, being induced to it by a *Frenchman's* being set up for a Candidate. They also procured Masters of Ships, particularly Capt. *Cole*, who lay in the Harbour to vote on their Side. This Election was made in the Town, and the Faction gave out an Assembly was chosen, who would repeal the Church-Act and not pay the *Augustino* Debt, threatening if they did, the House and Town should quickly be too hot to hold them.

In *Colliton* County there were but 14 Men would qualify themselves: Therefore none of the Dissenters appeared, and there were but 10 Votes out of 200 that appeared at the Election. The 10 Electors voted for 14 Candidates, and the Sheriff returned 10 that had the Majority of Votes.

On *Jan. 2*, 1705, the Members met, but not enough to make a House and choose a Speaker. Mr. *Stephens* one of the Members, asked Mr. *How* in the Governor's Presence to attend, but he refused. Before Night the House was complete and waited on the Governor, and asked if he would direct them to choose a Speaker? He answered, he thought it was too late, but if they would venture they must do it with Speed for he was not well, and it would endanger his Health

to fit up. So they presently chose Mr. *Seabrook* and presented him to the Governor, who approved of the Choice.

The next Day the House met, the Speaker in the Chair, and the Members were called upon to qualify themselves: Six did and three more were ready to do it, and Debates arising about qualifying, the House adjourned.

The House meeting again, a Report was, as it is said, industriously spread, that the Members had forfeited 50 l. a Man for adjourning before they were qualified. Mr. *How* and Mr. *Wiggington* attended in their Places and offered to qualify themselves, but Mr. *Bornwell* coming with a Message, the House waited on the Governor, who spoke to this Purpose:

Gentlemen,

*You are building on a wrong Foundation, and then the Super-structure will never stand; for you have dissolved yourselves by adjourning before there was a competent Number of Members to adjourn, and I cannot dissolve you if I would, you not being a House. All this I know very well, as being myself many Years a Member of the House of Commons in England; and therefore as I am Head, I would advise you to go back no more to the House, but go every Man about his own Business: For if you should persist in settling and making Laws, besides the incurring the Penalties of the Act, the Laws would be of no Force, &c.*

The Speaker refused to return to the Chair, and the Members dispersed. The Governor and Council disowning the Assembly, Mr. *Wiggington* declared, it was his Opinion the House was dissolved. But their Dissolution was aggravated, by the Pleasure the Government took in making them *Felo de se*, their own Murderers.

Then another Assembly was called, the Choice of which was carried on with greater Violence than the former. *Job How*, Esq; was chosen Speaker, and the Members for the most Part qualified themselves according to the qualifying Act. The Faction had not then heard of the Proceedings against them in *England*, which indeed were not come to a Conclusion. They continued their Irregularities as if they were the most innocent Men in the Province, and the only true Patriots. They passed an Act for their Continuance two Years after the Death of the present Governor, or the Succession of a new one: The Reason is told us in the Preamble, *Whereas the Church of England has of late been so happily established among them, fearing by the Succession of a new*

Gover-

Governor, the Church may be either undermined or wholly subverted, to prevent that Calamity befalling them, be it enacted, &c. Mr. Job How, Speaker of the Assembly dying some Time after, Col. William Rbett was chosen in his Place. But what has been since done in these Affairs, we know not more than in general, that the two Acts have been repealed, and the Party who drove Things on with such Fury have entirely lost their Credit, and that the Proprietaries are obliged to them for the Cause now depending; wherein if they are cast, the Government of the Province will be forfeited to the Crown. They may thank themselves for it, or at least their late Palatine the Lord Granville, for since the foregoing Pages were written that Lord died.

How Things may be managed now is not difficult to be foreseen, from the good Intelligence between the Persons we have just mentioned; and the Fall of this Faction is a terrible Example to all Colonies, not to let any Prejudice or Passion hurry them on to do Things which they cannot answer to their Superiors in England.

The next Governor to Sir Nathaniel Johnson was Major Tynte, of whose Administration we have no perfect Account, and indeed we can give but little more for several Years than the Names of the Governors. But I am sure the Reader will excuse it, when he understands the Pains I took to get Information in this as well as the other Colonies, and how I came to fall short of it.

Major Tynte  
Governor.

We know as little of the Government of President Gibbs or of Charles Craven, Esq; probably preferred to this Command by his Kinsman William Lord Craven Palatine.

President  
Gibbs.  
Charles  
Craven, Esq;

The next in Command was Robert Daniel, Esq; Deputy Governor, after him came into the Administration Robert Johnson, Esq; whom we shall speak more of when he comes a second Time into the Government; after him was James Moore, Esq; then Francis Nicholson, Esq; whom one would take to be a Person of uncommon Genius for Government, if we could form his Character by the Number of Commands that was given him; for he had already been at several Times Governor of New-Scotland, New-York, Maryland and Virginia, but if his Character is to be formed by his Actions, People would be puzzled to distinguish his Merit from his Fortune.

Robert Da-  
niel, Esq;  
Governor.  
Robert  
Johnson,  
Esq; Gover-  
nor.  
James  
Moore, Esq;  
Governor.  
Francis Ni-  
cholson,  
Esq; Gover-  
nor.

During his Command the Province was miserably infested with Pirates, as it had been for some Time past, which obliged that Government in the Year 1718, to fit out at their own Cost two Sloops under the Command of Capt. William Rbett of that Province, who took after an obstinate Defence of seven

1718.  
Pirates infest  
that Coast.

seven



seven Hours, and brought into *Carolina*, a Pirate Sloop of 10 Guns and 70 Men, called the *Revenge* commanded by one *Bennett*, and at the same Time retook two Vessels that had been taken by the said Pirate; and soon after *Robert Johnson*, Esq; late Governor, with two Ships and two Sloops under his Command, took and brought into *Carolina* a Pirate Sloop of six Guns and 30 Men, commanded by *Richard Worley*, called the *New-York Revenge*, and also retook a Ship called the *Eagle*, which had been before taken by the said Pirates, of which Pirates near 40 were executed. Yet from the Year 1717 to 1721, we have an Account of between 30 and 40 Vessels that had been taken on that Coast. And

1722.

In the Year 1722, the Chiefs of four *Indian* Nations came to *Charles-Town*, to settle the Terms of Peace between them and the *English*, who had suffered much by the Irruptions of the Savages. These Chiefs were honourably received by the Militia upon their Arrival, saluted by the Guns from the Fort and by those of all the Ships in the Harbour. They were afterwards carried into the Fort, where they owned his Excellency as chief Governor of that Province; whereupon they were clothed with Apparel presented to them on the Part of the *British* Crown.

President  
Middleton.  
1730.

President *Middleton* was the next in Government about the Year 1730, at which Time we find this Speech to the Assembly. "I cannot think but you must be thoroughly convinced  
" of the Necessity there is for granting immediate Supplies  
" for the paying the Arrears due to the Garrisons, the  
" Rangers, Scouts and Lookouts: You will do well to con-  
" sider the miserable Circumstances of those poor People  
" who have now three Years due to them.

" I would fain know, wherein consists the Prudence and  
" Policy of deferring the Payment of publick Debts Year  
" after Year, till the Burthen becomes heavy and the Coun-  
" try becomes Bankrupt.

" I need not tell you, the *Indians* are no longer our Friends  
" than you keep them in Fear, and who will credit the Pub-  
" lick in Time of Danger, when they will pay nothing of  
" what they owe in Time of Tranquillity?

" Before I conclude, I must put you in Mind, *Gentlemen*,  
" of humbly addressing his Majesty with Thanks, for pur-  
" chasing the Soil and taking us under his immediate Pro-  
" tection, &c."

Negro Plot.

About this Time Advice came Home from *Carolina*, that the whole Inhabitants of that Province were in great Danger of being murdered by their Negro Slaves, who had entered into a Conspiracy for massacring all the white People

of

of the Province at once ; but they happily differed about the Manner of executing this bloody Design. Some of them proposed that the Negroes of every Plantation should, upon a certain Night, and a certain Hour of the Night, destroy every one their own Masters, and if they had pursued this Design they had probably succeeded ; but others of them, being jealous of the Resolution of their Comrades, were against trusting the Execution of it to the Negroes of every Plantation singly and by themselves, and therefore proposed to meet under some Pretence in a Body, and strike the Blow at once by Surprize. This Project was generally approved of and the Time come for executing it, and a great Body of them met at the Back of the Town under a Pretence of a Dancing-Bout, and only waited for the coming in of the Country Negroes. But the Plot was discovered before many of them were got together, and the chief Men amongst them had picked out some of the principal Planters Wives for themselves, and particularly Governor *Johnson's* Lady was destined to be the Wife of one of them ; but the Villains did not intend that these *English* Wives of theirs should long escape the Massacre. There was at this Time near 28,000 Negroes in this Province, of which 10,000 might be able to bear Arms, and of the white Men there was not above a third of that Number.

I have touched very little on Law Matters in my History, <sup>Trial by</sup> the Subject being equally disagreeable and perplexed, and <sup>Juries.</sup> there being Books written on Purpose as well with Respect to the Plantations as to *England*, but the Manner of impa-  
 nelling *Juries* in this Province is so much preferable to that of *England* and all other Colonies, that it is worth remarking. Juries here are not returned by Sheriffs, but the Names of all the best qualified Persons are put together into a *Ballot Box*, which being well shaken, a Child draws out 48 Names of which a List is taken, and these 48 Names put into another Ballot Box or a Partition of the same, and another Child draws out 12 Names which are the Jury if no Exceptions are made to any of them, if there are, the Child draws other Names till the Jury is full. How preferable is this Practice to that of leaving the Pannel to the Management of Under Sheriffs, who are commonly Country Attorneys, with whose Integrity and Ingenuity the World is well acquainted. This valuable Privilege of getting Juries by *Ballot* was taken from them by the Palatine about 20 Years ago, probably a Palatine in the same Way of thinking with him who passed the *Seclusion Bill* before spoken of. The People of *Carolina* alarmed at this flagrant Act of Injustice, sent a Deputation to *England* to sollicite the Palatine and Proprietaries to restore their

their former Privilege of Jury by Ballot. *Jeremiah Dummer*, Esq; the *New-England* Agent, joined with these Deputies in representing to the Proprietaries the Enormity of such daring Violation of the *Fundamental Constitutions* and the Rights of this Province, which had so good an Effect, that the *Ballot* was continued, and Juries are impanel'd by it to this Day.

About the same Time, a new *Indian War* broke out in *Carolina*. It was apprehended in *England* that the Complaint of the *Indians* of fraudulent and forceable Dealings in Trade by the *English* was not without some Ground for it. Be that as it will, the *Indians* fell upon the Out-Settlements in *Carolina*, and cut off many *English*, who were unprovided for Defence. The *Carolinians* had Supplies of Arms and Ammunition from *New-England*, before any could be brought them from *Old England*; but the ill Condition they were in to repel the Savages, who were set on by the *Spaniards*, as the *Northern Indians* were by the *French* against the *English*, was a Pretence not only to resume the Charter of this Colony, but the Charters of all the *British Colonies* in *America*, that the Defence of them might, with the Government, be given up to the Crown. Indeed the *Carolinians*, according to Mr *Dummer*, brought this Peril upon themselves, and our other Charter Governments in *America*, by their addressing the Crown to take them under its Protection. He writes: "The dissolving the Charters was with a special View to *Carolina*, which was reduced to Extremity by a War with the *Spanish Indians* about the Year 1718; and being neither able to defend themselves, nor obtain Succours from their Lords Proprietors, address'd the Crown, &c. as before." Proprietors, whose chief if not only View is to make the most of their Propriety, will, no doubt, always rather abandon their Territory, than be at the Expence of War to defend it, which perhaps they may not be able to support; but in a free Government, like that of *New-England*, where the Property is in the People, they will always be willing and able to defend it, in Proportion to their Number and their Circumstances. The *Carolinians*, in the Progress of the *Indian War*, had much better Fortune, according to the Relation of it in the Letter written by one of them.

The Weakness as well as Injustice of this Scheme is admirably well set forth by Mr. *Dummer*, in his Defence of the *New-England Charter*, address'd to the Lord *Carteret*, one of the Lords Proprietaries of *Carolina*, when his Lordship was Principal Secretary of State; but according to the *Carolina* Writer, the Inhabitants of this Province were, in the



the Progress of this War, so far from being likely to lose it for want of Defence, that they drove both *Indians* and *Spaniards* out of *Florida*. The Reader must have this good News in his own Words:

“ Since the Beginning of this War we have exerted ourselves very much in the Defence of the Colony. Besides the new Fortification at *Charles Town*, we have been at great Expences in providing necessary Supplies of Arms and Ammunition.

“ We have also undertaken several foreign Expeditions, one against *St. Augustine*, a Town and Garrison of the *Spaniards*, on the Coast of *Florida*, in the Latitude of 29 Degrees; and others against the *Spaniards* and *Indians* of *Apalachia*.” That Part of this Continent of *North America* so call'd, that lies along at the Foot of the *Mountains*, from the Coast of the Bay of *Mexico*, beyond the utmost Northern Bounds of *Virginia*; and at the Back of these Mountains, flows the great River *Mississippi* through Countries as ill inhabited, as was the *British* Province of this Continent by the *Indians*, when Adventurers came first from *England* to settle there. *La Sale's Travels* through that Wilderness, from the Bay of *Mexico* to *Canada*, prove what is here asserted, for the Use of such as are curious concerning *French* Attempts to make themselves Masters of the Trade and Navigation of that vast River Matter for their Speculation. The *Carolina* Writer proceeds:

“ I shall not trouble you with a long Account of these Enterprizes, *I wish he had given us a particular one, tho' ever so short*; but only tell you, our Forces intirely broke and ruined the Strength of the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, destroying the whole Country, burnt the Towns, brought all the *Indians*, who were not kill'd or made Slaves, into our own Territories; so that there remains not now so much as one Village with ten Houses in it in all *Florida* that is subject to the *Spaniards*; nor have they any Houses or Cattle left, but such as they can protect by the Guns of *St. Augustine*, that alone being now in their Hands, and which is continually infested by the Incursions of the *Indians* subject to this Province.

“ These Expeditions have added very much to our Strength, first, by reducing the *Spanish* Power in *Florida* so low, that they are altogether incapable of ever hurting us; then by training our *Indian* Subjects in the Use of Arms, which would be of great Use to us in case of an Invasion from an Enemy; and what is yet more considerable, by drawing over to our Side, or destroying all the *Indians*

“Indians within 700 Miles of Charles-Town.” Now it is well known that even the Mississippi Indians are nearer than that from the same Town. Probably he means the Indians only between the Apallachean Hills and the British Plantations; and I doubt his History in that too wants Confirmation; for if it was as he says, there could be no more Indian Wars to annoy the English in our Continent Colonies from Georgia to New-England. Our Author adds: “This makes it impracticable for any European Nation to settle on that Coast, otherwise than as Subjects to the Crown of Great Britain, because we are capable of giving them such continual Molestation, by the Invasions of our Savages, that they could not easily subsist, or venture to make any Improvement.

If Truth is not wanting to this Account written on the Spot, the new Settlers in Georgia, as well as the old ones in Carolina, may encourage and delight themselves with a Prospect of Security, as well as Profit, the main Inducement to Europeans to remove thither and settle.

Since I made several Reflections on the French Settlements at the Mouth of the Mississippi, to lessen the Affright which some Colony Writers endeavour to throw the English into on that Account, I have met with this Confirmation of my own Opinion by that of Mr. John Peter Purry of Neufchastel, now Col. Purry of Carolina, some time Director General in the Service of the India Company in France, contained in a Memorial he presented to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, in the Year 1724. “Tis most certain, says Col. Purry, Canada is one of the meanest Countries in all America. The English were settled in Carolina no sooner than the Year 1664, and before that time, upon their advancing as far as Virginia, they were soon sensible that the Country was exceeding fruitful.” The Author then blaming the Negligence of the Europeans, in improving that Fruitfulness as much as they might do, proceeds: “It is true the French are in Possession of the Mouth of the Mississippi; but not to insist on the exceeding Badness of the Soil towards that Mouth for 2 or 300 Miles, should they pretend to hinder the English from falling down that River, and so enter the Gulph of Mexico, the English, when they are well settled on that River, might, in their Turn, by Right of first Seizure, hinder them from getting up higher. Besides, it would be as ridiculous for the French to imagine, upon I know not what chimerical Pretensions, that all the Country on the Mis-

The Missis-  
sippi not so  
dangerous to  
the Colony as  
represented.

Mississippi

“ *Mississippi* belongs to them, as it would be for the *Dutch* to claim those Places that lie on the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*, under Pretence that all is theirs to which the Mouth of those Rivers afford an Entrance.” By reading *Hennepin’s* and *La Salle’s* Travels more than once, I have so well acquainted myself with the Situation and Condition of those Countries on the *Mississippi*, from the Gulph of *Mexico* to *Canada*, that it seems absurd to imagine the *French* could, in a 1000 Years, so settle themselves on the Back of our Northern Colonies; as to be able to dislodge them; but, on the contrary, ’tis evident that the *English*, whenever they shall think it worth their while, may settle themselves very easily on that River for 5 or 600 Miles between *Canada* and the Gulph of *Mexico*, and entirely cut off any Communication between them; but it is much to be questioned, whether the peltry Trade, the only valuable one that can be carried on with the *Mississippians*, for 1500 Miles together, would, in 100 Years, make a hundredth Part of the Profit which the *French Mississippi* Company pretend to have in view by it, to stock it and jobb it, which they do in *France*, as well as is done in *England*. The Stories that have been told of the Abundance of Copper Mines in that Part of the *American* Continent, are mere Fiction; the Hopes of Silver Mines are visionary; the *Indians* never heard of any nearer than *Mexico*. Skins and Lumber may be had by the *French* at four times the Expence of fetching them, which the *English* are at in their Northern Colonies, and the *English* may have it of the *Mississippians*, by extending their Trade backwards from their *Appalachean* Mountains. ’Twas impossible for us in Things transmitted to us to keep to a Chronological Order, and therefore we must come abruptly to the Account of Sir *Alexander Coming’s* Journey from *Charles-Town* in *Carolina*, among the *Indian* Nations, between *Carolina* and the *Mississippi*, which shews us that he must be very near, if not in the very Country of the Savages, whose Neighbours inhabit the Borders, if not the Mouth of that River; and *Carolina* alone has more People than are said to be in all the *French* Settlements at *St. Lewis* or *Louisiana*, as they affect to call both Sides of that River, from its Mouth to its Source.

Before the *Indian* War was brought to an Issue, the Inhabitants of *Carolina* were so harass’d and ravaged by them, that they were unable, with the Help of the other *English* Colonies, to make head against the Savages; and the Borderers fled from them to a Ship in *Port-Royal* Harbour, where they remained till the Savages retreated. ’Tis said that the



*English* had given them no Provocation; but we fear such Relations are too partial to our Countrymen. The Lords Proprietors being alike unable or unwilling to take the Charge of the War on themselves, the Colony, as has been said, applied by their Deputies to the Crown, and prayed that the Surrender of their Charter might be accepted, and the Colony be taken into his Majesty's Protection.

The Charter  
surrender'd  
to the Crown.

This Surrender was made by the Proprietaries to *Edward Bertie, Samuel Horsey, Henry Smith, and Alexias Clayton, Esqrs,* in Trust for the Crown. The Proprietors, in their own Right, or in Trust, were then *Henry Duke of Beaufort, William Lord Craven, James Bertie, Esq; Dodington Greville, Esq; Henry Bertie, Esq; Mary Danson, Elizabeth Moor, Sir John Colliton, John Cotton, Esq; and Joseph Blake, Esq;* who were possess'd of Seven-Eighths of the Propriety of the Province, and sold it to the Crown for 17500*l.* each Proprietary, who had a whole Share, having 2500*l.* The out-standing Quit-rents, and other Incomes due to the Proprietaries from the People of the Province, amounting to somewhat above 9000*l.* also were sold to the Crown for 5000*l.* which was paid to the above-mentioned Proprietaries, after the Sale and Surrender had been confirmed by a particular Act of Parliament in the Year 1728, intituled an *Act for establishing an Agreement with seven of the Lords Proprietaries of Carolina, for Surrender of their Title and Interest in that Province to his Majesty.*

It will appear, by the following Clause in the Act of Parliament, that the remaining One-Eighth of the Propriety, and Arrears of Quit-rents aforesaid, were reserved to the Right Honourable *John Lord Carteret, Having and reserving always to the said John Lord Carteret, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns, all such Estate, Right, Title, &c. to One-Eighth Part of the Share of the said Provinces or Territories, and to One-Eighth Part of all Arrears, &c.*

This being agreed, his Majesty was pleas'd to appoint *Robert Johnson, Esq;* to be Governor of *Carolina.* The Supplies and Relief that were sent them from *England* enabled them to repulse the *Indians,* who thereupon submitted to such Terms of Peace as were safe and honourable to the *English,* for which they had been prepared by *Sir Alexander Coming,* who went in Person from *Charles-Town* 4 or 500 Miles into the Country, to confer with their Kings or Chiefs, and engage them to put themselves under the Protection of the King of *Great Britain.*

He set out the 13th of *March, 1729,* and came to *Kecab-wes,* the first Town of the *Chorokees,* about 300 Miles from

from that Town. He was here informed by Mr. *Barker*, a travelling Trader, that the *Cherokees* had received Messengers from the *Lower Creek* Nations, to persuade them to come over to the *French* Interest. The Writer of Sir *Alexander's* Journal does not sufficiently explain what he means by the *Lower Creek*; whether the Nations of *South Florida*, which is most likely; or the *Indians* on the Borders of the River *Apalacha*, which falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*. But the Author intimates, that Sir *Alexander's* Journey prevented a new War. He went directly to the House where the head Men of the Nation were assembled, in the midst of 200 others; and the head Men, to shew their Obedience, kneeled down at his Approach. Sir *Alexander* here caused Expresses to be dispatch'd through the whole Country, for the Chiefs to meet him at *Nequessée* the 3d of *April*. The 27th of *March* he came to *Passetchee*; there had happen'd, the Night before, the most terrible Thunder Storm the Savages had ever known; and their chief Conjuror or Priest complimented the Knight with a Prophecy, *That he knew he was come among them to have the Rule over them*. The 29th he arrived at *Great Felliquo*, in the upper Settlements, 200 Miles up from *Keeabivee*. Thus it appears he was 500 Miles from *Charles Town*, which if directly on the Back of the Coast of *Carolina*, must not be far from the *Mississippians*, as I call all the Nations bordering on that River, who are distinguish'd by 100 different Names, spell'd and pronounced differently by those that treat of them, as are also the Names of the Savage Nations we have been just speaking of. At *Telliquo*, Sir *Alexander* was waited upon by *Moyty*, the chief Warrior or Captain-General, who told him, that two Years before the Nations design'd to have made himself Head over all; but now he said it should be as Sir *Alexander* pleased. Here the chief Priest, or Conjuror declared the same, and they jointly offer'd to make him a Present of their Crown. The 30th he arrived at *Tannassie*, 16 Miles only from *Felliquo*. The King of those Savages declared his Obedience to the Crown of *Great Britain* on his Knees. From hence Sir *Alexander* returned to *Nequassie*, where the Kings, Princes, Warriors, Priests and Beloved Men were all met, according to his Appointment; with great Solemnity Sir *Alexander* was placed in a Chair by *Moyty's* Orders, *Moyty* and the Priests standing about him, while the Warriors strok'd him with 13 Eagles Tails, and their Singers fung from Morning till Night, as the Custom is on solemn Occasions. They fasted the whole Day, and after the Solemnity of stroking was over, Sir *Alexander* made a



Speech to them, representing the great Power and Goodness of his Majesty King *George*, whom he call'd the *Great Man* on the other Side of the *Great Water*: That himself and all his Subjects were to him as Children, and they all would do whatever the great King order'd them. He required *Moyty* and all the *Warriors* to acknowledge themselves dutiful Subjects and Sons to King *George*, and to do whatever Sir *Alexander* should direct. This they promised to do, and on their Knees invocated every thing that was terrible to them to destroy them, and that they may become no People, if they violated their Promise and Obedience to the *British Crown*; to secure which, Sir *Alexander* appointed *Moyty* Chief of the Nation, and the whole Assembly joyfully agreed to it. The next Day, *April* 4th, their Crown was brought from *Great Fannassie*; it consisted of five Eagles Tails, and four *Scalps* of their Enemies. *Moyty* presented this to Sir *Alexander*, with a Request that he would be pleased to lay the Diadem of the *Cherokees* at his Majesty's Feet. The Priests assured Sir *Alexander* they would, when he was gone from them, punctually observe the Agreement they had made, and obey the Orders of *Moyty* pursuant thereto, as if they were his own. Sir *Alexander* had determined to return to *England* by the *Fox* Man of War, which was to sail from *Charles-Town* the 20th of *April*; so he had but 15 Days to travel above 400 Miles, and then embark. *Moyty* would have attended him not only to *Charles-Town*, but to *England*, had not his Wife lain dangerously ill, so he desired the Knight to take with him whom he pleased of the principal Men of the *Cherokees* to bear Testimony to the Truth of this Compact and Submission. Accordingly he took the head Warrior of the *Tapetchees*, a Man of great Power and Interest, who had a Right to be a King, and several others of like Rank and Authority. Sir *Alexander* returned to *Charles-Town* the 13th of *April*, leaving the *Indians* that were to attend him with Mr. *Hunter*, who reach'd Mr. *Kinloch* with them twenty three Miles from *Charles-Town*, where they met with a chief Warrior, a Friend of theirs, who was just come from the *Katarba* Nation, and desired to go along with his Countrymen, to which the rest consented. Sir *Alexander*, with five or six of these chief Warriors, embark'd aboard the *Fox*, which sail'd from *Charles-Town* the 4th of *May*, and arrived at *Dover* the 5th of *June*, a very short Passage, where Sir *Alexander* took Post, and arrived at *London* that Night. Thus he was 4 or 500 Miles from *Carolina* the 5th of *April*, and at *London* the 5th of *June*. He brought with him the Crown of the *Cherokees*, and let the Secretary

The Indians  
submit to  
King George.



of State immediately know he had Power to lay it at his Majesty's Feet, and had brought with him seven of the chief *Indian* Warriors or Generals, to witness to the Truth of the Submission of their People to his Majesty. Sir *Alexander* was order'd to bring those Warriors to an *Installation*, where they were struck with Amazement at the Magnificence and Splendor of the Court. They compared the King and Queen to the *Sun*, the Princesses to the *Stars*, and themselves to *nothing*. The 22d of *June* Sir *Alexander* was introduced to his Majesty, and upon his Knees declared the full Power he had received to present his Majesty with the Crown of the *Cherokees*, which the chief Warriors, being also on their Knees, solemnly attested and confirmed.

His Majesty having graciously accepted the Crown and the Scalps before-mentioned, directed that the Warriors should be nobly entertained and diverted, which was done accordingly; and when, with equal Pleasure and Surprize, they had past a few Days in *London*, they set out for *Portsmouth*, where being arrived, they embark'd aboard the same Ship they came in, the *Fox*, which carried them back to *Carolina*, from whence they returned to their Nation. What Influence this Journey and Transaction of Sir *Alexander Coming's* had on the friendly Disposition of the *Cherokees*, and other *Indian* Nations, and how far the Report of their chief Warriors, of their Reception in *England*, and the Numbers, Riches and Strength of the *English* might contribute to the Treaty of Commerce, that was not long after concluded, between the Government of *Carolina* and those Savages, I can rather conjecture than relate.

The Proprietors of this Province having surrender'd their Charter to the Crown, and his Majesty having appointed *Robert Johnson, Esq;* to be Governor of *Carolina*, he arrived there in 1731, and made a handsom Speech to the Assembly, in which, among other things, he said:

“ The King our Royal Master having been pleased to appoint me his Governor of this his Province, I took the first Opportunity to repair hither, where, on my Arrival, finding an Assembly newly elected, which had never set to do any Business, considering how short a time there will be for a Session, before the Season of the Year will make you desire to be at your several Plantations, I chose rather to meet you now, than to wait for a new Election.

“ His Majesty out of his great Goodness and fatherly Care of you, and at the earnest Request and Solicitation of yourselves, has been graciously pleased, at a great Expence, to purchase Seven-Eighths of the late Lords Pro-

“ prietors Charter, whereby you are become under his im-  
 “ mediate Government, a Blessing and Security we have  
 “ been long praying for, the good Effects of which we  
 “ only experience by the Safety we enjoy, as well in our  
 “ Trade by the Protection of our Ships, as by Land in an  
 “ independent Company, maintain’d partly for our Safety  
 “ and Encouragement. The taking off the Duty on Rice  
 “ is a peculiar Favour &c.

The Governor recommended to them the Encourage-  
 ment of the publick Schools, particularly that near *Charles-*  
*Town*; and the repairing the Fortifications of that Town and  
*Johnson’s Fort* in particular. He then added:

“ His Majesty was pleas’d to order the Lords of Trade to  
 “ settle Articles of Peace and Friendship with the *Cherockee*  
 “ *Indians*, which I have brought with me; as also a con-  
 “ siderable Present to engage them in Friendship and Obe-  
 “ dience.

The Treaty was laid before the Assembly, consider’d and  
 approved, and the head Men of the *Indians* came to *Charles-*  
*Town* to sign and ratify it; which was done in the Council-  
 Chamber, and the Ratifications exchanged by the *English* and  
*Indians*. There were many Persons to see the Ceremony,  
 and among the rest, several Ladies in their best Attire,  
 whom the *Indian* Chiefs were about to salute like the Men,  
 by taking them by the Hand, when one of them gave a  
 Check to that Salutation, by saying, *They were not made to*  
*touch such things.*

It appears by a Petition of the Traders among the *Chero-*  
*kees*, that before this Treaty, the being often insulted by  
 them was not their only Cause of Complaint; for they re-  
 presented that the *Virginians* invaded their Trade, and much  
 damaged it by underselling them. This Petition was sign’d  
 by *Daniel Hunt*, *Joseph Barker*, *William Hatton*, *Jacob*  
*Morris*, *Hugh Gordon*, &c.

That Governor *Johnson* took a great deal of Care of the  
 Out-settlements appears by the Journals of the Commanders  
 of the Rangers always in Guard on the Frontiers, too parti-  
 cular to be inserted. Nor was this Governor’s Care less for  
 improving and extending the *Indian* Trade, to which End  
 he went in Person *August* the 25th, 1732, and had an Inter-  
 view with *Mingobe Mingo*, one of the Chiefs of the Nations  
 of the *Chickesaw* *Indians*, who came attended by eight  
*Chickesaw* Men and two Women together with two *Nauchee*  
*Indians*. With the Governor were *John Herbert*, Esq;  
 Commissioner of the *Indian* Trade, *Col. Glower*, Agent  
 &c. *Tweed Somerville* and *Samuel Weleigh*, Esqrs, and several

Governor  
 Johnson’s  
 Interview  
 with the In-  
 dians.

ral other Gentlemen and *Indian* Traders from *Charles-Town*; Governor *Johnson* told the *Indians* by his Interpreter *John Molton*, he was glad to see them in his Country, and if they had any Thing to say he was ready to hear them. Then *Mingobe Mingo* having presented the Governor with 26 *Indian* dressed Deer Skins, made a Speech, wherein (calling the Governor Father) he said, "He had undertaken a very long Journey to see him, that he hoped the Path between them would never be shut up, that he came from a great Town in his Nation of which he was King, and that in their Way thither they lost one of their Men who was killed by one of the *Cherokee Indians* in Friendship with the *English*. That he was sent down by the other Head Men of his Nation to receive the *Talk* from him, and that he would faithfully carry it back."

Governor *Johnson* expressed his Concern for the bad News of their Friend's being killed on the Way, and said, he believed it must have been done by some wild and mad young Fellows, for it could not be with the Consent and Approbation of the Nation; then he enquired if they had a War with the *Chactaws*, and what *Talk* that was he heard they had sent up to that Nation, they answered, it was a *Talk* for Peace, and being asked the Reason of the War, said, it was because they traded with the *English* and were their Friends. The Governor replied, *You shewed yourselves very good Friends to me and my People, by not suffering the French to trade with you; and since you have suffered by your Friendship to me, I now make you a Present of 12 Cags of Gun-Powder and 24 Bags of Bullets, for the Use of your Nation to defend you against your Enemies.*

Then *Mingobe Mingo* presented the two *Nauchee Indians*, and said, they were also come from their Towns to see him and hear his *Talk*, and carry it back to their Towns, and that their King was willing, if he desired it, to come down himself.

These *Nauchee Indians* seem to have been Borderers on the *French* near the *Mississipi*, and were now settled among the *Chickesaws*. Governor *Johnson* received them well, and as a Token of Friendship made a Present to each of a Coat, Gun, Hat, &c. as he had done to *Mingobe Mingo*, and other Presents to his Attendants. And told the *Nauchees* they were so far off before that the *English* could not trade with them, but should now do it since they were come near, and recommended to the *Chickesaws* to take Care of the Traders, which they termed maintaining the *Path*.

The Governor at their going away, after mutual Professions of Friendship and good Correspondence, said to them,



that he was heartily sorry for the Loss of their Friend, and advised them to demand Satisfaction of the *Cherokees* in an amicable Way, which might happily prevent a Rupture, and that what he had farther to say should be sent in Writing to the head Men of their Nation.

A very remarkable Event happened in Mr. *Johnson's* Government, by the Addition of a new Province on the South Borders of *Carolina*. This Province is called *Georgia*, and as soon as he had Information that such a Design was formed in *England*, and he was desired by the Trustees to assist in promoting it, he published the following Advertisement in the *Carolina Gazette*, *January 13, 1733*. "Whereas I have received a Power from the Trustees for establishing the Colony of *Georgia*, to take such Contributions, as any of his Majesty's Subjects of this Province shall voluntarily contribute towards so good and charitable a Work, as the relieving the poor and insolvent Debtors, and establishing and relieving any poor Protestants of what Nation soever as shall be willing to settle in the said Colony, and whereas the said intended Settlement will in all human Appearance be a great strengthening and Security to this Province, as well as a charitable and pious Work; I have therefore thought fit to publish and make known to all such Persons who are willing to promote so good a Work, that I have ordered and directed Mr. *Jesse Badenhop* to receive all such Subscriptions, &c."

Governor *Johnson* says in a Letter, that Mr. *Oglethorpe* arrived almost as soon as he heard of his coming, and he published this Order two or three Days before his Arrival at *Charles-Town*, where he received that Gentleman with great Civility, and all his People with much Chearfulness and Pleasure, as did all the Inhabitants of that Capital, where they stayed but a very short Time, but proceeded to the Place of their intended Settlement.

Three Days after their Departure the general Assembly met, and the Governor moved them to assist this generous Undertaking, and they came to a Resolution, that Mr. *Oglethorpe* should be furnished, at the publick Expence, with 104 Head of breeding Cattle, 25 Hogs and 20 Barrels of good Rice, that besides small Craft to convey them, the Scout-Bouts and Capt. Mac Pherson with 10 of the Rangers, who are Horsemen always kept in Pay to discover the Motions of the *Indians*, should attend Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and obey his Command in Order to protect the new Settlers from any Insults, which the Governor says he thought there was Danger of, and he gave the necessary Instructions to the Garrisons and the

*Indians*

*Indians* in Friendship with the *Carolinians*, to befriend and assist them.

Mr. *Johnson* also desired Col. *Bull*, who was afterwards Governor, and a Gentleman of great Probity and Experience in the Affairs of this Province, the Nature of Land and the Method of settling, and who is well acquainted with the Manner of the *Indians*, to attend Mr. *Oglethorpe* at *Georgia*, and offer him his Advice and Assistance. Governor *Johnson* had gone himself had not the Assembly been sitting.

In the Year 1733, a Contest arose in this Province between the Assembly and the Lawyers; it began by a Complaint made to the Assembly by some of the Inhabitants of *Granville* County, that all the valuable Lands on the navigable Rivers and Creeks adjacent to *Port-Royal*, had been run out into exorbitant Tracts of 12 and 24000 Acres, under Colour of Patents heretofore granted by the Proprietaries to Landgraves and Casiques, by which the Complainants who had at the Hazard of their Lives defended that Province against the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, were prevented from taking up any Land that could be useful to them at the established Quit-Rents, though the Attorney and Solicitor General in *England* had declared them to be void.

1733-

Mr. *Job Rothmabler* and Dr. *Thomas Cooper*, having been accused of some illegal Practices in this Matter, a Petition was presented to the Assembly in their Justification, signed by 39 Persons Inhabitants of *Granville* County. The Assembly having examined into this Affair made the following Order, That *John Brown* Gent. Messenger, do forthwith take into Custody *Job Rothmabler* and *Thomas Cooper*, Esq; for aiding, assisting and superintending the Deputy Surveyors in running out of Patent Lands already surveyed, contrary to the Quit-Rent Act, &c.

Upon this Dr. *Cooper* being taken into Custody, he applied to the Chief Justice for his Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, which the Chief Justice granted, and the same was accordingly served on the said *John Brown*, but he refused to yield Obedience thereto, upon which ensued so great Broils and Disturbances, that the Assembly found themselves obliged to endeavour to put an End to them by an Act on Purpose.

We must here observe, that Col. *Peter Purry* the *Swiss*, had procured a great Number of his Countrymen to come and settle in this Province, where Lands were laid out for their settling and a Town built called from him *Purrysburg*, but there seems to have been some Mismanagement in that new Plantation, by the following Proclamation of Governor *Johnson*. “Whereas I have received Information from Col.

Purrysburg.

“ *Peter*

1735.

“ Peter Purry, that several Persons at *Purrysburgh* have sold the Lots and Lands to which they pretend Right in that Township, although they have obtained no Grants for the same, and notwithstanding they have received the Benefit and Bounty of this Province in Provision, &c. as also that they have attempted to sell their pretended Lots though they were never at *Purrysburgh*, which is contrary to the King’s royal Intention in settling the said Township. For the preventing of which fraudulent Practices I here issue this my Proclamation to inform the Publick, that no Grants will pass of any Lands in any of the Townships laid out in this Province, but only to those in whose Names the original Warrants were made out and shall settle there.”

This Town is now very much enlarged, consisting of near 100 Houses tolerably well built; it lies on the North Side of the *Savanah* River, and is 24 Miles above the Town of *Savanah*. In *Georgia* the People might be well tempted to sell their Lots, the Soil about it being so fruitful and so much of it taken in for cultivating, that Lands that sold before the *Swiss* came for 250*l.* sold at that Time for 1000 Guineas.

This Proclamation was Governor *Johnson*’s last Act of Government, he dying soon after (*May* the 3d 1735) and was succeeded by *Thomas Broughton*, Esq; Lieutenant Governor. I do not insert his Speech to the Assembly, the Substance being much the same as other Governor’s Speeches, of which I find this said by a Collector of such Things.

“ We cannot help taking Notice, that in every one of the Governor’s Speeches, there are great Complaints of the bad State of their Fortifications; and as these Complaints have long continued and yet remain without Redress, it really seems to be high Time to put those Affairs upon some different footing, for this Nation reaps too great a Benefit from our Colonies in the *West-Indies* to be quite unconcerned, whether or no they keep themselves in a proper State of Defence. If the People of our respective Colonies can bear Taxes, and will not tax themselves in a proper State for so necessary a Purpose, the legislative Authority of *Great-Britain* might interpose, and if they already pay as many Taxes as they are able to bear, which are all appropriated to other more necessary Purposes, if any more necessary can be, this Nation ought to assist them; but it looks a little odd, that while our Governors are most of them reaping their annual Thousands, their respective Governments should remain without the necessary Fortifications for Scores of Years.”

Thomas  
Broughton,  
Esq; Lieute-  
nant Govern-  
or.



What we have said of the Agreement of *North* and *South-North-Carolina* in every Article we treat of, must be our Excuse for not enlarging upon it in this as well as our former Impression. It is a separate Government, and we have the Names of several of its Governors since that Impression, as Capt. *Hyde*, Sir *Richard Everard*, Capt. *Burrington*; but our Information has been so short, and the Subject so barren, that we can add no more to it but what we borrow from the Rev. Mr. *Hugh Jones* Chaplain to the Assembly of *Virginia*. "As for *North-Carolina* it is vastly inferior. Its Trade is smaller and its Inhabitants thinner and for the most Part poorer than *Virginia*, neither is their Government extraordinary though they have some good Laws, and there is some good living in this large Country, in which is Plenty of good Provision.

"As for the Churches they are but very few, and says Mr. *Jones*, I knew of but one Minister in the whole Government, and he had no great Faculty of influencing the People and is lately removed thence, and on Account of the Deficiency of such Ministers the Reverend Author complains, that much Religion cannot be expected among a Collection of such People as fly thither from other Places for Safety and Livelihood. For Want of Clergy the Justices of Peace marry, and others perform the Office of Burial; the common nominal Christians live there not much better than Heathens, the Society for propagating the Gospel have been frequently disappointed, by sometimes pitching upon Persons that have not answered the End of their Mission.

"Col. *Frederick Jones*, one of the Council, and in a good Post and of a good Estate in *North-Carolina*, applied to me before his Death, desiring me to communicate the deplorable State of their Church to the late Bishop of London, assured me that if the Society would contribute and direct them, the Government there would join in establishing such Maintenance as might be sufficient for some Clergymen to settle among them.

"I acted according to his Request, but never heard of the Event of this Application."

## C H A P. II.

Containing a geographical Description of *Carolina*, as also an Account of the Climate, Soil, Product, Trade, first Inhabitants, &c.

**T**IS very well known, that the Province of *Carolina* has been a long Time divided into two separate Governments, the one called *North Carolina* and the other *South Carolina*; but the latter being the more populous, goes generally under the Denomination of *Carolina*, and as such we have treated of it in the foregoing Pages. The Proprietaries of *North Carolina* are the Proprietaries of *South Carolina*, though the Governors are different, in other Things they are exactly the same. And we shall put them together in the geographical Description, as also in our Account of the Climate, Soil, Product, Trade, first Inhabitants, &c.

*Carolina*, as has been said, contains all the Coast of *North America*, between 31 and 36 Degrees of Northern Latitude. Its Breadth is not to be computed, King *Charles II.* having granted the Proprietors all the Land Westward in a direct Line from the above-mentioned Degrees to the South Seas. 'Tis in Length three hundred Miles. Its Situation is most convenient for Trade, the Coast pleasant and safe, not stormy or frozen in the Winter.

Descrip. of  
Car. p. 6.

As to the Climate, Mr. *Archdale* says of it, *Carolina* is the Northern Part of *Florida*, viz. from 29 Degrees to 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and is indeed the very Center of the habitable Part of the Northern Hemisphere; for taking it to be habitable from the Equinoctial to 64 Degrees, the Center of *Carolina* lies in about 32, which is about the Middle of 64, lying parallel with the Land of *Canaan*, and may be called the temperate Zone comparatively, as not being pestered with the violent Heats of the more Southern Colonies, or the Extremes and violent Colds of the more Northern Settlements. Its Production answers the Title of *Florida*, quia Regio est *Florida*. *Carolina* North and South is divided into six Counties, of which two are in *North Carolina*, *Albemarle* and *Clarendon*; and four in *South*, *Craven*, *Berkley*, *Colliton*, and *Carteret* Counties.

The first is *Albemarle* County to the North, bordering on *Virginia*. 'Tis watered by *Albemarle* River, and in this Part of the Country lies the Island *Roanoke*, where *Philip Amidas* and *Arthur Barlow*, whom Sir *Walter Rawleigh* sent to *Virginia*,

ginia, landed. This County may be said to belong to *Virginia*, as *New-England*, &c. did, which justifies King *Charles's* Grant. When *Carolina* was first settled, *Albemarle* was more planted than any of the other Counties, and consisted of near 300 Families. But the Plantations upon *Ashley* River in Time grew upon it so much, that most of the Planters here removed thither. This River is full of Creeks on both Sides of it, which for Breadth deserve the Name of Rivers, but they do not run far into the Country. At *Sandy Point* it divides itself into two Branches, *Noratoke* and *Notaway*; and in the North Point lives an *Indian* Nation called the *Mataromags*. Next to *Albemarle* is *Pantegoe* River, between them is *Cape Hatteras*, mentioned in the History of *Virginia*. Next to it is *Neuse* River. The *Coranines* an *Indian* Nation, inhabit the Country about *Cape Lookout*.

Next to *Albemarle* is *Clarendon* County, in which is the famous Promontary called *Cape Fear*, at the Mouth of *Clarendon* River, call'd also *Cape Fear* River. Hereabouts a Colony from *Barbados* formerly settled. The *Indians* in this Neighbourhood are reckoned the most barbarous of any in the Province. The next River is named *Waterey* River, or *Winyann*, about 25 Leagues distant from *Ashley* River: 'Tis capable of receiving large Ships, but inferior to *Port-Royal* nor is yet inhabited. There's another small River between this and *Clarendon* River called *Wingon* River, and a little Settlement honoured with the Name of *Charles-Town*, but so thinly inhabited that it is not worth taking Notice of. We come now to *South Carolina*, which is parted from *North* by *Zante* River. The adjacent Country is called

*Craven* County, it is pretty well inhabited by *English* and *French*, of the latter there's a Settlement on *Zamee* River, and they were very instrumental in the irregular Election of the *Unsteady Assembly*. The next River to *Zantee* is *Sewee* River, where some Families from *New-England* settled: And in the Year 1706 the *French* landed there, they were vigorously opposed by this little Colony, who beat off the Invaders, having forced them to leave many of their Companions dead behind them. This County sends 10 Members to the Assembly. We now enter

*Berkley* County, passing still from North to South. The Northern Parts of this Shire are not planted, but the Southern are thick of Plantations, on Account of the two great Rivers *Cooper* and *Ashley*. On the North Coast there's a little River called *Bowal* River, which with a Creek forms an Island, and off of the Coasts are several Isles, named the *Hunting-Islands* and *Sillivant's Isle*. Between the latter and



*Bowal* River is a Ridge of Hills; which from the Nature of the Soil is called the *Sand-Hills*. The River *Wando* waters the North-West Parts of this County, and has several good Plantations upon it, as Col. *Daniel's* on the South Side, and Col. *Dearsby's* lower down on the North. It runs into *Cooper* River near the latter, and they both unite their Streams with *Ashley* River at *Charles-Town*. The late Assembly enacted, That a Church should be built on the South-East of *Wando* River, and another upon the Neck of Land lying on the North-West of *Wando*, but we do not see that this Act was obeyed.

*Charles-Town*, the Capital of this Province, is built on a Neck of Land between *Ashley* and *Cooper* Rivers, but lying most on *Cooper* River, having a Creek on the North Side and another on the South. It lies in 32 Deg. 40 Min. N. Lat. two Leagues from the Sea. This is the only free Port in the Province, which is a great Discouragement to it and a vast Injury to Trade: 'Tis fortified more for Beauty than Strength. It has six Bastions and a Line all round it. Towards *Cooper* River are *Blake's* Bastion, *Granville* Bastion, a half Moon and *Craven* Bastion. On the South Creek are the Palifades and *Ashley* Bastion, on the North a Line; and facing *Ashley* River are *Colliton* Bastion, *Johnson's* covered half Moon with a Draw-Bridge in the Line, and another in the half Moon. *Carteret* Bastion is next to it. If all these Works are well made, and can be well manned, we see no Reason why they should not defend as well as beautify the Town; says a late Writer of this Province, we have fortified *Charles-Town* with strong and regular Works, and erected another Fort upon a Point of Land at the Mouth of *Ashley* River, which commands the Channel so well, that Ships can't easily pass it. This Place is a Market Town, and thither the whole Product of the Province is brought for Sale. Neither is its Trade inconsiderable, for it deals near 1000 Miles into the Continent: However it is unhappy in a Bar, that admits no Ships above 200 Tuns. Its Situation is very inviting, and the Country about it agreeable and fruitful: The Highways extremely delightful, especially that called *Broad-way*, which for three or four Miles make a Road and Walk, so pleasantly green, that says Mr. *Archdale*, I believe no Prince in Europe by all his Art can make so pleasant a Sight for the whole Year. There are several fair Streets in the Town, and some very handsome Buildings; as Mr. Landgrave *Smith's* House on the Key, with a Draw-Bridge and Wharf before it; Col. *Rbett's* on the Key, also Mr. *Boone's*, Mr. *Loggan's*, Mr. *Schinking's* and 10 or 12 more, which deserve to be taken Notice of.

Archd. p. 9.

As for publick Edifices, the Church is most remarkable; 'tis large and stately enough; but the Number of the Professors of the *Anglicane* Worship increasing daily, the Auditory begin to want Room, and another Church. This is dedicated to *St. Philip*; and by the Act, which appointed the High Commission Court, 'twas enacted, *That Charles-Town, and the Neck between Cooper and Ashley River, as far up as the Plantation of John Bird, Gent. on Cooper River, inclusive, is, and from henceforth shall for ever be a distinct Parish, by the Name of St. Philip's in Charles-Town*: And the Church and Coemetry then in this Town were enacted to be the Parish Church and Church-yard of *St. Philip's in Charles-Town*. Mr. *Williams* was the first Church of *England* Minister in *Carolina*; a Person of whom, since Mr. *Marston* has said so much, we shall say no more. One Mr. *Warmel* was sent over after him. The Reverend Mr. *Samuel Marshal* was the first establish'd Minister at *Charles-Town*; and his Successor was Mr. *Edward Marston*, the present Rector of *St. Philip's*; he came over seven Years ago. Mr. *Kendal*, Minister of *Bermudas*, was invited to this Colony; and Mr. *Corbin*, an Acquaintance of Mr. *Marston's*, coming by chance, he got him settled in this Province.

The Society for propagating the Gospel sent over one Mr. *Thomas*, to convert the *Roman-Catholick Indians*; but he did not obey his Mission. On the contrary, 'twas by his Influence on some Men of Interest here, that Mr. *Kendal* was displaced; upon which he went distracted.

See Mr. Marston's Letter to Dr. Stanhope, Part 2. of the Case of Dissent. p 53.

Mr. *Warmell* was also used so ill by him, that he also died distracted; and Mr. *Corbin* was forced to leave the Colony, by the careless Quarrels of the Inhabitants, in which the Dissenters had the least Hand. 'Twas by their Procurement that the 150*l.* a Year, &c. was settled on the orthodox Minister of this Church. The Church stands near the cover'd Half Moon.

There's a publick Library in this Town, and a Free School was long talk'd of; whether founded or not, we have not learn'd. The Library is kept by the Minister for the time being. It owes its Rise to Dr. *Thomas Bray*, as do most of the *American* Libraries, for which he zealously solicited Contributions in *England*.

Not far off, by *Carteret Bastion*, is the Presbyterian Meeting-house, of which Mr. *Archibald Stobe* is Minister. Between *Colliton* and *Ashley Bastion* is the Anabaptist Meeting-house, Mr. *William Screven* Minister. The *French* Church is in the chief Street: Besides which, there is a Quakers Meeting-house, in the Suburbs of it, properly so call'd,



call'd, on the other Side of the Draw-bridge, in the Half-Moon, toward *Ashley* River.

To the Southward is the Watch-house; and the most noted Plantations in the Neighbourhood of *Charles-Town*, are *Ferguson's*, *Underwood's*, *Gilbertson* and *Garnett's*.

We may see, by this Description, that the Town is full of Dissenters, and would flourish more, were not the Inhabitants uneasy under the Government there. For one may imagine they who fled from *England*, to avoid Persecution, cannot be well pleas'd to meet with it in *America*; nor to cross the *Atlantick*, to live under Oppression abroad, while their Relations and Friends at home enjoy all the Blessings of a peaceful and gentle Administration.

There are at least 250 Families in this Town, most of which are numerous, and many of them have 10 or 12 Children in each; in the whole amounting to about 3000 Souls.

In *Charles-Town* the Governor generally resides, the Assembly sit, the Courts of Judicature are held, the publick Offices kept, and the Business of the Province are transacted.

The Neck of Land between *Cooper* and *Ashley* Rivers is about 4 Miles over, and the Banks of both of these are well planted. The chief Settlements on *Cooper* River are *Matthew's*, *Green's*, *Gray's*, *Starkey's*, *Grimball's*, *Dickeson's*, and *Izard's*; the latter on *Turky* Creek. About a Mile from thence is the Mouth of *Goose-Creek*, which is also very well planted. Here Mr. *William Corbin* above-mentioned lived, and had a Congregation of Church of *England* Men; and one of the Churches propos'd to be built by the Assembly which pass'd the two fatal Acts we have spoken of, was to be erected.

Mr. *Thomas*, a Missionary sent by the Society before-mentioned, settled here, by Capt. *How's* and Col. *Moor's* Solicitations; as did Mr. *Stackhouse*, and the Reverend Dr. *Lejau*.

Mr. *Marston*, in his Letter to the Reverend Dr. *Stanhope*, accuses Mr. *Thomas* of being the Occasion of the ill Usage that made Mr. *Kendal* run distracted. He complains he never had University Education, saying, *That the best Service your Society can do this young Man, Mr. Thomas, is to maintain him a few Years at one of our Universities, where he may better learn the Principles und Government of the Church of England, &c. and some other useful Learning, which I am afraid he wants.*

Sir *John Yeoman's*, and Mr. Landgrave *Bellenger's* Plantations are here; as also Col. *Gibbs's*, Mr. *Schinking's*, and *Colliton's*



*Colliton's Company.* Between this and *Back River* are Col. *Moor's* and Col. *Quarry's* Plantations.

*Back River* falls into *Cooper River*, about 2 Miles above *Goose-Creek*, and its Western Branch a little higher. Here another Church was proposed to be built. The most noted Plantations are Capt. *Comings's* and Sir *Nathaniel Johnson's*, bordering on the Barony of Mr. *Thomas Colliton*.

We must now take a View of *Ashley River*, where we first meet with Mr. *Langrave West's* Plantation on one Side, and Col. *Gibbs's* on the other. Mr. *Baden's* over-against Col. *Godfrey's*, Mr. *Simonds's* opposite to Dr. *Trevillian's*, and Mr. *Pendarvis's* to Mr. *West's*, Mr. *Colliton's* to Mr. *Marshal's*, and others almost contiguous.

This Part of the Country belongs to the Lord *Shaftsbury*. On the South-West of *Ashley River* is the great *Savana*. One of the Churches intended to be erected in this County, was to have been built on *Ashley River*.

*Dorchester* is in this Shire, bordering on *Colliton County*. 'Tis a small Town, containing about 350 Souls. There's a Meeting-house belonging to the Independents, the Pastor of which is Mr. *John Lord*. Next to it is *Stono River*, which divides *Berkley* from *Colliton County*, to which we must now proceed; observing only, that *Berkley County* sends ten Members to the Assembly. The same does

*Colliton County*, which *Stono River* waters, and is joined by a Cut, near Mr. *Blake's* Plantation, to *Wadmoolaw River*. The North-East Parts of this Division of the Province is full of *Indian Settlements*; and the *Stono*, and other Rivers, form an Island, call'd *Boone's Island*, a little below *Charles-Town*, which is well planted and inhabited. The two chief Rivers in this County are *North-Edistow* and *South-Edistow*. At the Mouth of the latter is Col. *Paul Grimboll's* Plantation; and for two or three Miles up the River, the Plantations are thick on both Sides; as they continue for three or four Miles higher on the North-side, and branching there, the River meets with the *North-Edistow*.

Two Miles higher is *Wilton*, by some call'd *New-London*, a little Town, consisting of about 80 Houses. Landgrave *Moreton*, Mr. *Blake*, Mr. *Boone*, Landgrave *Axtel*, and other considerable Planters, have Settlements in this Neighbourhood, which is Sir *John Colliton's* Precinct.

A Church was to have been built on the South-side of the *Stono*, had that Project gone on, and the Act taken effect. This County has 200 Freeholders, that vote in E-

lection for Parliament Men. There's an orthodox Church in this Precinct, of which Mr. *Williams* is Minister.

*Carteret* County is not yet inhabited, but is generally esteemed to be the most fruitful and pleasant Part of the Province. This and *Colliton* County are distinguish'd from the other by the Name of the *Southward*. In it is the great River *Cabbage*, which joining with the River *May*, forms with the Sea Island *Edelano*.

The Country upon the River *May* was inhabited by the *Westoes*, an *Indian* Nation already mentioned. There's a pleasant Lake and Valley in it; and the first *English* that came to *Carolina* thought of settling hereabouts; but the *Indians* advised them to the contrary, because the Harbour of *Port-Royal* was the finest in *Florida*, and would have tempted the *Spaniards* to disturb them.

The *Scots* settled here, under the Lord *Cardross*; but were soon forced to abandon their Settlements, as has been elsewhere hinted. *Port-Royal* River lies 20 Leagues from *Ashley* River, to the South, in 31 Degrees, 45 Minutes, North Latitude. It has a bold Entrance, 17 Foot low Water on the Bar. The Harbour is large, commodious, and safe for Shipping, and runs into a fine fruitful Country, preferable to the other Parts of *Carolina*. It spends itself, by various Branches, into other large Rivers. This Port is not 200 Miles from *Augustino*, and would be a great Curb to the *Spaniards* there, where their Settlement is not very considerable.

Next to it is the River *May*, and then *San Mattæo*; which is the last of any Note in the *English Florida*, a Name this Province highly deserves.

Arch. p. 8.

The Air of this Country is healthy, and Soil fruitful, of a sandy Mould, which, near the Sea, appears ten times more barren than it proves to be. There's a vast Quantity of Vines in many Parts of the Coasts, bearing abundance of Grapes, where one would wonder they should get Nourishment. Within Land the Soil is more mix'd with a blackish Mould, and its Foundation generally Clay, good for Bricks.

Its Products are the chief Trade of the Inhabitants, who send it abroad, according as the Market offers; and 'tis in Demand in *America* or *Europe*. But the chief Commerce from hence is to *Jamaica*, *Barbados* and the *Leeward-Islands*; yet their Trade to *England* is very much increased; for notwithstanding all the Discouragements the People lie under, seventeen Ships came last Year, laden from *Carolina*, with Rice, Skins, Pitch, and Tar, in the *Virginia* Fleet, besides straggling Ships.

Its

Its principal Commodities are Provisions, as Beef, Pork, Corn, Pease, Butter, Tallow, Hides, tann'd Leather, Hog-head and Barrel-Staves, Hoops, Cotton, Silk, besides what they send for *England*. Their Timber-trees, Fruit-trees, Plants and Animals are much the same with those in *Virginia*, in which History may be seen a large Account of them: But since Mr. *Archdale* has been a little particular in his, and has added a short Description of the Natives, &c. we will communicate what he says to the Reader.

" 'Tis beautified with odoriferous Woods, green all the P. 9.  
 " Year; as Pine, Cedar, and Cypress. 'Tis naturally fer-  
 " tile, and easy to manure. Were the Inhabitants industri-  
 " ous, Riches would flow in upon them; for I am satisfy'd,  
 " a Person with 500*l.* discreetly laid out in *England*, and  
 " again prudently managed in *Carolina*, shall in a few  
 " Years live in as much Plenty as a Man of 300*l.* a  
 " Year in *England*; and if he continues careful, not covet-  
 " ous, shall increase to great Riches, as many there are al-  
 " ready Witness'es, and many more might have been, if  
 " Luxury and Intemperance had not ended their Days.

" As to the Air, 'tis always serene, and agreeable to any  
 " Constitutions, as the first Planters experienced. There's  
 " seldom any raging Sickness, but what is brought from the  
 " Southern Colonies, as the late Sickness was, which raged  
 " A. D. 1706, and carried off abundance of People in  
 " *Charles-Town*, and other Places.

" Intemperance also has occasioned some Distempers.  
 " What may properly be said to belong to the Country is,  
 " to have some gentle Touches of Agues and Fevers in  
 " *July* and *August*, especially to new Comers. It has a <sup>ibid.</sup>  
 " Winter Season, to beget a new Spring." I was there, P. 7.  
 adds my Author, at twice, five Years, and had no Sickness,  
 but what I got by a careless violent Cold; and indeed I per-  
 ceived that the Fevers and Agues were generally gotten by Care-  
 lessness in Clothing, or Intemperance.

" Every thing generally grows there that will grow in any  
 " Part of *Europe*, there being already many sorts of Fruits,  
 " as Apples, Pears, Apricots, Nectarines, &c. They that  
 " once taste of them, will despise the watry washy Taste of  
 " those in *England*. There's such Plenty of them, that they  
 " are given to the Hogs. In 4 or 5 Years they come  
 " from a Stone to be bearing Trees.

" All sorts of Grain thrive in *Carolina*, as Wheat, Barley,  
 " Peas, &c. And I have measured some Wheat Ears 7 or  
 " 8 of our Inches long. It produces the best Rice in the  
 " known World, which is a good Commodity for Returns



“ home; as is also Pitch, Tar, Buck, Doe, Bear-skins and  
 “ Furs; though the last not so good as the Northern Co-  
 “ lonies.

“ It has already such Plenty of Provisions, that it, in a great  
 “ Measure, furnishes *Barbados, Jamaica, &c.* There are  
 “ vast Numbers of wild Ducks, Geese, Teal; and the Sea  
 “ and Rivers abound in Fish. That which makes Provi-  
 “ sions so cheap, is the Shortness of the Winter; for hav-  
 “ ing no need to mow for Winter Fodder, they can apply  
 “ their Hands in raising other Commodities.

“ The Rivers are found to be more navigable than was  
 “ at first believed; and 'twas then prudently contrived not  
 “ to settle on the most navigable, but on *Ashley* and *Cooper*  
 “ River; those Entrances are not so bold as the others, so  
 “ that Enemies and Pirates have been dishearten'd in their  
 “ Designs to disturb that Settlement.

“ The new Settlers have now great Advantages over the  
 “ first Planters, since they can be supply'd with Stocks of  
 “ Cattle and Corn at reasonable Rates.

I shall conclude the Account of *Carolina* with an Extract  
 of a Letter from thence, from a Person of Credit, in whose  
 Words I communicate it to the Publick: He speaks of the  
*Southward.*

“ The many Lakes we have up and down breed a  
 “ Multitude of Geese, and other Water Fowl. All along  
 “ *Port-Royal* River, and in all this Part of *Carolina*, the  
 “ Air is so temperate, and the Seasons of the Year so regu-  
 “ lar, that there's no Excess of Heat or Cold, nor any trou-  
 “ blefom Variety of Weather; for though there is every  
 “ Year a kind of Winter, yet it is both shorter and milder  
 “ than at *Ashley* or *Cooper* River, and passes over insensibly,  
 “ as if there was no Winter at all. This sweet Tempera-  
 “ ture of Air causes the Banks of the River to be cover'd  
 “ with various Kinds of lovely Trees, which being per-  
 “ petually green, present a thousand Landskips to the Eye,  
 “ so fine, and so diversify'd, that the Sight is entirely  
 “ charm'd with them. The Ground is very low in most  
 “ Places near the River; but rises gradually at a Distance,  
 “ with little Hills adjoining to fruitful Plains, all cover'd  
 “ with Flowers, without so much as a Tree to interrupt the  
 “ Prospect. Beyond these are beautiful Vales, clothed with  
 “ green Herbs, and a continual Verdure, caused by the  
 “ refreshing Rivulets that run through them. There are a  
 “ great many Thickets, which produce abundance of Sim-  
 “ ples. The *Indians* make use of them for the Cure of  
 “ their Diseases. There are also *Sarsaparilla, Cassia-trees,*  
 “ Gums

“ Gums and Rosin, very good for Wounds and Bruises ;  
 “ and such a prodigious Quantity of Honey, which the Bees  
 “ make every where, that the Store of it is not to be ex-  
 “ hausted. Of this they make excellent Spirits, and Mead  
 “ as good as *Malaga Sack*. The Bees swarm five or six  
 “ times. There’s a kind of Tree, from which there runs  
 “ an Oil of extraordinary Virtue for curing Wounds. And  
 “ another Tree, which yields a Balm, thought to be scarce  
 “ inferior to that of *Mecca*.

Silk is come to a great Improvement here, some Families making 40 or 50 *l.* a Year, and their Plantation Work not neglected, their little Negro Children being serviceable in feeding the Silk-worms. And we must do Sir *Nathanael Johnson* the Justice, to own he has been the principal Promoter of this Improvement, as also of Vineyards. He makes yearly 3 or 400 *l.* in Silk only.

But ’tis objected, since the Climate is so proper, since Grapes are so plentiful, and the Wine they make so good, why there is not more of it? Why do we not see some of it?

To which I answer, That the Inhabitants either think they can turn their Hands to a more profitable Culture, or impose upon us in their Reports; for I would not think them so weak, as to neglect making good Wine, and enough of it, if they could, and thought it worth their while.

They manufacture their Silk with Wool, and make Druggets. The *French* Protestants have set up a Linen Manufacture; and good Romalls are made here.

A *French* Dancing-Master settling in *Craven* County, taught the *Indians* Country-Dances, to play on the Flute and Hautboy, and got a good Estate; for it seems the Barbarians encouraged him with the same Extravagance, as we do the Dancers, Singers and Fidlers his Countrymen.

Though we have said enough of the *Virginian Indians*, who are much the same with the *Carolinian*; yet since we find Mr. *Archdale* speaks of them in particular, let the Reader see what he has said of them.

“ Providence was visible in thinning the *Indians*, to make  
 “ Room for the *English*. There were two potent Na-  
 “ tions, the *Westoes* and *Sarannas*, who broke out into an  
 “ usual Civil War before the *English* arrived; and from  
 “ many thousands reduced themselves to a small Number.  
 “ The most cruel of them, the *Westoes*, were driven out  
 “ of the Province; and the *Sarannas* continued good Friends  
 “ and useful Neighbours to the *English*. It pleased God  
 “ also to send unusual Sickneses among them, as the Small-

P. 2. 3. " Pox, &c. The *Pemlico* Indians, in North Carolina, were  
 " lately swept away by a Pestilence; and the *Carantine* by  
 P. 7. " War. The Natives are somewhat tawny, occasioned  
 " chiefly by oiling their Skins, and by the naked Rays of  
 " the Sun. They are generally straight body'd, comely in  
 " Person, quick of Apprehension, and great Hunters; by  
 " which they are not only very serviceable, by killing Deer,  
 " to procure Skins for Trade with us; but those that live  
 " in Country Plantations procure of them the whole Deer's  
 " Flesh, and they will bring it many Miles for the Value of  
 " about 6 *d.* and a wild Turkey of 40 Pounds for the Va-  
 " lue of 2 *d.*

They have learnt one of their worst Vices of the *English*, which is Drinking, and that occasions Quarrels among them, one of which we have mentioned in the time of Mr. *Archdale's* Government. As to what he would excite us to their Conversion to Christianity, 'tis a Project which, like a great many other very good ones, we may rather wish than hope to see effected.

Mr. *Thomas* was sent to instruct the *Yammosees* in the Christian Religion, and had an Allowance of 50 *l.* a Year from the before-mentioned Society, besides other Allowances: But finding it an improper Season, his Mission is respited; the Reason is, those *Indians* revolted to the *English* from the *Spaniards*, and not being willing to embrace Christianity, 'tis feared they would return to their old Confederates, if any means were made use of to that Purpose.

This Country is in a very flourishing Condition, the Families are very large, in some are 10 or 12 Children, and the Number of Souls, in all, is computed to be 12000. The Children are set to Work at 8 Years old. The ordinary Women take Care of Cows, Hogs, and other small Cattle, make Butter and Cheese, spin Cotton and Flax, help to sow and reap Corn, wind Silk from the Worms, gather Fruit; and look after the House. 'Tis pity this People should not be easy in their Government; for all their Industry, all the Advantages of the Climate, Soil, and Situation for Trade, will be useless to them, if they live under Oppression; and *Pensylvania* will have no Occasion to complain that she tempts away her Inhabitants; being a new Beauty, a fairer, and consequently a powerful Rival.



C H A P. III.

Extract from a late Account of this Province, containing Observations not mentioned in the former Edition.

*CAROLINA* is in general a plain champain Country, having no considerable Hills for the Space of 1000 Miles together along the Coast, within 100 Miles of the Sea. There are, however, almost every where Risings, or gentle Ascents, from 5 Foot to 70 above the Level of the highest Side. Behind these vast Champain Countries lies a high Ridge of Mountains, which beginning in the Latitude of 34, 90 or 100 Miles to the Westward of the *Mississippi*, run almost parallel with the Sea Coast, behind *Florida, Carolina, Virginia* and *Maryland*. They are variously named the *Apelchen, Appellachean* and *Appellæan* Mountains; from the Foot of which, to the Sea, is about 200 Miles. The Springs of most of the great Rivers in the before-mentioned Provinces are in these Hills.

This Province is capable of containing above sixty times the Number of its present Inhabitants.

The Seasons of sowing *Indian* Corn here, is from the 1st of *March* to the 10th of *June*. An Acre produces from 18 to 30 Bushels. The Seed-time of Rice is from the 1st of *April* to the 20th of *May*. 'Tis sow'd in Furrows, about 18 Inches distant; a Peck usually sows an Acre, which yields seldom less than 30 Bushels, or more than 60; but between these two, as the Land is either better or worse. It is reap'd in *September* to the 8th of *October*, and the Product is now become so large, that it returns to *Great Britain* at least 80000 *l.* a Year, including Freight and Commission, which are the most profitable Articles in the *British* Commerce. In a good Year it can export 80000 Barrels of 400 Weight, and upon a Medium of 7 Years, may make 50000 Barrels, disposed of as follows, by a Calculation six Years ago.

P. 18

To the South of Cape Finistre	10000 Barrels.
To the North of Cape Finistre	38000 Barrels.
To Great Britain	2000
	<hr/>
	50000 Barrels.

This Quantity of *Rice* will employ above 10000 Ton of Shipping, and may return to *Great Britain* about 80000*l.* per Annum.

This Product is so very large, so good, and continues so increasing, that there is very great Likelihood, that, in a few Years, all the Markets in *Europe* will be supplied therewith from this Province; the Trade of which is otherwise so much augmented, that it loads at least 200 Sail of Ships yearly, with this and other Products from all Parts.

*Silk-worms.*

*Silk-worms* in *Carolina* are hatch'd from the Egg about the 6th of *March*; at the same time that the *Mulberry* Leaves, which are their Food, begin to open. Being attended and fed 6 Weeks, they eat no more, but have small Bushes set up for them to spin themselves into Balls, which thrown into warm Water are wound off into *Raw Silk*.

*Rosin.*

*Rosin*, *Tar* and *Pitch* are all produced from the *Pine* Trees. *Rosin* by cutting Channels in the standing green Trees that meet at a Point at the Foot of the Tree, where is placed a *Receiver*. The Channels are cut as high as one can reach with an Ax, and the Bark is peeled off from all those Parts of the Tree that are exposed to the Sun, that the Heat of it may the more easily force out the *Turpentine*, which being taken from the *Receiver* and melted in Kettles becomes *Rosin*.

*Tar.*

*Tar* is made thus, they prepare a circular Floor of Clay declining a little towards the Center, from which is laid a Pipe of Wood, whose upper Part is even with the Floor, and reaches 10 Foot without the Circumference, under the End the Earth is dug away, and Barrels placed to receive the *Tar* as it runs. Upon the Floor is built up a large Pile of dry *Pine* Wood split in Pieces and surrounded with a Wall of Earth, which covers it all over only a little at the Top where the Fire is first kindled. After the Fire begins to burn they cover that likewise with Earth, to the End there may be no Flame, but only Heat sufficient to force the *Tar* downward into the Floor. They temper the Heat as they please, by thrusting a Stick through the Earth, and letting the Air in at as many Places as they see convenient.

*Pitch.*

*Pitch* is made by boiling *Tar* in large Iron Kettles set in Furnaces, or by burning it in round Clay Holes made in the Earth.

*Black Cattle.*

*Black Cattle* have mightily increased since the first settling of the Colony. About 40 Years ago it was reckoned a great deal to have three or four Cows, now some People have 1000 Head, and for one Man to have 200 is very common. The Cows graze in the Forests, and the Calves, being separated and

and kept in Pastures fenced in, return Home at Night to suckle them. They are first milked, then shut up in a Fold all Night, milked again in the Morning and then turned out into the Woods.

Here are Hogs in Abundance, they go daily to feed in the Woods, where they rove several Miles feeding on Nuts and Roots, but having a Shelter made at Home to keep them warm and something given them to eat, they generally return in the Evening. The Beef and Pork that are raised by it find a good Market in the Sugar Islands.

The Trade between this Province and *England* employ one Year with another 22 Sail of Ships, laden with all Sorts of Woollen Clothes, Stuffs and Druggets, Linens, Hollands, printed Linen and Calicoes, Silks and Mullins; all Sorts of Iron Ware, as Nails, Hoes, Hatchets, &c. Bedticks, strong Beer, bottled Cyder, Raisins, earthen Ware, Pipes, Paper, Rugs, Blankets, Quilts, Hats, Stockings, Gloves, Pewter Dishes and Plates, Bras and Copper Ware, Guns, Powder, Bullets, Flints, Glass Beads, Cordage, Woollen and Cotton Cards, Steel Hand-Mills, Grind-Stones, Looking and Drinking Glasses, Lace, Thread, Mohair, and all Kinds of Trimming for Clothes, Pins, Needles, &c. To purchase which are sent from hence 70,000 Deer-Skins, besides the Commodities Rice, &c. before-mentioned, there are above the 22 Sail of Ships for the *England* Trade, 60 Sail annually entered at *Charles-Town* for some Places of *Africa* and *America*.

From *Jamaica*, *St. Thomas*, *Curasso*, *Barbados* and the *Leeward-Islands*, they have Sugar, Rum, Melasses, Cotton, Chocolate made of Cocoa Nuts, Negroes and Money; they send thither besides Beef and Pork, Butter, Candles, Soap, Tallow, Mirtle Wax-Candles, Cedar, Pineberries, Pitch and Tar, Shingles and Staves, Hoops and Heading. From *New-England*, *New-York* and *Pensylvania*, they have Wheat, Flower, Bisket, strong Beer, salt Fish, Onions, Apples, Hops, and return them Hides, small Deer-Skins, Gloves, Rice, Slaves taken by the *Indians* in War, some Tar and Pitch.

From *Madeira* and the *Western Islands* they have Wine, and send thither Provisions, Slaves, Heads for Barrels, &c.

From *Guinea* they have Negro Slaves, but the Ships that bring them being sent with the Effects that purchase them from *England*, the Returns are sent thither.

As to the Encrease of Inhabitants since the former Impression, the late Writer of *Carolina* either knew not the Use of Numbers in *political Arithmetick*, or was shy of communicating



municating his Knowledge of them, for he says only, " It is not necessary to insert the exact Numbers of the several Inhabitants, but the Proportion they bear to one another and each to the whole are as follows."

$$\text{Whites} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Planters} \\ \text{Traders} \\ \text{Artizans} \end{array} \right\} \text{ as } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 8\frac{1}{2} \\ 1\frac{1}{2} \\ 2 \end{array} \right\} \text{ to } 12$$

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{All the Whites} \\ \text{Indian Subjects} \\ \text{Negro Slaves} \end{array} \right\} \text{ to the whole, as } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 12 \\ 66 \\ 22 \end{array} \right\} \text{ to } 100$$

He afterwards subdivides the *White* People into

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Episcopal Party} \\ \text{Presbyterians and} \\ \text{French Protestants} \\ \text{Baptists} \\ \text{Quakers} \end{array} \right\} \text{ to the whole, as } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 4\frac{1}{2} \\ 4\frac{1}{4} \\ 1 \\ \frac{1}{4} \end{array} \right\} \text{ to } 10$$

Church.

Page 39, 45.

After this Reckoning of more Curiosity than Use, the *Episcopalians* are the most numerous of all the Denominations, and almost equal them all together; which is not the State of the Case in other Accounts of this Province. He says there are eight Ministers of the Church of *England*, and in another Page, that there are ten Church of *England* Ministers, who have each 100 *l. per Ann.* paid by the Publick: But the other Protestants pay their Ministers by private Contributions, and also contribute alike with the other Inhabitants to pay the Church Incumbents. I shall not inquire into the Reason of this double Payment, which one could very well account for in *England*, but leave it to others to compare this Practice with the Establishment of Religion by the *Fundamental Constitutions*, which *Locke* drew up.

Revenues.

There are at present no Taxes in *South Carolina*, but the publick Revenue arises from Duties laid on Spirits, Wines, Staves, Sugars, Melaffes, Flower, Bisket, dry Goods, Imposts 3 *per Cent.* Deer Skins, Exports 3 farth. a Skin, all which Duties amount to about 4500 *l. per Ann.* out of which are paid

Payments.

To ten Church of England Ministers,	1000 <i>l.</i> yearly.
For finishing and repairing Fortifications,	1000
For the Officers of Forts and Centinels,	600
To the Governor, _____	200
For Military Stores, _____	300
Accidental Charges, _____	400

Total 3500

Which

Which taken out of 4500 l. there remains yearly 1000 l. to cancel so much of the *Bills of Credit* which as mentioned formerly were struck at first for 6000 l. only, but upon Experience of the good Use of them, 10000 Bills were added afterwards. They ran at first with 12 per Cent. Interest, but upon making the second Parcel, the Currency of them was so well established and found to be so convenient, the Assembly having secured the Payment of them beyond all Exception, that the Interest upon them was quite taken off.

Besides these Bills of Credit, the Currency of this Province in Money is chiefly *French Pistoles* and *Spanish Gold*, which passed before the Act for regulating Coin in the Colonies at 6 s. and 3 d. a Penny Weight, and 3 d. the odd Grains, *Dutch Dollars* and *Peruvian Pieces of Eight* at 5 s. There is little *English Money*, but what here passes at 50 per Cent. Advance, a Crown at 7 s. 6 d. a Guinea at 32 s. 3 d.

The Method of settling in this pleasant Country, has hitherto been for Men to pitch upon a void Piece of Ground, purchased at the Rate of 20 l. for 1000 Acres, and one Shilling Quit-Rent for every 100 Acres, or else to pay a Penny an Acre Quit-Rent yearly to the Proprietors without Purchase Money. The former Method is the most common and the Tenure a *Freehold*. The Land being laid out the Purchaser builds upon it, raises Stock, plants Orchards, and makes such Commodities as when sold procure him Slaves, Horses, Household Goods and other Conveniences, and after this is done he may yearly encrease his Capital, and by Industry become rich.

Settlement there.

Of 50 l. a Year, its first Charge.

My Author gives in a Scheme of settling an Estate of 50 l. a Year for 100 l. prime Cost only.

	l. s.
200 Acres of Land, Purchase, Survey, and other Charges	6 0
2 Negro Slaves 40 l. each	80 0
4 Cows with Calves at 25 s. each	5 0
4 Sows at 15 s. each	3 0
A Canoe, it must be by a River	3 0
Axes, Hoes, Wedges, Hand-Saws, Hammers and other Tools	2 0
A Steel Mill	3 0
A small House, Hut or Cabin for the first Year or two	8 0
Corn, Pease, Beef, Pork, &c. for the first Year	14 0
Expences and Contingencies.	26 0

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150 l. Carolina Money, or 100 l. Sterling.

There

There are many who at their settling save the great Charge of Slaves and do the Labour themselves, and this reduces the first Settlement of 150 *l.* a Year to 70 *l.* only.

As for those who have no Substance at all, and would hire out their Labour, Wages run thus.

		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Price of Labour.	A Taylor	5	0	a Day,
	A Shoemaker	2	6	almost as cheap as in <i>England.</i>
	A Smith	7	6	three Times as dear as in <i>England.</i>
	A Weaver	3	0	
	A Bricklayer	6	0	
	A Cooper	4	0	

Pag. 58.

The *Carolina* Writer recommends to the Board of Trade to get *Seeds* of *Almonds, Dates, Olives, Coffee, Tea, Drugs, &c.* growing and thriving in *Climates* of the same *Latitude* as *Carolina*, including the finest *Countries* in the *World*, to have them carefully preserved, sent to *Carolina* and there propagated.

Pag. 59, &  
seq.

This Author's Scheme in general is so to lay out 6000 *l.* and that in *Freight, Tools, Clothes* and *Necessaries*, as that it shall in 20 Years Time bring in 36,562 *l.* and have an improving Stock in *Carolina* to the Value of 7000 *l.* If I was more in Love with general Schemes and this in particular, I should not depend on the Success of either at Home or Abroad.



T H E  
 H I S T O R Y  
 O F  
 G E O R G I A.

**T**H E Gentlemen who first formed the Design of Settlements in this Country (then a Part of *Carolina*) did it as a charitable Foundation by providing for Numbers of poor People, not only to live comfortably themselves, but to be a Benefit to the People to which they were before a Burthen. This they gave out, and invited all well disposed Persons to join with and assist them in so useful and laudable an Undertaking. In order to proceed regularly and effectually they petitioned the King for a Charter, which was granted them in the Year 1732.

1732.

The Charter grants to the Trustees and their Successors, Charter. all the Lands and Territories from the most Northern Stream of the *Savannah* River, all along the Sea Coast to the Southward unto the most Southern Stream of the *Alatamaha* River, and Westward from the Heads of the said Rivers respectively in direct Lines to the South Seas, and all that Space, Circuit and Precinct of Land lying within the said Boundaries, with the Islands in the Sea opposite to the Eastern Coast of the said Lands within 20 Leagues of the same, &c.

It is a vast Tract of Land Southward of *Carolina*, divided from it by the River *Savannah*, and bounded on the South by the River *Alatamaha*, which are both large and navigable. From one River to the other at the Sea, is between 60 and 70 Miles, and as some say since 120 Miles, and its Extent from the Sea to the *Apalatian* or *Apalachean* Mountains, is about 300 Miles widening very much in its Progress from the Sea.

This

This Country was erected into a Province called *Georgia*, a Name taken from that of his *Britannick* Majesty, and is born by the most fruitful Kingdom in *Asia*, inhabited by Christians from the Times of the Apostles.

About the End of the Month of *August* 1732, Sir *Gilbert Heathcote* acquainted the Court of Directors of the Bank of *England*, that his Majesty had granted a Charter for establishing a regular Colony in *Georgia*; that the Fund was to arise from charitable Contributions which he recommended to them, shewing the great Charity of the Undertaking and the future Benefit arising to *England* by strengthening all our *American* Colonies, by encreasing the Trade and Navigation of the Kingdom, and by raising of *Raw-Silk*, for which upwards of 500,000 *l.* a Year was paid to *Piedmont*, and thereby giving Employment to Thousands of Tradesmen and working People. Then Sir *Gilbert* gave a handsom Benefaction to the Design, and his Example was followed by the Directors then present, and a great many others belonging to that opulent Society; and *James Vernon*, *Robert Hucks*, and *George Heathcote*, Esqrs; paid into the Bank (the Treasury for this Use) 100 *l.* each for the Charity, which was conducted by the following Noblemen and Gentlemen as Trustees.

*Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*.

*John* Lord Viscount *Percival*.

*John* Lord Viscount *Tyrconnel*.

*James* Ld. Viscount *Limerick*.

*George* Lord *Carpenter*.

*Edward* *Digby*, Esq;

*James* *Oglethorpe*, Esq;

*George* *Heathcote*, Esq;

*Thomas* *Tower*, Esq;

*Robert* *More*, Esq;

*Robert* *Hucks*, Esq;

*William* *Sloper*, Esq;

*Francis* *Eyles*, Esq;

*John* *Laroche*, Esq;

*James* *Vernon*, Esq;

*Stephen* *Hales*, A. M.

*Richard* *Chandler*, Esq;

*Thomas* *Frederick*, Esq;

*Henry* *L'Apotre*, Esq;

*William* *Heathcote*, Esq;

*John* *White*, Esq;

*Robert* *Kendal*, Esq;

*Richard* *Bundy*, D. D.

Collections were made all over *England* and large Sums raised, and the Parliament gave 10,000 *l.* which enabled the Trustees to entertain many poor People that offered, and to make Provision for their Transportation and Maintenance till they could provide for themselves.

First Imbar-  
kation.

On the 6th of *November* the Persons chosen by the Trustees to be sent over being about 100 in Number, embarked at *Gravesend* on Board the *Anne* of 200 Tons Capt. *Thomas*. They had with them all Manner of Tools, Arms and Ammunitions. And on the 15th, *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; one of the

the

the Trustees, set out for *Gravesend*, to embark on board the same Ship, in order to go and see the first Settlement made; and on the 15th of *January* following, they arrived at *Carolina* in good Health.

The Governor of that Place received them with great Marks of Civility and Satisfaction, and order'd Mr. *Middleton*, the King's Pilot, to carry the Ship into *Port-Royal*, and small Craft to convey the Colony from thence to the River *Savannah*. In ten Hours they proceeded to *Port-Royal*. On the 18th Mr. *Oglethorpe* went ashore upon *Trench's* Island, and left a Guard upon *John's*, being a Point of that Island which commands the Channel, and is about half way between *Beaufort* and the River *Savannah*. They had Orders to prepare Huts for the Reception of the People in their Passage. From thence Mr. *Oglethorpe* went to *Beaufort* Town, and was saluted with a Discharge of the Artillery, and had a new Barrack fitted up where the Colony landed on the 20th, and were chearfully assisted by Lieutenant *Watts* and Ensign *Farrington*, and the other Officers of the Independent Company; as also by Mr. *Delebar*, and other Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood. From thence he went to view the *Savannah* River, and pitch'd upon a convenient Spot of Ground 10 Miles up the River. But Mr. *Oglethorpe's* Letter from thence will be most satisfactory. "The River there forms a Half-Moon, Savannah  
Town.  
" around the South-side of which, the Banks are about 40  
" Foot high, and on the Top a Flat, which they call a  
" Bluff. The plain high Ground extends into the Country  
" five or six Miles, and along the River about a Mile.  
" Ships that draw twelve Foot Water can ride within ten  
" Yards of the Bank. Upon the River-side, in the Center  
" of this Plain, I have laid out the Town. Opposite to it  
" is an Island of very rich Pasturage. The River is pretty  
" wide, the Water fresh, and from the Key of the Town  
" you see the whole Course of the Sea, with the Island  
" of *Tybee*, which forms the Mouth of the River; and the  
" other way, you see the River for about 60 Miles up into  
" the Country. The Landskip is very agreeable, the Stream  
" being wide, and border'd with high Woods on both Sides.  
" The whole People arrived here the 1st of *February*, at  
" Night their Tents were got up; till the 7th they were  
" taken up in unloading and making a Crane, which I then  
" could not get finish'd, so took off the Hands, and set  
" some to the Fortification, and began to fell the Woods.  
" I mark'd out the Town and Common; half of the former  
" is already clear'd, and the first House was begun  
" Yesterday



" Yesterday in the Afternoon, *February* the 9th; not being  
 " able to get Negroes, I have taken 10 of the Independent  
 " Company to work for us, for which I make them an  
 " Allowance. A little *Indian* Nation, the only one within  
 " 50 Miles, is not only at Amity, but desirous to be Sub-  
 " jects to his Majesty King *George*, to have Lands given them  
 " among us, and to breed their Children at our Schools.  
 " Their *Chief* and his *beloved Man*, who is the second Man  
 " in the Nation, desire to be instructed in the Christian  
 " Religion.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* call'd the Town *Savanah*, the Name also  
 of the River. The *Indian* Nation here was before call'd  
*Yamacraw*, and had for Chief *Tomochichi*, of whom more  
 hereafter; from hence, by another Letter, dated *Feb. 20th*,  
 1733, he wrote as follows:

" Our People are all in perfect Health. I chose the Situa-  
 " tion for the Town upon a high Ground, 40 Foot perpendi-  
 " cular above high-water Mark; the Soil dry and sandy, the  
 " Water of the River fresh, Springs coming out of the Sides  
 " of the Hill. I pitch'd on this Place not only for the  
 " Pleasantsness of its Situation; but because from the above-  
 " mentioned, and other Signs, I thought it healthy; for it  
 " is shelter'd from the Western and Southern Winds (the  
 " worst in this Country) by vast Woods of Pine-trees, many  
 " of which are 100, and few under 70 Foot high. There  
 " is no Moss on the Trees, tho' in most Parts of *Carolina*  
 " they are cover'd with it, and it hangs down 2 or 3 Foot  
 " from them.

Hither came to them Col. *Bull* from *Carolina*, with a  
 Message from the General Assembly to Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and  
 a Letter from Governor *Jones*, acquainting them with what  
 was done for them in *Charles-Town*, where Notice had been  
 sent of their coming.

Col. *Bull* brought with him 4 of his Negroes, who were  
 Sawyers, to assist the Colony, and also Provisions for those  
 Negroes, that the Trust might be at no Expence on them.

On the 9th Mr. *Oglethorpe* and Col. *Bull* mark'd out the  
 Square, the Streets, and 40 Lots for Houses. The first  
 House was made of Clapboards. The River before the  
 Town is a 1000 Foot wide.

After Mr. *Oglethorpe* had settled the first Colony, he re-  
 turned to *Charles-Town*, to solicit for Assistance for his Co-  
 lony, and very large Supplies were given them, not only  
 by the Assembly, but almost the whole Body of the People.  
 Five hundred Pounds of that Money Mr. *Oglethorpe* imme-  
 diately laid out in Cattle.

From thence he returned to *Savanah*, and on his Way lay at Col. *Bull's* House, on *Ashley* River. There the Rev. Mr. *Guy*, Rector of St. *John's* Parish, waited on him, and told him his Parishioners had raised a handsom Contribution.

Being arrived at *Savanah*, he found that Mr. *Wiggan*, the Interpreter, with the chief Men of the *Lower Creek* Nation, had been to treat of an Alliance with the new Colony. The *Lower Creeks* are a Nation of *Indians*, who formerly consisted of 10, but now are reduced to 8 Tribes, who have each their different Government; but are allied together, and speak the same Language. They claim from the *Savanah* River as far as St. *Augustino*, and up *Flint* River, which falls into the Bay of *Mexico*. *Tomochichi Mico*, and the *Indians* of *Yamacraw* are of the *Creek* Nation and Language.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* received the *Indians* in one of the new Houses. They were as follow.

From the Tribe of *Coweeta*:

*Yahou-Lakee*, their King or *Mico*.

*Essaboo*, their *Warrior*, the Son of old *Breen*, lately dead, whom the *Spaniards* call'd Emperor of the *Creeks*, with 8 Men and 2 Women Attendants.

Indian Nations submit to the English.

From the Tribe of *Cuffetas*.

*Cuffeta* their *Mico*.

*Tatchiquatchi*, their head *Warrior*, with four Attendants.

From the Tribe of *Owseecheys*:

*Ogeese* the *Mico*, or War King.

*Neathlouthko* and *Ougachi*, two chief Men, with three Attendants.

From the Tribe of *Cheechaws*.

*Outhleteboa*, their *Mico*, *Thlautho-thlukee*, *Figeer*, *Sootamilla*; War Captains, with three Attendants.

From the Tribe of *Echetas*.

*Chutabeeche* and *Robin*, two War Captains (the latter was bred among the *English*) with four Attendants.

From the Tribe of *Palachucolas*.

*Gillatee*, their head *Warrior*, and five Attendants.

*The History of Georgia.*From the Tribe of *Oconas*.*Oueekachumpa*, call'd, by the *English*, *Long King*. *Coo-woo*, a Warrior.From the Tribe of *Eufaulc*.*Tomaumi*, head Warrior, and three Attendants.

The *Indians* being all seated, *Oueekachumpa*, a very tall old Man, stood and made a Speech, which was interpreted by Mr. *Wiggan* and Mr. *Musgrove*, and was to the following Purpose: *He first claimed all the Land to the Southward of the River Savannah, as belonging to the Creek Indians. They then said, Though they were but poor and ignorant, he that had given the English Breath had given them Breath also. That he who had made both had given more Wisdom to white Men: That they were persuaded that the great Power which dwelt in Heaven and all around (and then he spread out his Hands, and lengthen'd the Sound of his Words) and which hath given Breath to all Men, had sent the English thither for the Instruction of them, their Wives and Children: That therefore they gave them up freely their Right to all the Land they did not use themselves. That this was not only his own Opinion, but the Opinion of the eight Towns of the Creeks; each of whom having consulted together, had sent some of their chief Men with Skins, which is their Wealth. Then the chief Men brought a Bundle of Buck-skins, and laid eight from the eight Towns before Mr. Oglethorpe. He said, Those were the best things they had, and that they gave them with a good Heart. He concluded with thanking him for his Kindness to Tomochichi Mico, and his Indians, to whom he said he was related; and though Tomochichi was banish'd from his Nation, that he was a good Man, and had been a great Warrior, and it was for his Wisdom and Justice that the banish'd Men chose him King. He also said he had heard that the Cherokees had kill'd some Englishmen, and that, if Mr. Oglethorpe would command them, they would enter their whole Force into the Cherokee Country, destroy their Harvest, kill the People, and revenge the English. When he had done speaking, Tomochichi came in with the Yamacraw Indians, and making a low Obeisance, said, I was a banish'd Man; I came here poor and helpless to look for good Land near the Tombs of my Ancestors, and when the English came to this Place, I feared you would drive us away, for we were weak and wanted Corn; but you confirm'd our Land to us, and gave us Food.*

Then



Then the Chiefs of the other Nations made Speeches much to the same Purpose as *Oucekachumpa's*. After which they agreed with Mr. *Oglethorpe* on a Treaty of Alliance and Commerce, which was signed by him and them. A laced Coat, a laced Hat, and a Shirt was given to each King, and to each of the Warriors a Gun, a Mantle of *Duffils*, and to all their Attendants coarse Cloth for Clothing; and other Things.

The Articles of Agreement were,

*The Trustees engaged to let their People carry into the Indian Towns all Sorts of Goods, fitting to trade at Rates and Prices settled by the Treaty.*

*Restitution and Reparation to be made for Injuries on both Sides, and Criminals to be tried and punished according to the English Law.*

*Trade to be withdrawn from any Indian Town, offending against Treaty.*

*The English to possess all Lands not used by the Indians; provided that, upon settling of every new Town the English should set out, for the Use of their Nation, such Lands as should be agreed on between the English beloved Men, and the head Men of their Nation.*

*To restore all run-away Negroes, and carry them either to Charles-Town, the Savanah, or Patachuchula Garrison, upon being paid for every such Negro four Blankets, or two Guns, or the Value thereof in other Goods; if taken on the other Side of Ocorivy River; and one Blanket, if the Negro is kill'd in taking, or endeavouring to make his Escape.*

*Lastly, They promised with streight Hearts and Love to their Brother English, to give no Encouragement to any other white People to settle there; and to all this they set the Marks of their Families.*

The Treaty concluded, the Care of the People, and of carrying on the Works, was left to Mr. *St. Julian* and Mr. *Scott*, and Mr. *Oglethorpe* set out again for *Charles-Town*, in order to return to *England*.

On the 14th of *May*, Capt. *Yoakley*, in the Ship *James*, First Ship from Eng-land. arrived at *Savanah*, with Passengers and Stores for that Place. The Ship rode in two Fathom and a half Water, at low Water-Mark; close to the Town, and unloaded there, and the Captain received the Prize order'd to be given to the first Ship that should unload at that Town. In his Passage up the River, he found the Bar and the Channel very good, and Water enough for Ships of much greater Burden than his, 100 Tons.

Soon after, about 50 Families were accepted by the Trustees to be sent over in their Ship *Francis*, Capt. *Lionel Wood* Commander.

These Trustees had their anniversary Meeting *March* the 21st, 1733-4, and the Accounts being laid before them, it appeared that they had received, since the Date of their Charter,

	l.	s.	d.
For establishing their Colony —	144	14	
For the religious Use thereof —	202	15	8
And for encouraging and improving } Botany and Agriculture in <i>Georgia</i> }	205	10	0
	14822	12	3

That they had applied towards establishing and settling in the said Colony 376 *British*, and 115 *Foreigners*, in all 491 Persons. } 8013 4 3

For the religious Use of the said Colony, the Society for propagating the Gospel maintaining the Minister, until *Glebe Land* is cultivated for him. } 2 2 0

And for encouraging and improving }  
Botany and Agriculture in *Georgia* } 187 10 0

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8202 16 6

Besides the Persons sent by the Charity, there are 21 Masters, and 106 Servants gone at their own Expence. Thus the whole Number of Persons, at this time embark'd to settle there, amounts to 618, whereof Men 320, Women 113, Boys 102, and Girls 83.

1734.

At the End of this Summer, 1734, Mr. *Oglethorpe* brought over to *England* with him *Tomochichi*, *Mico* or King of the *Yamacraws* *Senawki* his Queen, and *Toonakowi* the Prince, his Nephew, as also *Hillispilli*, a War Captain, and *Apakowski*, *Stimalechi*, *Sintouchi*, *Stinguitki* and *Umpychi*, five other *Indian* Chiefs, with their Interpreter. They were lodged at the *Georgia Office*, *Old Palace Yard*, where they were handsomly entertained, and being suitably dress'd, were introduced to the Court, then at *Kensington*. *Tomochichi* presented to the King several Eagles Feathers, which, according to their Custom, is the most respectful Gift he could offer, and

and made the following Speech to his Majesty: "This Day  
 " I see the Majesty of your Face, and Greatness of your  
 " House, and the Number of your People. I am come  
 " for the Good of the whole Nation call'd the *Creeks*, to  
 " renew the Peace they had long ago with the *English*. I  
 " am come over in my old Days; though I cannot live to  
 " see any Advantage to myself, I am come for the Good  
 " of the Children of all the Nations of the *Upper* and  
 " *Lower Creeks*, that they may be instructed in the Know-  
 " ledge of the *English*.

" These are the Feathers of the Eagle, which is the swift-  
 " est of Birds, and who flyeth all round our Nations: These  
 " Feathers are a Sign of Peace in our Land, and we have  
 " brought them over to leave them with you, O great King,  
 " as a Sign of everlasting Peace.

" O great King! whatsoever Words you shall say unto  
 " me, I will tell them faithfully to all the Kings of the  
 " *Creek Nations*." To which his Majesty made a gracious  
 Answer, assuring those Nations of Protection and Regard.

The next Day one of the *Creek Train* dying of the Small-  
 Pox, was buried after the Manner of his Country in St.  
*John's* Burial-Ground, *Westminster*; the Corpse being sew'd  
 up in two Blankets, with one Deal Board under, and another  
 over him, and tied down with a Cord, was carried to the  
 Place of Interment on a Bier. There were only present  
 King *Tomo*, two or three of the Chiefs, the upper Church-  
 warden and the Grave-Digger. When the Corpse was  
 laid in the Earth, the Clothes of the Deceased were thrown  
 into the Grave; after this a Quantity of Glass Beads, and  
 then some Pieces of Silver; the Custom of those *Indians*  
 being to bury all the Deceased's Effects with them. They  
 staid some time in *England*, and saw all the usual Sights,  
 with which they were surprized and pleased.

Before Mr. *Oglethorpe* came to *England*, he sent Mr. *Chaetaw*  
*Thomas Jones* to endeavour to bring the *Chaetaw* Nation  
 into the Alliance, and settle Commerce with them. Chaetaw  
Indians at  
Georgia.

Six Months after Mr. *Jones* returned to *Savanah* with five of  
 the chief Men of that Nation, and six of their chief Warriors,  
 and with them several of the *Upper Creeks*, who had assisted Mr.  
*Jones* in his Negotiation. This *Chaetaw* Nation lies next  
 beyond the *Creeks*, stretching beyond the Gulph of *Mexico*,  
 and consequently in the way to the Mouth of the *Mississippi*,  
 and reckon'd by the *Indians* a powerful Nation, being able  
 to bring 5000 Men into the Field. They have abundance  
 of Deer-skins, Wax, Furs, and Peltry; but could never be  
 prevailed on to trade with *Carolina*.



The Magistrates of the Town of *Savanah* received them in the best Manner they could, and made them such Presents as they thought would be most agreeable to them. Col. *Bull* happen'd to be there at that time, and assisted the Magistrates with his Advice; and the *Chaetaws* returned home extremely pleased with their Reception, and carried with them Proposals of Peace and Commerce for Ratification.

*Tomochichi* and the other *Indian* Chiefs re-embark'd on board the *Prince of Wales*, commanded by Capt. *George Dunbar*, who was bound for *Georgia* with a Transport of *Saltzburghers*, *German* Protestant Refugees, and arrived at *Savanah* December the 27th, from whence Capt. *Dunbar* wrote, "That soon after his Arrival, there was a Rumour  
" of the *Spanish* Indians having passed the *Ogeeche* River;  
" upon which, with other *Englishmen*, I sailed from *Sa-*  
" *vanah* to the Coast for Intelligence. If *Tomochichi's* Af-  
" fairs at home had not required his Presence, he assured  
" me he would go with us in Person; and if he was cer-  
" tain any Enemies were in our Neighbourhood, nothing  
" should then detain him; but 3 of his *Indian* Chiefs insisted  
" on going, and they went with us.

" The 8th we arrived at *Thunderbolt*, where the Persons  
" who are settled have cleared and fenced so much Land,  
" that they cannot fail this ensuing Season of selling great  
" Quantities of Provisions. They have made a very great  
" Advance in the Pot-Ash Manufacture, have three Houses  
" finish'd within a good Fortification, and have loaded a  
" Sloop for the *Madeiras* with Pipe-staves since my be-  
" ing here.

" We were at *Skidaway* all Night, where they have made  
" a much greater Progress, both in Houses and Land, than  
" I expected. They are so regular in their Watch, that no  
" Boat can pass by, Night or Day, without being obliged  
" to bring to, of which I had the Proof on my Return;  
" their Battery consisting of three Carriage and four Swivel  
" Guns, is in very good Order. Two Miles South of this  
" Settlement the Scout-boat lies, when at home, where  
" they have a very commanding Prospect, and can put to  
" Sea at any time of Tide.

" We search'd the several Islands as far as *Jekyl* Island,  
" and the Mouth of the River *Alatamaha*, but found none  
" but our friendly *Indians*. We returned back to *Savanah*  
" the 19th of *January*.

" I shall load here, and am in contract for 800 Barrels  
" of Rice, Pitch and Tar on freight for *London*, and hope  
" to complete my Lading with the Products of *Georgia*.

Thunder-  
bolt.

Skidaway.

1735.

In May, 1735, the Inhabitants of *Savanah* had pretty near finish'd their Fort, there being now a good Number of Houses, some of Brick. In the Beginning of *January* following, about 150 *Scotch* Highlanders arrived at *Savanah*, designed to settle on the Frontiers of that Colony next the *Spaniards*. They staid there a short time, in Expectation of Mr. *Oglethorpe*; but he not coming so soon as expected, the Highlanders conveyed themselves in *Periaguas* to the Southward, and settled by the Side of the River *Alatamaha*, about 12 Miles from the Sea, where they raised a little Fort, upon which they mounted the four Pieces of Canon they brought with them, and built a Guard-house, a Store-house, a Chapel and several Huts, and gave the Name of *Darien* Darien to their new Settlement.

On the 5th of *February*, the Ship *Symonds*, Capt. *Cornish*, Greater Im-  
and the *London Merchant*, Capt. *Thomas*, with Mr. *Ogle-* barcation.  
*thorpe*, and about 300 Passengers on board, pass'd the Bar of *Tybee*, and anchor'd in the Road of *Savanah*. Mr. *Oglethorpe* went immediately to see what Progress was made in raising the Beacon of *Tybee*, and sent Advice of his Arrival to the Governor of *South Carolina*, and also Orders to the Independent Company to prepare for their marching to the Island of *St. Simon*. On the 6th he arrived at *Savanah*, and was received with the Discharge of the Artillery, and by the Freeholders under Arms, with the Constables and Tything Men at their Head. He immediately gave Orders to provide Materials for building a Church, and to run out the Wharf for landing of Goods, and also for raising 100 Men for clearing the Roads and finishing the Fortifications; 30 presently offer'd themselves voluntarily for this Work at *Savanah*, and 20 more from *Purrysburgh*.

On the 7th, the Honourable *Hector Beringer de Beau-sain*, Esq; Capt. *Holzindorff*, Mr. *Fisley Deebillon*, a Patrician of *Bern*, and several other of the *Swiss* Gentlemen from *Purrysburgh* waited upon Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and acquainted him with the Condition of their Town.

The next Day, the Baron *Von Reek*, and the two *Saltzburgh* Ministers came down from *Ebenezer*, with the Request of the People to be removed from the Fords where they were, down to the Mouth of the River, and that these *Saltzburghers* just come over might not go to the Southward, but join them. Mr. *Oglethorpe* set out for *Ebenezer* in the Scout-boat, to see if the Reason they gave for being removed was true. He came first to Sir *Francis Bathurst's* House, six Miles above *Savanah*, where he took Horse, and pass'd by a Saw-mill, set up by Mr. *Augustine*, and ar-

Old Ebenezer.

rived the same Night at *Ebenezer*, where the *Saltzburghers* had built a good Wooden Bridge over the River 10 Foot broad and 10 Foot long. There were in the Town 4 good frame Timber Houses, built at the Contribution Charge, one for each of the Ministers, for a School-master, and a publick Store. There were also a Chapel and a Guard-house, built by the People, and a great Number of split Board Houses, all which the People were resolved to forsake, and make a new Settlement downwards. Mr. *Oglethorpe* endeavoured to persuade them against it on several Accounts; but their own Reasons having more Weight with them, their Prayers and Tears prevailed with him to consent to their Request, and he order'd a Town to be mark'd out for them in the Place they desired. That Night he lay at Col. *Purry's* House, and the next Day returned to *Savanah*, and on the 12th he set out to take Possession of the Island of *St. Simon*, where arriving in about two Days, he set People to work, and they soon got up a House, thatch'd it with Palmetto-Leaves, dug a Cellar, built a Store-house, and mark'd out a Fort with four Bastions.

New Ebenezer.

From thence he visited the Highlanders at *Darien*, whom he found under Arms, with their Plads, broad Swords, Targets and Muskets; and in Compliment to them, Mr. *Oglethorpe*, all the while he was there, dress'd in their Habit; and in a few Days he returned to the Isle of *St. Simon*, where, by his Presence and Direction, the Works were carried on with such Expedition, that by *April* the Fort was near finish'd, and 37 Palmetto Houses built. The Fort was called *Frederica*, and was a regular Square with four Bastions, and surrounded by a Ditch, with some Out-works, which were set round with Cedar Palisadoes, and the Ramparts were faced with Green-sward. Behind the Fort a Town was laid out, and the Ground being properly divided, the People were put in Possession of their respective Lots, in order that each might begin to build and improve for himself; all that was already raised, manured, or sown, had been in common for the publick Benefit.

1735.

Frederica.

Soon after Mr. *Oglethorpe's* Arrival on the Island of *St. Simon*, *Tomochichi*, his Nephew, and a large Party of *Indians* came down to him, and brought him as many Deer as fed the Colony for some Days. They told him they would hunt the *Buffalo* as far as the *Spanish* Frontiers; but he being apprehensive, from some Words, that they designed to fall on the *Spanish* Out-guards, told them, he would go along with them. They said then they would shew him (as they promised to the King of *England*) what Lands belonged to



to their Nation. The first Day they carried him to an Island at the Mouth of *Jekyl* Sound, where, on a high Ground, commanding the Passes of the River, he left a Party of *Highlanders*, under the Command of Mr. *Hugh Mackay*, mark'd out a Fort, which, at their Desire, he call'd *St. Andrew's*; and *Toonakowi* pulling out a Watch, the Gift of his Royal Highness the Duke, he gave the Name *Cumberland* to the Island.

*St. Andrew's Fort on Cumberland Island.*

The next Day they pass'd the *Clothogotheo*, another Branch of the *Alatamaha*, and discovered another very fine Island, about 16 Miles long, with Oranges, Mirtles and Vines growing wild; to which was given the Name of *Amelia*. And the third Day, arriving near the *Spanish* Look-out, the *Indians* shew'd their Desire of falling upon the *Spaniards*; to prevent which, Mr. *Oglethorpe* left them on an Island, and falling down the River *St. Wans*, doubled Point *St. George*, being the North Part of *St. John's* River, and the most Southerly Point of the *British* Dominions upon the Sea-Coast of the *North America*, the *Spaniards* having a Guard on the other Side of the said River.

*Amelia Island.*

Mr. *Mackay*, before mentioned, with a Party, was order'd to travel by Land from *Savanah* to *Darien*, which they accordingly did, and computed the Distance between the two Places to be 70 Miles in a straight Line, and 90 by the Places where the Swamps are passable.

The Town of *Savanah* is now increased to about 140 Houses, besides Warehouses and Cottages. Here is also a Court of Record, consisting of three Bailiffs and a Recorder, who holds a Court every six Weeks. Above *Ebenezer* was laid out, in the same Year, the Town of *Augusta*. It lies in a pleasant and fruitful Country, insomuch, that an Acre of Ground produces near 30 Bushels of *Indian* Corn, which is most generally used here among the lower Sort of People, and perhaps will be always so, as it is in our other Continent Colonies. It has already a good Part of the *Indian* Trade, and by its Neighbourhood with the *Indian* Nations, is in a way of increasing it so much, that, in all Probability, 'twill soon become the most thriving *English* Settlement. It is 236 Miles by Water, from the Mouth of *Savanah* River, and large Boats are navigated from hence to the Town of *Savanah*, and last Year 100000 Weight of Skins was brought from thence. Hither the *Indian* Traders from *Carolina* and *Georgia* resort in the Spring. In *June*, 1739, the Traders, Packhorse-men, Servants, Townsmen, and others depending on that Business, made 600 Whites. Here the Trustees have hitherto main-

*Augusta.*

tained a little Garrison, and the Security which the Traders receive from the Fort is their Inducement to go there. The Town stands upon a high Ground on the Side of the River; a Road has been mark'd out from thence to *Old Ebenezer*, so that Horsemen can ride from *Savanah* to *Augusta*, as likewise to the *Cherokee Indians*, who are situated above *Augusta* to the N. W. and on the *Georgia* Side of the River, in the Valley of the *Appalachean* Mountains. Westward of *Augusta* live the *Creek Indians*; their chief Town is the *Cowetas*. At 200 Miles Distance, upon the Edge of whose Country the Fort of *Albamas* lies. Beyond the *Creeks* lie the *Chickesaws*. They inhabit near the *Mississippi* River, and possess the Banks of it. I was the better pleas'd to find this Account of the *Mississippians* publish'd in the most authentick Manner, because it confirms what I have, in several preceding Places, mentioned of the Situation of the *English* to carry on a Trade with the *Mississippians*, from very near the Mouth of the River so as far as it is navigable; and these *Chickesaws*, as well as the other *Indian Nations*, being in strict Friendship with the *English*, and having a better Opinion of their Market than they have of that of the *French*, I can yet see no Reason why we would despair of coming in for such a Share of that Trade, as our Neighbourhood to the *Mississippi Indians*, and their Disposition to deal with us, may procure.

There are several Plantations to the Southward of *Savanah*, and two little Villages, call'd *Highbate* and *Hampstead*, about four Miles distant from it, and many other Villages throughout the Province.

There are now several Villages on the Island of *St. Simon*, and the Town of *Frederica* is very much improved. In its Neighbourhood is a fine Meadow of 320 Acres ditch'd in, on which a Number of Cattle are fed, and good Hay made from it. At some Distance is the Camp for General *Oglethorpe's* Regiment, and small Lots of Land have been granted to the Soldiers, many of whom are married, and 55 Children were born there last Year. The People of *Frederica* have begun to malt and to brew. The Soldiers Wives spin Cotton of the Cotton of the Country, which they knit into Stockings. At the Town is a Court of Justice for the Southern Part of the Province, and has the same Number of Magistrates as at *Savanah*.

The Matters that have happen'd here since *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; was Commander in Chief of all the Forces in the Provinces of *Carolina* and *Georgia*, are so recent and variously reported, that it would be of little Use to enlarge upon them,

The unhappy Expedition against St. *Augustino* lies under the same Disadvantage to Writers and Readers, and the truest Part of the Account being the Retreat of the *English* with Loss, the *English* Reader will not be at all sorry that we say no more of it, nor that we have not enter'd into a Narration of Mr. *Whitfield's* Mission into those Parts, and his great Pains and Success in collecting Contributions from charitable Persons at home and abroad, for raising and endowing an Orphan-house, which we hear is near finish'd.

This Province was a Part of *Carolina*, and, as such, the Proprietaries of *Carolina* had some Consideration for it, when (if not before) they sold their Proprietary to the Crown. This is a plain Proof that the *Spaniards*, who have recognized the Right of the *English* to the whole Province of *Carolina*, with all its Dependances, in all Treaties with *England*, ever since it was a Province, have not the least Pre-  
tence for the Demands they have of late insolently dared to make of it, and for which we trust they will have due Chastisement before the Close of the present War.

The Latitude of *Georgia* being between 29 and 32 Degrees shews the Happiness of the Climate and Soil for Habitation and Planting. The Soil consists of four different Sorts, Pine-barren, which is a sandy Soil; Oak and Hickory, which is good Land, fit for most Sorts of Grain; Swamps, which lying low, are Clay, or fat Mud, and is the richest and best; Savanna's, where grow Cane and wild Grass, and also Plenty of Grass in many Places for feeding Cattle, which are already much increased there. There is a good Proportion of all these Sorts of Lands, and the higher in the Country the better; and the Soil has also been found proper for all Sorts of *English* Grain, as well as most of the *English* Fruit-trees.

The Progress this infant Colony has made towards Settlements, which we have related at large, will be equally surprizing and pleasing to an *English* Reader, especially if he has any right Notion of the great Advantage such Settlements may be to the Security of our other Continent *American* Colonies, and the Trade of the Nation. Its Situation shews what a Guard it may be made against the *Spaniards*; and its Capital *Savanah*, is distant from *Charles-Town* S. W. in a direct Course 77 Miles only, and N. E. by E. about 150 from St. *Augustino*, the Capital of the *Spanish Florida*, and the greatest Bar to the *English* Trade, between this Province and the Bay of *Mexico*.

This shews that the *English* cannot be at too much Pains or Expence in fortifying their Frontier here, which indeed



is the Frontier of all their Colonies in *North America*, and therefore deserves the Care and Purse of the Publick, not by way of Charity only, but for the Commerce, Strength and Glory of the Kingdom, more than any other; for all others are secured in securing this: And if any where, within the Limits of this Province, a Dock might be made for Shipping, and such a thing done with proper Security, we need no more be in Pain for our *American* Settlements and Trade. And they are, at this time, so well furnish'd with Commodities for Ship-building, that several Ships have been built there already, and no doubt that Work will more and more increase with the People and Trade. What a Check it would be to the *Spanish* Navigation, and what to the *French* Attempts for incroaching the *Mississippi* Trade, is so obvious to all that are acquainted with these Matters, that it is needless to enlarge upon it, at least in this Place. We shall now enquire into the particular Benefits that may accrue by it to our Trade from its Products. We have already seen that Capt. *Dunbar* freighted his Ship here for *London* with Rice, Pitch and Tar, the Commodities of *Carolina*, which may be here produced in as great Plenty as there, with an equal Proportion of Hands. This Country already produces Hemp and Flax in good Quantities, and may soon be in a Condition to supply us therewith. Potashes are now imported from thence, the Necessity of which is well known to all that know any thing of Manufactures. The stately Pine-trees we have spoken of here, so many hundred Foot high, proves how serviceable this Province may be to us for Masts, as well as other Naval Stores. The Deer brought in by the *Indians* to the *English* for feeding them, is a Proof that the Traffick of Furs may here be very considerable, other Merchantable Skins being certainly as plenty as Deer's, and the *Indians* carry on this Trade as well by Water as by Land; for Mr. *Oglethorpe* wrote home, that 12 trading Boats pass'd by during his Stay at *Savanah*; also Bees-wax, Mirtle-wax, Bears-oil, Leather, Drugs, Simples, and Dyers Wares of several Sorts.

One may imagine that this Country, so ill inhabited as the *English* found it, was overgrown with Trees, which probably might at first incommode new Comers as to the Air; but as fast as it is cleared of Trees, and that will be as fast as the Ground is wanted for Culture, those Woods that now are a little burdensom to them will turn to a very good Account. The chief of those Trees are white Oaks, Beach, Elm, Cedar, Chesnut, Walnut, Cypress, Mirtle-trees, Vines, and Mulberries; the latter is the most talk'd of, on Account

of the Silk-worms that they feed, and the Expectation that those that went thither, and we that staid at home, have had from it. Two or three *Piemontese* went with the first Imbarcation to put the People in a way for the Management of the Worms, the Eggs of which were sent for from *Italy*; and they began very soon here to have some small Parcels of Silk fit to send home for Experiment, where Sir *Thomas Lombe*, who was best versed in that Commodity, tried the Goodness of it by his Engine at *Derby*, and said of it, *The Georgia Silk is the best working Silk I ever saw, even better than our best superfine Piedmont, and it proves exceeding good through all its Operations.* So that being sure of the Goodness of the Quality, we have nothing more to hope for but the Quantity, which cannot be very great as long as Hands are wanting for raising Food and the Commodities of Life.

The Wages of common Servants is at 1 l. 5 s. per Month; and the Price of Provisions is as follows:

	s.	d.		d.
Beef, from	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	to	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per lb.
Pork,	0	2		2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Veal,	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$		3
Mutton,	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$		5
Strong Beer, from	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	to	3 per Quart.
Cyder,	0	4		
Madeira Wine,	1	0		
Tea, at	6	0	per lb.	
Coffee, at	1	6		
Wheat Flower, at	0	1		
Rice, at	4	6	a Hundred.	

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THE  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
*H U D S O N's-B A Y.*

CONTAINING

An Account of its Discovery and Settlement;  
the Progress of it, and the present State; of  
the *Indians*, Trade, and every thing else re-  
lating to it.

'T WAS in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* that all the *English* Dominions on the Continent of *America* were discover'd, except *Hudson's* Streights, which being the most Northerly, should have been treated of first, and put at the Head of the other Settlements; but the *French* have a large Dominion between the *English* at *Hudson's-Bay* and those at *New-England*: And besides there being no Towns nor Plantations in this Country, but two or three poor Forts to defend the Factories, we thought we were at Liberty to place it where we pleas'd, and were loth to let our History open with the History of so miserable a Wilderness, and so wretched a Colony. For as rich as the Trade to these Parts have been, or may be, the way of Living is such, that we cannot reckon any Man happy, whose Lot is cast upon this Bay.



In the Year 1576, Capt. *Martin Frobisher* made his first Voyage for the Discovery of a Passage to *China* and *Catbay* by the North-West, and on the 12th of *June* he discover'd *Terra de Labrador*, in 63 Degrees, 8 Minutes, and enter'd a Streight, which is called by his Name. On the 1st of *October* he returned to *England*. In the following Year he went a second Time on the same Discovery, came to the same Streight, and used all possible Means to bring the Natives to Trade, or give him some Account of themselves; but they were so wild, that they only studied to destroy the *English*. Capt. *Frobisher* staid here till Winter drew on, and then he returned to *England*. He made the same Voyage the following Year, and with the like Success.

Six Years afterwards, *A. D.* 1585, *John David* sailed from *Dartmouth* on the same Adventure, came into the Latitude of 64 Degrees 15 Minutes, and proceeded to 66 Degrees 40 Minutes. In the Year ensuing, he ran to 66 Degrees 20 Minutes, and coasted Southward again to 56 Degrees. Sailing thence in 54 Degrees, he found an open Sea, tending Westward, which he hoped might be the Passage so long sought for; but the Weather proving tempestuous, he returned to *England*. In *October*, the next Year, he did the same.

After which there were no more Adventures this Way till the Year 1607, when Capt. *Henry Hudson* discover'd as far as 80 Degrees 23 Minutes; at the Mention of which, the Reader will almost freeze as the Writer does; for that Country is so prodigiously cold, that Nature is never impregnated by the Sun; or rather, her barren Womb produces nothing for the Subsistence of Man. In 1608, he set out again, and having added little to his former Discoveries, returned. Two Years after which, *A. D.* 1610, he again undertook a Voyage to find out the North-West Passage, proceeded 100 Leagues farther than any Man had done before him, till he could not go forward for Ice and Shoal Water; and finding himself imbay'd, he resolved to winter there. In the Spring, *A. D.* 1611, pursuing a farther Discovery, he and seven more of his Company were seized, the rest of his Men put into an open Boat, and committed to the Mercy of the Waves and Savages. By one or the other of which he perish'd, dearly purchasing the Honour of having this large Streight and Bay call'd after his Name.

We know'tis pretended, that a *Dane* made the Discovery of this Streight, and that he called it *Christiana*, from the King of *Denmark*, *Christiern* the IVth then reigning. But Capt. *Hudson* was the Man who discover'd it to the  
*English,*

*English*, and who indeed first sailed so near the Bottom of the Bay, as he did within a Degree or two.

The same Year that he died, Sir *Thomas Button*, at the Instigation of Prince *Henry*, pursued the same Discovery. He pass'd *Hudson's* Streights, and leaving *Hudson's-Bay* to the South, settled above 200 Leagues to the South-West, and discover'd a great Continent, by him call'd *New-Wales*. He winter'd at the Place afterwards called *Port Nelson*, carefully search'd all the Bay, from him called *Button's-Bay*, and returned to *Digg's* Island.

In 1616, Mr. *Baffin* enter'd Sir *Thomas Smith's* Bay, in 78 Degrees, and returned, despairing to find any Passage that way.

Thus we see all the Adventures made to the North-West, were in hopes of passing to *China*; but that is a Discovery as latent as the Philosopher's Stone, the perpetual Motion, or the Longitude.

In 1631, Capt. *James* sailed to the North-West, and roving up and down in those Seas, arrived at *Charlton* Island, where he winter'd in 52 Degrees, much beyond *Hudson*, *Button* and *Baffin*. Capt. *Fox* went out this Year on the same Account; but proceeded no farther than *Port-Nelson*.

The Civil Wars in *England* put Discoveries out of Mens Heads; the bold had other Work cut out for them, and we hear of no more such Adventures till the Year 1667, when *Zachariah Gillam*, in the *Nonfuch* Ketch, pass'd through *Hudson's* Streights, and then into *Baffin's* Bay to 75 Degrees, and thence Southward into 51 Degrees, where in a River, afterwards call'd Prince *Rupert's* River, he had a friendly Correspondence with the Natives, built a Fort, named it *Charles Fort*, and returned with Success.

The Occasion of *Gillam's* going was this: Monsieur *Radi-son* and Monsieur *Gooselier*, two *Frenchmen*, meeting with some Savages in the Lake of *Assimponals*, in *Canada*, they learnt of them that they might go by Land to the Bottom of the Bay, where the *English* had not yet been; upon which they desired them to conduct them thither, and the Savages accordingly did it. The two *Frenchmen* returned to the upper Lake the same way they came, and thence to *Quebec*, the Capital of *Canada*, where they offer'd the principal Merchants to carry Ships to *Hudson's-Bay*; but their Project was rejected. Thence they went to *France*, in hopes of a more favourable Hearing at Court; but after presenting several Memorials, and spending a great deal of Time and Money, they were answer'd as they had been at *Quebec*, and their Project look'd upon as chimerical. The King of

*England's*

England's Ambassador at Paris hearing what Proposals they had made, imagined he should do his Country good Service in engaging them to serve the *English*, who had already Pretences to the Bay; so he persuaded them to go for *London*, where they met with a favourable Reception from some Men of Quality, Merchants and others, who employed *Gillam* before-mentioned, a *New-England* Captain, in the Voyage; and *Radison* and *Gooselier* accompanying them, they arrived at the Bottom of the Bay, and succeeded as we have hinted already.

When *Gillam* returned, the Adventurers concerned in fitting them out apply'd themselves to King *Charles II.* for a Patent, who granted one to them, and their Successors, for the Bay called *Hudson's-Streights*. The Patent bears Date the 2d of *May*, in the 22d Year of that King's Reign, A. D. 1670.

The first Proprietors, or Company, call'd *Hudson's-Bay Company*, were,

Prince <i>Rupert</i> ,	Mr. <i>Richard Cradock</i> ,
Sir <i>James Hayes</i> ,	Mr. <i>John Letton</i> ,
Mr. <i>William Young</i> .	<i>Christopher Wrenn</i> , Esq;
Mr. <i>Gerard Weymans</i> ,	Mr. <i>Nicholas Hayward</i> .

The Bay lies from 64 Degrees North Latitude, to 51 Degrees, and is 10 Degrees, or 600 Miles in Length.

Before we proceed any farther in the History, it will not be improper to give an Account of the Country, Climate; Product, Trade and Inhabitants.

The Mouth of the Streights, which is in about 61 Degrees North Latitude, is 6 Leagues over. At the Mouth is an Island, call'd *Resolution*. *Charles* Island, *Salisbury* Island, and *Nottingham* are in the Streights; and *Mansfield* Island in the Mouth of the Bay.

*Hudson's* Streights, which lead to the Bay, are about 120 Leagues in Length; the Land on both Sides inhabited by Savages, of whom we have little or no Knowledge. The South Coast is known by the Name of the *Terra Labarador*; the North by as many Names as Men of several Nations have been there, and pretended to the Discovery of it. On the West-side of the Bay the *English* made a Settlement, built a Fort at Port *Nelson*, and all that Country goes by the Name of *New South Wales*. The Bay here is call'd *Button's*; and *Hudson's-Bay*, which is broadest in this Place, may be near 130 Leagues broad.



On the other Shore, or the Coast of *Labrador*, lie several Islands, call'd the *Sleeper's Isles*, and the *Baker's Dozen*. The Bottom of the Bay, by which we understand all that Part of it from Cape *Henrietta Maria*, in *New South Wales*, to *Redonda*, below Prince *Rupert's River*, is about 80 Leagues long, and much of one Breadth all the way, being between 40 and 50 Leagues over.

Here are several Islands, to which the first Adventurers gave the Names of some great Men in *England*, or some that employ'd them, as Lord *Weston's Island*, Sir *Thomas Roe's Island*, *Charlton Island*, and others. The two opposite Shores are called the *East Main* and *West Main*. The former is *Labrador*, and the latter *New South Wales*. The Continent at the Bottom of the Bay is by the *French* pretended to be Part of *New-France*; and indeed, to cross the Country from *St. Margaret's River*, which runs into the River of *Canada*, to *Rupert's River*, at the Bottom of *Hudson's-Bay*, is not above 150 Miles.

At *Rupert's River* the *English* built their first Fort, which they call'd *Charles Fort*. They never had any Towns or Plantations here, and probably never will. They live within their Forts, in little Houses, or Huts, wherein the Builders consider nothing but to defend them from the Cold and Rains; though they are not so much disturb'd by the latter as by the former.

There's an Island about 5 or 6 Leagues from the *West Main*, call'd the *Little Rocky Isle*, it being a mere Heap of Rocks and Stones, with some small Brush-wood growing upon it. 'Tis suppos'd to overflow with great North-West Winds, which make a high Tide all over the Bay. In this Isle is plenty of Gulls and Sea-Swallows. About three Miles from the South South-East Part of the Island, lies a dangerous Reaf of Sand, which is dry at Low-water.

*Charlton Island* is a light white Sand, cover'd over with a white Moss, full of Trees, Juniper and Spruce, though not very large. This Isle affords a beautiful Prospect to such as make it in the Spring, after a long Voyage of three or four Months, in the most dangerous Seas in the World, occasioned by the vast Mountains of Ice which drive in the Bay and Streights; against which, if Ships happen to strike, they are dash'd in Pieces as certainly as if they ran against Rocks; for indeed they are Rocks congeal'd, or rather petrified, by the Violence of the continual Frosts.

To see one Day the Shore on the *West Main* bare, the Mountains cover'd with Snow, and Nature looking like a Carcass frozen to Death; and the next, to behold *Charlton Island*

Island spread with Trees, and the Branches making as it were a green Tuft of the whole, is a Surprize that must give the greatest Pleasure after the Fatigues of an intolerable Winter Voyage.

The Air even at the Bottom of the Bay, though by the Latitude 'tis nearer the Sun than *London*, being but in 51 Degrees, is excessive cold for nine Months, the other three Months very hot, but on a North-West Wind.

The Soil on the *East Main*, as well as the West, bears no manner of Grain. Some Fruits, Gooseberries, Strawberries, and Dew Otter-berries, grow about Prince *Rupert's* River.

The Commodities for Trade here are Guns, Powder, Shot, Cloth, Hatchets, Kettles, Tobacco, &c. which the *English* exchange with the *Indians* for Furs, Beavers, Martin, Fox, Moose, and other Peltry; and the Curious, who have any Taste of Commerce, will not think it a Digression to insert a Standard of Trade, which the *Hudson's-Bay Company* fix'd several Years ago; and by which may be seen what Advantage they made of this Traffick. This Paper being put into my Hands, among others relating to the Affairs of the Company, is as follows.

The STANDARD how the Company's Goods must be barter'd in the Southern Part of the Bay.

Guns.	One with the other 10 good Skins, that is, Winter Beaver; 12 Skins for the biggest Sort, 10 for the mean, and 8 for the smallest.
Powder:	A Beaver for half a Pound.
Shot.	A Beaver for four Pounds.
Hatchets.	A Beaver for a great and little Hatchet.
Knives.	A Beaver for six great Knives, or eight Jack Knives.
Beads.	A Beaver for half a Pound of Beads.
Laced Coats.	Six Beavers for one good Laced Coat.
Plain Coats.	Five Beaver-Skins for one Red Plain Coat.
Coats.	For Women, Laced, 2 Yards, 6 Beavers.
Coats.	For Women, Plain, 5 Beavers.
Tobacco.	A Beaver for one Pound.
Powder-Horns.	A Beaver for a large Powder-Horn, and two small ones.
Kettles.	A Beaver for one Pound of Kettle.
Looking-Glasses and Combs.	Two Skins.

'Tis plain, by this Standard, the Company got prodigiously, and had they traded much, their Auctions might have been now 300 *per Cent.* as they were once; but their Returns were small, and their Charges great: Ten thousand Beavers, in all their Factories, was one of the best Years of Trade they ever had, besides other Peltry.

As to the *Indians*, their Manners, Customs, Language, Government and Religion, are the same with the *Canadians*; and *La Hontan* has described them very naturally, excepting that he has raised Nature, and made her too polite in this barbarous Clime, where Barbarity herself is in the Height of her Empire,

The *Indians* about *Rupert's River*, and other Places in the Bay, are more simple than the *Canadians*, who have had longer Commerce with the *Europeans*. They are generally peaceable, and not given to quarrel either with themselves or others, except the *Nodways*, a wild barbarous People, on the Borders of *Hudson's-Streights*, who sometimes, in slight Parties, make Incurfions on the other *Indians*, and having knock'd 8 or 10 on the Head, return in Triumph.

The *Indians* of certain Districts, which are bounded by such and such Rivers, have each an *Okimah*, as they call him, or Captain over them, who is an old Man, considered only for his Prudence and Experience. He has no Authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain Occasions. He is their Speech-maker to the *English*; as also in their own grave Debates, when they meet every Spring and Fall, to settle the Disposition of their Quarters for Hunting, Fowling, and Fishing. Every Family have their Boundaries adjusted, which they seldom quit, unless they have not Success there in their Hunting, and then they join in with some Family who have succeeded.

Their Notions of Religion are but very slender. They say, there are two *Monetoes* or Spirits, the one sends all the good things they have, and the other all the bad. Their Worship consists in Songs and Dances at their Feasts, in Honour of the *Manetoes* that have favoured them: But if they are sick or famish'd, they hang some little Bawble, which they set a Value upon, on the Top of a Pole near their Tent, to pacify the Spirit offended, as they conceive.

Let the Learned say all the fine things that Wit, Eloquence and Art can inspire them with, of the Simplicity of pure Nature, the Beauty and Innocence, these Wretches are an Instance, that this Innocence is downright Stupidity, and this pretended Beauty a Deformity, which puts Man, the Lord of the Creation, on an equal Foot with the Beasts of the Forest.



The History of *Hudson's-Bay* will not afford us much Matter. The Settlements are too inconsiderable to deserve much Pains to be taken about them. What we know of them is as follows.

In the Year 1670, the Company sent over *Charles Baily*, Charles Baily, Esq; Governor. with whom went Mr. *Radison*, the *Frenchman* before mentioned, and 10 or 20 Men, who were to stay on the Place; his Residence being at *Rupert River*, where a mean Fort has been built.

Mr. *Baily* appointed Mr. *Thomas Gorst* to be his Secretary, and order'd him to keep a Journal of their Proceedings there, which is now in my Custody; but the Events it contains are too trivial to be remember'd: What are most curious I shall report; and the Reader must excuse me, if they are of no more Importance, they serve to give him an Idea of an Infant Colony in one of the rudest Parts of the World.

The chief *Indian* near the Fort had the Name of Prince given him. Two other *Indians* were called *Peter* and the *Chancellor*, who, with their Wives and Families, came to the Governor, to beg Subsistence, declaring they could kill nothing, and were almost starved; for if these Barbarians could meet with no Game, they had no Meat.

Thus we see in what a miserable Condition these *English* there were like to be, if Supplies did not come regularly from *England*. Mr. *Baily* having fed the Prince, the Chancellor, his *Cocamish*, or Wife, and the rest of them, sent them up to the Falls a fishing, and follow'd them in his Canoo, to hunt up in the Country; but could meet with no Game, except 2 Moose, and no People to trade with. These Moose are but indifferent Meat; however the Air was sharp, to make it relish as well as Venison, and 'twas accordingly very welcome.

Some Days afterwards the *Indians* returned. The Prince brought a young Deer, the Chancellor and his Wife some Fish and Moose. The greatest Part of the Autumn Fowl here are Geese, of which there's then plenty, and they begin to come about the Beginning of *September*; a sure time that the People must take their Leave of Summer, and prepare for a long Winter of near forty Weeks.

The *English* had now worse Huts than afterwards, and no Covering for them but Moose-skins. There was at this time a Factory at *Port-Nelson*, where Capt. *Gooselier* arrived in *August*, 1673. He searched the River for *Indians*, but met with none. He saw several *Wigwams*, where they had lately been, and supposed them to be gone up the Country. He

saw also the Relicts of Sir *Thomas Button's* Ship; and one of his Company, Mr. *Cole*, brought home a Piece of Shot, a Piece of her Bulk-head, and a small Piece of Cable, which had lain there about 60 Years.

This Captain was order'd to search for *Severn* River, but could not find it, though it was in the old Draughts of this Bay.

About the Beginning of *October* the Geese fly away to the Southward; a terrible Sight to the poor *Europeans* in the Bay! for by that they know the hard Weather is approaching, and begin to provide Wood for Winter before the Snow falls.

Now Mr. *Baily* and his little Colony fell to patching up their Cabins, and prepare for the Enemy, and they had nothing to fear but the Season. He sent a Sloop to *Point Comfort*, between *Rupert* River and *Charlton* Island, to kill Seals, to make Oil for their Lamps, they having no Candles, and the Nights being long.

About the 10th of *October*, the Ice begins to congeal on the Shores; but often warm Weather comes after that, and thaws it. The 23d of *October* several *Indians* came to the Fort to trade, and, among others, one from *Quebec*. In one Night the Snow was a Foot deep, and by the 6th of *November* the River was frozen over.

About the Middle of the Month, Partridges come, of which they kill'd five, as white as Snow. The *English* that were there diverted themselves, while the Weather permitted, with killing Partridges; but truly there seems not to have been much Plenty of them; for four Men, in a Week's time, kill'd but 36. They fowl'd for them about *Peter's* River, and *Frenchman's* River, the one above, and the other below *Rupert's*; but in *December* and *January*, the Frosts were so severe, they could not stay out. The Governor's Boys Feet and Face were spoiled by the Frost, in catching of Partridges.

The Snows in the Woods, when at the deepest, are seven or eight Foot; sometimes they do not exceed four Foot, as in the Year 1673.

The 25th of *January* three *Indians* brought Beaver to the Fort, and a little fresh Meat. They reported, that as they pass'd *Moose* River, about ten Days Journey from *Rupert's*, they saw some dead Bodies of *Indians*, which they supposed to be *Onachanoes*, most of that Nation being destroyed by the *Nadwoyes*, who were then about *Moose* River, and, as they threaten'd, intended to visit the *English* in the Spring; they were accordingly as good as their Words. The 1st of

*February*

*February* there was such a Change of Weather, that it rather thawed than froze. The *English* with living on Salt-Meats, were all down with the Scurvy in this Month: For though they continued to catch Partridges, there were so few caught, that they went but a very little Way among them.

Several *Indians* came in *March*, and built their *Wigwams* at the East End of the Fort, intending to stay there all Winter, that they might be ready for Trade in the Spring. The Nation that took up their Quarters near the Fort were the *Cuscudidah's*, and the King sent Mr. *Baily* word, he would come to him speedily. The Governor on the 23d of *March*, accompanied by *John Abraham* and others, travelled on the Ice to *Point Comfort*, where were some *Indian* Tents, to buy what fresh dried Meat he could, the Store at the Fort being almost spent.

About the 20th of *March* it began to thaw, and the *Nodwayes* still threatening the *English* with War, the Governor prepared every Thing necessary in the Fort for his Defence. On the 25th of *March*, six Men as Ambassadors came from King *Cuscudidah* to notify his Approach, and that he would be at the Fort next Day; which he made good, and was troubled that the Governor was absent. He brought a Retinue with him, but little Beaver, the *Indians* having sent their best to *Canada*.

The *English* at the Fort stood on their Guard, and Mr. *Cole* commanded them in the Governor's Absence, for whom the King sent two *Indians*. And the 31st of *March* the Governor returned, with a small Supply of *Moose* Flesh. On the 1st of *April* the Geese, the Promise of the Spring, begin to return again, and prodigious Quantities were caught.

All this while the *Indian* King staid at the *Wigwams* near the Fort, and the Reason of it was, They were apprehensive of being attacked by some *Indians*, whom the *French* Jesuits had animated against the *English*, and all that dealt with them. The *French* used many Artifices to hinder the Natives trading with the *English*, they gave them great Rates for their Goods, and obliged Mr. *Baily* to lower the Price of his to oblige the *Indians* who dwelt about *Moose* River, with whom they drove the greatest Trade.

The *French*, to ruin their Commerce with the Natives, came and made a Settlement not above 8 Days Journey up that River, from the Place where the *English* traded. 'Twas therefore debated, whether the Company's Agents should not remove from *Rupert's* to *Moose* River to prevent their Traffick being intercepted by the *French*.



On the 3d of *April* 1674, a Council of the principal Persons in the Fort was held, where Mr. *Baily* the Governor, Capt. *Gooselier* and Capt. *Cole* were present, and gave their several Opinions. The Governor inclined to remove. Capt. *Cole* was against it as dangerous, and Capt. *Gooselier* for going thither in their Bark to trade, when the *Indians* belonging to King *Cuscudidah* were gone a hunting, and there was no Fear of the Fort's being surprized.

The *Indians* went to building their *Wigwams* near the Fort, and raised their *Wauscoheigein* or Fort so near the *English*, that the Palisadoes joined. One of those Barbarians being jealous of his Wife, and finding her in the Fort, pulled out a Hatchet which he had hidden under his Coat, and gave her a desperate Wound in the Head, but she did not die of it. The *Indian* fearing the Governor would punish him for striking in the Fort, fled to the Woods. Upon which Mr. *Baily* ordered that no *Indian* but King *Cuscudidah*, and his chief Courtiers, should be admitted into the Fort, and a Watch was set upon the Gate.

As the Ice grew rotten and melted, the *Indians* who ventured fell frequently in, but they all swam like Ducks, and seldom or never were any of them drowned. The great Thaw began about the 20th of *April*, and then all the *English* having spent their Beer and Winter-Liquor, returned to drinking of Water.

Geese and Swans were now to be had, and that supplied in some Measure their Want of Provision. The Governor having been cheated by the *Indians* at *Point Comfort* in his *Moose Flesh*, went thither and obliged them to make Satisfaction.

On the 20th of *May* 12 *Indians*, Subjects to King *Cuscudidah* came in seven Canoes, and the King meeting them conducted them to the Fort, where they told him there would be few or no *Upland Indians* come to trade that Season, the *French* having persuaded them to come to *Canada*: However Mr. *Baily* ordered the Sloop to be got ready, and resolved to go up the River.

Upon the Arrival of this new Company, among whom was the King's Brother, a Feast was made, the Manner of which was this: They all sat down together, and one Man, a Kinsman of the King's, broke the Meat and Fat in small Pieces according to the Number of Men there. After a short Speech made by the King, the Substance of which was, for them to take Courage against their Enemies and other Stories, the Company shouted, and then the Man who broke distributed the Meat about to them, they crying,

Oh!

*Oh! Ho!* as much as to say, *I thank you.* 'Tis incredible to tell the Abundance of fat Beaver, Moose Flesh and Fat they eat, together with the Broth and Fat as black as Ink which they drink. Then every Man had a small Piece of Tobacco distributed to him, and they all fell to smoking. Some afterwards danced, some sung, and a Man beat a Drum, which was a Skin put over a Kettle and laced a-thwart. They continue this commonly all Night, and when they go Home carry what Meat is left to their Sqwaws, it being very rare for them to admit the Women to their Feasts.

On the 22d of *May*, the *Indians* at their *Wigwams* near the Fort, had a *Powwaw*, or Sort of Conjuring, which is thus: There's a small Tower built with *Wyth* Stick about 8 Foot high, the Top being open, but the rest covered very close with Skins that none may see into it. In the Night, the Man that *Powwaws* goes into the Tower, the rest sit nigh it, and in their Places ask him several Questions, which in a Manner they know already; as, When any Strangers will be here? The *Powwower* guessees at the Time, and answers accordingly. The *Maneto* or their God told them, the *Nodways* would come down upon them e're long, and advised them to be upon their Guard, as also against the *Mistigooses* or *English*.

They *Powwaw* often, and upon several Occasions. If it happens not as they expected it would, then the *Maneto* is *Muchocauwan* or very bad, and if it falls out to their Desires, then *Maneto* is *Moruchfice* or good. When they kill a Moose their *Maneto* is *White* and *Good*. When they kill none then he is *Black* and *Naught*. They *Powwaw* very much when they celebrate any Marriages. Every Man has commonly two Wives whom they keep in great Subjection, and make them do all Slavery; as draw *Sledds*, cut Wood, make Fires, and dress Moose Hides. The Men only hunt, and kill the Game: The Women fetch the Beast that is killed, and take Care to preserve the Flesh.

The next Day the Governor and some *English* and *Indians* armed, went down to the Bottom of the Bay to *Frenchmens* River to seek for the *Nodways*, but could met with none.

At the latter End of *May* the Geese go to the Northward to breed. On the 27th, about 50 Men, Women and Children came in 22 Canoes to trade, but brought little or no Beaver with them. They were of the Nation called *Pishhapacanoes*, near a-kin to the *Eskeimoes*, and both alike a poor beggarly People: By which we may perceive the *French* ran away with the best of the Trade.

The Governor having got every Thing ready for a Voyage to *Moose River*, sent Capt. *Gooselier*, Capt. *Cole*, Mr. *Gorst* my Author, and other *English Indians* to trade there. They got about 250 Skins, and the Captain of the *Tabittee Indians* informed them, the *French Jesuits* had bribed the *Indians* not to deal with the *English*, but to live in Friendship with the *Indian Nations* in League with the *French*. He blamed the *English* for trading with such pitiful Nations as the *Cuscudidabs* and *Pishhapocanoes*, advising them to settle at *Moose Sebee*, and the *Upland Indians* would come down and trade with them. The Reason they got no more Peltry now was, because the *Indians* thought *Gooselier* was too hard for them, and few would come down to deal with him.

My Author in this Voyage past by *Robinson Island*, *Willow Island*, and saw several *white Whales*. The *Musketoos* are extremely troublefom in *May* and *June*, especially after Rains. The *Nodways* coming down within a Quarter of a Mile of the Fort, the Alarm was given the *English* and *Indians*, but the Enemy were afraid to come farther; and Mr. *Baily* with a Party of both pursued them in their Retreat, but could not come near enough to do any Execution.

This Fright being over, Mr. *Baily* sailed himself for *Moose Sebee*, and brought Home 1500 Skins; the *Shechittawams*, 50 Leagues from that River, having come to trade with him. By the 24th of *June* all the *Indians* had left their Wigwams near the Fort, and were gone abroad to hunt and trade, some with the *English* and some by themselves.

The Governor undertook a Voyage to discover *Shechittawam River*, and thence intended to coast along to *Port Nelson*, where as yet there was no Fort. In the mean Time Mr. *Gorst* who was left Deputy at the Fort, sent a Yaul and four Men well armed, up the *Nodways River*, which as high as they could go for the *Falls* was 5 Miles broad, full of small Islands and Rocks, in which Geese breed.

By the Beginning of *August*, the *English* that remained at the Fort had almost spent all their Provisions, their Powder and Shot, and began to be in mortal dread of starving. They killed Ducks, Teal and Plover, and some of them were always out, for their Lives depended upon it.

After about two Months Voyage Mr. *Baily* returned, and gave this Account of his Voyage in the Sloop. On the 16th of *July* he sailed from *Moose River*, and arrived at *Shechittawam River* on the 18th, where no *Englishman* had been before. He staid there till the 21st, but could meet with little or no Beaver.



'Tis a fine River, and a good Channel to the N. W. in 52 Deg. N. L. He treated with the King, and his Son made them a Promise to come with a Ship and trade with them the next Year. In return, they assured him they would provide Store of Beaver, and bring the *Upland Indians* down.

The 21<sup>st</sup> he set sail towards *Cape Henrietta Maria*, and saw a great Island stretching N. N. W. and S. S. E. distant about 14 Leagues from the Mouth of *Shechittawam* River. The Island being two Days Journey in Circumference *Indian* Padling, which they account to be 30 Leagues, it was named *Viner's* Island.

The 23<sup>d</sup> upon a Point, as he and his Crew were sailing along Shore, they spied a great Smoke; they stood in for it, and found seven distressed *Indians* there. This Point lay in 52 Deg. 40 Min. The Governor took them in, and gave them Passage to a small River called *Equon*, 100 Leagues to the Southward of it, where they saw the Bodies of some *Indians* dead on the Ground. There had been a great Mortality among them, and several were starved to Death for Want of Food; this Country being such a miserable Wilderness, that it affords not sufficient Sustenance for the wretched Inhabitants.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of *July*, the Sloop ran upon Ice and like to have foundered. Their Pilot was a *Wasbahoe* or *New Severn Indian*, and it was reported, that he had two Rows of Teeth; but he hated so much to see the Compass, that he was very troublesome to the Crew, so the Governor ordered him to be put ashore.

The *Indians* on *New Severn* River are as poor as the *Eskeimoes*, and indeed all the Northward *Indians* are more beggarly and brutal than the Southward. The Governor understanding by some *Wasbahoe* *Indians* there was no Beaver to be had, and that the Sea beyond the Cape was full of Ice, resolved to return, neither he nor his Company having eaten any Thing in two Days, but a few sodden Pease and Oat-Meal.

In their Return they were forced ashore upon *Charlton* Island, where they lay two or three Days in Distress, and at last got off with the Loss of several Necessaries. After he had returned to the Fort on the 30<sup>th</sup> of *August*, a Canoo arrived at *Rupert's* River with a Missionary Jesuit, a *Frenchman* born of *English* Parents, attended by one of *Cuscudidab's* Family, a young *Indian*. The Frier brought a Letter to Mr. *Baily* from the Governor of *Quebec*, dated the 8<sup>th</sup> of *October* 1673. For the Priest should have been at *Ruperr's* River several Months before, but that he was stopped by

by the *Indians*. The Governor of *Quebec* desired Mr. *Baily* to treat the *Jesuit* civilly, on Account of the great Amity between the two Crowns; and Mr. *Baily* resolved to keep the *Jesuit* till Ships came from *England*.

He brought a Letter also for Capt. *Gooselier*, which gave Jealousy to the *English* of his corresponding with the *French*; his Son-in-law lived at *Quebec*, and had accompanied the Priest part of his Way with three other *Frenchmen*, who being afraid to venture among strange *Indians* returned.

The *Tabitte Indians* being within the *Hudson's Bay* Company Patent, it was an Encroachment for the *French* to trade with them, the *Jesuit* confessed they did. Mr. *Baily* clothed him, the *Indians* having robbed him, and entertained him with great Kindness. The Priest resolving to return to *Europe* in an *English* Ship, did not like another Journey of 400 Miles Length, through many barbarous Nations over Land, and a Country almost impassable.

The *English* were frequently alarmed with Reports of Incursions from the *Nodways* and *Moose River Indians*, whose Quarrel with him was their selling too dear. The Governor to prevent being surprized, ordered all their Merchandize to be put aboard a Bark that was left with them, and went to fish and fowl at *Peter's River*; but got little Fowl, and their fishing Tackle began to want Supplies. 'Twas now the 11th of *September*, and so long had these poor Men lived in this Desert, holding a precarious Being by their Guns and fishing Tackle. Their Patience was at last spent, and the Governor declared if he did not hear from *England* in three Days Time, he would return Home aboard the before-mentioned Bark.

On the 17th they were all to depart for *Point Comfort*, to stay there till the 22d, and then make the best of their Way for *England*. For later than the 22d of *September*, no Ships had ever arrived: All the Flower and Bread they had left, did not make above 300 Pound. They had but two Barrels of good Pease and 30 Geese in Pickle, to victual their Bark with for their Voyage; and having but a very little Powder in the Store-house, they despaired of killing much more Game.

In this deplorable Condition were they, when the *Jesuit*, Capt. *Gooselier*, and another *Papist*, walking downwards to the Sea-side at their Devotion, heard seven great Guns fire distinctly. They came Home in a Transport of Joy, told their Companions the News, and assured them it was true. Upon which they fired three great Guns from the Fort to return the Salute, though they could ill spare the Powder upon such an Uncertainty.

The

The next Day an *Indian* came, and gave them Notice that he had heard great Guns last Night at *Attisawyem*, or *Point Comfort*. Their Sloop was then at the Point, and they expected every Minute to have the News confirmed.

One may imagine with what Impatience they waited. The Day was well nigh spent and no Sloop come, which threw them all into Despair. In the Evening the Sloop appeared in the River, but having no Ensign out, they concluded they were all lost Men, and in this Extremity of Sorrow they were soon revived by the Sight of five *Englishmen*, whom they had not seen before, and from whom they understood the *Prince Rupert*, Capt. *Gillam* Commander, was arrived, with the new Governor *William Lyddal*, Esq;

The next Day the old Governor and Mr. *Gorst* sailed for *Point Comfort*, where the *Shaftsbury*, Capt. *Shepherd* Commander, arrived also from *England*. And the new Governor's Commission and Instructions being read, all Hands set to work to refit and load the Ships Home as soon as possible.

William  
Lyddal Esq;  
Governor.

On the 18th of *September* Mr. *Lyddal* landed, and took Possession of the Fort, the Colours flying, and Guns firing to salute him. Mr. *Baily* delivered him the Patent, and after that he was no more called Governor. Mr. *Lyddal* finding the Season would be so far spent before the Ships could be unloaden and loaden again, that it would be impracticable to return; after several Councils it was resolved, they should winter at *Rupert's River*, and Capt. *Gillam* and Capt. *Shepherd's* Ships Crews were employed to cut Timber to build Houses for them, as also a Brew-house and Bake-house in the Fort.

The Provisions they brought, fell very short of the Complement of Men that were to be fed by them. They had 30 Men to feed in the Fort and in the Houses, and but ten Months Bread for them of five Pound of Flower a Head weekly, which was not enough to last them all the Winter at Land, and victual their Ships too. Mr. *Gorst*, who was their Store-keeper, soon brought them to short Allowance to husband their Store, and Mr. *Lyddal* ordered they should have full Allowance, saying, *If we starve we will starve all together.*

By this Means they were reduced to great Straits, and forced to pinch harder than they needed have done, had they been good Husbands of their Bread at first.

Such was the State of this Infant Settlement, and it has not mended much since, for Want and Cold have every Year endangered the Lives of all that have been there.



Before we proceed in our History, we shall communicate to the Reader a small Dictionary of the Language of the *Indians* at the Bottom of the Bay, which is like the rest distinguished by several Dialects, but this is the *Cuscudidah's*.

<i>Arakana</i> , Bread.	<i>Pishbifh</i> , a little Thing.
<i>Aftam</i> , Come hither.	<i>Pastofigon</i> , a Gun.
<i>Affinne</i> , Shot.	<i>Pistofigon a bifh</i> , a Pistol.
<i>Apit</i> , a Fire-steel.	<i>Pibickeman</i> , a Jack-Knife.
<i>Arremitogify</i> , to speak.	<i>Petta a shum. e.</i> give me a Piece.
<i>A Notch</i> , presently.	<i>Pe quifh a con Gau Mowon</i> , I eat some Pudding.
<i>Chickahigon</i> , a Hatchet.	<i>Spog. m.</i> , a Pipe.
<i>Efkon</i> , a Chiffel.	<i>Stenna, i.</i> , Tobacco.
<i>Manitowhigin</i> , a Red-Coat.	<i>Soth. im. m.</i> Red-Lead.
<i>Metus</i> , Stockings.	<i>Shekaboon</i> , a Comb.
<i>Mokeman</i> , Knives.	<i>Taney</i> , Where.
<i>Mickedy</i> , or } Powder.	<i>Tinefonec. ifo</i> , what do you call this?
<i>Pickow</i> , } Powder.	<i>Tequan</i> , What do you fay?
<i>Mekifh</i> , Beads.	<i>Tapoy</i> , that true.
<i>Mouftodawbifh</i> , a Flint.	
<i>No mun-nifs e to ta</i> , I do not understand you.	
<i>Owma</i> , this.	

Though with this I must leave my Journal, from other good Memoirs I shall continue the History.

Mr. *Baily* who had very well discharged his Trust, returning to *England*, informed the Company fully of their Affairs; and now as they advanced in Reputation, so they were industrious to encrease their Trade and Settlements. They appointed a *Trader* to act under the Governor and Chiefs of the Factories at other Rivers, according as they were settled.

Port *Nelson* was the next Settlement which they made, and thither they sent *John Bridger*, Esq; with the Character of Governor for the *Hudson's-Bay* Company of the *West Main* from Cape *Henrietta Maria*, which was included in the Governor of the *East Main's* Patent.

Mr. *Lyddal* was succeeded by *John Nixon*, Esq; in whose Time the Company thought of removing their chief Factory from *Rupert's* River to *Chickewan* River, as the Place most resorted to by the *Indians*.

*Charlton* Island was now frequented by the Ships bound to *Hudson's-Bay*, and made the Place of Rendezvous for all the Factors to bring their Merchandise to, and load it there aboard the Company's Ship.

In the Year 1682, Mr. *Bridger* embarked for Port *Nelson*, where a Factory was to be established and a Fort built; but before he arrived, Capt. *Benjamin Gillam* Master of a New-England Ship, and Son of Capt. *Gillam* Commander of the Prince *Rupert* then in the Company's Service, settled at that Factory; but had not been there above 14 Days, before Mr. *Radisson* and Capt. *Gooselier*, who had deserted the *English*, arrived from *Canada*.

John Bridger, Esq;  
Governor of  
Port Nelson.

The Company having dismissed them their Service, these two *Frenchmen* in Revenge procured some Merchants of *Canada* to undertake a Settlement there. *Gillam* was not strong enough to repel them, but he remained at Port *Nelson*, where 10 Days after *Radisson* and *Gooselier*'s Arrival came Mr. *Bridger*. The *French* no sooner perceived he was come, but they sent aboard his Ship immediately, and commanded him to be gone, for that Mr. *Raddison* and Capt. *Gooselier* had taken Possession of the Place for the *French King* their Master.

Mr. *Bridger* being warranted so to do by the Company's Commission unloaded some of his Goods, and with all Hands went to Work, in order to make a Settlement.

*Raddison* continued at Port *Nelson*, and Mr. *Bridger* and he became very intimate: Which Intimacy lasted from *October* 1682, to the *February* following, when *Raddison* seized *Bridger* and *Gillam* with all their People and Effects.

Having kept them some Months in a Sort of Imprisonment, about *August* the *French* put several of the Company's and *Gillam*'s People aboard a rotten Bark, and they were taken up by an *English* Ship near *Capé Henrietta Maria*. *Bridger* and *Gillam* they carried with them to *Canada*, where *Raddison* and *Gooselier* ran some of their Cargo ashore, intending to defraud their Employers.

After which they made their Escape and got into *France*. The Company having Notice of it writ to him, and he to the Company, promising if they would forgive the Injury he had done them, and employ him again at such a Salary, he would undertake to deliver the *French* whom he had left there till he came again to them, and seize all the Furs they had traded for, which would make them Satisfaction for the Wrongs he had done them. Accordingly they forgave him, employed him again, and he took Port *Nelson* from his Countrymen. But before his Arrival Capt. *John Abraham* had been there with Supplies of Stores; and finding Mr. *Bridger* was gone he staid himself, and was continued Governor by the Company in 1684.

John Abraham, Esq;  
Governor of  
Port Nelson.



Henry Ser-  
geant, Esq;  
Governor of  
Albany Ri-  
ver.

In the preceding Year, Mr. *Nixon* Governor of *Rupert's* River was recalled, and *Henry Sergeant*, Esq; made Governor. By whose Instructions we find the chief Factory was removed from *Rupert's* to *Moose-Sebee*, or *Chickewan* River, which has ever since been called *Albany* River; where a Fort was built, a Factory settled, and the Governor made it the Place of his Residence. 'Tis at the Bottom of the Bay below *Rupert's* River. He was ordered to come every Spring as soon as the Trade was over to *Charlton* Island, and bring what Goods he had with him, to wait for the Arrival of the Company's Ships: From thence he was to visit the other Factories, and see that their Merchandize was sent in due Time to *Charlton* Island, to attend the Ships Arrival.

The Governor of *Canada* having given the *Hudson's-Bay* Company to understand, the *French* were very much offended at their Discoveries in these Parts, Mr. *Sergeant* was ordered to be careful that he was not surprized by them.

There is an Island in the Bottom of the Bay called *Hay's* Island, where a Factory had been settled. This Isle and *Rupert's* were near the *French*, *Albany* being more to the Southward, and of these Factories the Company were most apprehensive that their Enemies would endeavour to dispossess them.

We perceive by these Instructions, that their Servants in the Bay had been very unfaithful to them, and Interlopers invaded their Privileges. They appointed Mr. *Hugh Verner* to be Chief at *Rupert's* River, and Mr. *George Geyer* and Mr. *Thomas Savage* to be chief Managers at the *Isinglass* River, which had been lately discovered; and there were great Expectations of a mighty Advantage to the Company by that Discovery, but it came to nothing though there was a Factory settled there in order to promote it.

The Company intended to plant a Colony at *Charlton* Island, and ordered Mr. *Sergeant* to build a Fort there, and always keep some Men upon it. Warehouses were also built to receive the Furs that were brought thither from the Factories, and Conveniencies were made for the Reception of such as were obliged to winter there. The Company always enjoined their Governors to endeavour to save the great Charge they were at in sending constant Supplies of Provisions, by planting Corn and other Grain there. But alas! Though the Climate by its Distance from the Sun should be as warm as ours, yet for Reasons which the Naturalists will easily give us, it is so cold and frosty that it kills almost all Sorts of Roots in the Ground which are sown there; and those Plantations so often recommended by the Company, were chimerical and impracticable: Orders



Orders were also given to dismiss Capt. *Gillam* their Service for his Son's Offences, and Capt. *Sandford* had the same Usage, on Account of his Relation to the *Gillams*; for there's nothing so terrible to a Monopolizer, as an Interloper. Capt. *William Bond*, who had been under Mr. *Baily*, was sent for Home, and other Regulations made in the Management of Affairs: But all could not hinder the Ruin of them all by the Enemy.

The Company, by their Governors and Agents, made such Compacts with the Captains or Kings of the Rivers and Territories where they had Settlements, for the Freedom of Trade there, exclusive of all others, that the *Indians* could not pretend they had encroached upon them. These Compacts were as firm as the *Indians* could make them, by such Ceremonies as were most sacred and obligatory among them.

Now were the Company in Possession of five Settlements, viz. *Albany River*, *Hayes Island*, *Rupert River*, *Port Nelson*, and *New Severn*. Their Trade at each of them was considerable. From *Albany River* they had generally 3500 Beavers a Year, and by Mr. *Sergeant's* great Care and Fidelity, their Commerce encreased so much, that the *French* began to be afraid all the *Upland Indians* might be drawn down to the Bay. They knew they could do any Thing with King *James II.* who then reigned in *England*, and that no Affront would make that Prince break with *Lewis the XIVth.* Wherefore they resolved to drive the *English* out of all their Places in the Bottom of the Bay. First they took *Hayes Island*, and then the Fort on *Rupert's River*. The *French* Company at *Canada* procured a Detachment of Soldiers to be sent under the Chevalier *de Troyes*, who came over Land from *Quebec*, and in a Time of profound Peace committed these Acts of Hostility.

'Tis worth observing that the *French* have so good an Opinion of their *American Colonies*, as to take not only all lawful, but even unlawful Means to preserve and enlarge them, as contemptible as they are in themselves; whereas the *English*, who next the *Spaniards* have the richest Plantations in that Part of the World, have been as negligent of them as if they were not worth keeping.

The 8th of *July 1686*, the Chevalier *de Troyes* came before the Fort at *Albany River*, where the Governor Mr. *Sergeant* then resided. Two *Indians* had informed him of their having surprized the Forts at *Hayes Island* and *Rupert River*, and had brought with them the great Guns from those Places.

Two Hours after, the *English* heard them discharge their Guns, and saw some of them at a Distance. Upon which Part of the Company's Servants declared, they would not venture their Lives, unless they might be assured of Pay, and sent *John Parsons*, and *John Garret*, two of their Number, in all their Names, to the Governor, to tell him their Resolutions. Mr. *Serjeant*, by Promises and giving them Clothes and other Necessaries, prevailed with them to return to their Charge: But in a Day or two they mutinied again, and *Elias Turner*, the Gunner, possess'd the People with an Apprehension, that it was impossible to hold out the Place; declaring, that for his Part he would throw himself on the *French*. Accordingly he went to the Governor, and desired Leave so to do; but being threatned to be shot to Death, in case he attempted it, he was at last persuaded to return to his Post.

The *English* shot at the *French* as long as they appeared in the *Brushes*, and forced them to retire under the Banks, where the Guns from the Fort could not hit them. The *French* shot only at the *English* with small Shot, as any of them appeared upon the *Flankers*. When they had retired under the Banks, they set to Work to entrench themselves, and cast up a great Bank of Earth, which cover'd them so, that the *English* could do no Execution upon them.

The Governor all this while imagined the Enemy was only raising a Bank to secure themselves from the Shot of the Fort; but afterwards he perceived they were preparing a Battery, and then he commanded the Guns of the Fort to fire upon them incessantly, which however did them no Hurt.

*Frederic Johnson*, who officiated as Gunner, on *Turner's* refusing to act, advised Mr. *Sergeant* not to shoot away the Remainder of the great Shot in the Fort, there being not above a Round more; and he supposed the *French* must have brought their Guns by Water, if so, he hoped to sink their Boats, which would have done more Service than firing upon their Entrenchments. But the *French* had found a Way to bring their great Guns through the Woods, and had planted them on their Battery before the *English* saw them.

The Governor sent out *Francis Cave* and *John Michem*, to see if they could observe the Posture of their Enemies, and the Spies brought Word, that they had finish'd their Battery, and mounted their Guns, which they saw them load.

This so dishearten'd the People, that assembling themselves together, they agreed to depute the most considerable among

them

them to go to the Governor, and in their Names press him to make the best Terms he could, and surrender the Fort. Accordingly, *Edward Coles, Philip Scovell, Hugh Mitchel, William Arrington, William Holder, John Stephens,* and others, came to Mr. *Sergeant*, and declared they would stand by him no longer; alledging, 'twas in vain to think they should be able to hold out. They added, if any one of them should lose a Leg or an Arm, or be kill'd, they had reason to doubt whether the Company would take Care of them, their Wives, or Children, instancing the Case of one *Coleburn*, wherefore they demanded of him to capitulate.

In the mean time the *French* fired upon the *Flankers*, and the *English*, whatever the Governor commanded them to the contrary, abandoned their Posts. He refused to beat a Parley, and threaten'd those that would not do their Duty.

The Enemy's Shot had made a Breach in the *Flankers*, and damaged the Houses in the Fort. Upon which, and the repeated Desires of the Men, who said, *The Year would be so far spent, that they could not hope to get home, but must be starved if the Factory should be taken*, the Governor consented to a Parley; Mr. *Bridger* assuring him the Enemy were mining them, and they should certainly be blown up. Capt. *Outlaw* also agreed to capitulate, and the white Flag was hung out. After which a Treaty was concluded, and is as follows.

ARTICLES agreed upon between the Chevalier *de Troyes*, Commander in Chief of the Detachment of the *North-West*, for the *French* Company at *Canada*; and *Henry Serjeant, Esq;* Governor for the *English* Company at *Hudson's-Bay*, July 16, 1686.

Imprimis. *It is agreed upon to deliver up the Fort, together with all the Goods belonging to the said Company, which are to be scheduled for the mutual clearing of us the fore-named, and Satisfaction of all Parties.*

II. *That all the Company's Servants at Albany River shall enjoy all Wearing Apparel belonging to themselves.*

III. *That the aforesaid Henry Serjeant, Esq; Governor, shall enjoy and possess all that belongs to himself; and that his*



*Minister, his three Men-Servants and Maid-Servant, shall constantly be permitted to remain with him, and attend him.*

IV. *That the Chevalier de Troyes shall convey all the Company's Servants to Charlton Island, there to expect English Ships for their Transportation; and if English Ships should not arrive, then the aforesaid Chevalier de Troyes is to assist them with what Vessels the Country affords, for their Conveyance into England.*

V. *That the said Chevalier de Troyes shall deliver to the said Henry Serjeant, Esq; Governor, or to his Store-house-keeper, such Provisions as shall be thought fitting and necessary to carry them for England, if no Ships come from thence, and in the mean time give them such Sustenance as shall be sufficient for them.*

VI. *That all the Store-houses shall be lock'd up, and the Keys deliver'd to the said Chevalier de Troyes's Lieutenant; that nothing may be in the said Store-houses embezled till the Account be taken, according to the first Article.*

*Lastly, That the Governor and all the Company's Servants at Albany River shall come out of the Fort, and deliver it up to the said Chevalier de Troyes; all Men, the Governor and his Son excepted, being without Arms, which is to be forthwith,*

Accordingly the Fort was surrender'd; but the *French* made no Scruple to break so much of the Articles as they could get any thing by; for they plunder'd Mr. *Serjeant* of all his Goods, and sent him and his Family away in a very ordinary Bark, ill supplied with Provisions; such is the Honour of that Nation.

The Company, notwithstanding it appears very plain, by the above-mentioned Account, which was sworn to before *Samuel Keck, Esq;* a Master in Chancery, that the Governor did all he could to defend the Fort, used him, at his Return to *England*, as barbarously almost as the *French* had done; but his Majesty was pleas'd to take him into his Service, which was the best Justification of his Conduct.

At this time, *Thomas Phips, Esq;* was Governor of *Port-Nelson*, which was not then taken by the *French*; and the Company expected *Fort-Albany* would have been restored to them in King *James's* time; but all their Solicitations were in vain, and all the Settlements they had, *Port-Nelson*

*Nelson* excepted, were abandoned to the *French*. King *William*, in his Declaration of War against the *French* King, takes this particular Notice of *de Troyes's* invading *Hudson's-Bay*, and destroying the *English* Factories there, as the *French* had done in other Places. But that the *French* King should invade our *Charibbee* Islands, and possess himself of our Territories of the Province of *New-York* and *Hudson's-Bay*, in a hostile Manner, seizing our Forts, burning our Subjects Ships, and enriching his People with the Spoil of their Goods and Merchandizes, detaining some of our Subjects under the Hardship of Imprisonment, causing others to be inhumanly kill'd, and driving the rest to Sea in a small Vessel, are Actions not becoming even an Enemy; and yet he was so far from declaring himself so, that at that very time he was negotiating here in *England* by his Ministers a Treaty of Neutrality and good Correspondence in *America*. Such was King *William's* Judgment of his Fraud and Violence, which his Predecessor, with an unparallel'd Complacency, excused.

The War breaking out, as has been said, between the two Nations, the *Hudson's-Bay* Company solicited for Soldiers to be sent thither to recover their Settlements; and in the Year 1693, they retook all the Forts and Factories, which the *French* had taken from them in time of Peace.

In which Expedition they met with no more Difficulties than the *Chevalier de Troyes* had met with. Capt. *Grinnington* was the Person employed for this Service, and *John Knight*, Esq; was appointed Governor of *Fort Albany*; but his Government was of no long Continuance; for in a little time the *French* sent such a Power against the *English*, that they again drove them from all their Settlements in the Bottom of the Bay.

The *French* Company made *Monsieur de la Fores* Governor of *Fort Albany*, and garrison'd all the Forts they had taken; which made it necessary for the Government to send a stronger Power than the Company could raise to recover them.

The King of *England*, to protect their Trade, assigned them two Men of War for their Service in the Year 1696, as the *Bonaventure*, Capt. *Allen* Commander, and the *Sea-ford*.

Capt. *Allen* coming into the *River Hayes*, sent to summon all the Forts to surrender; and the *French* Governor finding he could not defend them against the *English*, capitulated, and on the 2d of *August*, 1696, surrender'd *Albany* Fort upon certain Articles, the Chief of which were, That all those in the Fort, as well *French* as *Indians*, and one *English*-man,

man, the Governor's Servant, should have their Lives and Liberties, and that no Harm or Violence should be done to their Persons, or any thing that belonged to them; that they should march out with their Arms, Drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted at both Ends, Ball in Mouth, and carry with them the two Guns they brought from France; that they should all embark with their Clothes and Goods, without being visited or pillaged in any thing; and if they met with any French Vessels, there should be a Truce between the English and them; and the said French Vessels should be permitted, to take aboard the Persons that came out of the said Fort, with all that belonged to them. These Conditions were a little too honourable to grant, but not to be comply'd with.

Capt. Allen took the Governor and some of his Men aboard his own Ship; some he put aboard the *Seaford*, and the rest aboard a Merchant-man, call'd the *Dering*.

In his Return, he fought the *Mary Rose* Frigate, then a French Privateer of 50 Guns, and was kill'd in the Engagement, which gave the Frenchman an Opportunity to bear away.

As to the other two Forts, they follow'd the Fate of *Albany*, and Mr. Knight was restored to his Government. At

John  
Geyer, Esq;  
Governor of  
Port Nelson.

which time *John Geyer*, Esq; was Governor of *Port Nelson*. Mr. Knight had served Mr. Serjeant, while he was Governor of *Fort Albany*, and was well acquainted with the Trade.

In the Year 1697, the *Hampshire* Frigate, and *Owners Love* Fire-ship, two of the King's Ships, were lost in this Bay, and all the Men drowned. Indeed the Ice renders it so dangerous, that the Commerce seems not to be worth the Risk that is run for it. Whether those two Ships ran against those frozen Mountains that float in that Sea, or founder'd, is not known; but 'tis certain they were lost, and that all the Men perish'd.

The Trade to this Bay has decreased ever since the Use of Beavers has fallen off in *England*. Peltry is not now the Commodity it was, and this Company, of Consequence, does not make the Figure they did 13 or 14 Years ago.

In the present War, they lost *Port Nelson* to the French; and have either given up or deserted all their Settlements, except *Fort Albany*, where Mr. Knight managed their Affairs till the Year 1706, when he was succeeded by *John Fullerton*, Esq; the present Governor at *Albany River*.

Notwithstanding the pressing Instance I made to the concerned in the *Hudson's-Bay* Trade for Information to continue the Account of it down to this time; it not being yet come to Hand, I am obliged to be short therein; though



though I was very desirous to have enlarged a little upon it, on Account of the present Revival of the Fur-Trade; but must content myself with adding only, that the Company's Factories and Fortifications, which the *French* had taken, were restored to them by the Peace of *Utrecht* in the following Articles.

Article X. *The said Most Christian King shall restore to the Kingdom and Queen of Great Britain, to be possess'd in full Right for ever, the Bay and Streights of Hudson, together with all Lands, Seas, Sea-Coasts, Rivers and Places situate in the said Bay and Streights, and which belong thereto, no Tracts of Land or Sea being excepted, which are at present possess'd by the Subjects of France. All which, as well as any Buildings there made, in the Condition they now are, and likewise all Fortresses there erected, either before or since the French seized the same, shall, within six Months from the Ratification of the present Treaty, or sooner if possible, be well and truly deliver'd to the British Subjects, having Commission from the Queen of Great Britain to demand and receive the same, intire and undemolished, together with all the Cannon and Cannon-Ball which are therein, as also with a Quantity of Powder, if it be there found, in Proportion to the Cannon-Ball, and with the other Provision of War usually belonging to Cannon. It is however provided, that it may be entirely free for the Company of Quebec, and all other Subjects of the Most Christian King whatsoever, to go by Land or by Sea, whithersoever they please, out of the Lands of the said Bay, together with all their Goods, Merchandizes, Arms and Effects, of what Nature or Condition soever, except such things as above reserved in this Article, &c.*

Article XI. *The above-mentioned Most Christian King shall take Care that Satisfaction be given, according to the Rule of Justice and Equity, to the English Company, Traders to the Bay of Hudson, for all Damage and Spoil done to their Colonies, Ships, Persons and Goods, by the hostile Incursions and Depredations of the French in time of Peace, an Estimate to be made thereof by Commissaries to be named at the Reduction of each Party, &c.*

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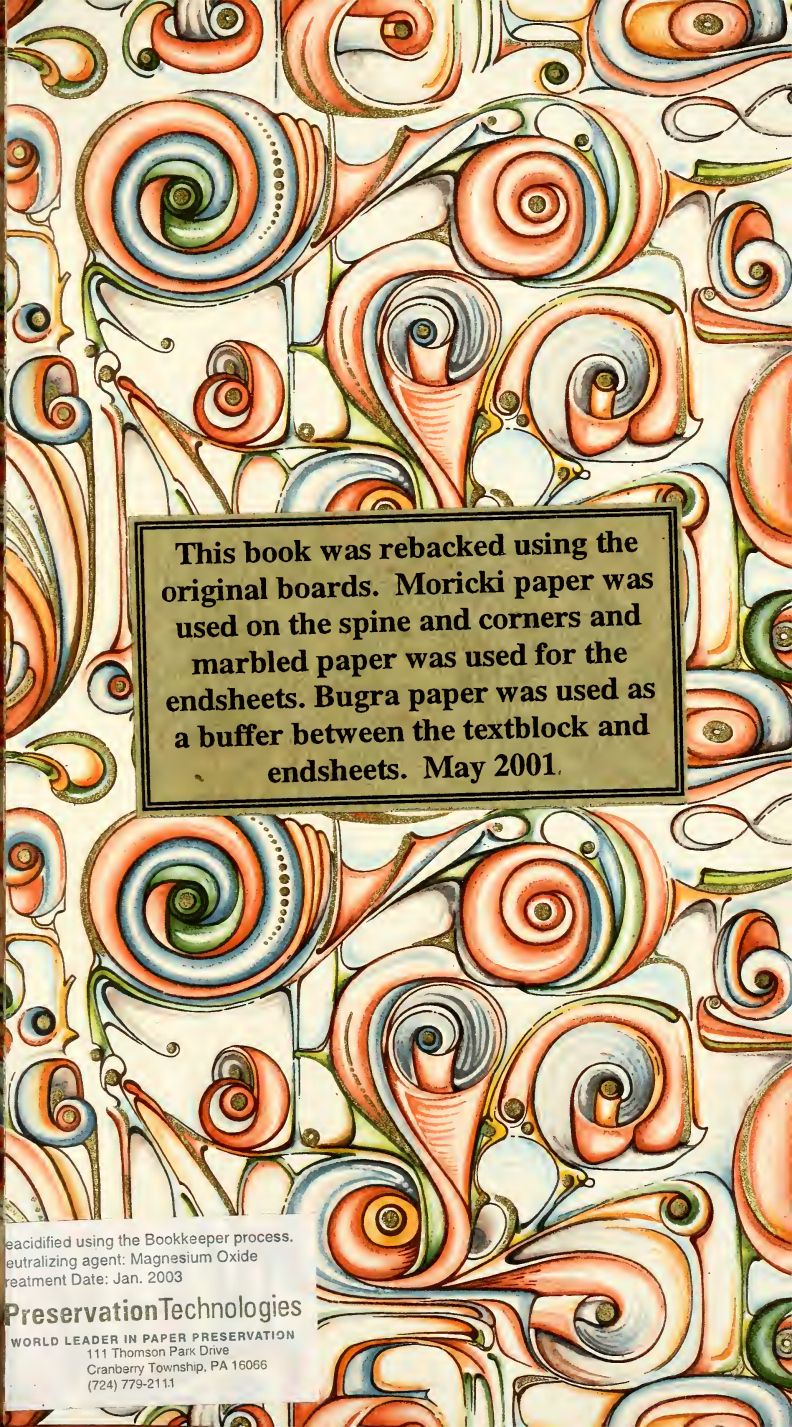
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The HISTORY of the Discovery,  
Settlement, Progress and State of the

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

*Admixon, John, 1673-1742*

V O L . II.

Being an A C C O U N T of the Country, Soil, Climate,  
Product and Trade of

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ST. VINCENTS,  
DOMINICO,  
ANTEGO,

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NEVIS,  
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Containing an Account of its Discovery, Settlement, the Progress of it, the Perfection, the Decrease and Present State.

'T IS agreed by all Historians, that have made mention of this Island, as 'twas first settled by the *English*, that the *Portuguese* were the first who discovered it; and it lying convenient for their stopping in their Voyages to and from the *Brazils*, they left some Hogs here, which multiplied, according to the general Report of Writers, so prodigiously, that when the *English* came hither, they found the Isle over-run with them. But this, in all Probability, is a Fiction; for the Island was entirely covered with Woods, and those Woods affording only a few Berries, for the Nourishment of these Animals, 'tis not likely there should be such Abundance of them.

About the Year 1696, there was a Person living, who came to *Barbados* with the first *Englishmen* that settled there; and he assured a very worthy Gentleman, from whom the Writer of this History had this Information, that when they had lived there some Time on Salt Provisions, he long'd so much to taste some fresh, that he would have sold himself for a Slave to any *Englishman*, who would then have supplied him





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Vol. II.

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with



with a Meal of fresh Meat. Now if there were such Plenty of Hogs, and the Flesh of them so delicious, as will be mentioned hereafter, we cannot imagine he could be in such great Want of fresh as well as salt Provisions.

The same Man confirmed the Account we have given of the Thickness of the Woods; and from thence argued, as we do, that 'twas impossible for the pretended infinite Numbers of Hogs to subsist.

We cannot ascertain at what Time the *Portuguese* discover'd it, nor when the *English* first found it out after them. We suppose the Former might have been there 100 Years before the *English* discovered it: For *Alvarez Cabral* landed in *Brasil*, *A. D.* 1501, and 'tis not probable his Countrymen, the *Portuguese*, should sail by *Barbados* 20 Year, and not find it out; the Coast of *Brasil* being not far from the *Charibbee* Islands, of which *Barbados* is the chief.

As to the Time when the *English* first came hither, tho' we cannot fix the Year, we are sure it must be in the Reign of King *James I.* For it appears by an Act of Assembly in *Barbados*, that 'twas settled in his Time. This Act is entitled, *An Act for the better ascertaining the Laws of this Island*; and passed, *A. D.* 1666. In which 'tis said, That all Acts confirmed by any Governor and Counsellor, President and Council, by Virtue of any Commission from King *James* or *Charles the Ist*, &c. Which is a plain Proof, that 'twas discovered by the *English* before the Year 1625.

What we know of the Matter, is, about the Year 1624. a Ship of Sir *William Curteen's* returning from *Fernambock*, in *Brasil*, was driven by Stress of Weather on this Coast; as the *Portuguese* had been before, it being not, as *Ligon* says, far out of the Way; for 'tis the most windwardly Island of the *Charibbees*, *Tobago* only excepted. As indeed it is, *Tobago* lying in 11 Degrees, 16 Minutes North Latitude, above a Degree nearer the Line than *Barbados*.

That this Ship touched here about the Year 1624, we may conclude, for these Reasons: 'Tis plain there was no sailing to *Brasil* for any *Englishman*, but under the Protection of the *Dutch West-India Company*; the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* making it Death for any Stranger to come among them on this Part of the Continent.

Now tho' the *Dutch West-India Company*, after the Expiration of the Truce with *Philip III.* King of *Spain* and *Portugal*, began, by Permission of the *States General*, to trade thither; yet they never sent any Fleet, till the Beginning of the Year 1624. before which Time we cannot imagine the *English* would venture to *Brasil*, the *Dutch* having



not made any Settlement, and King James dying, Anno 1625. We think 'tis proved plain enough, that Sir William Curteen's Ship came to Barbados, Anno 1624.

Sir William was one of the greatest Merchants of that Time in London, and is often mentioned by Writers, on Account of a very rich Sugar Ship of his taken by the Dutch, for which Satisfaction was required and obtained in subsequent Treaties. Ligon tells us only, a Ship of Sir William Curteen's was driven upon this Coast, and anchored before it. The Men aboard it landed, and stayed some Time, to inform themselves of the Nature of the Place; which, as before hinted, they found to be so over-grown with Woods, that there was no Champion Ground, no Savana's, for Men to dwell in; nor were there any Beasts, but the above-mention'd Hogs; and those, says Mr. Ligon, in Abundance; the Portuguese having long before put some ashore, for Breed, in Case they should at any Time be driven by foul Weather upon the Island, that they might there find fresh Meat, to serve them upon such an Extremity. He adds, The Fruits and Roots that grew there, afforded them so great Plenty of Food, as they multiplied abundantly.

Wherein he is not only contradicted by the old Man we have spoken of in the foregoing Pages, but by all the later Accounts written of Barbados: For they all agree, that there was no Plant, Root, or Herb found here, except Purcelain; and indeed he confesses as much himself: *I know P. 97. no Herb, naturally growing in the Island, that has not been brought thither from other Parts, but Purcelain, &c.*

'Tis very certain, that the Charibbeans never inhabited this Island, for there were no Remains nor Signs of any of their Villages or Dwellings; and they had not been so long possessed of the Islands, to which they give Name, as that one can suppose they might have dwelt there many Ages before.

This, 'tis probable, was one of the Islands they used to visit for Pleasure, of which we shall say more in the History of St. Christophers, where we shall speak of the Charibbeans, and return now to our present Subject.

Before we continue the History of Barbados, 'twill not be improper to observe, that this Name was given it by the Portuguese; and no doubt relates to the Barbarity of the Country, which they found wild to the last Degree, and consequently believed it to be inhabited by Barbarians. There are some weak People in this Island, who think the Word is formed from the Beards of the Fig-Trees, and that it should be called Beardbados. But this Etymology is equally groundless and ridiculous. The Portuguese name it *Los Barbados*;

from whence 'twas a long Time called, *The Barbados*; tho' we do not see what Occasion there is for the *The* in our Language. The *French* at first gave it the Name of *Barboude*. They now call it, *La Barbade*; and the *English*, all at least who have any Acquaintance with the Place or People, *Barbados*.

How it came to be inhabited by our Countrymen, is our next Business to relate. The *English*, who landed there out of Sir *William Curteen's* Ship, when they returned to *England*, gave Advice to their Friends of the Discovery they had made; and several Persons, Noblemen, and others, undertook to settle a Colony here. Ships were sent, with Men, Provisions, and working Tools, to cut down the Woods, and clear the Ground, to plant Provisions for their Subsistence: which till then they found but straggling among the Woods.

Ligon, p.  
24.

Thus says the Writer of the Book, which he calls, the *Barbados History*. If by Provisions, he means Corn, 'twas impossible they should find that there which never was sown. If he means the Hogs, we have often mentioned, how comes it they found them *stragglingly*? This confirms what the old Man said of their Want of fresh Meat.

Having cleared some Part of the Ground, the *English* planted Potatoes, Plantanes, and *Indian* Corn, with some other Fruits; *Which*, says the same Author again, *with the Hogs Flesh they found, served only to keep Life and Soul together*. And the Supplies from *England* came so slow, and so uncertainly, that they were often driven to great Extremities.

Page. 23.

*William* Earl of *Pembroke* was a great Adventurer in the first settling of this Island, of which he possessed himself of a good Part; but we do not find he had any Grant from the King, for the whole Island was given away afterwards.

Capt. Cannon  
non Governor.

This Lord sent over Capt. *Cannon*, to manage his Affairs there, and we may look upon *Cannon* as the first Governor, the rest of the Colony being under his Direction. These new Comers found here certain Pots, or Pans of several Sizes, made of Clay, so finely tempered, and turned with such Art, that they could hardly think them to be the Workmanship of Barbarians or Savages. Yet 'twas thought they were brought thither by the *Charibbeans*, who coming thither in their Canoes and Periaguas, hunted the Hogs, killed them, and boiled their Meat in them. Which Conjecture will seem very probable, to any one that reads what is said of the *Charibbeans*, their little Voyages, and their neat Pots, in the History of *St. Christophers*.

Capt. Cannon told Mr. Ligon, that this was a gross Mistake in the Planters, and that no *Indians* ever came there; but those Pots were brought by the Negroes that were fetched from *Angola*, and some other Parts of *Africa*; and that he had seen them make of them at *Angola*, with the greatest Art that may be.

What this Author writes in Answer to Cannon, is not the least curious Part of his Book: *Tho' I am willing to believe this Captain, who delivered upon his Knowledge, that the Negroes brought some Pots thither, and very finely and artificially made; yet it does not hinder any Man from believing, that the Indians brought some too: And who knows which were the most exactly made; for 'tis certain, in some Parts of the Island, you may see, in a clear Day, St. Vincents perfectly. And if we can see them, why may they not see us? And they will certainly venture to any Place they see, so far as they know they can reach before Night, setting out very early in the Morning.*

This Account of the *Charibbeans* Voyages agrees with the *French* Authors, translated by Mr. Davies of *Kidwelly*, and made Use of by him in the Article of *St. Christophers*.

'Twas not long before all the first Adventurers were either forced to abandon their Settlements, or hold them of the Earl of *Carlisle*, of the Family of *Hay*; who was a great Favourite in the Reign of King *James I.* This Lord begged the Propriety of the Island of King *James I.* and obtained a Grant of it; but not of King *James*, for it seems he did not live long enough; King *Charles I.* granting it to *James* Earl of *Carlisle*, in the first Year of his Reign. Upon which all that transported themselves thither to settle, were obliged to purchase their Lands of him; and the Rates being easy, and the Country pleasant, the Colony soon began to grow populous, no other Settlement thriving so fast.

The first Comers made Choice of the Bottom of the Bay, where the Bridge-Town now stands, to inhabit; and thereabouts, and all along the *Leeward* Shore, were the first Settlements. Then the *South-Eastern* Coast was planted, and afterwards the *Windward*, and *North-Western*.

'Tis a very great Misfortune to us, that about the Year 1666. the Bridge-Town was burnt, and all the chief Records lost, insomuch that if we are out in our Chronology before that Time, we must be excused; for this Government having been 30 Years a Proprietary's, no publick Records were kept of it in *England*; and tho' we believe we are right, yet taking our Account from Tradition, and from several Passages in History, 'tis not unlikely we may err in our Chronology.



The Inhabitants of *Barbados* at their first coming fell to planting Tobacco; which, whatever is said of the *Barbados* Tobacco now, proved so earthy and worthless, that it yielded little or nothing in *England*, or elsewhere; so that for a while they lost their Labour, and their Industry did not turn to Account.

The Woods were so thick, and most of the Trees so large and massy, that 'twas not a few Hands could fell them; which was another Discouragement to them. When the Trees were down, their Branches were so thick and unmanageable, as required more Help than could be procured, to lop and remove them off the Ground.

By this Means, twenty Years afterwards, Mr. *Ligon* writes; he found both Potatoes, Maize, and Bonavists, planted between the Boughs; the Trees lying along upon the Ground; so far short was it then of being cleared.

Sir Henry  
Hunks Governor.

The first Governor that I can learn was sent thither with a regular Commission, was Sir *Henry Hunks*; but I cannot ascertain what Year he went. Notwithstanding all the Discouragements the new Colony lay under, it still thrived; for Indigo and Cotton-Wool coming up plentifully, great Quantities of those Commodities, as also of Fustick, were ship'd off for *London*; and meeting with a good Market, other Ships were sent to *Barbados*, loaden with such Goods as were wanted there; Working-Tools, Iron, Steel, Clothes, Shirts and Drawers, Stockings, Shoes and Hats.

More People also came over; their Trade encreas'd with their Company; and about the Year 1646. 'twas looked upon to be a flourishing Colony. Capt. *Swan*, who was then Surveyor of the Island, drew a Draught of it, and gave it to the Governor; which he carried with him to *England*, and so 'twas lost; but he gave Mr. *Ligon* a Copy of it from his Memory, and loose Papers, which was engraved, and is the same that he put before his History.

The most considerable of the first Planters were Mr. *Hilliard*, Mr. *Holduppe*, Mr. *Silvester*, Mr. *Walrond*, Mr. *Raines*, Mr. *Kendall*, Mr. *Middleton*, Mr. *Standfast*, and Mr. *Drax*; for Mr. *Modiford* did not come over till about the Year 1647. The Planters were so neglected by the Proprietor, that they refused to honour him with the Name; and his Governor taking no Care to have their Grievances redressed, nor due Provision made for the Defence of the Island, 'twas a great Balk to these first Adventurers; who were most of them Men of moderate Fortunes, that had brought Stocks thither to be improved, and were uneasy, to find no Care was taken to defend what they had already got, and what they might acquire.

The

The Earl of *Carlisle* granted 10000 Acres of Land, in that Part of the Island, which now makes the Parish of *St. George's*, to *Marmaduke Rawden*, Esq; *Mr. William Perkins*, *Mr. Alexander Banister*, *Mr. Edmund Foster*, *Capt. Wheatly*, and others, on certain Covenants and Conditions, which 'tis to be supposed were not complied with: For those Lands, a few Years afterwards, returned to the Proprietor; who, upon *Sir Henry Hunks's* Return to *England*, appointed *Capt. Philip Bell*, who, says *Ligon*, had been Governor of the Isle of *Providence*, to have the same Character in *Barbados*; where there was now a Council, an Assembly, and several Laws were made; and among others, one to raise 40 Pound of Cotton a-Head, on all the Inhabitants, for the Proprietary; but this Tax, and other Duties and Rents, were abolished, in the Government of *Francis Lord Willoughby*.

Sugar was not as yet planted, and probably was not so soon as *Sir Dalby Thomas* makes it, in a Pamphlet he published Anno 1690. About 50 Years ago, says he, during the War between the *Hollanders* and *Portuguese* in *Brasil*, a *Hollander* happened to arrive from thence upon our Island of *Barbados*, where, tho' there were good *Sugar-Canes*, the *English* knew no other Use of them, than to make refreshing Drinks for that hot Climate, intending by planting *Tobacco* there to have equalled those of the *Verinas*; on which, on *Ginger*, *Cotton*, and *Indigo*, they meant to rely.

*Ligon* seems to hint, that the Planters made Experiments of Sugar, before they were taught by the *Dutch*. His Words are these: ' At the Time we landed on this Island, which was in the Beginning of *September* 1647. we were inform'd partly by those Planters we found there, and partly by our own Observations, that the great Work of Sugar-making was but newly practised by the Inhabitants, some of the most industrious Planters having gotten Plants from *Fernambock*, in *Brasil*, and made Trial of them at *Barbados*; and finding them to grow, they planted more and more as they grew and multiplied on the Place, till they had such a considerable Number, as they were worth the while to set up a very small *Ingenio*, and so try what Sugar could be made upon that Soil: But the Secrets of the Work being not well understood, the Sugars they made were very inconsiderable, and little worth for two or three Years, till at last finding their Errors by their daily Practice, they began a little to mend; and by new Directions from *Brasil*, sometimes by Strangers, and now and then by their own People, who (being covetous of the Knowledge of a Thing which so much concerned them in their Particulars, and

*Capt. Philip Bell Governor.*

*Hist. Account of the Rise and Growth of the West-India Colonies, &c.*

Page 83.

*A Cattle-Mill.*

' for the general Good of the whole Island) were content  
 ' sometimes to make a Voyage thither, to improve their  
 ' Knowledge in a Thing they so much desired; being now  
 ' made abler to make their Queries of the Secrets of that  
 ' Mystery, by how much their often Failings had put them  
 ' to often Stops and Nonplusses in their Work; and so re-  
 ' turning with more Plants, and better Knowledge, they  
 ' went on upon fresh Hopes, but still short of what they  
 ' should be more skilful in: For at our Arrival there, we  
 ' found them ignorant of three main Points, that much con-  
 ' duced to the Work, the Manner of Planting, the Time  
 ' of Gathering, and the right placing of their Coppers in  
 ' their Furnaces; as also, of the true Way of covering their  
 ' Rollers with Plates, or Bars of Iron. We found many  
 ' Sugar-Works set up, and at work, but yet the Sugars they  
 ' made were but bare Muscovado's, and few of them mer-  
 ' chantable Commodities, so moist, and full of Molosses,  
 ' and so ill cured, they were hardly worth the bringing  
 ' Home for *England*.' Let us compare this with what Sir  
*Dalby Thomas* said above, and what he farther says on the  
 same Subject, which he places about the Year 1640, seven  
 Years before Mr. *Ligon* arrived in *Barbados*, *This Hollander*  
*understanding Sugar, was, by one Mr. Drax, and some other*  
*Inhabitants there, drawn in to make a Discovery of the Art he*  
*had to make it.* If so, how comes it they were such Novices  
 7 or 8 Years afterwards?

*Ligon's* Account of it seems to be most natural, and there-  
 fore we shall continue it, being one of the most con-  
 siderable Parts of the *Barbados* History, to know when the  
 Cane was first planted. He goes on, ' About the Time I  
 ' left the Island, which was in 1650. the Planters were much  
 ' bettered, for then they had the Skill to know when the  
 ' Canes were ripe, which was not till they were 15 Months  
 ' old, and before they gathered them at 12; which was a  
 ' main Disadvantage to their making good Sugar. Besides,  
 ' they were grown Proficients, both in boiling and curing  
 ' them, and had learnt the Knowledge of making them  
 ' White, such as you call Lump-Sugars here in *England*.'

One may see what an Improvement the Canes made of  
 the Lands, by what the same Author says of Major *Hilliard's*  
 Plantation, which, before the working of Sugar began,  
 might have been purchased for 400*l.* tho' it was 500 Acres;  
 and when he came over, about which Time also came Col.  
*Thomas Mordiford*, the latter gave 7000 *l.* for the half of it;  
 and he adds, 'Tis evident all the Land there, which has been  
 employed to that Work, has found the like Improvement.



'Tis not to be doubted, but that the Hopes of making Sugar tempted over those Gentlemen in the Civil War, whose Fortunes had been almost ruined by it at Home: The Chief of these were Col. *Humphry Walrond*, Mr. *Thomas Kendall*, and others, whose Names and Families are very well known in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*.

By the Addition of these Refugees, and other Adventurers, the Island, especially the Leeward Part of it, was very well settled in Mr. *Bell's* Government; and 'twill not be improper to take Notice what Settlements there were in his Time. The most Eastern was one *Oyftine's*, who was a mad Spark, and made himself talked of for his Extravagance and Debauchery; infomuch, that 'twas for his Infamy, and not for his Honour, the Bay was so called, and the Town afterwards. Next to *Oyftine's* was *Webb's*, then *Place's*, then *Isham's*, then *Trott's*, then *Knott's*, then *Battyn's*, then *Thompson's*, then *Bar's*, then *Webb's*, then *Wetherfoll's*, then *Scriven's*, then *Ross's*, then *Hotherfoll's*, whose Posterity enjoy it at this Day: Then *Glegitt's*, then *Birch's*, then *Baldwin's*, then *Roufe*, then *Freer*, whose Plantation is now in the Possession of his Descendant Col. *Freer*. Then *Allen's*: This Gentleman was originally of *Kent*, and of a good Family. His Son, Lieutenant General *Abel Allen*, held this, and several other Estates to his Death; and they are now enjoy'd by his Sons, the eldest of which is Col. *Thomas Allen*. More within Land was Major *Hilliard's*, where Col. *Thomas*, afterwards Sir *Thomas Modiford*, first settled; and then *Allen* again; and then Col. *James*, afterwards Sir *James Drax*: The latter from 300 *l.* acquired an Estate of 8 or 9000 *l.* a Year, and married the Earl of *Carlisle's* Daughter. There's no Male-Issue of this Family left, and the Estate is in several Hands. Near *Drax* was *Brome's* Plantation, then *Stringer's*, of whose Posterity some still remain in this Island. Then *Mallin's*, then *Redwood*, then *Knot* again, then *Lacy*, then *Sam's*, then *May*, then *Hayes*, then *Trott*. Next to *Allen*, near the Coast, was *Boben*, then *Fawcet*, then *Warmell*, then *Kitteridge*, then *Hamond*, then *Waser*, then *Butler*, then *Jones*, then *Birch*, then *Webb* again; and then *Needham*, who gave Name to the Point, on which the Fort was afterwards built, from thence called *Needham's Fort*. Next to him was *Gleves*, then *Wood*, then *Sanders*, then *Moss*, and then Mr. *Bell* the Governor's, near *Indian River*, so the Stream that ran into *Carlisle Bay* was called; and the Town, consisting of about 100 Houses, was built on the South Side of it. 'Twas in *Ligon's* Time as big as *Hounslow*. More up in the Country was *Minor's*, *Marshall's*, *Coverly*, and *Lee's* Plantation; and above the Governor's

nor's was *Marten, Dorels, Howard, Digby, Green,* and *Buckley's* Plantations. On the Coast, beyond the Bridge, was *Curtis's*. Higher up *Hill's*, then *Holdip's*, then *Perk's*, then *Bix's*, then *Bower's*, then *Fortescue*; of which Family there are some still remaining in the Island. Then *Chambers*, then *Rich*, whose Son, *Robert Rich, Esq;* was a Counsellor in King *William's* Reign. Then *Haw*, and then *Peter*. Nearer the Coasts was *Davies, Edward's, Belman's, Yrish, Reid's*, whose Descendant was the late *John Reid, Esq;* a Member of the Council; and then *Mills*; of which Name there was lately several in *Barbados*, and Col. *John Mills* is at this present Time a Member of the Council, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer; next to *Curtis's* was *Reid's* again, near the Shore; then *Astton's*, then *Lambert's*, then *Cox's, Wincott's, Ball's, Martyn, Swinow, Howard, Eastwick, Stone, Morgan, Stallinidge, Fydes, Andrews, Whitaker, Weeks, Thompson, Hutton, Brown*, and then the *Hole Town*; beyond which was *Ball's, Legouch, Woodhouse*.

Higher up, were *Alven's, Watt's, and Ball's* Plantations. The Governor had also a Plantation between the *Hole* and *Speight's*. Next to which was *Futter's*, then *Holland's*, then *Smith's*, then *Pearce's*, then *Marshall's*, then *Terrell's*, whose Grandson, *Michael Terrel, Esq;* was a Member of the Council. About *Speight's* were *Day's, Powel's, Russel's, Flech's, Treacle's* Settlements. More within Land beyond *Speight's*, were *Saltonstal, Walker, Senex, Buck's, Well's, Hale's, Sympson's, Smith's, Tring's, Wascot's, Rowland, Wright, Nelson, Ware, Humphrey's, Sandford, Heningsworth, and Haulley's* Plantation. The latter was one of the Governors of the Island, as will be shewn hereafter. Then *Guy's*, a very considerable Name in *Barbados*; then *Parish*; and within Land, *Yate's, Duke's, Bushell's, and Biron's*. Next to *Parish's* was *Dotten's*, whose Descendant, *William Dotten, Esq;* was lately a Representative in the Assembly for the Parish of *St. Andrews*. Then *Brown's, Stretton's, Parvi's, Cook's, Hargrave's, Week's, Conyer's, Ogles, Stevens, and Macock*, whose Posterity enjoy his Estate to this Day. Then *Patrick, Cater, Lawrence, and Downman's* Plantations, where now is *Lambert's Point*.

There were no Plantations on the Windward Shore, till you come to *Chalky Mount*, and not above 10 or 12 along that Coast; yet the Island was so populous, that there were mustered 10000 good Foot, and 1000 Horse; and the Number of Souls, of the Whites only, were computed to be 50000, when there were not  $\frac{1}{4}$  Part as many Plantations as there are now.

For the Defence of the Country, a few slight Works were raised on the Coasts, where it was not naturally fortified. And one Capt. *Burroughs*, who pretended to be a Soldier and an Engineer, undertook to make the Fortifications, and furnish them with such a Store of Artillery as should be sufficient to maintain them, provided he might have the Excise paid to him, for 7 Years; which was promised by the Governor and Assembly. Upon which he went to Work, and made such a Fort, as when abler Engineers came upon the Island, they found to be most pernicious for commanding all the Harbour, and not being strong enough to defend it self; if it had been taken by an Enemy, it would have done much Harm to the Landward. For which Reason, in a very little Time, it was pulled down, and in its stead, Trenches, Rampiers, Pallisadoes, Horn-works, Curtains, and Counterscarps, were made. Three Forts were also built, one for a Magazine to lay their Ammunition and Powder in, the other two to make a Retreat to upon all Occasions.

And now a Form of Government was settled by a Governor and ten Counsellors. The Island was also divided into 4 Circuits, for the Administration of Justice; and into 11 Parishes, which were to send two Representatives to the Assembly. Ministers were also settled, and Churches built, but very indifferent ones.

The Inhabitants driving a considerable Trade with all Parts of the World, grew rich; and Col. *Drax* already began to boast, he would not think of Home, meaning *England*, till he was worth 10000 *l.* a Year, which he acquired, or at least very near it.

Their Hands consisted in white Servants, Negroes, and a few *Charibbeans*. The first they had from *England*, the second from *Africa*, and the last from the Continent, or the neighbouring Islands, by Stealth or Violence, and always with Dishonour: For the *Charibbeans* hating Slavery as much as any Nation in *America*, abhorred the *English* for imposing their Yoke upon them; and 'twas very few they could get into their Power by their Pyracies and Invasions. They had not such great Numbers of Slaves, Blacks and *Indians*, as they have now; fewer Hands were required to cultivate the Ground, and 100 Negroes would manage the greatest Plantation in the Island, with the white Servants upon it.

However, the Negroes were more numerous than the *Europeans*, and began early to enter into Conspiracies against their Masters. The first I meet with in my Memoirs of this kind, was about 1649, when they were so exasperated by their ill Usage, that Hopes of Revenge and Liberty put those



Thoughts into their Heads, which one would have thought they had not Sense enough to be Masters of. We must confess, the Planters had not yet learnt to govern their Slaves by any other Ways than Severity. Besides, they were all Foreigners, and consequently had not the least Affection for the Country, or their Masters; whereas now of 60 or 70000 Negroes, which are supposed to be in *Barbadoes*, 40000 of them are Natives of the Island, as much *Barbadians* as the Descendants of the first Planters, and do not need such a strict Hand to be held over them as their Ancestors did, tho' their Numbers and their Condition make them still dangerous.

The Conspirators in Governor *Bell's* Time, complaining to one another of the intolerable Burdens they laboured under, the Murmur grew general, and the Desire of Revenge universal. At last, some among them whose Spirits were not able to endure such Slavery, resolved to break their Chains, or perish in the Attempt. They communicated their Resolution to their Fellow-Sufferers, who were all ready to join in the Enterprize, and a great Number of these Malecontents were drawn into the Conspiracy, insomuch that they were the Majority. A Day was appointed to fall upon their Masters, cut all their Throats, and by that Means not only get Possession of their Liberty, but also of the Island. This Plot was carried on so closely, that no Discovery was made till the Day before they were to put it in Execution; and then one of them, either by the Failing of his Courage, or some new Obligations from the Love of his Master, revealed this Conspiracy, which had been carrying on a long while. The Negro belonged to Judge *Hotherfall*, and to him the Discovery was made; who by sending Letters to all his Friends, and they to theirs, gave all the Planters such timely Notice of the Conspiracy, that the Conspirators were all secured, and the chief Contrivers of the Plot made Examples.

There were many of this Kind, and none of them were saved; for they were so far from repenting of the Treason, that the Planters were afraid, if they had been suffered to live, they would have entered into a second Plot.

As to the *Indians*, there were not such Numbers of them as to be dangerous; yet many there were, and some Plantations had a House on Purpose for them, called the *Indian House*.

'Tis too true, the *English* made use of indirect Practices to get them; but there was one young Fellow so very cruel and ungrateful towards a young *Indian* Woman, that 'tis a Story not easily to be parallel'd. We find it in *Ligon*. This  
*Indian*

*Indian* dwelt on the Continent near the Shore, where an *English* Ship happening to put into a Bay, some of the Crew landed, to try what Provisions or Water they could find, for they were in Distress: But the *Indians* perceiving them go up so far into the Country, as they were sure they could not make a safe Retreat, intercepted them in their Return, fell upon them, chasing them into a Wood; and being dispersed there, some were taken, and some killed; but a young Man amongst them straggling from the rest, was met by this *Indian* Maid, who, upon the first Sight, fell in Love with him, and hid him close from her Countrymen in a Cave, where she kept him, and fed him, till they could safely go down to the Shore, the Ship lying still in the Bay, expecting the Return of their Friends. When they came there, the *English* aboard the Ship, spying him and his beautiful Savage, for she was very handsome, sent the Long-Boat for them, took them aboard, and brought them away: But the Youth, when he came to *Barbados*, forgot the Kindness of the *Indian* Maid, who had ventured her Life to save his, and sold her for a Slave. Thus the unfortunate *Yarico*, for that was her Name, lost her Liberty for her Love. An Instance of Ingratitude hardly credible in an *Englishman*. What could a *Spaniard*, or a *Frenchman*, Nations that have distinguished themselves for their Cruelty and Treachery, have done more? Would not one have thought, this base young Man had been born in the Land where the Inquisition and the Gallies are the Punishments of light Offences, and sometimes the Reward of Virtue and Merit.

This *Yarico* was so true a Savage, that after she had been some time in *Barbados*, she refused to wear Clothes, but went still naked. Mr. *Ligon* commends her Shape and Complexion, and her Beauty was not without Admirers, for we find she was so kind to a white Servant belonging to her Master, that she had a Child by him; and my Author tells it with this Circumstance, that when she found her Hour was come, she left the Company she was in, went to a Wood, was absent about three Hours, and then returned Home with her Child in her Arms, a lusty Boy, frolick and lively.

P. 54, 55.

We have before observed, that there were 50000 Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, besides Negroes and *Indians*, in *Barbadoes*, in the Year 1650. Thus *Ligon* tells us; but the *French* Author of the *History of the Charibbee-Islands*, done into *English* by Mr. *Davies*, writes, that about the Year 1646, there were accounted in it about 20000 Inhabitants, not comprehending in that Number the Negro Slaves, who were thought to amount to a far greater.

There's

There's such a vast Difference between those two Authors, that there's no pretending to reconcile them; and 'tis most likely, that Mr. *Ligon*, who was on the Spot, should know better than a Foreigner, whose other Part of the Account of *Barbados* shews it was very populous.

' There are many Places, says he, in this Island, which may justly be called Towns, as containing many fair, long, and spacious Streets, furnished with a great Number of noble Structures, built by the principal Officers and Inhabitants of this noble Colony. Nay indeed, taking a full Prospect of the whole Island, a Man might take it for one great City, inasmuch as the Houses are at no great Distance one from another; that many of those are very well built, according to the Manner of Building in *England*; that the Shops and Store-houses are well furnished with all Sorts of Commodities: That there are many Fairs and Markets. And lastly, that the whole Island, as great Cities are, is divided into several Parishes. The most considerable Inhabitants think themselves so well settled, that 'tis seldom seen they ever remove thence.'

Such was the State of *Barbados* about the Year 1650; and 'tis Matter of Astonishment to think what Progress this Colony had made in 20 Years Time. The People that went thither from *England*, could not be so mean as those that transported themselves to other Parts of *America*, because to raise a Plantation required a Stock of some Thousands of Pounds, which were not so common then, as they are now, tho' we do not live in the most abounding Times.

As Persons went hither chiefly to raise their Fortunes, and not to enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences; so this Island was not settled by *Puritans*, as *New-England*, and some other Colonies are. The Inhabitants were for the most Part Church of *England* Men, and Royalists; yet some there were who were of the Party called *Round-Heads*, or *Parliamentarians*. However both Sides, for many Years, lived peaceably and amicably; and by an Agreement made among themselves, every Man who called another Cavalier, or Round-Head, was to forfeit a small Sum to the Person offended.

This good Correspondence did not last long after the King's Death; for the Royalists, who were the most powerful Party, resolved not to own the usurped Authority of the Rump; and the Parliamentarians were of another Opinion. After the King's Friends were entirely suppressed in *England*, 'twas not likely the *Barbadians* could stand out against the new Republick. However Col. *Modiford*, Col. *Walron*,  
and



and others, were very high, and the major Part of the Island, was for proclaiming King *Charles II.* Yet in the Acts past by the Assembly, which sat in the Year 1648, we do not find that there was any Thing done, that might give Offence to the Government in *England*, which was then in the Hands of the Parliament.

Mr. *Bell* still continued Governor, and having the Lord Proprietor's Commission, wanted no new one from the Rump; against whom most of the Islands in the *British West-Indies* declared, particularly *Barbados*, as has been hinted.

King *Charles I.* being beheaded by his unnatural Subjects; as soon as News came of it to this Isle, the People proclaimed his Son, *Charles II.* who having received Advice, that not only this Island, but others, and *Virginia* also, remained in their Obedience, his Ministers conceived vain Hopes, that Men might be raised even in *America*, to help him against the Rebels in *England*; whereas our Colonies were all then in their Infancy, and Men could ill be spared from their Labour, to defend their Works against an Enemy.

However, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* was declared Governor of *Barbados*, by the King in *Holland*; and accordingly he went thither. But the Planters who were in the Interest of the Parliament, as *Col. Allen*, and others, removed to *England*, being apprehensive of the Resentment of their Enemies.

Because the Government of this Isle was above 20 Years in this Lord and his Brother's Possession, it will not be amiss to say something of him; he was one of the first who raised Forces against King *Charles I.* notwithstanding his Majesty sent him positive Orders to the contrary, and generally acted in the *Eastern* associated Counties, in Conjunction with the Earl of *Manchester* and *Oliver Cromwell*: But when the latter, by his Courage and Intrigues, had got the start of both of them, and the Sectarian Faction began to prevail in Parliament, the Lord *Willoughby*, who was a Presbyterian, sided with those of his own Profession, that were Malecontents, opposed the Army, and being one of those Peers who was accused of Treason by them, he fled to *Holland*, where he embraced the King's Interest.

The Earl of *Carlisle* had also granted a Commission to this Lord to be Governor of *Barbados*. And upon his Arrival, Mr. *Bell's* was superseded. While he was here he undertook an Expedition against the King's Enemies in the *Leeward* Islands; which being all reduced, the King appointed Major General *Pointz*, another Presbyterian Defserter, to be Governor of them.

Francis  
Lord Willoughby  
Governor.

He

He summoned an Assembly, and they pass an Act, entitled, *An Acknowledgment and Declaration of the Inhabitants of the Island of Barbados, of his Majesty's Right to the Dominion of this Island; and the Right of the Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle, derived from his said Majesty; and by the Earl of Carlisle, to the Right Honourable the Lord Willoughby of Parham; and also for the unanimous Profession of the true Religion in this Island, and imposing condign Punishment upon the Opposers thereof.*

Some place the passing this Act upon his being made a second Time Governor of *Barbados*; 'twas not to be expected, that this Government would be of any long Duration; for after that in *England* had triumphed over all its Enemies in *Europe*, there was no Reason to hope they would leave those in *America* in Possession of any Power.

Col. *Allen*, and the other Gentlemen, who came from *Barbados*, had no Need to sollicite Succours; the Powers then uppermost, were too jealous of their Honour, to admit of any one's disputing their Authority; especially, when they understood, that Prince *Rupert* was designed for the *West-Indies*, to confirm the Inhabitants of the Island and the Continent in their Loyalty.

They were also provoked against the *Barbadians* for trading wholly with the *Dutch*, with whom they were about to make War; wherefore they resolved to send a stout Squadron of Men of War, and a good Body of Land-Forces aboard, to reduce not only *Barbados*, and the *Leeward* Islands, but all the *English* Colonies in *America*.

The Command of this Squadron was given to Sir *George Ayscue*, and also of the Land Troops; and with them returned Col. *Allen*, and those other *Barbadians*, who would not submit to the Lord *Willoughby*.

Sir *George* was ordered to cruize a little off *Spain* and *Portugal*, to endeavour to intercept Prince *Rupert*; which not being able to do, he set sail for *Barbados*; and arrived in *Carlisle* Bay, the 16th of *October*, 1651. He found 14 Sail of *Hollanders* in the Road; and, to prevent their running ashore, sent in the *Amity* Frigate, Capt. *Peck* Commander, with three other Men of War, to seize them.

The Captain immediately ordered the Masters of those Ships aboard; which Orders they obeyed, finding all Resistance would be in vain. Thus he took all those Vessels, and made them Prize, for trading with the Enemies of the Commonwealth in that Island. Sir *George* also took three other *Hollanders*, as they were sailing to the other Islands.

The Governor made as if he would defend the Island to the last Extremity; the Alarm was given, and 400 Horse and Foot appeared in Arms, to dispute the Parliamentarians landing.

The Forts in *Carlisle-Bay* defended that Harbour; so Sir *George* plied up and down the Island, seeking for a Landing-place. The Inhabitants saw him, and the Sight of such a Fleet, coming in a hostile Manner, was far from being pleasant.

The Loss of the Ships in the Harbour, the Impossibility of their being relieved, and their certain Expectations of Want, staggered the Resolutions of the most Brave. However their Loyalty remained firm for some Time, especially among the meaner Sort, who had little to lose: For the Men of Substance considered, that they were about a very rash Business, and that they endangered their Persons and Estates, without hoping to be serviceable to the King: For 'twas now very easy for the Enemy to starve them, if they did not attempt to land.

Sir *George* at last anchor'd in *Speight's Bay*, and stayed there till *December*; when the *Virginia* Merchant Fleet arriving, he resolv'd to take that Opportunity, to land with the greater Advantage; for he made as if 'twas a Reinforcement that had been sent him, and he had only waited for them till then. Whereas the Truth was, he had not above 2000 Men; and the Sight of the little Army on Shore made him cautious of venturing his Men, till he thought the Inhabitants had conceived a greater Idea of his Strength than they had done before.

The *Virginia* Ships were welcomed as a Supply of Men of War; and he presently ordered his Men to go ashore; 150 *Scots* Servants, aboard that Fleet, were added to a Regiment of 700 Men, and some Seamen to them, to make the Number look the more formidable.

The Command of them was given to the before-mention'd Col. *Allen*, who having a considerable Interest in the Island, 'twas suppos'd he would be the fittest Man to lead the Soldiers to gain it. The *Barbadians* were posted on the Shore very regularly, yet on the 17th of *December* the *English* landed, and beat them up to their Fort; which was on a sudden deserted by them, after the Loss of 60 Men on both Sides. On Sir *George's*, was that brave *Barbadian*, the before-mentioned Col. *Allen*, who was killed with a Musket-Shot, as he attempted to land; and was very much lamented, being a Man of Worth and Honour; the Soldiers and



Seamen who followed him gained the Fort, and 4 Pieces of Cannon in it.

The Sailors returned to their Ships, which cruized up and down, to prevent any Succours coming to the Islanders, or any Merchants trading with them. The Soldiers posted themselves in the Fort, and from thence made Incurfions into the Country; upon which the chief of the Inhabitants grew weary of the War; which Sir *George* understanding by the Correspondence he had in the Island, he, by the same Means, procured Col. *Modiford*, who was the most leading Man on the Place, to enter into a Treaty with him; and this Negotiation succeeded so well, that *Modiford* declared publicly for a Peace, and joined with Sir *George*, to bring the Lord *Willoughby*, the Governor, to *Reason*, as they phrased it.

Sir *George's* Men were now all ashore, and made up a Body of 2000 Foot, and 100 Horse, for many Deserters had come over to him. If Col. *Modiford* had joined him with his Party, there was no Hope of the Governor's escaping, who having before deserted the Parliament, could expect no Mercy from them, if he was taken without a Treaty. This he knew the best of any Man, and accordingly consented to treat; tho' to speak more properly, we should say, Sir *George Ayscue* consented to the Treaty; for being the stronger, he might, if he had pleased, have spoken *En Maitre*.

But to avoid the Effusion of Christian and of *English* Blood, both Parties appointed Commissioners to treat: Sir *George* named Capt. *Peck*, Mr. *Searl*, Col. *Thomas Modiford*, and *James Colliton*, Esq; The Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Richard Peers*, *Charles Pym*, Esq; Col. *Ellice*, and Major *Byham*; who on the 17th of *January* agreed on Articles of Rendition, which were alike comprehensive and honourable. The Lord *Willoughby* had what he most desired, Indemnity, and Freedom of Estate and Person. Upon which, some Time after, he returned to *England*; and we hear no more of him till the Restoration.

The Rump having thus reduced this Island, without consulting the Earl of *Carlisle* on the Matter, made — *Searl*, Esq; Governor of it; who called an Assembly, which pass several good Acts; as, *An Act for Weights, Numbers, and Measures*, according to the *Weights, Numbers, and Measures used in the Commonwealth of England*. *An Act to prevent frequenting of Taverns and Ale-houses by Seamen*. *An Act for the keeping clear the Wharfs, or Landing-Places, at the Indian Bridge, and on Speight's Bay, alias Little-Bristol*. *An Act, That the bringing Writs of Errors, and other equitable Matters, before the Governor and Council, to be by them determined,*

— *Searl*,  
Esq; Govern-  
nor.

determined, be, and do continue in Force, according to the ancient Customs of this Island. An Act for prohibiting all Persons to encroach upon their Neighbours Line. An Act for the certain and constant Appointment of all Officers Fees within this Island.

And here we cannot but observe a great Oversight in Mr. Rawlins's late Collection of the Body of the Laws of Barbados, in not taking Care to tell us, in what Year, and what Governor's Time, such Laws pass, which would have been a great Help to the Chronology of this Island; whereas few of his Statutes are dated, and the Governor's Name seldom mentioned, till about Sir Jonathan Atkins's Time.

We know certainly what Governors succeeded Mr. Searl; but the before-mentioned Accident may perhaps occasion some Error in the Succession, tho' we think we are in the right, and that his immediate Successor was Col. Thomas Modiford; who had been very instrumental in bringing this Island into the Power of the Parliament. And 'twas after this Reduction of the Island of Barbados, that England began to taste some of the Sweets of the Trade thither: For the Inhabitants before traded chiefly with the Dutch, and other Nations, insomuch that if we might believe Ligon, they had Beef from Russia; but herein he is to be suspected, and that Part of his Book, as well as others, notwithstanding the Bishop of Salisbury's Epitolarly Preface, favours of Romance. That they traded with the Hollanders mostly is not to be doubted. Sir Dalby Thomas tells us, in the Treatise we have already spoken of; 'That as it was the Happiness of this Island, to learn the Art of making Sugar from a Dutch-man; so the first and main Support of them in their Progress, to that Perfection they are arrived to, exceeding all the Nations in the World, is principally owing to that Nation; who being eternal Searchers for moderate Gains by Trade, did give Credit to these Islanders, as well as they did to the Portuguese in Brasil, for black Slaves, and all other Necessaries for Planting, taking, as their Crops throve, the Sugars they made.'

The Dutch War happening soon after Sir George Ayscue's Expedition, hindered their trading with that Nation; and their future Traffick returned to its proper Center, which was dealing with their native Country. 'Tis very true, for our Advantage [the proper Center of the Barbados Trade is England.

But let us do the Colony and our selves Justice, to confess, we consulted our own Interest more than theirs, when we tied them to one Market, and obliged them to send all their

Commodities to us. Choice of Markets is the greatest Advantage of any Trade: And when about the Time of Col. *Modiford's* Government, the Parliament in *England* pass the Act of Navigation, requiring, among other Things, that the Product of all the Colonies should be shipped for *England*, a Stop was put to the flourishing State of this Island; and if it continued as it was, without decaying much, the Duties afterwards laid upon it, has so reduced it, that well might Mr. *William Rawlins* say of it, in the Epistle Dedicatory before his Collection of the Laws, *This once flourishing (but alas! now withering) Isle.*

Col. Tufton  
Governor.

As soon as *Jamaica* was conquered, Col. *Modiford* resolved to remove thither, and Col. *Tufton* was appointed Governor in his Stead, we suppose by the Rump, or *Oliver*; for we are now in the Dark as to Years, and the Order of Succession; but such as has been the Information, we have received from the best Tradition.

Henry  
Hawley,  
Esq; Govern-  
or.

'Twas in this Gentleman's Time that the Revolutions in *England* came about quick, and none of the Governors abroad were sure who were their Masters. In this Uncertainty, *Henry Hawley*, Esq; procured a Commission from the Earl of *Carlisle*, the Lord Proprietary, possessed himself of the Government; and Col. *Tufton* making some Opposition, was taken Prisoner, tried for High Treason, and condemned to be shot to Death; which Sentence was put in Execution off the Bay.

Thus *Hawley* became Governor of this Island, and solemnized his Inauguration with the Blood of a worthy Gentleman, of a very good Family, being a Relation of the Earl of *Thanet*. Yet we do not find, that after the Restoration he was called to an Account, for such vigorous Measures were then thought necessary, to strike an Awe into the People, and peaceable Justice was to effect that which Arms could not do before.

In his Time an Assembly was holden, who passed an Act, for limiting the Assembly's Continuance; confining their Session to one Year; the former Assembly having sat several Years, and the Islanders not approving of their Conduct.

Francis,  
Lord Willoughby  
Governor.

King *Charles II.* to reward the good Services of *Francis*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, restored him to the Government of *Barbados*, with the Title of, *Captain General and Governor in chief of the Island of Barbados, and all other the Charibbee Islands.* But my Lord did not think fit to remove thither then; neither did he name a Deputy-Governor, but contenting himself with the Profits arising by his Government, stayed in *England*, leaving the Administration in

*Barbados*



*Barbados* to the Council, and they, of Course, devolved the executive Power on their President; which has been ever since observed, in the Absence of the Governor and Deputy-Governor.

'Twas in the Year 1661 that King *Charles* purchased the Propriety of this Island of the Lord *Kinowl*, Heir to the Earl of *Carlisle*, who was to have 1000*l.* a Year for it (and now it being a Royal Propriety, there was no Occasion for any Commission from any one but the King himself.) But the Purchase was with the *Barbadians* Money, out of the 4½ *per Cent.* about that Time granted to the King for ever by the Assembly; the History of which the Lord *Clarendon* thus relates in his *Vindication*.

The Earl of *Clarendon* says it was granted by King *Charles* I. to the Earl of *Carlisle*, and his Heirs for ever, *on a Supposition that it had been first discovered, possessed, and planted, at the Charge of the said Earl.* If these Allegations are not true in Fact, for which we refer to the History, that *Supposition* is without Ground, and consequently the Fabrick built upon it had no solid Foundation. However, the Earl of *Carlisle's* Son, after the Earl's Trustees had *totally neglected* it, as the Lord *Clarendon* says, assigned to the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, in the Year 1647, half of the Profits made of this Plantation by a Lease of 21 Years. Thus these noble Lords were buying and selling the Soil of a Country, that one of them had perhaps scarce heard of before, and the other took up the Right to, after it had been abandoned by his Representatives. But the Truth is, these noble Lords were so far from having any real Property in the Island at this Time, that the Earl of *Clarendon* writes, *Citizens, Merchants, Gentlemen and others transported themselves thither, without asking any Body Leave, or without being opposed or contradicted by any Body;* but the Lease to the Lord *Willoughby* from the Earl of *Carlisle* was corroborated by a Commission to the said Lord *Willoughby* from the Prince of *Wales*, to be Governor of *Barbados*, and all the *Charibbee* Islands, all which, *St. Christophers, Antego, Montserat, Nevis,* and others, were included in the Earl of *Carlisle's* Grant, and consequently under the same Supposition of his having discovered, possessed and planted them all. Many of the like valuable Considerations of these *Plantation* Grants, would have the like merry Aspect, if they were viewed in their true and natural Light. As the People who went to and settled at *Barbados*, did not regard this Grant enough, or enquire whether there was such a Thing in being or not, so it is to be observed, that the Lease and Commission to the Lord *Willoughby*,

*Willoughby*, was at a Time when his Lordship, who had all along been serving in the Parliament Armies against the King, was fallen under the Parliament's Displeasure, and no more employed by them; when the Prince of *Wales* was in very great Straits in *Holland*, and his Father King *Charles I.* in the Hands of the Parliament Army; which render all these Regulations about the Island of *Barbados*, rather whimsical than important, that Island being possessed and planted, as the Lord *Clarendon* tells us, by Persons who only had a just Title to it by the Charge they were at in acquiring such Possessions. The Earl of *Clarendon* acknowledging, that the Planters insisted that *They alone had been at the Charge of settling the Plantation*, when the Lord *Carlisle* had not been at the least Expence thereupon. And this is so apparent, that the Earl of *Clarendon* himself owns, The Earl of *Marlborough* had a Grant of the Island of *Barbados*, long before the Earl of *Carlisle* had any Pretence thereunto by his Grant from the same King, on a Supposition that it was discovered, possessed, and planted at his Charge. This very valuable Consideration will doubtless excite the Curiosity of some Persons to enquire how much that *Supposition* has cost the Island of *Barbados*, before and since it was declared void by King *Charles II's* Council at Law, not for the Interest of the Planters, the only true and well grounded Interest in this Island, or any other *English* Colony, but to put the Property of it so much into the King's Hands, that he might make a Bargain for it with the present Possessors. Several Planters came Home to solicit the voiding of the *Carlisle* Patent, which they were so intent upon, that Mr. *Kendal*, one of them, fell in with a Proposition of a Duty upon Sugar, now the 4, per Cent. at least the Origin of it, in Lieu of the Demands upon the Grant. After what has been said, what needed my Lord *Clarendon* have enlarged so much upon the Earl of *Carlisle's* Assignment of it by *Will*, for the Payment of 50000 *l.* Debts, which the Planters of *Barbados* were no more obliged to concern themselves in the Payment of, than his Lordship or his Trustees were obliged to concern themselves in the Payment of theirs. The other Agent in *England* for the Planters, upon this Occasion dropt Mr. *Kendal* in his frank Acquiescence with the Duty to be laid on Sugar, alledging the Island could not bear such a Burthen as 10000 *l.* a Year, which it was computed it would amount to, and the Produce has very well answered the Computation. Besides they added, nothing could be done without the Assembly's Consent, to procure which the Lord *Willoughby* was ordered to call one as soon as he arrived at *Barbados*, the Government of which

was continued to him, and how well he deserved it, by his Regard to the only true Interest of the Island, appears by his bargaining with the Earl of *Carlisse* for half of the Profits arising from the *Supposition* Grant, and after he came thither a second Time to procure the 10000 *l.* a Year for his Master's Use, by his throwing Col. *Farmer* into Jail, for his zealous Defence of the Country against the oppressive Impositions the Governor would have imposed on them, if the Assembly would have consented. This Col. *Farmer* did his utmost to prevent, which so provoked his Wrath, that he gave Orders for arresting him, and for his being sent Prisoner to *England*. When Col. *Farmer* appeared before the King and Council at *Oxford*, in 1665. the Lord *Clarendon* promoted the imprisoning him, for which with other Things he was 21 Years after impeached. But let the Reader take the Account of it in his own Words, it being the indispensable Duty of an Historian to let the Lights he gives have all the Views they will bear. The Lord *Willoughby* sent a full Charge of Mutiny, Sedition and Treason against him, and by his Letter 'informed the Secretary of State, of all the Behaviour and Carriage of the said *Farmer*, with all the Circumstances thereof; and that he had by his seditious Practices prevailed so far upon a *disaffected Party* in that Island.'—One cannot avoid observing here, that by *disaffected Party* is meant no more nor less, than every honest reasonable Man in the Place; and by *seditious Practices*, his zealous Endeavours to obstruct any unreasonable Impositions, of no manner of Use towards the Advantage and Security of the Colony. Again, 'That the Lord *Willoughby* was obliged in the Instant to send him aboard the Ship, without which he did apprehend a *general Revolt*;' the major Part, and indeed the wealthier, soberer, as well as greater Part, being intirely in the same Way of thinking with Col. *Farmer*. Again, 'The Lord *Willoughby* likewise desired, that *Farmer* might not be suffered to return, before the Island was reduced to a better Temper.' That is to say, that Col. *Farmer* should be kept in Jail or Banishment from his Estate and Family, till this Governor had carried his Point against the *Country Interest*, and removed whatever Letts might stand in his Way, to punish Col. *Farmer* as a Traytor. The Charge against him was Sedition and *Treason*. His only Crime was *Opposition*, but that Opposition was in a legal Way, his Interest or Influence in the *Assembly*. The Earl of *Clarendon* confesses, he was for sending him back to be tried and punished for Treason and Sedition, because, says his Lordship, *The Governor could not preserve his Majesty's Right*, if he were discharged



discharged according as *Magna Charta* directed. I have read many Letters from this Col. *Farmer* to his Correspondent in *London*, Sir *John Bawdon*, and never met with any from our *American Colonies*, among many Thousands I have read, writ with so much good Sense, Politeness and Knowledge of Men and Things. His Prudence, his Knowledge, his Fortune, was as directly contrary to the Lord *Willoughby's* Letter, as Truth is to Falshood. His Character is so well known in this Island, that I am certain I shall not meet with *Opposition* in asserting he was a wise Man and a good Patriot, and when called to it, a good Governor.

How the long *Parliament* in King *Charles II.* Reign represented this Behaviour of the Earl of *Clarendon* towards Col. *Farmer*, late President of *Barbados*, is seen in the IXth Article of the Impeachment against him, *That he intruded an arbitrary Government in his Majesty's foreign Dominions, and has caused such as complained thereof before his Majesty and Council, to be long imprisoned for so doing.* What the Earl in his *Vindication* says, shews that he was principally concerned in that long Imprisonment. His Lordship's Words are in his Discourse before the King and Council, he behaved himself peremptorily and insolently. This needs no Explanation, every Body knowing that in the *Grant* of Lawyers and Officers, whatever is said for the Liberty of the Subject, for Property, or Privilege, to such as have offended by asserting them, is insolent and peremptory. The Truth is, Col. *Farmer* was a Man of Spirit as well as Sense, he had a great Property to protect, and almost the whole Country on his Side, and it was impossible for him not to be bold and firm under the like Oppression. But to return to our History; The next President of the Council was *Humphry Walrond*, Esq; a Gentleman who had suffered for his Loyalty in *England*; and his Sufferings obliged him to leave that Kingdom, and settle in *Barbados*. And when he entered on the Administration, an Assembly was called, which past several notable Laws. As an Act, entitled,

*An Act for the Encouragement of such as shall plant or raise Provisions to sell.*

*An Act for the better amending, repairing, and keeping clean the common Highways, and known Broad-Paths within this Island; leading to Church and Markets; and for laying out new Ways, where it shall be needful.*

*An Act concerning the Conveyance of Estates.*

*An Act for the good governing of Servants, and ordering the Rights between Masters and Servants.*

Humphry  
Walrond,  
Esq; Pre-  
sident.

*An Act for the Encouragement of all faithful Ministers in the Pastoral Charge within this Island; as also for appointing and regulating of a convenient Maintenance for them for the future.*

*An Act concerning written Depositions, produced in Courts, and appointing how the Evidence of sick and lame Persons, and of Persons intended off this Island, shall be valid and good.*

*An Act establishing the Courts of Common Pleas in this Island; declaring also a Method and Manner of Proceedings, both to Judgment and Execution; which are to be observed in the said Courts.*

*An Act appointing a special Court, for the speedy deciding Controversies between Merchant and Merchant, or Mariner and Mariner, or Merchant and Mariners, about Freight, Damage, or other maritime Causes.*

They also confirmed the Act about Officers Fees, past in Governor Searl's Time; as the King and Parliament did the Act of Navigation in England, to the great Disgust of the Colonies.

During Mr. Walrond's Administration, the Militia were often regulated by the Assembly; and a Regiment of Horse was settled. Care was also taken to repair and maintain the Breast-Works and Fortifications: And this Gentleman gave general Satisfaction in the Discharge of his Post. Indeed 'tis most natural to suppose, that a Person who has himself an Interest in a Country, should be more concerned for the good Government of it, than one who looks upon it as a temporary Dwelling, whither he has procured himself to be sent, to raise a Fortune, or patch up one going to Decay.

Mr. Walrond signed these Acts after the Arrival of the Lord Willoughby, which was about August, 1663. For the Act above-mentioned, concerning written Depositions, &c. is said to be by the Governor, Council, and Assembly; yet his Name is to it: Whereas in the other Acts signed by him, 'tis only said, by the President, Council, and Assembly.

It appears by the Act, which settles that fatal Duty of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. that the Lord Willoughby took out a new Commission for Governor, when he embarked for the West-Indies; which Commission was dated the 12th of June, 1663, and that Act passed the 12th of December.

Since in the following Chapters we shall have frequent Occasion to make Mention of it, 'twill not be improper to recite the Causes which moved the Assembly to settle that Impost for ever on the Crown. *As nothing conduceth more to the Peace and Prosperity of any Place, and the Protection of every single*

single Person therein, than that the publick Revenue thereof may be in some Measure proportioned to the publick Charges and Expences; and also well weighing the great Charges that there must be of Necessity, in the maintaining the Honour and Dignity of his Majesty's Authority here, the publick Meeting of the Sessions, the often Attendance of the Council, the Reparation of the Forts, the building a Session's House, and a Prison, and all other publick Charges incumbent on the Government: We do in Consideration thereof give and grant unto his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors for ever, &c. That is to say, upon all dead Commodities, of the Growth or Produce of this Island, that shall be shipped off the same, four and a half in Specie for every five Score.

Now if the publick Charges and Expences have been defrayed out of this Duty, if the Honour and Dignity of the Sovereign Authority there have been maintained, if the Charges of the meeting of the Sessions, and the often Attendance of the Council, have been paid out of it; if the Forts have been repaired, a Session's House and a Prison been built, and all other publick Expences, incumbent on the Government, answered by this Impost, what Reason have the *Barbadians* to complain? But if on the contrary, not one of those Articles were in the least complied with in all King *Charles* and King *James's* Reign; if the Inhabitants have themselves, by other Taxes, been obliged to defray all the Charges of the Government in this Island, have they not Reason to wish the Name of *Willoughby* had never been heard of there?

He shewed he deserved the Post the King had given him, when for his 1200 *l.* a Year Salary, he got the Settlement of 10000 *l.* a Year on the Crown. That King took Care it should be laid out to the Service of his Privy-Purse, by assigning Pensions out of it to his Favourites, and others.

Thus was all the 4<sup>th</sup> per Cent. Money lost to the *Barbadians*, and the Lord *Kinowl* was the only Person, who had any Interest in the Island, that got any Benefit by it; for his 1000 *l.* a Year was settled to be paid out of the Monies arising by this Duty.

The Lord *Willoughby's* Family coming over with him, *Henry Willoughby*, Esq; who was his Son, Brother, or Nephew, settled on the Island; and his Plantation to this Day goes by the Name of *Willoughby's* Plantation.

My Lord *Willoughby* undertook an Expedition against the *Spanish West-Indies*, as some report; but there being then no Wars between the *English* and *Spaniards*, we rather suppose it might be against the *Dutch* Plantations, King *Charles* having



having declared War with the States. Be it either on a private or publick Account, he sailed towards the Continent, and appointed *Henry Willoughby, Esq;* *Henry Hawley, Esq;* *Henry Wil-*  
*loughby,* *Esq;* *Henry*  
 and *Samuel Berwick, Esq;* to be Governors in his Absence. *Hawley,*  
*Esq;* and  
*Samuel Ber-*  
*wick, Esq;*  
*Governors.*

That they were Joint-Governors, appears by an Act, *For the better ascertaining the Laws of this Island,* passed by them; *The present Governors subscribing their Names to this Act, shall be deemed, &c.*

By Virtue of this Act, *Philip Bell, Esq;* *Constant Sil-*  
*vester, Esq;* *Robert Hooper, Esq;* *Simon Lambert* and *Richard*  
*Evans, Esqrs;* and *Mr. Edward Bowden,* Secretary of the  
 Island, were appointed Commissioners to collect what Laws  
 should be in Force there; and in Pursuance of their Com-  
 mission, they collected the following Acts from the Books of  
 the Office, and other such Books, the Original Rolls being  
 lost in the Hurricane or Fire; *An Act for Officers putting in*  
*Security; An Act appointing Security to be given by the Clerks,*  
*&c. of the several Courts within this Island; An Act giving*  
*Power to Church-Wardens to make Sale of Lands, &c. and*  
*concerning Surplus of Land within old Bounds, &c. An Act*  
*for the Transcription and safe keeping of Records; An Act con-*  
*cerning Trespass done by Hogs; An Act declaring what Proofs*  
*to Bonds, Bills, Procurations, Letters of Attorney, or other*  
*Writings shall be sufficient in Law; An Act concerning Vestries;*  
*An Act to order the Publication and Execution of the Acts*  
*concerning the Uniformity of Common Prayer; An Act con-*  
*cerning Morning and Evening Prayer in Families. They*  
 confirmed the Acts in *Mr. Searl's* and *Mr. Walrond's* Time,  
 at least all that we have mentioned to be passed then; as also,  
*An Act to prevent the Prejudice that may happen to this Island,*  
*by loose and vagrant Persons, in and about the same; An Act*  
*for the disposing of several Fines, that are imposed upon several*  
*Persons for several Misdemeanors done within this Island;*  
*An Act for regulating and appointing the Fees of the several*  
*Officers and Courts of this Island; An Act for the Relief of*  
*such Persons as lie in Prison, and others, who have not where-*  
*with to pay their Creditors: An Addition to an Act, entitled,*  
*An Act for settling the Estates and Titles of the Inhabitants of*  
*this Island to their Possessions in their several Plantations within*  
*the same; An Act concerning the Sale of Lands by Attorneys,*  
*Executors and Administrators; An Act for the Prevention of*  
*Firing of Sugar Canes.*

These Laws are very well abridged in the Collection of  
 the Plantation Laws, to which we often have referred the  
 Reader, and may be seen at large in *Mr. Rawlins's* Col-  
 lection.

The Commissioners above-named made the following Return to their Commission.

‘ We, the Committee appointed for the compiling of the  
 ‘ Laws, having caused them to be collected and transcribed,  
 ‘ as appears by a Writing under our Hands, expressed in the  
 ‘ Page, the first Line entered in this Book, and are therein  
 ‘ expressed, and be comprehended in one hundred fifty three  
 ‘ Sheets of Paper; which being now fairly engrossed in this  
 ‘ Book, do appear to be fifty eight Laws, and are compre-  
 ‘ hended in fifty eight next preceding Pages. And to the  
 ‘ End that our first Declaration may be rightly understood,  
 ‘ in regard that relateth to the one hundred fifty three Sheets  
 ‘ of Paper, wherein the Laws were first digested, we have  
 ‘ thought good here to insert this present Explanation.  
 ‘ Given under our Hands the 14th of *Nov.* 1667.

‘ *Philip Bell.*

‘ *Constant Silvester.*’

’Tis well for the Inhabitants of *Barbados*, that those Laws are more intelligible than this Return; for we fear the Reader will find it somewhat obscure as well as the Historian.

This Collection of Laws was by an Act of Assembly ordained and established to be in full and absolute Force and Virtue, and were duly published in all the Parishes of the Island, and returned to the Clerk of the Assembly. They were also sent to *England* for his Majesty’s Approbation, and were fully approved and confirmed by the King to be of full Force and Authority, as the *Standing Laws of Barbados*, none of which have been since repealed. We speak of those whose Titles are inserted in this History.

*Francis Lord Willoughby* was cast away, and perished in the Expedition we have mentioned in the foregoing Pages. Upon which King *Charles* the II<sup>d</sup>. gave his Commission of Captain General and Governor in chief of the Island of *Barbados*, to his Brother *William Lord Willoughby*, who arrived in that Island, *A. D.* 1667, and ’twas by the Assembly summoned on his Arrival, that the Laws the Commissioners collected were confirmed.

*William  
 Lord Wil-  
 loughby  
 Governor.*

There’s one Thing very remarkable in their Address to the Governor, Council, and Assembly, dated the 18th of *July*, 1667, wherein, after they have declared that their Laws are the only Laws and Statutes which they found either originally made and enacted, or revived, collected, amended, and confirmed, &c. they say, There are two Acts only excepted, wherein they could not determine, which of them was valid, they both importing Customs on all

all the Commodities of this Island, hence exported, but only one of them could be in Force. The first of which Acts, say they, is entitled, *An Act importing the Customs, &c.* dated the 17th Day of *January*, 1650, which was made and enacted by Governor, Council, and the Representatives of this Island, lawfully impowered by Commission from the Earl of *Carlisle*, thereto impowered by Letters Patent from the King; and that Act we cannot say is repealed, by Reason that the other Act, dated the 12th of *September*, in the Year 1663, importing the *Custom of 4½ per Cent. and intended to repeal the former Act, is not free from Objections and Exceptions of several Persons, who conceive the Assembly, which consented to the said last Act, was an Assembly not legally continued at the Time of the making the said Act.*

This Address or Declaration was signed by all the seven Commissioners before-mentioned, who were the most considerable Gentlemen of the Island, for Wisdom and Wealth. Men, whom their Country had such an Opinion of, that they thought fit to entrust them with their Laws; and we see they declared the *4½ per Cent. Act* was not free from *Objections and Exceptions, &c.* If so, the Gentlemen of *Barbados* have paid 300,000 *l.* out of Complacency; for those Objections and Exceptions have not been made Use of to excuse them of this Duty.

The Hurricane mentioned to have been the Occasion of the Loss of some publick Rolls, happened the same Year that the Bridge Town was burnt, and that Fire deprived us of several Records, which would have been useful to us in settling the Chronology of this Island.

We shall hereafter be more certain. The Hurricane was far from being so terrible as to deserve such publick Notice; and if it destroyed the Rolls, it must be more through the Fear or Negligence of the Keeper, than through the Fury of the Storm.

About the Time of *William Lord Willoughby's* coming to *Barbados*, *Sir Tobias Bridge* arrived there with a Regiment of Soldiers, for an Addition of Strength to the Island: The Assembly provided Accommodations for both Officers and Soldiers, as appears by several Acts now expired; and we make Mention of none but such as are now in Force. The Assembly also impowered the Governor of the Island, for the Time being, to appoint a Provost Marshal there, and passed an Act, directing how the Clerks and Marshals for the several Courts of Common-Pleas, within this Island, shall be appointed, and what they shall receive; as also, *An Act concerning the Commission of the Judges and their Assistants.*

We



We are now at a Loss how to reconcile the Stile of the Acts of this Assembly with the History; for in all of them before the 10th of *March*, 1667, 'tis expressed, *Be it ordained and enacted, by his Excellency William Lord Willoughby of Parham, &c.* and such Acts are signed *William Willoughby*: Whereas from the 10th of *March* aforesaid, to the *November* following, 'tis only said in the Acts that passed, *Be it enacted and ordained by the Deputy Governour, Council and Assembly*; yet those Acts are signed *William Willoughby*. By which it appears there then was a Deputy-Governour of the same Name with my Lord; for no Governour could sign the Act, when his Deputy's Name, was in the Stile of it.

William  
Willoughby,  
Esq; Deputy  
Governour.

We take this *William Willoughby* to be some Relation of my Lord's, whom he left Deputy-Governour in his Absence, which was probably in a Voyage to the *Charibbee* Islands, of which he was also Governour.

The several Acts signed by the Deputy-Governour *Willoughby*, are as follow: *An Act to prevent forcible and clandestine Entries into any Lands or Tenements within this Island; An Act for reducing the Interest to ten Pounds for one hundred in a Year. An Act for preventing the selling of Brandy and Rum in tippling Houses, near the Broad Paths and Highways, within this Island; An Act declaring the Negro Slaves of this Island to be real Estate; An Act for repealing a former Act, establishing Market-Days.* The next Act that passed, was by his Excellency, *William Lord Willoughby of Parham, &c.* entitled, *An Act for regulating and appointing the Fees of the several Officers in this Island, and other publick Ministers*; which is signed by my Lord: And I must either be right in my Conjecture, that there was a Deputy-Governour named *William Willoughby* also, or my Lord confirmed the Acts which his Deputy-Governour passed in his Absence, without being named, and without signing them; which is very unreasonable to believe; for till they were signed, they were not Laws.

William,  
Lord Willoughby,  
Governour.

My Lord reassuming the Government after 8 Months Absence, passed another Act *for advancing and raising the Value of Pieces of Eight*, and soon after that removed to *England*, as we imagine by his long Stay, for he was absent 4 Years; or to the *Charibbee* Islands, to settle *Antego*; which, as we are informed, was his Propriety.

In the mean Time, the Damage done by the late Fire at the Bridge was more than repaired, for the Town was rebuilt and enlarged; the Buildings being of Stone, more beautiful, and not so much exposed to a second Conflagration, as the former Houses.

The Assembly, by a particular Act, appointed what Materials the Town should be built of; for the Inhabitants having begun to run up slight Houses of Timber again, a Stop was put to further Building by a former Act of Assembly, till they had taken that Matter into further Consideration.

The Lord *Willoughby* left Col. *Christopher Codrington*, his Deputy; who in *Feb.* 1668, passed an Act, prohibiting wandering Persons from carrying Goods and Wares, in Packs or otherwise, from House to House, in this Island; and an Act for repealing a Clause in an Act, entitled, *An Act reducing Interest to ten Pounds of Sugar for one hundred Pounds of Sugar for one Year.* In *May*, 1669, he signed an Act, called, *An additional Act concerning the Conveyance of Estates.* On the 22d of *December*, he passed two other Bills; the one, entitled, *An Act appointing Bench Actions, and the Manner of proceeding therein;* the other, *An Act concerning Spanish Money.* The next Day he signed another Bill, called, *An Act appointing Overseers of Plantations to officiate and act as Surveyors of the High-ways, and Constables.* The 11th of *August*, 1670, he passed two other Acts; one entitled, *An additional Act to the Act concerning the Conveyance of Estates;* the other, *An Act to prevent spiriting People off this Island.* In *October* he signed four other Bills: *An additional Act to the Act for establishing the Courts of Common-Pleas within this Island;* *An Act to prevent Abuse of Lawyers, and Multiplicity of Law-Suits;* *An Act for the trying of all petty Larcenies at the several Quarter-Sessions within this Island;* *An Act for regulating and appointing the Fees of the Secretary of this Island.*

*Christopher Codrington, Esq; Deputy-Governor.*

About the same Time, *James Beek*, Esq; procured an Act of Assembly, empowering him to build a publick Wharf in the Town of *St. Michael's*; and Mr. *Richard Rumney*, Receiver General of the Island, having embezzled the publick Money, a Bill passed to recover the publick Debt from his Estate.

In *July*, 1671, the Deputy Governor signed the Bill for *Prevention of firing Sugar Canes;* and Mr. *William Withington* having disbursed Money relating to the publick Affairs, the Committee of the publick Accounts were appointed to repay him as much as the Country had benefited by his Disbursements.

In *February*, An Act passed to prohibit the transporting of uncured Ginger of this Island; and two other Acts on the 5th of *May*, 1672, viz. *An Act for the annual rating of Liquors;* and *An Act concerning Forestallers and Ingrossers of Provisions:* The last Act passed by the Deputy-Governor, was signed the 9th of this Month, and was a very useful one, as has been

found since by Experience; 'twas called, *An Act concerning Persons intended to depart this Island, and the setting up their Names in the Secretary's Office, and Warrants of Arrest.*

William  
Lord Will-  
oughby,  
Governor.

Not long after this, the Lord *Willoughby* returned to *Barbados* from *England* or the *Charibbee* Islands, and stayed here till about the Time that there was a new Governor named in *England*, which was in 1674.

We have not learned whom this Lord appointed to be his Deputy-Governor, or who was President of the Council, when he left the Island; or whether he stayed after Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, the new Governor's Arrival, which was towards the latter End of the Year 1674. But sure we are, the Lord *Willoughby* signed a Bill the 29th of *January*, 1672, entitled, *A declarative Act upon the Act making Negroes real Estate*; and that we hear no more of him in this Island, where the *Willoughby's* had been long Masters.

Sir Jona-  
than Atkins  
Governor.

Upon Sir *Jonathan Atkins's* Arrival at the Assembly, he took up his Residence at *Fontabell*, about a Mile and an half from the Bridge, a Plantation lately belonging to Mr. *Springham*, which was rented for him at 500*l.* a Year, and the Assembly confirmed the Lease of it to him, enacting, that the Rent should be defrayed at the publick Charge.

The first Act passed by Sir *Jonathan*, was called *An Act for taking off the 80 Days, after Execution for future Contracts.* At this Time, Mr. *Edwyn Stede*, was Deputy Secretary, and Mr. *John Higginbotham*, Clerk of the Assembly. This Bill was signed the 25th of *March*, 1675. By which we may see the Governor came hither in the Year before. In *April*, he passed an Act for regulating the Gage of Sugar.

'Twas in this Governor's Time, that the Merchants of *London* and at *Barbados* were severely and unjustly dealt with by a Society of Men, calling themselves the *Royal African Company of England*; who under the Protection of the Duke of *York*, did as many arbitrary Things as Men could do, who were not Sovereigns as well as Tyrants. We shall speak of them more largely elsewhere.

Sir *Jonathan Atkins* had Orders to seize all Interlopers; so those fair Merchants were called, who, at the greatest Hazard, endeavoured to supply the Plantations with Negroes, which none were to import, but such as had subscribed to the Monopoly.

We shall not pretend to give an Account of all the Ships taken by the Men of War, Governor, and Agents, to feed the Rapine of this Company, nor how many Families were ruined by them, who afterwards were ruined themselves, and became the most contemptible Society of Merchants



in *Europe*, with the most pompous Name: We are now come to speak of one of the most dreadful Events that ever happened to *Barbados*, which Island had lately escaped the Terrors of the War; for *de Ruyter* with a Fleet of *Dutch* Men of War came to attack it, but found the Inhabitants so well prepared for their Defence, that after having made a Bravo of a few Shot against the Forts at the Bridge, he drew off. 'Tis true, he had no Number of Land Forces aboard, and *Barbados* was never more populous than at this Time, for the Island could spare 10000 Men able to bear Arms, and have as many more to follow the Business of the Field, besides *Blacks*. The Government ordered a good Body of Troops to the Coasts, and they appeared in such Crouds on the Shore, that the *Dutch* Admiral contented himself with throwing away some Powder and Ball to no Purpose, and failed away.

The Hurricane that happened the 31st of *August*, 1675, was the worst Enemy this Island ever knew, except it were the *Projectors*, and Contrivers of *Taxes* in *England*.

The Leeward Part of the Country suffered most; for the Sugar-Works, and Dwelling-Houses were all thrown down; very few Wind-mills, except Stone-mills, stood out the Storm. The Houses and Sugar-Works to the Windward were very much shattered; the Canes were blown down flat, and some up by the Roots. All the Ships in the Road were brought ashore; the Pots in the Curing-Houses were all broken. Windward the Storm was not so violent. From thence Leeward, and all over *Scotland*, there was neither Dwelling-house, Out-work, or Wind-mill standing, except a few Stone-mills: All the Houses in the Bay were blown down, as were most of the Churches; and almost all the Corn in the Country was destroy'd.

One may guess at the Loss; when at two Plantations, belonging to Mr. *John Bowden*, and Mr. *John Spark*, the Damage came to no less than 6000*l*. Others, who could not so well bear the Loss, were totally ruined.

There had been a Hurricane the Year before, when the Damage done was not inconsiderable, but none of the Houses fell; and Mr. *Spark* before-mentioned, writing to his Partner Mr. *Bowden*, then living in *London*, has this Expression in his Letter; 'I have been in two Hurricanes since my last coming hither, which were nothing comparable, and but Flea-bitings to this.'

'Tis somewhat out of the Way indeed, to compare a *Hurricane* to a *Flea-biting*; but considering this Man's Business was not *Metaphor* and *Simile*, one may conceive an Idea of the Terribleness of the last Tempest by the Comparison.

Sir *Jonathan Atkins* immediately summoned the Assembly together; and when they met, they took under Consideration, how to prevent Creditors being too hasty on their Debtors after this Calamity. For the latter would have been forced to desert the Island, had those they owed Money to come upon them at that Time. Had they gone, those who remained would have been in great Danger of their Negroes whom the Inhabitants were at that Time very much afraid of.

The Assembly agreed to send Home a Petition to the King, to take off the 4<sup>l</sup> per Cent. Duty, as the only Means to save the Colony from Destruction: For besides that their Canes in the Ground were all ruined, the Planters were forced to take off so many of their Hands, to employ them about re-building their Houses, that there was no Likelihood of their having a Crop the next Year. At the same Time they suffered also by Want; for the Supplies of Provisions that used to be sent from *New-England*, were in a great Measure stop'd, that Colony labouring under two severe Judgments, Pestilence and War; insomuch 'twas feared the *Indians* would overrun them, which however did not come to pass, as we have shewn elsewhere.

The Leeward People made very little Sugars for two Years; and the Distresses of the Planters were such, that 'twas thought, if ever the 4<sup>l</sup> per Cent. would be taken off, 'twould be then. But there was no such good News for the *Barbadians*. King *Charles* had his Necessities for Money, as well as his Subjects, tho' perhaps not for as justifiable Occasions. The 4<sup>l</sup> per Cent. was a good Fund for 100,000 *l*. And who could expect such a Gift, at a Time when even the Exchequer was under the Scandal of Bankrupts?

We do not find the Assembly passed any Act to relieve the Sufferers in the late Hurricane, nor any Thing tending thereto, unless it was, *An Act for Allowance of a second free Entry for the dead Production of this Island, lost or taken, relating to the 4<sup>l</sup> per Cent.* For the Commissioners of the Custom-house would not allow the Planter, if he had paid the Duty of 10000 Pound Weight of Sugar, and 'twas lost in the Harbour, to ship off a like Quantity, by Virtue of the first Entry, as now he was allowed to do by this Act.

The Houses being levelled with the Ground by the Hurricane, the best Planters in the Island lived in Hutts; and when they built again, were afraid to run up their Houses to any Height for a long Time. The Terror of this Tempest stuck so upon the Inhabitants, that few People cared to meddle with Estates, tho' they had Money to buy them, seeing to what Accidents they were exposed.

In April, 1676, we see by the Statutes of *Barbados*, that the Quakers were very industrious, in their Endeavours to convert the Negroes. Upon which Occasion an Act past to prevent it, with a whimsical Preamble; *Whereas of late many Negroes have been suffered to remain at the Meeting of Quakers, as Hearers of their Doctrine, and taught in their Principles, whereby the Safety of this Island may be much hazarded, &c.*

In this Act Care was taken to bring in a Clause against any Dissenters keeping Schools: For, according to the Humour in *England*, the Governors of this Colony, as well as others, have been always careful to act.

At this Time there was a wicked Practice in the *West-Indies*, of which the *English* are accused; and that was their stealing and enslaving *Indians*, which they took on the *Continent*, or the *Islands*. And one Col. *Warner* being charged with this unlawful Traffick, if it deserves that Name, was made a Prisoner in *England*, and sent aboard the *Phoenix* Frigate to *Barbados*, to take his Trial there; but he found so many Friends, that he came off.

There was another unfair Way of dealing in this Island; much complained of: Some Merchants knowing the Necessity of the Inhabitants, used, by Forgery, and other Deceits, to engross Beef, Pork, Fish, and Salt, into their Possessions; and the Planters not being able to live without Provisions, were forced to buy them of them at their own exorbitant Prices.

This Grievance became so great at last, that the Governor, Council, and Assembly, past an Act to redress it, and prevent the Inconveniences upon the Inhabitants of this Island, by *Forestallers, Ingrossers, and Reqrators*.

On the same Day, the 29th of *November*, 1676, an Act past, to explain a Clause in the Act for establishing the Courts of Common Pleas in this Island. On the 15th of *March*, Sir *Jonathan Atkins* signed another Act, appointing the Sale, in open Market, of Effects attached for the Excise, the Parish Dues, and Servants Wages.

The Governor and Assembly raised Money to repair and finish the Fortifications and Breast-Works, and build new ones, where Occasion required. In the Year the Popish Plot broke out in *England*, we find the Government of *Barbados* providing against the Papists, by an Act, entitled, *An Act for the more effectual putting in Execution a Statute of England, entitled, An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants*: Which was signed the 19th of *February*, 1678.



The same Year Capt. *Delaval*, in the *Constant Warwick Man of War*, convoyed the Fleet of Merchant Ships from *Barbados* as far as in 20 Degrees of Latitude, the Inhabitants being apprehensive of a War with *France*, and that the Enemy might intercept them; but King *Charles* and *Lewis XIV.*: understood one another too well.

The *Constant Warwick* returning to *Barbados*, as she came near the Island, took an Interloper, commanded by one Capt. *Golding*, and bound to this Island with Negroes. The Ship belonged to Mr. *Richard Walter*, a Merchant there, and Mr. *John Bowden*, a Merchant in *London*.

Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, according to his Instructions, presently condemned the Ship and Cargo, because the Master had not the Royal *African Company's* Licence to trade; and Mr. *Walter* was forced to pay 1400 *l.* to get Capt. *Golding* his Ship and Cargo discharged.

We might have remembered several such Captures, but they are Events too *mercantile* to be inserted among such as are purely historical; of which Kind are only those that relate to the Publick, as indeed this Oppression did; which *Edward Littleton*, Esq; Judge of *Speight's* or *St. Peter's* Precinct, has set forth, in a Pamphlet called *The Groans of the Plantations*, with equal Force and Reason.

‘ It cannot be imagined how the Company and their Agents lord it over us, having us in their Power; and if any offer at the Trade besides themselves, they make such Examples of them, that few dare follow them. If they catch us at *Guinea*, they use us as downright Enemies; and at Home, we are dragged into the Admiralty-Courts, and condemned in a trice; there is not such speedy Justice in the World. The Word is, that we are found Prize, or condemned as Prize, as if we were Foreigners, taken in open War. They have got a Trick of State, to bring Interlopers within the Acts of Navigation or Trade; which are the severe Acts about Plantations. But even in this Case we are brought into the Admiralty, whatever the Law says to the contrary: Nor doth it avail us to plead, that all Offences against Statutes must be tried by Jury. The Forfeitures of the Acts before-named (which are never less than Ship and Goods) are given to the King, the Governor, and the Informer. The Governor in these Matters sits Chief Judge of the Court, &c.

Such was the Tyranny of this *African* Monopoly; and Sir *Jonathan Atkins* not pleasing the Company, in his Proceedings against *Interlopers*, a frightful Name given fair and honest Dealers, he was recalled, tho' he had done enough to deserve

deserve the Favour of the Society : But they wanted a Man of more Severity, and less Honour, and procured one in his Successor, Sir Richard Dutton; a Man of such Principles, that in any other Reign he would not have been trusted with the Government of *Providence*. He was a compleat Tool of the Court, had been the Duke of *York's* Creature, and was like to do any Thing he should be commanded.

Sir Richard  
Dutton,  
Governor.

Sir Richard set sail for *Barbados* in *February*, 1680, touched at the *Maderas*, and arrived at *Barbados* in *April*, where he was received with great Kindness and Respect, and found the Island in a very flourishing Condition.

The Assembly confirmed the Lease of *Fontabell* to him, and having past an Act, for settling the Militia, the Governor would have it inserted, that all the Soldiers should appear in Red Coats; which put the Inhabitants to an extraordinary Charge; and, says Judge *Littleton* above-mentioned, has driven many a poor House-keeper from off the Island. The same Assembly past an Act, to revive and continue an Act, entitled, *An Act for taking off the 80 Days after Execution, for future Contracts*.

Sir Richard, to shew his Loyalty, got the Grand Jury, at the General Sessions of the Peace, holden for the Island of *Barbados*, on *Tuesday*, the 16th Day of *August*, 1681, to draw up an Address to the King; which the Governor sent to *England*, and his Majesty graciously accepted of it, and was pleased to declare the great Satisfaction he had, in this Testimony of the Duty and Affection of those his Subjects, to his Person and Government. And this Address was one of the earliest of all those Addresses of Abhorrences, &c. which all good Men have since so much abhorred.

In *July*, 1682, the Governor signed two Bills, which the Assembly had past. One for the better regulating the Manner of giving Tickets out of the Secretary's Office. The Preamble of this Act tells us on what Occasion it past: 'Whereas sundry Persons have of late departed this Island, to *Jamaica*, the *Leeward-Islands*, and other new Settlements, and left behind them their Wives and Children, many of which are, and others may become burdensom to the Parishes they are left in; To prevent, &c.'

'Tis said the severe Proceedings of this Governor drove several off the Island, and made such an Act necessary. The other Bill he then signed, was an Act appointing the Sale in open Markets of Effects attached for Arrears.

In *March* following he signed another Bill, for the ascertaining the Bounds of the several Parishes, and enclosing the Church-Yards within this Island. And soon after he re-

Henry Wal- turned to England: For in April, 1683, we find Henry  
 rond, Esq; Lieutenant General of the Island of Barba-  
 do; and a Session of the Peace, of Oyer and Terminer, was  
 holden before him the 2d of that Month.

The Grand Jury drew up an Address, of the same Stamp with the former; which, to use their own Words, was presented by their noble and high deserving Governor.

In it the Gentlemen were pleased to rejoice in King Charles the Second's known Piety, and in the Loyalty and Prudence of their Religious Governor; who had stifled and discountenanced Faction and Fanaticism in the very Embrio. They tell the King, ' Their Mind had been infinitely ruffled and disturbed, at the Notices they had of the many Attempts and Offers that had been lately made in their native Country of England, and by the rebellious Heat of some Spirits, hatched in Hell, to shake his Majesty's Royal Throne, &c.' They declared, ' their Detestation of that cursed Paper, the Association; and that they were hearty Lovers and Admirers of his dearest Brother.'

Indeed there's something so very extraordinary in the Truth, Eloquence, Grammar, and Moderation of this excellent Address, that we are sorry we have not Room for the Entertainment of the Reader, to shew him what a noble Address Sir Richard gave himself the Trouble to carry three thousand Miles, and present as a grateful Offering to his Master, who, 'tis said, was pleased to receive it very graciously.

But little did these worthy Gentlemen of the Grand Jury think how soon they would have Reason to turn their Addresses to Remonstrances, as will be related in its proper Place.

Sir Richard Dutton Go- Sir Richard Dutton returned to Barbados in the following  
 vernor. Year, held an Assembly, and past an Act, for more speedy Remedy in Distresses taken Damage fesant, and Trespasses done by Horses, Cattle, and other living Chattels. As also another, to impower Attornies to confess Judgment upon particular Warrants. And another, declaring how Piracies and Felonies done upon the Sea, shall be tried and punished.

At this Time a Law was made, for appointing a Treasurer for the Island, who was Col. Rich. Salter: And the Rebellion in the West happening in the next Year, the Government of Barbados passed a severe Act against those Rebels that were sent thither; whereby their Condition was rendered almost as bad as the Negroes. But 'twas then the Mode in England, to make all Merit center in an implicit Loyalty; and why should not the Barbadians be as mad as others? The Bill was called, An Act for the governing and retaining within



within this Island, all such Rebels convict, as by his Majesty's most sacred Order, or Permit, have been, or shall be transported from his European Dominions to this Place.

Lieutenant General *Walrond*, notwithstanding his loyal Address, and the Post Sir *Richard Dutton* left him, fell under his Displeasure; for what, my Author does not inform us; but how severely and unjustly he was prosecuted, will appear by his Representation of the Matter.

Another remarkable Example of the Inconveniences they have been, and are liable to, is that of the before-mentioned Col. *Walrond*; who upon a bare Suggestion against him, made by a Man fairly tried before a Court of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; wherein he was but one, tho' the first in Commission, that was commanded from *Barbados* hither (to *England*) where he has been detained above three Years. And at last upon a full Trial at an Assizes in the Country, where his Adversary was powerful, and himself utterly a Stranger, there was given against him but 30 *l.* Damage; and that for no other Reason, but that the Court-Judge was pleased to over-rule this Plea: Whereby such a Disorder, Ruin, and Distraction of his Wife, Children, Family, Plantation and Estate, has happened to him, that as the Calamity is not to be expressed, and for some Respects is not fit to be related; so it could never have been supported by any Man, but one of an extraordinary Fortitude and Understanding; which he has demonstrated, by his constant Endeavours under his unjust Oppressions, to serve the publick Interest of those Colonies, and rightly to represent their sad Condition at Court; especially that of *Barbados*, who was so kind and just to him at his coming thence, as by the Representative Body of that Island, together with his Majesty's Governor and Council, to make a Present to him of five Hundred Pounds Sterling, in Acknowledgment of his good Service he had done that Country, together with a publick Declaration of his just Proceedings in that Court of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and especially in this Case he was brought over upon.

Sir Dalby  
Thomas,  
Hist. &c.  
&c.

And this I must farther observe to the Reader; 'That it was not the least Crime of State was so much as alledged against him, for banishing him from *Barbados* into *England*; but merely private Malice, supported by the partial Tyranny of some great Men, occasioned all his Sufferings.'

This Gentleman was the Son of Col. *Humphry Walrond*, once Governor of the Island; a Gentleman whose Loyalty had banished him his native Country.

'Twas in this Year 1685, that the new Duty was laid upon Sugar, which has almost ruined this Colony: But it being in King *James's* Reign, 'tis necessary we should take Notice of the Death of King *Charles*, and his Brother's Succession.

When Sir *Richard Dutton* received Advice from the Privy Council in *England* of King *Charles's* Death, he immediately summoned the Members of the Council to meet the Day following; and upon the 23d, which was St. *George's* Day, King *James* was proclaimed with great Solemnity and Order, in the Manner following: First the Officers of two Regiments of Foot, marching from *Pontabell* to the Town of St. *Michael*, or the *Bridge*. Next the Officers of two Regiments of Horse; next the Justices of the Peace; the Reverend the Clergy; the Lawyers in their Gowns; the Masters and Registers of *Chancery* in their Gowns; the King's Council at Law in their Gowns; the Judges in their Gowns: Next the Honourable the Council of *Barbados*. After which marched several Trumpets sounding; the Marshals of the several Courts, and their Deputies, and the Provost Marshal General with his Men; next the Governor, attended by the King's Life Guard of Horse. His Majesty's Regiment Royal of Foot Guards was drawn up in St. *Michael's* Town, to receive the Governor, and perform their Duty in the more solemn proclaiming his Majesty; which being done in the Place called *Cheapside*, the Governor march'd from thence to *James Fort*, where the Guns in that Fort, and at the same Time those in all other Forts, Platforms, Lines and Batteries, were fired three Times, with great Shouts; the like being done by the *Diamond Man of War*, and all the Merchant Ships in the Bay.

But this Pomp and Parade was of no Service to the Islanders, in obtaining Relief in the heavy Duties now laid upon them; for the Duke of *Monmouth* landing, rais'd a War that was thought more dangerous than it proved to be. The Court laid hold of that Opportunity to get vast Sums of Money granted to the Crown; and among other Taxes they got the additional Duties on Tobacco and Sugar. The Case of the Planters, as stated by Judge *Littleton*, with Reference to the Taxes on Sugar, was this;

*Groans of the Plantations.*

' Upon the coming of King *James* to the Crown, the Parliament being called, they were preparing a Complaint against the Commissioners of the Customs, who had taken a Liberty of late, to their grievous Prejudice, to call that *white* Sugar, which had never been accounted such before; and whatever they pleased to call *Whites*, must pay the Duty of 5 s. the Hundred. But they were soon obliged to lay  
' aside

‘ aside these Thoughts, to provide against a new Storm that  
‘ threatened: For they were told, to their great Astonishment,  
‘ that a Project was set on Foot, to lay more Load upon us;  
‘ no less than 2 s. and 4 d. a Hundred more upon Musco-  
‘ vado Sugar; and 7 s. upon Sugars fit for Use; for that  
‘ was now the Word. They saw this tended plainly to their  
‘ Destruction; but the Thing was driven on furiously by  
‘ some *Empsons* and *Dudleys* about the late King, who did  
‘ not care how many People they destroyed, so they might  
‘ get Favour and Preferment themselves. Since they were  
‘ put into the Herd of Foreigners, and paid Duties with  
‘ them, they hoped they should fare no worse than other  
‘ Foreigners did. But that the Plantations should be singled  
‘ out as the hunted Deer, and the Burden upon their Com-  
‘ modities should be doubled, and almost trebled, when all  
‘ others was untouched, was Matter of Amazement and  
‘ Consternation. They humbly moved, that if the whole  
‘ Tax must be laid upon Trade, it might be laid upon all  
‘ Commodities alike; They said, that a small Advance upon  
‘ all the Customs might serve every Purpose, as well as a  
‘ great one upon some; and that this might be born with  
‘ some Ease, there being so many Shoulders to bear it.  
‘ But they would hearken to nothing of that Kind, being re-  
‘ solved and fixed to lay the whole Burden upon the Planta-  
‘ tions. The Projectors stood stoutly to it in the Parliament  
‘ House, that the new Tax upon Sugars would not burden  
‘ them; but this was esteemed such barbarous Nonsense,  
‘ that there was little Fear of their prevailing, had not King  
‘ *James* been so strangely earnest for this Tax, which yet  
‘ that Parliament, who then denied him nothing, had never  
‘ granted, but that some Privy-Counsellors assured them in  
‘ the King’s Name, and by his Order, that if the Duty  
‘ proved grievous to the Plantations, it should be taken off.  
‘ So the Act passed, and the Plantations were ruined. The  
‘ Planters made their humble Application several Times to  
‘ the late King, and laid their Distresses before him, but he  
‘ was not pleased to take off their Burthens, or any Part of  
‘ them, nor to give them the least Ease or Mitigation. One  
‘ Time they were referred to the Commissioners of the Cus-  
‘ tom; among whom, to their Comfort, they found their  
‘ Friends the Projectors. Another Time they were told by  
‘ a great Minister of State (who was a principal Projector  
‘ also, and who was to give them their Answer) *That it was*  
‘ *very indecent, not to say undutiful, to tax the King with his*  
‘ *Promise*; when as they had only said in their submissive  
‘ Petition, *That they had been encouraged to address to his*  
‘ *Majesty*



‘ Majesty by the gracious Expressions he had been pleased to use  
‘ in Parliament concerning his Plantations.’

This Tax lasted many Years, and the Wars coming on, when the State had Occasion for all the Money that could be raised, the Planters could not hope to be relieved; for tho’ the Duty is not now the same, ’tis as high, and they are very ill able to pay it.

Governor *Dutton*, who was a zealous Friend to the *African* Company, used always to sit in Court to judge of the Forfeitures; the Company’s Agents were the Informers, and as soon as Sentence was given, they divided the Spoil.

Edwyn  
Stede, Esq;  
Lieutenant  
Governor.

Mr. *Edwyn Stede*, who was but Deputy Secretary, because he was one of the Royal Company’s Agents, was left Deputy Governor by him; and the same *Stede* had afterwards a Commission to be Lieutenant Governor from *England*. The Assembly presented him with 1000 *l.* and confirmed the Lease of *Fontabell* to him.

It now became a Custom for the Country to make the Governor Presents; which, with their Salary from the Crown, Perquisites, Fees, and Administrations, made the Place worth 4 or 5000 *l.* a Year.

In the Year 1687, the Duke of *Albermarle* put into *Barbados*, as he was going to *Jamaica*; the Lieutenant Governor received him with great Honours, the Life-Guard of Horse waiting upon him at his Landing, and conducting him to *Fontabell*: They also did Duty during his Stay there, which was three Weeks or a Month.

About the same Time, there was a Conspiracy of the Negroes to rise against their Masters, and possess themselves of the Island; all the Planters were to be killed, their Wives to be kept for the chief of the Conspirators, their Children, and white Servants to be their Slaves.

The Time for putting this damnable Plot in Execution, was near come; and some of the Negroes had provided Arms, which they hid, to make Use of on this Occasion; but being discovered in Time, Notice was given the Government, the Inhabitants were all armed, the chief Conspirators seized, put to the Torture, and executed: And many of them being the best Slaves, the Losses their Masters had, were not inconsiderable. About twenty of them were put to Death.

In the same Year, Mr. *Dalby Thomas*, since Knighted, Col. *Walrond*, and some others, procured a Sort of Monopoly for the *Facture* of all Goods from the *West-Indies*; which, if it had passed, no Man who was not of their Company was to be allowed to sell any Sugars or other Commodities from the Plantations.

This

This was oppos'd with good Reason by Sir *John Bowden*, and Mr. *John Gardner*, who had then the largest Commissions from *Barbados* of any Merchants in *England*, and perhaps the largest that ever were lodged in one House in the *West-India* Trade. These Gentlemen, one would think, did this for their own Interest only; but the Author speaks of his own Knowledge, they were applauded for it by the Gentlemen who had the best Interest in *Barbados*: For no Planter of any Note was willing to be oblig'd to send his Goods to Persons he did not know; nor were others willing to expose their Wants to a Society, which a private Merchant might assist them in, with less Notice. And indeed this Monopoly was so unjust and chimerical, that even the Lord Chancellor *Jefferies* would not hear of it. 'Tis true, King *James* was not much against it; but that unhappy Prince might perhaps like it merely because 'twas irregular, because it put a Constraint on the Subject, and was against Law.

But because Sir *Dalby Thomas*, in the before-mentioned Tract, values himself mightily upon this Design of his, let us see what an eminent Planter, *John Rede*, Esq; lately a Member of the Council of *Barbados*, wrote to the Merchants above-named, with whom he corresponded: ' I thank you kindly for sending me the new Project. We look upon it as a most ridiculous preposterous Thing; and that if it take Effect (as God forbid) will certainly be our Ruin. If the chief Projector *Walrond* did but know, how his Plantation here is torn to Pieces, his Negroes and Cattle brought to Market, and sold at Outcry, it would probably hasten him to *Barbados* (where I am sure he will not be welcome to many) and make him use his Endeavours to keep together what he left. Something might be said to every Particular, but it would be too tedious, and the Subject is hardly worth writing upon.' The same Judgment did Mr. *Richard Walter*, and the most considerable Planters in *Barbados*, make of it.

The first Act now in Force, which we find pass'd in Mr. *Stede's* Time, was, *An additional and explanatory Act to an Act entitl'd, An Act for the governing of Servants, and ordaining Rights between Masters and Servants*, which he sign'd the 15th of *May*, 1688.

The Inhabitants were so alarm'd by the late Plot of the Blacks, that the Assembly pass'd a very long Act, entitl'd, *An Act for the governing of Negroes*, which the Lieutenant-Governor sign'd the 10th of *July*, 1688. and the 2d of *October*, he pass'd another, call'd, *An Act for binding out and ordering poor Apprentices*.

The Assembly presented him with 1000 *l.* Sterling, and pass'd a Bill for the better regulating of Outcries in open Market; another for the securing the Possession of Negroes and Slaves; and another, to repeal an Act, entitled, *An Act to prevent Depopulation*; which Mr. *Stede* sign'd the 19th of December; and is the last Act he pass'd, that is not obsolete or expir'd.

Upon the Revolution in England, his late Majesty King *William* the III<sup>d</sup>. of glorious Memory, continu'd this Commission to the Lieutenant Governor, till he appointed *James Kendall*, Esq; to be Captain General, and Chief Governor of *Barbados*, and other the *Charibbee*-Islands. This Gentleman had an Interest upon the Place, to use the *Barbados* Phrase, (for the Islanders always call an Estate an Interest) and was the more welcome to the Inhabitants.

We find the Assembly pass'd a Bill, for the further Accommodation of his Excellency in his intended Voyage; which being done before his Arrival, we cannot well comprehend what they meant by it. It could not relate to Mr. *Stede*, for they never gave him the Title of Excellency, he being only Lieutenant Governor.

Before he left *Barbados*, or Col. *Kendal* arrived there, the People of *St. Christophers*, and the other Leeward Islands, being distress'd by the *French*, apply'd themselves to the Government of *Barbados* for Assistance. Mr. *Stede* refer'd the Matter to the Assembly; who, upon Sir *Timothy Thornhill's* offering to go himself at the Head of a Regiment, to their Relief, assented to it, as did also the Governor and Council.

While the Administration was in Mr. *Stede's* Hands, a Difference happen'd between the Lieutenant Governor and Sir *Timothy Thornhill*: The former prosecuted him at Law, and Sir *Timothy* appeal'd to the King and Council; who were so far from giving him Relief, that he was condemn'd to pay 500 *l.* to the King, and 1500 *l.* to the Lieutenant Governor. The Matter, which, as I am inform'd, were Words spoken, had some small Relation to both Governments, but nothing that was worth taking Notice of.

Having this Warrant for it, Sir *Timothy* order'd the Drums to beat up for Volunteers; and in less than a Fort-night's time, he rais'd a Regiment of 700 able Men, who were all of them (the Commission Officers excepted) furnish'd with Arms, &c. for this Expedition, at the Charge of the Island of *Barbados*. Transport Ships were also provided to carry them to *St. Christophers*. The Soldiers embark'd the



1st of August, 1689. and sail'd the same Day. What Sir *Timothy* did in this Enterprize, will be spoken of in the History of these Places, where the Actions pass'd.

Col. *Kendal* embark'd for his Government aboard a Squadron of Men of War, commanded by Commodore *Wright*, with whom went also the Earl of *Inchiquen*, appointed Governor of *Jamaica*. The 3d of *May* this Fleet arrived at *Madera*, and at *Barbados* about the beginning of *June*. Aboard *Wright's* Ships was the Duke of *Bolton's* Regiment, which was for the intended Expedition against the *French* in the *Leeward* Islands, where Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, now Major General of the Army, remain'd with his *Barbados* Regiment,

James Kendal, Esq; Governor.

In *April*, 1690. there was an Earthquake at *Barbados*, but it did no manner of hurt to Men or Cattle. Two very great Comets appear'd in those Parts of the World; and in an Hour and a Quarter's time, the Sea ebb'd and flow'd, at an unusual Degree, three times.

Mr. *Stede*, the late Lieutenant Governor, removed to *England*, and settled in *Kent*, where his Family have long had a Seat at *Stede-hill*.

Col. *Kendal*, on his Arrival at *Barbados*, contributed his utmost Endeavours towards carrying on the *Leeward* Expedition with great Application and Success. Several Gentlemen of *Barbados* went upon it, and in a Fortnight's time the Fleet was dispatch'd at the *Bridge*, and sail'd to *Nevis*, as will be mention'd elsewhere.

The new Governor having summon'd an Assembly, they pass'd an Act to encourage Artificers and others to take Apprentices, which he sign'd the 1st of *October*, 1690. At which time *George Paine*, Esq; was Clerk of the Assembly, and Mr. *John Whetstone*, Deputy Secretary; it being customary for those two Officers to sign all Bills in *Barbados*, as well as the Governor.

In *November*, an Act pass'd for the better ascertaining how the Bonds forfeited for carrying Persons off this Island without a Ticket, shall be employ'd; which the Governor sign'd the 17th of *December*; as also a Bill to establish and ascertain the Bushel Weight, by which all sorts of Corn, Pulse, or other the Produce of this Island, shall be bought and sold.

At this time, Freight of Sugars ran so high, and Masters of Ships were so exorbitant in their Demands, that the Government of *Barbados* was forc'd to intermeddle in the Matter, and an Act pass'd for regulating the exorbitant Rates demanded and receiv'd by Masters of Ships and others, for Freight of Sugars, &c. for *Europe*. By which no Commander of a Ship was to have more than 6 s. 6 d. a Hundred Freight

Freight for Muscovado Sugar; 7 s. 6 d. for *Whites*; 5 s. a Hundred for scalded, 6 s. a Hundred for scrap'd Ginger; and 2 d. a Pound for Cotton; whereas the Prices were double before: But the Inhabitants found so many Inconveniencies in this Act, that the Assembly either repeal'd or suspended it. Indeed the Owners and Masters threatned they would not send Ships, nor go to *Barbados*, till Freight was left free in its Price. Sugars now sold well in *England*, and that was a great Relief to the Planters, under the Hardships of heavy Duties and high Freights.

Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, continu'd with his *Barbadians* in the Leeward Islands, and he and they signaliz'd themselves at the taking of *St. Christophers*, and in several other Enterprizes.

In *January* this Year, a Fleet of stout Ships arriv'd from *London*, and 6 of them were immediately taken up, by Order of the Governor and Council, and sent as Men of War to reinforce Rear Admiral *Wright*. These Ships were commanded by Gapt. *Daniel*, Capt. *Leech*, Capt. *Champney*, Capt. *Harding*, Capt. *Man*, and Capt. *Willey*, and sail'd from *Barbados* the 11th of *February*. Captain *Carter* was ordered with a Packet for *England*, to give the Ministers an Account of the Proceedings here.

King *William* having been graciously pleased to order Col. *Kendal* to procure the Liberty of such Men as were in Servitude in *Barbados*, for their Rebellion under the Duke of *Monmouth*; the Governor got an Act passed *Nemine contradicente*, the 17th of *March*, 1690. to that Purpose, which he signed the same Day: It was entitled, *An Act to repeal an Act for the governing and retaining within this Island all such Rebels convict, as by his Majesty's most sacred Order or Permit, have been or shall be transported from his European Dominions to this Place.*

In *August*, 1691. the Governor passed another Act, for prohibiting the several Clerks of the Courts of Common Pleas within this Island, to practise as Attorneys in the Courts where they are Clerks.

The Assembly, the same Year, taking into their Consideration how necessary it was that they should have Agents at *London*, to take Care of their Affairs, and solicit for them at the Court, and elsewhere, as Occasion required; they chose *Edward Littleton*, Esq; and *William Bridges*, Esq; to be their Agents, and allowed them a Salary of 250 l. a Year each. That they did very prudently in this, is not to be questioned; and had they done as honourably as they did wisely; their Wisdom would probably have succeeded better.

'Tis no News to the Inhabitants of *Barbados*, that Mr. *John Gardener* before mentioned, had been their constant and indefatigable Solicitor for many Years; that 'twas, in a great measure, to him they owed the Ease they found in the *African Trade* after the Revolution; he having so fully proved the Oppressions of the Royal Company at that time, in Parliament and elsewhere, that the Interlopers were no longer afraid of being seized and condemned; and the Company no more made use of that Part of their Prerogative.

This was a Piece of Service, which then they thought so considerable, that, besides the frequent Thanks that was sent him from *Barbados* by his own Correspondents, he had the same Acknowledgments paid him by such as he had no Commerce with; yet when it was put to the Vote, whether he should be one of the Agents of this Island, it was carried in the *Negative*, notwithstanding he had by his Agency done more for them, without that Title, than has been done since by those who have had it: For as the Ruin of the Monopoly Project, and the opening the *African Trade* was (let it be said by a Relation of his, without Vanity or Partiality) more owing to his Contrivance and Industry, than any other Person or Persons whatsoever; if the Island of *Barbados* has received two such Obligations from their Agents, in 17 Years, I am a Stranger to its Concerns. This is said without any other Design, but to pay Homage to Truth; and by the fair Representation I have made of all their Grievances and Pressures, the Gentlemen of *Barbados* will see, that no ill Usage has been able to provoke me to sacrifice my Sincerity to my Resentment.

'Tis below the Dignity of History to record private Matters; and this Digression is not perhaps of so private a Nature as may at first View be imagin'd.

These Agents have been continued ever since, and this Salary paid, but 'tis to be doubted, whether the 15000 *l.* that has been paid them, would not have been as well laid out on the Uses the four and a half *per Cent.* was given for. No prudent Man can think, that a Gentleman, who is not bred up in the Business, and has no Interest in the Island, can be fit to make an Agent; nor even a Merchant, who has many Commissions: For there is no kind of Affairs that makes a Man so busy, and keeps him in such continual Hurries, as Factorage. 'Tis, without doubt, proper the Agent should fully understand the true Interest of *Barbados*, that he should have full Leisure to carry on his Agency, be a Man of Sense and Honour, and one that needs not make use of  
a bor-



a borrowed Pen to set forth its Grievances, and Petition for Redress.

I had put these few Reflections in the Chapter of *Trade*, but that as much as I have seemed to digress, they come in more naturally here.

The Act for establishing the first Agents was to expire in two Years; but others of the same Nature have been passed, and 'tis probable will pass, till the *Barbadians* have no Cause of Complaints, or have Friends that will make them for nothing.

The opening of the Trade to *Africa* was not soon accomplished, but at last 10 *per Cent.* was given to the *Royal Company* towards maintaining their Forts, &c. The honourable *John Farmer*, Esq; who was afterwards President, wrote thus to his Correspondent on this Head, after a sad Representation of the then State of *Barbados*: 'I hope  
' yours, and other our Friends Endeavours against the  
' *Royal Company*, have met with the desired Effect, which  
' will be a sovereign Cordial to revive our drooping Spirits, &c.

The People of *England* had form'd great Expectations, as well as the *Barbadians*, of the Leeward Expedition; but the Gentlemen of *Barbados* soon saw those Expectations would come to nothing; for notwithstanding the Accounts of it printed in *England*, 'tis very certain they did nothing there, neither Admiral nor General, worth the Expences they put both *England* and *Barbados* to.

*Col. Farmer* was a Man of Penetration, and the Reader will not be displeas'd with his Account of our Affairs there, and his Reflections upon them, in a Letter dated the 3d of *April*, 1691. about 7 Weeks after the Fleet sail'd from *Barbados*, with the Reinforcements mention'd before.

' Most of our Ships Men being press'd, and gone with the  
' Fleet for the *Leeward* Expedition, they will not be able to  
' sail for want of them, and so must stay for their Return.  
' I wish I may then be able to give you such an Account of  
' their Proceedings there, as may be pleasing to you; but by  
' what they have hitherto done, I much doubt I shall not:  
' For *Capt. Wright*, with all the King's Ships, reinforced  
' with 6 of our best Merchant-Men, equal to fourth and  
' fifth Rates, well manned, has been these seven Weeks  
' down there; and tho' great Matters were talk'd of here  
' before he went, as of taking and destroying all the *French*  
' Islands in a short Time, yet talking is all that has hitherto  
' been done, except the taking a small Fisher-boat: But the  
' *French* have been more active; for while these mighty  
' Things were performing by our Fleet in the Roads and  
' Bays

‘ Bays of *St. Christophers, Antego, and Nevis*, they with  
 ‘ Sloops and other small Vessels, are busied in taking (both  
 ‘ Windward and Leeward of this Island) our Vessels in-  
 ‘ ward and outward bound, of which we have Advice of  
 ‘ 13 of all sorts already taken by them; so that in a very  
 ‘ short time we shall be in a miserable Condition for want  
 ‘ of Provisions.

And Mr. *Reid*, another Member of the Council, in a Letter dated the 2d of *July* following, writes:

‘ Our Crops this Year have been very small; in all Pro-  
 ‘ bability the next will be smaller, we not having had the  
 ‘ usual Seasons to plant. We have been annoyed extremely  
 ‘ with a little *French Snow*, who has, notwithstanding the  
 ‘ King’s Fleets, taken by Report 28 or 30 of our small  
 ‘ Vessels to Leeward of this Island, which has occasioned  
 ‘ Provisions to be scarce and dear. Our Admiral, of whom  
 ‘ we are like to be happily rid, has been slothful in their  
 ‘ Majesty’s Service; he and General *Codrington* deserted  
 ‘ *Guardaloup* without any Reason, only their own Jealousies  
 ‘ and Fears of the *French Fleet*, when we had three times  
 ‘ the Number of Men that the *French* had. They left  
 ‘ their Mortar Piece behind, tho’ the *French* at the same  
 ‘ time deserted the Island also, concluding we were going  
 ‘ to attack *Martinico*. This Expedition is one of the most  
 ‘ unaccountable things I ever heard of.

The little Care *Wright* took to scour those Seas of Privateers, put the Islanders to the Expence of equipping and fitting out two Ships for its Defence; which we find by the Title of an Act then passed, to *secure and reimburse the honourable Col. Richard Salter, Treasurer of this Island, all such Sums of Money, together with the Interest of the same, after the Rate of 10 per Cent. per Annum, he shall lend and accommodate towards the hiring, equipping, and fitting out two Ships, Sloops, or other Vessels of War, for the Defence of this Island.*

We perceive the Fleet and Land Forces did not secure the *Barbadians* from Fear; for another Act past for *entrenching and fortifying this Island, in such Places as his Excellency shall direct.*

This Fleet did not only do a great deal of Mischief to the *Barbadians*, by taking away their Landmen and Seamen, but the Soldiers had a pestilential Distemper among them, with which the Islanders were infected; and the Island, which before was reckoned to be the healthiest of all the Isles thereabouts, has ever since been very sickly, vast Numbers of Merchants, Captains of Ships, Planters, La-

bourers, and Negroes have been swept away by this Disease; and 'tis to be wished, they may have such Supplies of Men sent them, as they want for their Defence.

*Wright*, for his Negligence and Cowardice, was sent Home a Prisoner; but the Affairs of the *French* in the *Charibbee* Islands did not receive that Turn which we threatened them with.

The *Assistance* Frigate meeting with a *French* Fly-boat of 800 Tuns, and 60 Guns, loaden with 30 Masts, and all Manner of Stores, for the Use of the *French* Men of War, took her, and brought her into *Barbados*; one of the best Things that was done by the Maritime Officers in that Expedition.

On the 16th of *January*, Capt. *Wren*, who succeeded Admiral *Wright* in the Command of the Leeward Fleet, arrived with a Fleet of Merchant Ships under his Convoy, he having 8 Men of War.

On the 24th of the same Month, Col *Kendal* having received Intimation, that 9 *French* Men of War were plying to the North-East of the Island, with the Advice of the Council, ordered 2 Merchant Men to be taken into their Majesties Service, and fitted for Men of War: Which was done accordingly; and being joined with their Majesties Ships, the *Norwich*, the *Mary*, the *Antelope*, the *Mordaunt*, and the *Diamond*, with 2 Sloops, they set sail the 30th, but having cruized several Days off the North East of this Isle, and in the Latitude of *Martinico*, without meeting with the Enemy, they returned to *Barbados* the 5th of *February*. After which it was resolved, that Capt. *Wren*, with the same Ships, should set sail to the Leeward Islands, together with the Merchant Men bound thither, and to *Jamaica*; and at his Arrival there, take into his Company the *Assistance*, the *Hampshire*, and the *St. Paul* Fireship; and then endeavour to find out the Enemy.

In order to this he set sail on the 17th of *February*, and the 21st in the Evening, being off the *Delcadas*, he saw 16 *French* Men of War, and 2 Fireships, commanded by the Count de *Blenac*, Governor of the *French* Islands. They sailed together all Night without any Action, tho' they were very near one another. About two the next Morning the *French* were on his Weather Quarter. At five he spread his Flag at the Fore-top Mast Head. At 6 the *French* Admiral made his Sign for a Council of War, and drew his Fleet into a Line of Battle. From 6 till past 7 they had little Wind, Calms, and much Rain. About 8 in the Morning the *French* having a Gale, bore down upon Capt. *Wren*. The

*Mary*



*Mary* then bringing up the Rear, they first engaged with her, and afterwards with the rest of his Squadron; which lasted from 8 till 12 at Noon, and gave all his Merchant Men the Opportunity of getting clear. In the mean Time the Enemy had got the *Mordaunt*, commanded by Capt. *Butler*; the *Mary*, by Lieutenant *Wyat*; and the *England* Frigate, by Capt. *Stubbles*, in the midst of them; but they cleared themselves with all the Conduct and Bravery imaginable.

Capt. *Wren's* Squadron consisted but of 7 Ships: Against which the *French* had 14, from 40 to 60 Guns, and 2 from 30 to 40 Guns, besides 2 Fire-Ships: Which is but an ill Proof of their boasted Courage and Conduct; for, notwithstanding all this Disparity, Capt. *Wren* brought all his Squadron into *Barbados* on the 25th of *February*, except the *England* Frigate, who bore away to *Jamaica*. Neither did any of the Merchants Ships fall into the Enemies Hands.

This was a very brave Action of Capt. *Wren's*, and one of the best that has been done in the *West-Indies* in the late Wars.

The Mortality continued all this Year at *Barbados*, especially among the Sailors; insomuch that 'twas common to bury 10, 15, and 20 a Day at the *Bridge-Town*; and the Sickness abated little the next. Most of the Ships Crews, Men of War, and Merchant Men died of it: And the Inhabitants taking the Contagion, decreased daily.

The King's Ships could not go out a Cruising, for Want of Men. Capt. *Wren* was among the Number of the Dead; and the Ships were justly said to be *Graves*.

On the Revolution in *England* several Members of the Council of *Barbados* were misrepresented, as disaffected to the Government: But Col. *Kendal* having informed himself of the Injustice that had been done them, gave such a Recommendation of them at Home, that all such as desired it, were restored to their Seats at that Board.

About this Time his Majesty was pleased to appoint certain Lords and Gentlemen, of whom eight had Salaries, and the other were honorary Members, or rather Members by their Places, to be a Committee for Trade and the Plantations. This Committee are since better known by the Appellation of, *The Lords of Trade*, &c. Their Stile shews what their Business was to be; and every Thing relating to the Plantations, or Trade, is now brought before them.

The Island of *Barbados* being under their Care, and one of the most considerable Parts of it, 'twas necessary to men-

tion the establishing this Committee; of whom we may have Occasion to speak in this and other Parts of our History.

Besides the Mortality in *Barbados* in the Year 1692, there was very unseasonable Weather, and such Rains, that the Planters could not send their Sugars to the Ports. Most of the Masters of Ships who came to this Island at this Time, were buried here; and the Condition of the People was truly deplorable.

The Assembly passed an Act concerning Trade; which the Governor signed the 2d of *August*. And another to raise, arm, and accouter 1000 Men, for an Expedition against the French; tho' Hands were then so scarce in *Barbados*, that they could ill spare them. Another Act passed, and was signed in *October*, appointing an Oath to be taken by all such, as by the Laws of this Island are, or shall be impowered to hear and determine Writs of Error, and Petitions of Grievances, and all other Matters of Equity whatsoever. Another very necessary Act past, and was signed the same Month; entitled, *An Act for Encouragement of all Negroes and Slaves that shall discover any Conspiracy.*

The Assembly earnestly pressed the Governor, and desired their Agents in *England*, to write to, and petition the Lords of the Committee, to permit a Regiment of Soldiers, designed for the Leeward Expedition against the *French*, to remain in *Barbados* when the Expedition was over; and pass an Act for free Quarter for them: But we never understood that a Regiment was granted them while this Governor staid here.

The Assembly passed an Act, for prohibiting the selling of Rum, or any strong Liquors, to any Negro, or other Slave; which the Governor signed: But this Act, like others in other Places, has been easily and often evaded.

The Governor had a Present from the Country this Session; and the Grand Jury sitting at the *Bridge* drew up a very loyal Address to their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*; which was presented them by Col. *Edwyn Stede*, introduced by the Earl of *Rochester*. At which Time his Majesty conferred the Honour of Knighthood on Col. *Stede*, in Consideration of his faithful Services.

The Reader may have the Curiosity to know the Reason of their passing the Act concerning the Negroes above-mentioned. The Preamble to the Act for their discovering Conspiracies, tells us: *Whereas sundry of the Negroes and Slaves of this Island, have been long preparing, contriving, and designing a most horrid, bloody, damnable and detestable Rebellion, Massacre, Assassination, and Destruction, by them to be committed, &c.*

This

This Plot was the most general the Slaves ever hatched, and brought nearest to Execution. The Villains were so cunning, as to observe the Want of Inhabitants, occasioned by the Pestilence and War, and thought they should never have a better Opportunity to accomplish their diabolical Purposes, tho' one would think, that Wretches capable of so foolish, as well as bloody a Design, could never have much thought of the Matter: For what could they pretend to do? Could they maintain themselves there without Provisions? Would it have mended their Condition to have changed their Masters? And instead of serving Free-men, have been Slaves to Slaves, the *French*. Or did they imagine the Christians would have suffered them to set up a Negro Monarchy, or Republick, in the midst of their Governments, *English, Dutch, and French*? They would rather have leagued, than have suffered such an unnatural and dangerous Independence. Would they have returned to their original Barbarity? How could they have got to *Africa*? They would have been looked upon as common Enemies by all Nations: And if *England* had not thought fit to have chastized them, as they most certainly and severely would have done, every Christian People would have thought it fair to have attacked them, and carried them into worse Slavery, than what they basely endeavoured to free themselves from, by 'Treason, Murder, and hellish Ingratitude.

Before we reflect any farther upon it, the Reader will expect to know more of the Particulars, which are these.

This Design, as has been said, had been carried on a long Time; but the Conspirators met with several Disappointments about the Execution of it. The Conspiracy was to kill the Governor; and at the same Time those who were chiefly trusted in each Plantation, were to fall upon their Masters and Overseers; and afterwards to rendezvous with what Arms, Ammunition, and Horses they could seize, at the *Bridge-Town*; where they were to form themselves into several Regiments of Horse and Foot; of which they had agreed who were to be the principal Officers. They were to have been farther supplied with Arms and Ammunition out of the publick Magazine, by a Negro employed there under the Store-keeper, who was to have been murdered by his Slave. They designed also to surprize the Fort, and from thence to batter the Ships in the Harbour. But their wicked Contrivances were happily brought to Light by two of the chiefest of the Conspirators, who were over-heard as they were discoursing of it; and being immediately seized, were condemned to be hanged in Chains, till they were starved to



Death; which they endured four Days, and then finding they were not relieved by the Succour they hoped for from their Accomplices, they promised to declare the whole Design; and accordingly did it, making a full Confession, and discovering the principal Conspirators; who were secured, put to the Torture, and several of them executed.

The Laws made on this Occasion are in the Abridgment of the Laws of the Plantations, and in the Statutes at large of the Island of *Barbados*. When we consider that above half of the Blacks are *Creolians*, or Natives of the Isle, their Folly and Madnes appear the more unaccountable; that they should be willing to change their natural Lords for foreign. If they imagined they could get to *Guinea*, or could maintain themselves at *Barbados*, they must be Fellows of the poorest Capacities upon Earth, and their Understanding be as vile as their Condition.

This was the greatest Danger the *Barbadians* were ever exposed to from their Slaves: And the good Laws that were made for preventing the like Conspiracies for the future, have in a great Measure answered the End.

As for the Dispute that happened in this Governor's Time, between him and Col. *Hallet*; and the Procefs thereupon, having no sufficient Memoirs to make a just Report of the Matter, we can only mention it, and proceed with our History.

The thousand Men, of which we have spoken, were rais'd, according to the Act of the Assembly, and formed two Regiments; one commanded by Col. *Richard Salter*; the other by Col. *John Boteler*, both Planters in this Island; and were intended to join with some Forces expected from *England*, in order to undertake an Expedition against *Martinico*. A good Squadron of Men of War were equipped in *England*, and sailed for *Barbados*, about the latter End of the Year 1692, having on Board Col. *Foulk's* and Col. *Godwin's* Regiments of Foot, and 200 Recruits of Col. *Lloyd's*.

Sir *Francis Wheeler* was Commander of the Men of War; and Col. *Foulks* of the Land-Forces, who arriving at *Barbados*, was joined by Col. *Salter*, and Col. *Boteler*.

The Fleet sailed from that Island the 30th of *March*, 1693, and on the 1st of *April* arrived at *Martinico*, where they anchored in the *Cul de Sac Marine*. We must observe, that the two *Barbados* Regiments, when raised, the Gentlemen and others, Volunteers, that went from thence with them, made the whole Number of *Barbadians* 13 or 1400 Men, above half of the Land-Forces.

The Place where Sir *Francis* anchored was the South-East Part of the Island, about a Mile and half from the Shore. Himself, Col. *Foulk*, and Col. *Lloyd*, went in a Sloop, to see for a convenient Place, in order to land their Men.

The *French* had several small Guards along the Shore; from one of which a Musket Shot struck Sir *Francis* under the Right Pap, and fell down at his Feet, having only made a great Contusion. Orders were given for landing of the Forces, but the Wind blowing very fresh, 'twas deferred till next Day; when, about 9 in the Morning, Col. *Foulk* landed with 1500 Men, without any Opposition. The Boats were immediately sent back, and towards Evening the rest of the Forces also landed. On the 3d of *April* they continued ashore, and destroyed all the Houses and Plantations about *Cul de Sac Marine*; most of which were good Sugar-Works; the Inhabitants and Negroes flying into the Woods.

The 4th the Forces returned on Board. The 5th Sir *Francis Wheeler* went ashore, with a Detachment of 500 Men, in the Bay towards the *Diamond*, burnt several Houses and Plantations; and at Night came on Board again. The same Day a Lieutenant of one of the *Barbados* Regiments going ashore without Orders, with 6 or 7 Soldiers, besides the Boat's Crew, fell into an Ambuscade: Two of them were killed, and the rest taken Prisoners.

The 6th Lieutenant Colonel *Lilliston* was sent ashore with a strong Party, to destroy the Country on the Side of the Bay towards the *Diamond*; and having performed the same, returned on Board with his Men towards Night.

The 9th Col. *Codrington* joined them with Col. *Lloyd's* Regiment, and the Leeward Forces. But Col. *Foulk* remained without Action till the 12th, when 'twas resolved, in a Council of War, to sail to *St. Pierre*, where the Fleet arrived the 15th, and anchored within Musket Shot of the Shore.

On the 17th the *English* landed, and their advanced Parties had some Skirmishes with the Enemy. Col. *Foulk* commanded an Eminence to be possessed, and sent out several Parties, who advancing into the Country, destroyed all before them.

On the 18th the *English* posted themselves on a Hill, within Cannon Shot of the Town of *St. Pierre*; and several Field-pieces were brought ashore; which played upon the Enemy, who lay behind their Entrenchments.

The 19th the *French* made a Sally upon *Foulk's* Out-guards, but were repulsed by Part of Col. *Foulk's* Regiment, led by Capt. *Sproston*, who pursued them to their Trenches;

where the Officer that commanded them was killed. Col. *Blackstone* supported Capt. *Sproston* with a Leeward Regiment; and the Enemy was so discouraged, that they ventured out of their Lines no more.

Such was the End of this *Martinico* Expedition, wherein the *Barbadians* were rather too forward, than otherwise; and had the Officers who came from *England* done their Duty, as well as these that came from *Barbados*, we might probably have given a better Account of it. For a Council of War being held, 'twas resolved that the Men and Artillery should be re-imbarked; which was done: And the only Reason I ever heard of, was, because the Fort was a regular Work; and that, 'tis to be supposed, was known before the *English* landed there. 'Tis said, the Men were sickly: If so, the keeping them aboard, and carrying them to the Leeward, was not the Way to cure them.

The Forces made all together 4 or 5000 Men, and were enough to have dispossessed the *French* of all their Sugar-Islands. Col. *Salter*, and Col. *Botcler*, returned to *Barbados*; which Island had only lost more Hands, and no Soldiers were left to supply their Places.

Col. *Foulk*, Col. *Goodwin*, Major *Abrahall*, and other Officers died a Ship-board, and met with an inglorious Death, in avoiding a glorious one. 'Tis true, the *French* at *Martinico* were enough frighten'd, and most of the richest Inhabitants ship'd themselves and their valuable Effects for *France*; some of whom were intercepted by the *English*.

Col. Francis  
Ruffel, Go-  
vernor.

His Majesty King *William* having recalled Col. *Kendal*, appointed Col. *Francis Ruffel*, Brother to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Orford*, to be Governor of *Barbados*, and gave him a Commission for a Regiment of Soldiers, which were to be transported to that Island, and there to remain. Accordingly the Assembly took Care for their Accommodation against their Arrival, which was in the Year 1694. And Col. *Kendal* being returned to *England*, his Majesty was pleased to make him one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

Tho' some Accounts brought Advice, that the Sickness in *Barbados* was abated, yet 'tis certain, that the Men, both ashore and aboard, died as fast as ever; and the two Men of War in *Carlisle-Bay*, the *Tyger* and *Mermaid*, wanted Hands so much, that the Assembly were forced to pass an Act, for speedy supplying them with Men.

With Col. *Ruffel* went his Lady, the Lady *North* and *Grey*, and her Daughter, Sister to the present Lord *North*, who both died there.



The first Act now in Force, which the new Governor Mr. *Ruffel* passed, was, to prevent the breaking up or taking away of any Rocks or Stones in any Part of the Sea, or Sea-Shores before this Island; which Act is signed by Mr. *Thomas Brewster*, who, 'tis said, acted as Deputy Secretary, by the Governor's Order; and *George Pain*, Esq; Clerk of the Assembly. The latter being some time after made Deputy Secretary, the present Solicitor-General was chosen Clerk of the Assembly in his stead.

The Government here thought fit to set forth the *Brigantine Marygold* to go to Leeward, and fetch up the Remainder of the Men that were left there, after the *Martinico* Expedition.

The Assembly advanced 700*l.* to victual the *Bristol Man* of War, and *Play Prize*; and added Mr. *Francis Eyles*, a worthy Merchant of *London*, to the two Agents before-mentioned, ordering by an Act, that 1500*l.* should be remitted to him for the Service of the Island. They presented the Governor with 2000*l.* and maintained his Regiment. The Governor, Council, and Assembly, transmitted a very loyal Address of Condolance to his Majesty King *William*, on the never enough lamented Death of his Royal Consort, our Sovereign Queen *Mary*, Sister in all things to our present Gracious and Glorious Queen *Anne*; which the King was pleased to receive very graciously, and some time after knighted Col. *Willoughby Chamberlayne*, for his good and faithful Services in this Island; who being since dead, his Lady married Mr. *Mitford Crow*, a Merchant of *London*, of whom more hereafter.

The *Child's Play* Man of War convoyed a Fleet of Merchant Ships from *Barbados* to *England*; and 'tis observable, that the Islanders were in a great measure at the Expence of it: For without they had victual'd her, she could not have failed.

Besides these Charges, the Governors began now to be a sort of Grievance, by their exacting Presents from the Country, and looking upon those Gifts to be their Right, which were only extraordinary Benevolences of the Inhabitants.

Col. *Ruffel* had 2000*l.* more, *A. D.* 1695. tho', if Report is true, he did not deserve it; for we have been credibly informed, there were not seven Rounds of Powder in the Forts when Monsieur *Pointy* came in Sight of *Barbados*, as he was sailing to *Cartbagen*; and had he known what Circumstances the *Barbadians* were in, perhaps he had ended his Expedition before he reached the Continent. There

was Powder enough in *Barbados* not long before; but the Pirates had their Agents in this Island as well as other Places, and some how or other Means were made use of to supply those at *Madagascar* with it. 'Tis not to be questioned, but they paid a good Price for it; and if the Gentlemen of *Barbados* had any Jealousy of such an infamous Traffick, we wonder they did not, by their Agents in *England*, take Care to complain of it.

Francis  
Bond, Esq;  
Governor.

Col. *Ruffel* dying, just as this Matter began to make a Noise, *Francis Bond*, Esq; President of the Council, undertook the Administration, till a Governor arrived from *England*: And the President, Council, and General Assembly, having Advice of the damnable Assassination Plot, sent over a hearty and loyal Address to his Majesty, *to congratulate his Majesty's wonderful and happy Deliverance from the most barbarous and bloody Assassination lately designed against his Royal Person by execrable Villains, and Monsters of Mankind, who are the Dishonour of the present, and will be the Horror and Detestation of future Ages.*

A very loyal Address was also presented to his Majesty on the same Occasion, from the Grand-Jury of the Island of *Barbados*.

In this President's Time several good Laws were made, which remain still in Force; and which we shall particularize in the Order of Time, as they passed. The first is an Act declaring the Decision of all controverted Elections of Members to serve in the General Assembly, to be legally and rightfully in the Representatives of his Majesty's liege People of this Island; which was signed the 10th of February, 1696. And on the 16th of the same Month, another Bill passed, being *A supplemental and explanatory Act to an Act, entitled, An Act for binding and ordering poor Apprentices.* And the 3d of March following, another, entitled, *An Act that the solemn Affirmation and Declaration of the People called Quakers, shall be accepted instead of an Oath in the usual Form.*

About this time, Vice-Admiral *Nevil* arrived at *Barbados*, with a Squadron of Men of War; and the 28th of April, 1697. sailed from this Island, to look after *Monseigneur Pointy*.

The Assembly still sitting, an Act passed the 18th of May, *to disable the Judges from pleading and practising in any of the Courts of this Island; as also, another to repeal an Act, entitled, An Act for laying a Duty on Shipping, for the Publick Building of Peers, and clearing the Bar in Carlisle Road.*

Two Ships, the *Providence* and *Benjamin*, were fitted out, employed and paid by the Country, according to an

Act

Act passed for that Purpose : And in June 1697. a Bill was read, and passed the President and Council, to keep inviolate and preserve the Freedom of Elections, and appointing who shall be deemed Freeholders, and be capable of electing, or being elected Representatives, Vestry Men, or to serve as Jurors to try real Actions within this Island: A Law of very great Importance in the present Constitution of the Government of Barbados; as is that for the Settlement of the Militia of this Island.

The Barbadians had not then heard of the Conclusion of the Peace at *Reswyck*, and this Bill was enacted for their Security against Invasions. Guns were to be placed on *Lesley's Hill*, *Ramsay's Hill*, the Mount, *Brigg's Hill*, and other convenient Places, for the speedy carrying on of an Alarm.

About the Beginning of *January*, the Earl of *Bellomont* arrived at Barbados, in the *Deptford* Man of War. He was bound for his Government of *New-England* and *New-York*, and driven hither by Strefs of Weather.

News coming to this Island of the Peace, one may imagine by their Losses, that the Inhabitants, in whose Name, as well as their own, the President, Council, and Assembly, addressed King *William*, were heartily glad of the Security he had given them, by bringing *France* to Reason.

The last Act now in Force, passed in Mr. *Bond's* Presidency, was an Act for the better securing the Liberty of his Majesty's Subjects within this Island, and preventing long Imprisonment.

In 1698, his Majesty was pleased to appoint the Honou-The Honorable *Ralph Grey*, Esq; Brother to the Right Honourable the ble Ralph Grey, Esq; Governor. Earl of *Tankerville*, to be Governor of Barbados, and he sailed from *St. Hellens* on board the *Soldados Prize*, the 1st of *June*. He arrived at *Madera* the 24th of *June*, and having been nobly entertained by the Governor, during his Stay, sailed thence the 1st of *July*, and on the 26th arrived at Barbados.

The *Speedwell*, Capt. *Coulsea*, came thither in Company with the *Soldados*; aboard which Ship, in their Passage from *Madera*, a villanous Design was discovered, carried on by one *Jonathan Bear*, a Midship Man, to surprize and murder the Captain, and afterwards to run away with the Ship. Upon which *Bear*, and two other Seamen, who were chiefly concerned in the Plot, were secured; and when they came to Barbados, were put aboard the *Sheerness*, and sent in Chains to *England*.



The new Governor, Mr. *Grey*, upon his Arrival near the Shore, was saluted by the Cannon from the Castles and Forts; and coming to an Anchor, was complimented by the Council and Assembly. The next Day he came ashore, the Men of War and the Forts firing all the while. Major *Garth's* independent Company of Regular Soldiers, and some Militia Horse, were drawn up to receive him; and upon his Landing, the Council waited upon him, and conducted him to the Council-Chamber, where his Commission was read, and the usual Oaths administered to him, and to the Members of the Council; after which they entertained him at Dinner. In the Evening the Governor, attended by several of the Council, went to Mr. *Bond's* House, two Miles from the *Bridge-Town*; where he continued till Mr. *Hotherfall's* Plantation was taken for him, and the House fitted up for his Reception.

On *Tuesday* the 2d of *August* the Assembly met, and attended him in the Council Chamber; and their Speaker, *Thomas Maxwell*, Esq; made a Speech, expressing great Loyalty and Duty to his Majesty, and congratulating the Governor's safe Arrival.

The Reader will not be displeas'd with a List of this Council and Assembly; by which he will have a clearer View of the Form of Government in *Barbados*, and the Governor's Stile.

The N A M E S of the *Governor, Council, and Assembly of Barbados*, as they were in the Year 1698.

His Excellency *Ralph Grey*, Esq;  
 Captain General and Chief Governor of the Island of *Barbados, Sancta Lucia, St. Vincent's, Dominico*, and the rest of his Majesty's Islands, Colonies, and Plantations in *America*, known by the Name of the *Charibbee-Islands*, lying and being to Windward of *Guardaloup*.

The Honourable the Members of his Majesty's COUNCIL,  
 at that Time.

*Francis Bond*, Esq; late President.

<i>John Gibbs,</i>	} Esquires.	<i>Michael Terrill,</i>	} Esquires.
<i>John Farmer,</i>		<i>David Ramsay,</i>	
<i>George Lillington,</i>		<i>Richard Scot,</i>	
<i>George Andrews,</i>		<i>Benjamin Cryer,</i>	
<i>William Sharp,</i>		<i>Richard Walter,</i>	
<i>Tobias Frere,</i>		<i>Thomas Merrick,</i>	

The Members of the then General A S S E M B L Y, viz.

For the Precincts of

St. Michael.	{	George Peers, Esq;
	{	William Wheeler, Esq;
Christ-Church.	{	Thomas Maxwell, Esq; Speaker.
	{	Daniel Hooper, Esq;
St. Philips.	{	William Fortescue, Esq;
	{	Henry Markland, Esq;
St. John.	{	John Leslie, Esq;
	{	James Colliton, Esq;
St. George.	{	Peter Flewellin, Esq;
	{	Miles Toppin, Esq;
St. Joseph.	{	John Holder, Esq;
	{	Henry Gallop, Esq;
St. Andrew.	{	William Cleeland, Esq;
	{	William Doten, Esq;
St. James.	{	Abel Alleyne, Esq;
	{	William Holder, Esq;
St. Thomas.	{	Thomas Sadleir, Esq;
	{	Jonathan Downes, Esq;
St. Peter.	{	Samuel Maynard, Esq;
	{	Robert Harrison, Esq;
St. Lucyes.	{	John Gibbs, Esq;
	{	Thomas English, Esq;

Upon the Governor's Arrival, the Assembly fell presently to Business, were unanimous and speedy in their Debates, and in a Week's Time had two Bills ready; as an Act to declare and ascertain the Rights and Powers of the General Assembly of this Island; and an Act to settle five hundred Pounds per Annum on his Excellency, for his Habitation. At which time we find Mr. William Hart was Deputy Secretary. The Preamble to the last Act gives us the Reasons why the Governor did not think fit to take up his Residence at Fontabell: *Whereas it is necessary and expedient for the Inhabitants of this Island to find and provide an Habitation for his Majesty's Governor of this Island; and by Reason of the Decay, and want of Repairs at Fontabell, the late Habitation of the Governor, and the Danger he will be exposed to in Case of War, so that it is no ways fit for his Excellency's Reception, &c.* But since it had done in time of War, that Argument in time of Peace might have been left out of the Preamble.

The 500 *l.* a Year was paid for *Hotherfall's* House and Plantation, which, 'tis probable, the Governor liked better, and thought to be a better Bargain than the other.

'Tis very certain, this Gentleman was much in the good Graces of the People of *Barbados*; never any Governor was so well beloved. He was a Man of Honour; his Soul noble as well as his Birth, and he was not capable of doing an ill thing by them for his own Interest. Such Men will soon gain the Affections of a Colony, and they will in the main find their Advantage by it too; for People give more when they see Governors are not greedy, than when they are always begging, or doing worse.

On the 7th of *September* an Act passed for two thousand Pounds for his Excellency's Charges of his Voyage, towards the better Support for the Government; the Title of which is not very grammatical. Mr. *George Payne* signed it, acting as Deputy Secretary *pro hac vice*: And Mr. *Rawlins*, Clerk of the Assembly, the same Day procured an Act to appoint him to collect the Body of the Laws, and for printing the Laws of the Island of *Barbados*, contained in the ensuing Volume: The Volume he published, from which the Writer of this History took some of his Matter, as the Titles of the Acts, &c. and that Collection going down no farther than the above-mentioned 7th of *September*, 1698, we have no farther Helps from him. The same Day the Governor, Council, and Assembly, passed the Act concerning the General Sessions.

This being a Time of Peace, few Events happened here worth recording. The Mortality continued till the Year 1698, but grew less and less from the Year 1694. In the first of Mr. *Grey's* Government it ceased, and the Island grew healthful again, but not in such a Degree as it was twenty or thirty Years before; for two Years afterwards, *A. D.* 1700, the Sicknefs returned: And at the same Time there was a great Scarcity of Corn and Provisions; but as the Mortality did not last long, so the Scarcity was supplied by Imports from *New-England*.

About this Time *William Welby*, Esq; was made Secretary of the Island; a very worthy Gentleman, who served the late Duke of *Devonshire*, and his Grace the present Duke, in the same Capacity. This Office was afterwards made over to *Alexander Skeyne*, Esq; the present Secretary of *Barbados*.

The same Year, 1700, Sugars were scarce and dear; and there happened also a Hurricane, which did much Damage, threw down several Warehouses, and drove two Ships and two Sloops ashore.



In the following Year, 1701, the Governor being indisposed in his Health, removed to *England*, leaving the Administration in the Hands of the then President of the Council, *John Farmer*, Esq; in whose Time his Majesty King *William* dying, the Privy-Council in *England* notified her present Majesty's Accession to the Throne, to the President and Council in *Barbados*. Upon which *Col. Farmer* immediately gave Directions for proclaiming the Queen; and on the 18th of *May*, 1702, the President and Council, being accompanied by *Mr. Skeyne* the Secretary, *Mr. George Hannah* the Provost-Marshal, and other publick Officers, the Clergy, and Gentlemen of the *Bridge-Town*, and other Parts of the Island, attended by several Troops of Horse, and the Regiment of Foot Guards, went in a solemn Procession from *James Fort* to the common Parade, where the Proclamation was made. After which the Forts and Ships discharged their Guns three Times, and the People gave all publick Demonstrations of their Joy on this Occasion. The President and Council, together with the principal Officers and Inhabitants of the Island, drew up a very handsom Address of Congratulation to the Queen, and condoled heartily with her on the Death of his late Majesty: Which was presented by the Right Honourable *Ralph Lord Grey of Werk*, their late Governor; for the Earl of *Tankerville* being dead, his Brother, *Mr. Grey*, succeeded him in the Barony, but not in the Earldom.

*John Farmer, Esq;*  
Governor.

The War was no sooner proclaimed between *France* and *England*, but the Gentlemen and Merchants of *Barbados* fitted out a good Number of Privateers, to act against the *French*. Sixteen of them meeting together near *Guardaloup*, the Men landed on the Island, burnt a great Part of the West End of it; and brought off a good Number of Negroes. In the same Year an Earthquake was felt at *Barbados*, which lasted a Minute and a half, but did no considerable Damage. The Inhabitants were at this Time more healthy than they had been for several Years before.

'Tis said the Blacks then formed another Design to burn the *Bridge-Town*, and seize the Forts; but the Plot was timely discovered, and the chief Conspirators executed.

In the following Year, 1703, her Majesty was pleased to appoint *Sir Bevill Greenvill* to be Governor of *Barbados*; and it having been found burthensome to the Country to make Presents of 2000 *l.* and other large Sums to the Governors, Orders were sent to put a Stop to that Custom; and as a Compensation for this, the Governor's Salary was encreased from 1200 to 2000 *l.* a Year.

*Sir Bevill Greenvill*  
Governor.

This Government in King *William's* Time had been promised to Mr. *Mitford Crow*, a Merchant of *London*, who had served an Apprenticeship to a *Barbados* Merchant, Mr. *Abraham Tillard*, and married the Lady *Chamberlayne* of this Island. He kissed the King's Hand for it, and prepared his Equipage; but when his Majesty was dead, Sir *Bevill Greenwill* put in for it, and obtained it.

The Assembly, to compliment the new Governor, appointed Sir *John Stanly*, Secretary to the Lord Chamberlain, and Sir *Bevill's* Brother in Law, to be one of their Agents; in which their Conduct was courtly indeed, but not very politick; for how is it possible any Man should be able to serve the Island as an Agent ought, who is not fully apprized of her Concerns, who does not perfectly understand her true Interest, and has other Avocations of more Importance, to him at least, than his Agency?

Sir *Bevill* arriving at *Barbados*, a House was built for him and his Successors, on *Pilgrim's* Plantation, where he resided.

There was a Novelty in the Ministry here, which was a little extraordinary; the Sex was shifted, and the fair Favourite did not lose her Time nor her Market.

On the 27th of *September*, her Majesty's Ship the *Blackwall*, Capt. *Samuel Martin* Commander, brought into *Carlisle Bay* a *French* Privateer of 12 Guns, and 120 Men, which he took in that Latitude; as also, an *Irish* Ship bound for *Barbados*, which had been taken the Day before by the same Privateer.

On the 2d of *February* her Majesty's Ship the *Dreadnought*, having on Board Col. *Seymour*, Governor of *Maryland*, arrived there; where he stayed a few Days, and then proceeded in his Voyage, having been driven thither by Strefs of Weather.

The Island of *Barbados* was at this Time miserably divided into Factions; one was for the Governor, and the other against him. The latter sent Complaints to *England*, which were contradicted by those of the other Interest, tho' 'twas generally reported, that Sir *Bevill Greenwill* had done several unfair Things; the Particulars of which not being come to our Hands, they are like to be forgotten.

In his Time one *Chilton*, who made the References to *Cook's Reports*, was Attorney General of *Barbados*. He had the Misfortune to kill a Man there, and being guilty of many male Practices, was suspended: When he came to *England*, he also joined with the Complainants against the Governor, and succeeded almost as well as if he had been innocent.

The Faction in *Barbados* ran so high, that one Gentleman was accused of Designs against the Governor's Life; but tho' he was fined 2000 *l.* yet 'twas generally thought, there was more Malice than Reason in the Accusation. The Gentleman was one of the Council, and had we believed he had been guilty, we should have named him.

In the Year 1705, the Assembly taking into Consideration the great Want of Money in the Island, occasioned by the sending away all the Silver from thence, upon the Proclamation for reducing Pieces to a certain Standard in the *West-Indies*, passed an Act to allow 65000 *l.* Paper Credit, empowering the Treasurer to give out Bills for such a Sum, and lend them to the Planters, on Security of Land and Negroes. *John Holder*, Esq; Speaker of this Assembly was appointed Treasurer, and was to have 5 *per Cent.* for managing these Bills. The Money'd Men were generally against this Project; for they found their Debtors were glad of an Opportunity to pay them in Paper.

The Assembly who passed the Act being dissolved, the next that sat proceeded vigorously against those who were concerned in it, and sent an Address to *England* to complain of it.

On the 4th of *July*, 1706. the Squadron of her Majesty's Ships, under the Command of Captain *Kerr*, arrived at *Barbados*; from whence they sailed to the Leeward Islands, having on board Colonel *Park*, who was appointed Governor of those Islands.

*Sir Bevill Greenwill* being either recalled, or having obtained Leave to come for *England*, her Majesty was pleased, in Consideration of *Mr. Crow's* eminent Services at *Barcelona*, to let him succeed *Sir Bevill* in the Government. The latter embarked on board the *Kingsale* Man of War, bound for *England*, and died in his Voyage homewards, as the late President, Colonel *Farmer*, had done some time before.

*Mr. Crow* arrived in *Barbados*, in the Year 1707. and, according to his Instructions, removed those Gentlemen that had been concerned in the Paper Credit Act from their Places at the Council Board, and from all other that were in the Governor's Power. This bred Discontents, and has occasioned more Remonstrances to be sent to *England*.

*Mitford*  
*Crow, Esq;*  
Governor.

The Treasurer, *Mr. Holder*, was obliged to refund the 5 *per Cent.* he had received for managing the Paper Credit; and he appealing, the Matter depends at this time.

Some Months before *Mr. Crow's* Arrival, a very odd Accident happened here to one *Mr. Samuel Frazon*, a Merchant, who coming from on board a Man of War, a Storm



arose, and drove him in his Boat out to Sea; so that 'twas feared he was lost. At last News came of him, that after having driven upon the Ocean six Days, without any Subsistence, not so much as Bread and Water, he fell upon *St. Vincents*; where, as soon as he had landed with his Sailors and Negro, the Indians stripped them stark naked. The two Sailors died in a little time of the Fatigue, but the Merchant and his Black survived it. *Mr. Frazon* continued in that Condition three Months; at the end of which the Indians carried him over to *Martinico*; where he paid 17 or 18 Pistoles for his Ransom, but they would not let him redeem his Negro. From *Martinico* the French sent him to *Nevis*; from whence he returned to *Barbados*.

Another Boat at the same time, with two Negroes, drove off to Sea, and they landed the same Day at *St. Vincents*; where the *Charibbeans* do not always deal so civilly by the *English*, who are driven thither by Storms, as they did by *Mr. Frazon*, tho' they used him ill.

Whatever was the Issue of the Paper Credit Project, 'tis certain the Conteſts it raised in the Island were not over when more warm and dangerous ones arose between the Governors and the Inhabitants of the Island. *Mr. Crow's* Successor in this Government was *Robert Lowther*, Esq; whose first Stay here was short; for I find he was recalled in 1713. whether for Irregularities in his Conduct, or for the Ill-will the Ministry in *England* bore him on Account of his being preferred to that Post by their Predecessors before the *Utrecht* Peace, I know not; but the former seems most probable; for after he was recalled, and *William Sharp*, Esq; President of the Council was ordered to take upon him the Administration, he was so loth to part with his Authority, that *Samuel Cox*, Esq; and *Timothy Salter*, Esq; Members of the Council, were obliged to remonstrate against his keeping it so strenuously, that he endeavoured to have it understood to be an Act of Rebellion, and to have them prosecuted accordingly, of which we must speak farther in the Sequel. *Mr. Sharp* behaved so well in his Station the first time he was Commander in Chief, that the Earl of *Sunderland*, then Secretary of State, approved his Conduct by Letter, and this his second Administration was as wise and as well approved. He continued as President till *Mr. Lowther* returned to *Barbados* with his former Character after his late Majesty's Accession to the Throne, and in a worse Disposition to abuse his Power there than when he formerly held it. How can a good Subject, without the deepest Regret observe, that so just, so gracious a Prince as our late Sovereign should have

Robert  
Lowther,  
Esq; Govern-  
nor.

William  
Sharp, Esq;  
President.

Counsellors

Counsellors near his Royal Person, capable of recommending one so obnoxious to his Majesty's Favour for a Post of that Trust and Honour. But this History of our *American Colonies* abounds with Instances of the like Recommendations. Mr. *Lowther* was not long in *Barbados* before he fell out with the Rev. Mr. *Gordon*, Rector of *St. Michael's-bridge*, and Commissary or Vice-bishop of the Island, and wrote against him to his Diocesan the Bishop of *London*, representing him as a Man of ill Principles and Morals. He wrote also against him to the *Barbados* Agents, and they made the Contents of his Letter the Subject of a Memorial to the Board of Trade; where Mr. *Gordon* succeeded not so well as at the Board of Regency. The Proceedings of the Agents and their Success at the Board of Trade obliged Mr. *Gordon* to quit the Island, to take proper Measures in *England* for his Defence, by an Appeal to the Lords Justices, from whom he found such Relief as the Goodness of his Cause deserved against the Oppression and Ruin that threatened him. Their Lordships Decree runs thus.

Governor  
Lowther's  
Prosecutions.

‘ His Majesty having been pleased by his Order in Council of the 15th of *March* 1718. to refer unto a Committee the humble Petition of *William Gordon*, Clerk, Rector of the Parish of *St. Michael*, in *Barbados*; complaining as well against a Petition of the Agents of the said Island, and a Report of the Board of Trade thereupon, as against a Letter wrote by the Governor of the said Island to the Lord Bishop of *London*, highly reflecting on the said *Gordon's* Conduct as Commissary, and on his Principles and Character, &c.’ The Lords Justices ordered Depositions to be taken at *Barbados*, as well on the Part of the Governor, as of Mr. *Gordon*, who returning thither had the said Order served on the Governor, who instead of proceeding regularly thereon, caused a Copy of it to be proclaimed by beat of Drum in the *Bridge-Town*, and again published in all the Churches in the Island; and farther, Mr. *Gordon* was sent to the common Goal by Warrant under the Governor's Secretary's Hand without assigning any Cause. And the above-mentioned Depositions not being returned in the appointed Time, and nothing farther offered to make good the Allegations against Mr. *Gordon*, their Lordships reported it as their Opinion, that the Charges of the Governor and Agents of *Barbados* against Mr. *Gordon* are groundless, and ought to be dismissed.

Mr. *Francis Lanfa*, Merchant of *Bridge-Town*, having had a Ship unlawfully seized by Order of Governor *Lowther*, presented a Petition to the King in Council, complaining of

1720.

the said Seizure, upon which an Order was sent to *Barbados*, directing an Enquiry into the Matter of Mr. *Lansa's* Complaint against the Governor, and Mr. *Henry Lafcelles*, Collector of the Customs, and Mr. *Isaac Lenoir* the Governor's Secretary. But the Governor far from obeying the Order, treated it contemptuously, and abused *Jonathan Blenman*, Esq; Mr. *Lansa's* Counsel, took from him the original Order, and refused to redeliver it, and detained Mr. *Lansa's* Letter of Attorney, declaring it to be forged, and committed Mr. *Blenman* to Prison, and caused him to be bound over in a thousand Pound Bail, which he forfeited on his coming to *England* to complain. But upon hearing the Cause, the Lords Justices ordered, that *all Proceedings on the Recognizance be vacated, and if any Levy had been made upon the Forfeiture, that the same be forthwith returned to Mr. Blenman or his Agent.*

Some time before this, Sir *Charles Cox*, Member in frequent Parliaments for the Borough of *Southwark*, presented a Petition to the King in Council, in Behalf of his Brother *Samuel Cox*, Esq; against Governor *Lowther*, who removed Mr. *Cox* from the Council Board without any just Cause or Reason, as is said in his Petition; this Cause being afterwards heard by the Lords Justices, they declared that Sir *C. Cox* had made out the Allegations of his Petition, that the Governor's Reasons for the Suspension of Mr. *Cox* were without the least Ground, and that the said Governor had acted *arbitrarily and illegally*. They also ordered that *Samuel Cox*, Esq; be restored to his Place and Seniority in the Council, and put into, and take upon him the Exercise of the Government of the Island during the Absence of the Governor, who was recalled, and had appointed *John Frere*, Esq; his Nephew, to take his Place in the Government of the Island; and the Lords Justices farther ordered the said *John Frere*, Esq; to repair forthwith before the Council Board in *England*, to answer for his having acted in Contempt of his Majesty's Order, relating to the Administration of the Government, signified to him since Governor *Lowther's* Departure by Mr. Secretary *Craggs*.

The Lords Justices at the same time took into Consideration the Case of *Alexander Walker* and *Timothy Salier*, Esqrs; both of whom, together with Mr. *Cox*, had been turned out of the Council, at which Board Mr. *Salter* and Mr. *Cox* had been charged with Rebellion, as has been before-mentioned; and at the same Time demonstrated to the Governor the Injustice of such a Charge, and dissented to the Publication of it, and the Governor repeated with Vehemence



Vehemence that they should be punished as Rebels against him. For this Governor, as did Colonel *Park* of *Antegoa*, and as all ill Governors probably will always do, endeavoured to terrify the People they govern with branding all Offences, even personal ones, with the odious name of Rebellion against them; a Term they should never be suffered to abuse. The Charge against Mr. *Cox* and Mr. *Salter* was declared, after hearing by the Lords Justices, to be *without the least Grounds*, who ordered a Stop to be put to the Prosecution, and the two Members, Mr. *Salter* and Mr. *Walker*, to be also restored to their Seats at the Council Board. I have observed, that ill Governors do generally distinguish the most worthy Persons in their Governments to be the Objects of their Hatred and Oppression, probably because they are jealous of the good Understanding of such Men, and consequently that they will not tamely submit to their intended Tyranny.

At the same Time the Lords Justices proceeded to examine farther Complaints against Governor *Lowther*, and heard the Petition of Sir *Robert Davers*, Knight of the Shire for *Suffolk*, *John Walter*, Esq; Knight of the Shire for *Surrey*, Mr. *Alleyne* his Brother-in-law, &c. Men of great Interest in *Barbados*; and after a long hearing of the Case, the Lords Justices declared that the Petitioners had made good their Allegations, by which it appeared that the Governor had taken from the Assembly above 28,000 *l.* *Barbados* Currency, contrary to his Majesty's express Instructions; and also that he had permitted a *Spanish* Vessel to trade contrary to the Acts of Trade and Navigation, and in Breach of his Oath; all which Charges having been proved against him, he was taken into the Custody of a Messenger, and ordered to be prosecuted, of which, to my very great Regret, I can say no more. The Council for the Petitioners at the Hearing were the Solicitor General, and Mr. *Talbot*, afterwards Lord Chancellor; and for the Governor Sir *William Thompson*, and Mr. *Boote*. The Attorney General who had appeared for *Lowther* returned his Brief before the second Hearing, and refused to be farther concerned in his Cause, not on Account of his extorting 28,000 *l.* nor for the Breach of his Oath; not for the prosecuting the most worthy Planters in the Island on a Pretence of Rebellion, and *Jonathan Blenman*, Esq; late Attorney General of *Barbados*, and Mr. *Gordon*, Commissary or Vice-bishop of the Island, but for being uncivil to certain Missionaries, whose Characters are found delineated in the History of *Jamaica*.

By the barbarous Usage of *Bernard Cook*, we shall see how well Justice was distributed in Mr. *Lowther's* Government, and what sort of Magistrates he employed in the Distribution of it. *Cook's* Case will appear in his Petition to the King, setting forth, ' That *Robert Lowther, Esq;* Governor of *Barbados*, having conceived a Displeasure, and ' threatned him for no other Cause, as he knows of, but that ' of his discovering the said Governor's contemptuous ' Treatment of his Majesty's most gracious Letter to him, ' the said Governor, in Favour of the Petitioner, concern- ' ing his Estate in *Barbados*, which is wrongfully detained ' from him by several Persons of great Interest and Authority there, and particularly *John Frere, Esq;* the said Governor's Nephew; and that the said Governor, to gratify ' such his Resentments, did, together with *Robert Warren,* ' and *Samuel Adams, Gent.* contrive to oppress and injure ' the Petitioner, under a false Pretence that the Petitioner had ' uttered some Words reflecting on the Modesty of the said ' *Warren's* Wife, and the Wife of the said *Adams*, by ' causing the Petitioner to be bound over to a *Petit* ' Sessions of the Peace, where several Justices from different Precincts were sent by the said Governor and ' *Guy Ball, Esq;* presided in order to punish the Petitioner ' for the said pretended Words without any Trial. That ' the said Petitioner well knowing the Attachment of the ' said Justices to the Governor, moved to traverse the said ' Complaint to the Grand Sessions, that it might be tried by ' a Jury of twelve Men. But the said Justices absolutely ' refused to let the Petitioner traverse the same; and did, ' without any legal Trial by a Jury, condemn the Petitioner ' for the said pretended Words, to be publicly whipped, and ' he was accordingly publicly whipped by the common ' Whipper of Slaves in a barbarous manner, &c.' This Petition being referred to the Lords Committee of Council, they reported, ' that the Justices of the Peace proceeded against the Petitioner without any Crime alledged; for ' that scandalous Words spoken of private Persons are no ' Grounds for criminal Prosecutions; and that the said ' Justices had proceeded illegally, for that they had not ' proper Cognizance of the Matters before them, and had ' taken upon them to examine Witnesses and determine Matters of Fact without a Jury, and have given two Sentences ' of *whipping*, which were arbitrary and illegal.' His Majesty was graciously pleased to approve of this Determination of the Lords Committees, and to order in Council *Jan. 20. 1721.* ' that *Guy Ball, Francis Bond, Thomas Maycock,* ' Junior,

‘ Junior, Robert Bishop, George Barry, John Fercherfon, Stephen Thomas, and William Kirkham, Esqrs; who were Justices present in Court at the time of the Proceedings against the Petitioner, be all removed from the Commission of the Peace.’ We shall find several of these Names among the Prosecutors of President Cox, and if we had found them under a Sentence of *Lex Talionis*, we should have thought their Punishment no more than adequate to their Crime; for the wrongfully whipping an *English* Freeman, is capable of no other Satisfaction.

The late Governor Mr. *Lowther*, expecting to be recalled, and knowing Mr. *Cox* as President of the Council would succeed him in the Administration, by Virtue of his Presidency, till a new Governor was appointed; he, as we have said, suspended Mr. *Cox* from the Council Board, that his own Nephew *Frere*, next in Council to the President, might, as senior Counsel, assume the Government, and by that Means the effectual Examination and Detection of Mr. *Lowther*'s Misdemeanors be prevented. But the Lords Justices Order to restore Mr. *Cox* and suspend Mr. *Frere*, put the Administration in the Hands of the President, who found all Places of Trust and Profit filled with Creatures of the said *Lowther*, who to keep them in those Places, procured an Act of Assembly to be passed, entitled, *An Act to preserve the Peace and Tranquillity of this Island*, still known in Barbados by the Name of the *Tranquillity Act*, it being in Truth the very reverse of the Preamble, and instead of *Peace* and *Tranquillity*, to preserve *Division* and *Discord*; for by this Law all the Instruments of Mr. *Lowther*'s tyrannical Government were kept in Power, and the President disabled to remove there, tho' the King's Commission authorised him so to do, and the Peace and Prosperity of the Island rendered it necessary. Mr. *Frere* assumed the Government upon Mr. *Lowther* his Uncle's return to England, notwithstanding President *Cox*'s Right, nay, notwithstanding Secretary *Craggs*, by Letters dated the 25th of *March*, 1720, signified to the Council of Barbados, his Majesty's Pleasure, that on no Pretence whatsoever, Mr. *Cox* should be excluded from the Administration. President *Cox* asserts in his printed Case, that *Thomas Maxwell*, Esq; *Thomas Maycock*, Esq; *John Lucia Blackman*, Esq; *Guy Ball*, and *Francis Bond*, Esqrs; Members of the Council, advised *Frere* to disobey the royal Orders, and that Mr. *Maxwell* accompanied with *Gelasius Macmahon*, a Practitioner in the Law, came to the Gate of the President's House, and calling aloud for his Majesty's royal Order, said, *Rascal, Rascal, all Rascals*, by *G—d*. We have seen how

Samuel Cox,  
Esq; Presi-  
dent.



the late Governor *Lowther* acted in that high Office: We have taken the Proofs from Records, and even have but very little better Opinion of his Creatures than of himself. However, considering the Duty of an Historian is to carry an even Hand between contending Parties, and we have not so large Memoirs for what relates to Mr. *Cox's* Opponents, as what relates to himself, and especially considering a full Discussion of this Contention in *Barbados*, would take up as much Room as is allowed me for the Continuation of this whole History of our Colonies, I shall only give Hints of the Events, without expatiating on *Affirmatives* and *Negatives*.

The royal Order came the Beginning of *December*, 1720, and Mr. *Cox* having pursuant thereunto taken upon him the Administration, made a healing Speech to the Council; some of whom, the Members before-mentioned, insisted on the Validity of the *Tranquillity Act*, and immediately formed Cabals to obstruct the Powers vested in him, to place and displace Officers, as was most for the Interest and Security of the Island; and the refractory Counsellors insisting still on the *Tranquillity Act* and the President's strict Observance of it contrary to the royal Prerogative and his Commission, he was necessitated to suspend the said Counsellors, which Proceeding of his was the more justifiable by the Repeal of the said Act in *England*. This happened so soon after his entering on the Administration, that in a Fortnight's Time a Petition against the President was signed by Messrs. *Maxwell*, *Maycock*, *Ball*, *Blackman*, *Carter*, *Bond*, and *Colleton*, Members of the Council, and Confidants of Mr. *Lowther*. The Complaints in the Petition referring chiefly to their own displacing and others, it was answered by the President, by the Reason and Necessity of his making Use of his Commission therein, to which we must refer. Not only these Counsellors, but Mr. *Lowther's* Assembly also then sitting, addressed against the President and the Gentlemen who had opposed the said *Lowther's* arbitrary and illegal Proceedings, of which so much had been said and proved, that it is astonishing to find the said *Lowther's* Administration not only justified but applauded by them in calling his Government the *greatest of Blessings*. Besides the passing the *Tranquillity Act*, so contrary to the royal Authority and the Constitution of the Island. It was these Counsellors that insisted on Mr. *Cox's* admitting Mr. *Frere* to sit at the Council Board notwithstanding he was regularly suspended and re-called to *England* by an Order from Home. These Counsellors, *Maxwell*, &c. concurred with the late Governor in the arbitrary, illegal and oppressive Proceedings against Mr. *Gordon*, Mr. *Blenman*, &c. but my

Compass

Compass will not allow me to enter into Particulars of the Misbehaviour charged upon them by President *Cox*, in Articles he exhibited against them, to his Successor in the Government. One of these Articles is sufficient to let us into it.

ARTICLE IV. ‘ The said Messieurs *Maxwell*, *Maycock*, *Blackman*, *Ball*, *Bond*, did endeavour to perplex and distress the Administration, and throw the whole Island into Confusion, by denying the Legality of the Assembly then sitting, and refusing after they were restored to the Council, to join in any Act of Government, or to consent to any *Law*, tho’ they had themselves allowed the Substance of it to be good, and of publick Utility; by which Means the *Excise Bill*, the only Fund for the Support of the Government, was endanger’d, &c.’

The President shews how little Reason he had to expect that they would grow more cool and discreet, by his Suspension for former Miscarriage; for when by Order from Home they were restored to their Seat in Council, they exulting on that Turn in their Favour, talked as if their Commander in Chief would be thrown out of his Office, and with an Air of Insult asked at the President’s House, *If he was not run away to Martinico.*

I do not wonder such Men as these were restored to Council. I have been acquainted with the Means made Use of by the Correspondents of Counsellors in *Barbados* at *London*, to procure them to be made and kept in. President *Cox* suspended or displaced the Judges who had been Abettors of Mr. *Lowther’s* Misgovernment; as *Edmund Sutton*, Esq; *John Waterman*, Esq; *James Dotten*, Esq; and if his Articles against them are true, they are unworthy of the Favour they met with, in being re-instated on the Bench of Justice.

ARTICLE VI. ‘ *Edmund Sutton*, *John Waterman*, *James Dotten*, together with *Samuel Husbands* and *John Carter*, Esqrs; a little before the Election of the Assembly, were in *Sept.* 1720, entered into a Confederacy not to take, as Judges, the Probate of Deeds for *Freeholders*, but of their own Party, and did actually refuse the Probates of many Deeds of *Freeholds*, in order to obtrude an Assembly to their own liking on the Island.’

We see by this what a Condition the People of *Barbados* were reduced to, by the Countenance given now to one, now to another Party; by alternately putting Men into and turning them out of Places, according as they made Interest at Court, and the employing of such as had been Instruments of Mr. *Lowther* in the worst of his Practices, for which he

was censured and confined by the Regency in *England*, could hardly avoid giving Occasion of continuing the Contention and Discord in the Government of this Island, where Mr. *Lowther's* Confidants and Creatures found Means to disturb and perplex it.

'Tis certain Mr. *Cox* in more Cases than one, let his Resentment carry him too far against such as had offended him personally, as in the Case of Mr. *Sutton*, who was ordered to be prosecuted by himself and 5 of his Counsellors, for unmannerly Expressions in Letters; which shews us that his Counsellors, as well as Mr. *Lowther's*, were but too ready to do what the Commander in Chief would have them. Mr. *Carter*, the Attorney General, evaded entering upon that Prosecution by the following Reasons offered to the Governor. *As to the Letters there is nothing in them which appears libellous, scandalous or defamatory, to make up the necessary Ingredients of an Indictment or Information for a Misdemeanor by Writing.*

Had the Lord *Belhaven*, to whom this Government was given in the Year 1721, arrived at *Barbados*, the People might have expected to have seen a quick End put to the Discord and Contention, this Lord being a Person of great Capacity and Honour, incapable of being influenced by his own or other Mens Interest, against Reason and Equity. 'Tis not to be doubted, but the late Governor *Lowther* supported the Party who persecuted President *Cox*, with the whole String of his Personal and Family Interest in *England*; and it was no hard Matter to procure a Reference of their Case to the Lord *Belhaven* for his Inquiry. But that Lord being shipwrecked near the *Lizard Point*, soon after his embarking for *Barbados*, that Enquiry was transferred to the next Governor, *Henry Worfeley*, Esq;

Henry Worfeley, Esq;  
Governor.

1721.

During Mr. *Cox's* Presidency, there happened a furious Hurricane at this Island, in which several Ships and Sloops were lost, and other considerable Damage done. But this Storm had nothing to distinguish it from other Hurricanes, excepting that it did not reach the *French Islands*, as all former Hurricanes here have been wont to do.

The Duke of  
Portland at  
Barbados.

On the 28th of *November* the *Kingston* Man of War arrived at *Barbados* in her Way to *Jamaica*, having on Board their Graces the Duke and Dutches of *Portland*, the Duke having been lately appointed Governor of that Island, Lady *Ann Bentinck* their Graces Daughter, and several Persons of Distinction of both Sexes, who came ashore with the Duke and Dutches in Barges. They had been waited on aboard by several Members of the Council, who came to in-



vite them to land. The Guns of the Forts fir'd when they left the Ship, and at their landing, while they were received by President *Cox* and the Body of the Council, and the Dutchess, *Lady Ann*, and the rest of the Ladies being handed into Coaches, each with six Horses, the Procession began. The Duke walked on Foot on the right Hand of the President, thro' the principal Streets of *Bridge-Town*, to the President's own House, followed by the Gentlemen who came with his Grace, and all the Members of the Council and Assembly, as also by the Life Guard of Horse. The Streets were lined on each Side by several Companies of *Militia*; and the Life Guard being afterwards drawn up on the Green before the President's House, saluted his Grace in a very gallant Manner. The Balconies were all filled with People of the best Fashion, who came from all Parts of the Island to be Spectators of a Sight, like which nothing had ever been seen there since the Arrival of the Duke and Dutchess of *Albemarle*; whose Persons were far from giving the like Grace to such a Spectacle, as did those of the Duke and Dutchess of *Portland*, equally beautiful and grand. The Duke and Dutchess seemed highly pleased with the gay Appearance of so numerous a Concourse of People. At Night there was a Ball at the President's House, where the Duke and Dutchess both danced, and the Time past very pleasantly till almost Morning. The next Day being *St. Andrew's*, the *Scots* Anniversary, the Stewards of that Feast waited on the Duke, and invited him to their Entertainment. His Grace accepted of the Invitation, but before Dinner he visited *Pilgrims*, the Seat of the Governor of *Barbados*. From thence he returned to the *Bridge*, and heard a Sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. *Gordon*, in *St. Michael* his Parish Church. My Lord after Sermon went with the Stewards and other Gentlemen, to the House where the *Scots* Feast is annually kept, and was seated at the Head of the Table, President *Cox* being at his left Hand. The Feast was in every Thing manag'd with Order and Decorum, with which his Grace expressed himself equally pleased and surprized.

A Letter from *Barbados* tells us, that when the Duke and Dutchess assisted at divine Service the next Sunday in *St. Michael's*, the Appearance there was very splendid and showy, and *I question*, says the Writer, *whether any Church in England was ever filled with a Congregation more richly habited.*

Indeed, *Thomas Tryon*, a *Barbados* Trader, in a Tract of his censures this expensive Vanity of the *Barbadians*, as it makes a false Appearance, and gives Occasion to mistake their Profusion for Wealth; which has been a Hinderance to the Relief

Parties di-  
vide in feast-  
ing the Duke.

lief they might otherwise have hoped for, in Cases of Taxes and publick Grievances. But as this was written by a Man who wrote also for a Regimen of Diet at 2 d. a Day, it doubtless will have very little Weight with so gay and gallant a People as the Inhabitants of this Island. The Divisions among them at this Time mingled even with their Festivals and Compliments. For the President not having invited the Members of the Council and Assembly, who had sent Complaints Home against him, to dine with him at the Time that he was to entertain the Duke at his House, tho' they had attended him thither, the Complainants resolved to have the Honour also of the Duke's Company, and a great Number of them waited on his Grace, to invite him, the Duchesse, and the Ladies and Gentlemen who came with them, to an Entertainment of their own; and one of the most forward of these Gentlemen made a Speech to his Grace, which tho' florid, is too long for this History. I shall only abridge a Paragraph of it, because it seems to intimate that the *Anti-President Party*, which in Truth was made up mostly of such as had been Confidants and Creatures of Mr. *Lowther*, had it early in their Thoughts to cajole and engage on their Side the new Governour Mr. *Worseley*, the Paragraph is this.

*The Advantage of your Grace's immediate Presence, is what we can hardly forbear envying our Neighbour Island, even tho' we are ourselves in Expectation of the Arrival of a Governour every Way qualified by the Character, which is arrived here before, to reconcile our fatal Differences, and make us a happy People.* The Entertainment these Gentlemen gave their Graces and their noble Company, was at least as sumptuous and as elegant as that of the President, which cost 800 l. and was looked upon as a Charge on the Island. Mr. *Jeseph French*, and Mr. *Henry Elliot*, Quakers, presented an Address to his Grace in Behalf of *Friends*, which the Duke received with his wonted Ease and Affability. On the 8th of *December* his Grace, and all who came with him, returned on Board the Man of War, being attended to the Water-side, almost in the same Manner as at their landing, and the next Day set sail for *Jamaica*.

While his Grace was at the *Bridge Town* arrived there the *Winchelsea* Man of War, having on Board Mr. *Vring*, whom his Grace my Lord Duke of *Montagu* had appointed Governour of a Colony intended for *St. Lucia*. The People aboard that Ship and the Transports were then well and healthy, and how far the Government of *Barbados* was to be concerned in that Enterprize, appears by the follow-

ing Instructions in the Governor of Barbados's Commission.

If any of the Subjects of a foreign Prince or State have already planted themselves upon any of the Islands of St. Lucia, Dominico, St. Vincent, Tobago, or shall hereafter attempt to do the same, you are to assert our Right to the said Islands, exclusive of others, and in Order to hinder the Settlement of any Colony there, you are to give Notice to such Foreigners that shall pretend to make such Settlements, that unless they shall remove within such Time as you in your Discretion shall assign, you shall be obliged by Force to dispossess and send them off the Islands.

Governor of  
Barbados's  
Instructions  
about St.  
Lucia.

President Cox receiving a Letter from Mr. Vring at St. Lucia, informing him that on the Colony's Arrival there, he was forbidden to proceed to a Settlement by *Monf. de Feuquieres*, Governor of *Martinico*, by Orders from *France*, as is related in an Account of Mr. Vring's Proceeding in that Island; upon this the President sent *William Boteler*, Esq; to *Martinico*, with a Letter to *Monf. de Feuquieres*, to represent the Injustice of such Orders, and the Matter of his foregoing Instructions, all which availed nothing, as might easily have been, and probably was foreseen. The *French* were come to a Point to hinder any *English* Settlement there by Force, and had Force sufficient to do it. The *English* were fortified with a Claim and an Instruction only, without a sufficient Force to support them: If they had in Earnest resolved to have possessed themselves of that Island, they should have done it while we were in War with *France*; on other Accounts, when the strong Squadrons of *Wright* or *Wheeler* were in those Seas, and the *English* had 5 or 6000 Men in Arms in the *Charibbee* Islands, regular Troops and Militia; a Strength the *French* there were then in no Condition to oppose, and *St. Lucia* might have been so fortified during that War, that the Enemy would have found it more difficult to have reduced it, than any other of the *Charibbees*.

President Cox, to justify his Conduct as to the before-mentioned Instruction, held a Council by special Call at Mr. *Lamplee's* House in the *Bridge-Town*, where were present,

*Samuel Cox*, Esq; President.

*Timothy Salter*, Esq;

*Thomas Maxwell*, Esq;

*John Lucia Blackman*, Esq;

*Richard Lightfoot*, Esq;

*Henry Peers*, Esq;



Who resolv'd that Directions should be given Capt. *Charles Brown*, Commander of his Majesty's Ship *Feversham*, to assist Mr. *Vring* pursuant to his Instructions, and to certify to him, that this Island would supply him with what Forces and Ammunition he may have Occasion for; but the *French* were so quick and so powerful in their Proceeding against the *English* in *St. Lucia*, that the latter were oblig'd to withdraw from thence, as is particularly related in its proper Place.

Not long after the Evacuation of *St. Lucia* by Mr. *Vring*, Mr. *Worseley* the new Governor arriv'd at *Barbados*; he was complimented on his Arrival by a Letter from *Monf. de Feuquieres*, in which he express'd some Resentment at Mr. *Vring's* Terms of menacing as he phrases it. Mr. *Worseley* answer'd the *French* Governor's Letter the 12th of *February*, 172 $\frac{2}{3}$ , and in his own has this Paragraph. Since you are pleas'd to communicate to me your Conduct in the Affair of *St. Lucia*, I must say I have a very great Esteem for every Officer that punctually obeys his Master's Orders, and had I been in my Government when this Affair happen'd, I should have us'd my utmost Endeavours to have maintained the Duke of *Montagu* in the Possession of those Islands, to which the King my Master has an incontestable Right. But I am apt to believe those Endeavours of his would have amount'd to no more than *President Cox's*, with whose Administration he shew'd himself highly dissatisfied, prepossess'd by the Representations of the male-contented Counsellors, whose Representations were refer'd to his Inquiry and Judgment, upon the unhappy Wreck of that truly and excellent Man the Lord *Belhaven*. But before Mr. *Worseley* discover'd his Biass on the other Side, he gave the *President's* Party Hopes of answering their Expectations, and continuing them in the Station wherein he found them, insomuch that the Assembly then sitting, settl'd on him 6000 *l.* a Year for the Support of his Government, by a Tax so far exceeding the Ability of the People to pay it, no less than 2 *s.* 6 *d.* a Head on Negroes, that it was equally monstrous to give or receive it. This Governor having secur'd this intolerable Burthen on the Island for himself, faced about to the other Side, and took the late *President Cox's* Case in Hand.

His Proceedings against  
President  
Cox.

It boded not well for the late *President*, that Governor *Worseley*, instead of managing his Inquiry by acquainting himself with the Matter by impartial Informations, should erect a Sort of Tribunal for himself to sit in Judgment, and the late *President* taking a Seat when the Governor had seated himself, that his Excellency should more than once reprimand

mand his Predecessor in the Government, for presuming to make use of a vacant Chair in the Room. But I meet with so much of this Kind of Arrogance in delegated Power, that it is not at all surprizing.

It will be seen by the following Minute of Council, that several of the Complainants against Mr. Cox were at the Board when his Cause was in Question.

*Pilgrims, Thursday, 30th of May, 1723.*

P R E S E N T

His Excellency Colonel *Worseley*.

The Hon. <i>Samuel Cox</i> , Esq;	<i>Richard Lightfoot</i> , Esq;
<i>Timothy Salter</i> , Esq;	<i>Edmund Sutton</i> , Esq;
<i>Thomas Maxwell</i> , Esq;	<i>James Elliot</i> , Esq;
<i>John Lucia Blackman</i> , Esq;	

Mr. Cox prepared a general Answer to the Charge against him, in which he cleared himself of all the Particulars therein contained, proving them to be part false in Fact, and part in Representation, and that with such Circumstances, as add Malice to the other Infirmities. They charge him with using insolent Language in Council, when they themselves were the Aggressors therein. See his own Words: 'I had a Taste of their Conduct the second Time I sat with them in Council after their Restoration; several of them roundly charged me with having said what I am certain never entered into my Thoughts, which occasioned my telling them, that if they could accuse me in such a Manner, I should not think it safe to sit with them at that Board, unless some impartial Persons were present, who might be Witnesses of our reciprocal Behaviour. Whereupon they, or some of them, in a very insulting Manner, asked me if I were afraid, that if I were, they would lay by their Swords; to which I replied, *It is not your Swords, but your Tongues I am afraid of.*' The complaining Counsellors accused the President of needless and frequent calling of Councils, when they themselves had been the sole Occasion by their Artifices, to prevent the meeting of a Council to do Business, by each staying away in his Turn as they could best frame Excuses. They charged Mr. Cox with injurious Treatment of Mr. *Le Noyer* Clerk of the Council, by turning him out of his Place, tho' it was done with his own Consent, and he himself desired that his Successor might be sworn into his Office. But I cannot enlarge on the Complaints and the Defence, so shall close with

with what concerns Mr. *Mac Mahon*, a very active Man for Mr. *Lowther*, and against Mr. *Cox*. The latter words it thus: ' I am charged with having committed Gentlemen at the Bar for speaking for their Clients, and abusing them in *set Speeches*. I beg Leave to aver, that I paid as much Respect to the Gentlemen of that Profession, and gave them as much Liberty, as any one in my Station ever did. 'Tis true, I once committed Mr. *Mac Mahon* for his very rude Behaviour to me, and notorious Contempt of the Court of Errors, for which he was afterwards found guilty by a Jury. Wherefore I am not able to conceive the Reason of a Charge so egregiously false, unless it were with Design to make evil Impressions against me, as being guilty of the very same Crime of which Mr. *Lowther*, whom these Gentlemen seem determined never to forsake, was so plainly convicted, and for which he was so justly censured in the Case of Mr. *Blenman*.' This confirms what I had before suggested, that Mr. *Cox* was thus prosecuted at the Instigation of Mr. *Lowther*'s Creatures and Confidants, and the Favour they met with in his Prosecution, and the Hardships himself laboured under, being largely set forth in his printed Case, I thereto refer. The late President exhibited Articles against *Thomas Maxwell*, *Thomas Maycock*, *John Lucia Blackman*, *William Carter*, Esqrs; Members of the Council; *Edmund Sutton*, *John Waterman*, and *James Dotien*, Esqrs; *John Le Noyer*, late Deputy Secretary, *Richard Carter*, Esq; Attorney General, *Henry Lascells*, Esq; Collector of the Customs, and *Robert Gibbs*, Water Waiter; which are full of Matter very unjustifiable and insolent towards a chief Governor, and did not want apparent Proofs, but they are of small Use to the President, whose Fate seems to have been determined by the Representations against him, not by his own Vindication and the admirable Arguments of his Council *William Walker*, Esq; *Jonathan Blenman*, Esq; *Thomas Baxter*, Esq; whose Pleadings would have distinguished their Learning and their Reasoning in *Westminster-Hall*. But they had no Effect in Mr. *Worseley*'s Court, his Hall or Chamber, so stiled on this Occasion, and after his Excellency had heard as much on the Complainants Side, as their Council thought proper; and on the Defendant's Side as he himself thought fit, the definitive Sentence remained in his own Breast, till a Petition from Mr. *Cox* to his Excellency, drew the following Declaration of it from him by his Secretary.

*His Excellency commands me to acquaint you, in Answer to your Petition, in which you have prayed a Copy of the Judgment his Excellency had given in your Affair, that upon his*  
*hearing*



bearing the Evidences on both Sides, he did determine that you had acted corruptly, arbitrarily and illegally; and therefore he not only removed you from being of his Majesty's Council here, but also declared you incapable of ever being one. And that 'twas his farther Opinion, you ought to be prosecuted in the Manner that the Nature of the Crimes proved against you required. I am with very great Respect, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

Nicholas Hammond.

There is something so dry and shocking in this Answer, that 'tis far from giving one Reason to take Pleasure in the Superiority which their Commission gives Colony Governors, and Mr. *Worseley*, by this unreasonable and ungenerous Treatment of the late President, made but very ill Returns to his Party, who were most forward in settling upon him that prodigious and amazing Salary of 6000*l.* a Year, besides customary Fees and Perquisites, the latter sufficient for his personal and household Expences. This Salary was so intolerable a Burthen, that the Party, who had been most bitter against the late President, refused to acquiesce in the Continuance of it; and though the Governor had Interest enough in both Parties to prevent the Repeal of the Act, yet he could not prevent the almost general Resolution of the Inhabitants not to pay the Tax any longer, which occasioned his applying at Home for Orders to put the Law in full Execution; and it must be confessed, that Governors have, in such Cases, found the several Persons concerned in the issuing of such Orders more ready to join with them than with the People, whose Money is to go for the Discharge of them.

While the Payment of these Thousands yearly to the Governor went smoothly on, that of Government here went on smoothly also, till the Pressure of that exorbitant *Negro* Tax began to squeeze out the vital Substance of the Planters, whose Eyes were burst open by it, and who could then see worse Management in this Governor, than had been complained of against President *Cox*. In the mean Time the Plantation Merchants were very much distressed in their Trade, chiefly from the Increase and Extent of the *French* and *Dutch* Sugar Plantations; which, while those of the *English* were labouring under high Imposts both in the Colonies and at Home, were visibly getting Ground upon them in *Works* and in Markets. They were enabled to encrease their Sugar

Works, by the great Quantities of Provisions which they were supplied with by our Continent Colonies, for the Subsistence of their Hands employed in them, and they there found Markets for their Product and Commodities, *Sugar*, *Molasses*, and *Rum*, which they stockt our *Northern* Provinces with; and by the Increase of their Growths and Product in their Sugar Islands they supplied not only *France*, *Holland*, *Germany*, and the *Streights*, which the *English* had done 40 or 50 Years, but *Ireland* in a great Measure. This they could the better do, for that the *French* and *Dutch* Imposts on their *West-India* Commodities are light and trivial in Comparison with *English*. They paid no  $4\frac{1}{2}$  *per Cent.* in their Islands, and scarce 1 *per Cent.* at Home. They exported their Plantation Goods to what Part they pleased, without the chargeable and troublesome Incumbrance of first landing them in some of their own Ports, which was 15 or 20 *per Cent.* Loss to the *English*, enough to knock any Trade on the Head. Their Governors durst not extort excessive Donatives from them. Their Security was at the publick Charge, and carefully provided for, and their Mother Countries cherished them as their most dear and most useful Children. By a late Law in *England*, the Planters in our Sugar Colonies have the Benefit of foreign Markets, without the before-mentioned Incumbrances; but there are still so many Restrictions in that Law, that the Trade still remains extremely clogged, and is by no Means on so good a Footing, as is that between the *French* and *Dutch* Sugar Colonies and *Europe*.

The Trade between the *English* and *French* in *America*, licite or illicite, has been extended so far, that our Sugar Islands have dealt with the *French* Sugar Islands even for Sugar; and I have met with a Complaint against a Collector of the Customs in *Barbados*, for sending *Martinico* Sugar to *London*, in Remittances for the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  *per Cent.* which should have been returned in the Growth of the Country, much better than that of the *French* Islands; and there is no Doubt, but the Goodness of our Commodity, and the Advantage we have or may have of the *French* in the *Guinea* Trade, and the Trade of the *Northern* Provinces, would with like Care and Encouragement, as the *French* have in their Sugar Trade, restore our's to its former Extent and Benefit.

1727.

Tho' the People of *Barbados* bore for some Time the Negro Tax patiently, but not willingly, yet in the Year 1727, their Complaints concerning that and other Grievances, reached the Representatives. In the following Year the Assembly drew up a Petition to be presented to the King for their Relief, which was transmitted to *England*, but is said to be

lost

oft there for want of proper Agents to solicit it; a very hard Case, that an Island which paid 10,000 *l.* a Year to the un-appropriated Revenue, and 50,000 *l.* a Year in Customs, should lose Redress of their Grievances because not properly solicited. This Affair came again on the *Tapis* in Barbados in 1730, as will appear by the following Minutes.

At a Meeting of the General Assembly, at the House of *Willoughby Duffoy*, Gent. in the Parish of St. Michael, on Monday the 15th Day of Feb. 1730.

P R E S E N T

The Hon. *Henry Peers*, Esq; Speaker.

The Hon. <i>Tho. Maycock</i> , Esq;	<i>John Braithwaite</i> , Esq;
<i>John Pickering</i> , Esq;	<i>Harri's Jordan</i> , Esq;
<i>Gelasius Mac Mahon</i> , Esq;	<i>Philip Scott</i> , Esq;
<i>Samuel Palmer</i> , Esq;	<i>Francis Ford</i> , Esq;
<i>Othniel Haggat</i> , Esq;	<i>John Bignal</i> , Esq;
<i>James Thorne</i> , Esq;	<i>John Cobham</i> , Esq;
<i>John Waicott</i> , Esq;	<i>James Buccce</i> , Esq;
<i>George Worrall</i> , Esq;	

This Assembly referred the Matter of the Petition before-mentioned to a Committee, who reported the Cause of its Miscarriage, as we before have related it, and added thereto the Particulars of its Contents, the principal of which we must not omit, because we shall there find the best Representation of the State of this Island at that Time.

*Assembly a<sup>d</sup> gains<sup>t</sup> the Negro Tax.*

Their first Grievance is the 6000 *l.* Sterling a Year to the Governor, thus expressed in their Petition. ‘ When his Excellency *Henry Worsley*, Esq; took the Administration of this Government upon him, the Gentlemen of the Island, having for many Years before been harassed with Parties and Divisions, in Hopes to put an End to the same, and to obtain the Redress of several Grievances, were wrought upon to submit to a Settlement of 6000 *l.* Sterling *per Annum* on the said Governor during his Residence here, yet notwithstanding this extravagant Settlement, the Island was so far from reaping any Advantage from their indiscreet Generosity, that on the contrary, the publick Good had been entirely neglected, and no Measures taken to redress the Grievances of the Island; but his Excellency and his Creatures had thereby been the better enabled, and more at Leisure to oppress the Inhabitants; the Militia had been totally neglected, the Forts, Breast-Works and Batteries were gone to Ruin, the publick Stores were im-

*Grievances complain<sup>d</sup> of.*



‘ bezzled and wasted, and all Persons in Office under his Excellency busied in nothing but how to raise Fortunes from the Ruins of the People;’ of which they give too many Instances to be here inserted; and after having enumerated many enormous Grievances they add, ‘ The said Grievances, and many others, tending to the impoverishing and Ruin of the Island, were still the more insupportable, from the dismal Apprehensions his Majesty’s Subjects here lie under in Case of a War, the Forts and Fortifications of the Island having gone to Ruin, warlike Stores of all Kinds necessary for the Defence of the Island being wholly wanted, and no Possibility of purchasing a sufficient Quantity of Powder and other Stores, and the Inhabitants not in a Condition of bearing the necessary Charges, either of buying Powder sufficient were the same to be purchased, or repairing the Forts and Fortifications, while the heavy Tax which they had for so many Years paid, chiefly for his Excellency’s Use, was continued; by which Tax almost all the current Cash of this Island was annually brought together and hoarded in his Excellency’s Coffers, Trade was stagnated, and the Value of the Produce of the Island was very considerably lowered, to the vast Damage of the distressed Inhabitants, who were forced to part with their Goods at any Price, to raise their Quota of a Tax not only heavy in itself, but much more so in Regard of the ill Effects it had upon Trade and the Markets in the Colony.’

’Tis here to be noted, that the Assembly’s chief Inducement for granting that Tax to the Governor, was his Promise ‘ that he would be satisfied with that Settlement, and make no other Demand upon the Publick during his Government.’ But instead thereof, he demanded and had actually paid him at once, upwards of 2000 *l.* for *supposed* Repairs of his House and Gardens, a Sum sufficient to have bought them; and several other Sums for which we must refer to the Petition.

The Report after this touches on a Petition transmitted to *England* by some particular Persons, representing their Grievances in general; which the Committee of Assembly say was opposed at the Board of Trade by the Governor’s Agent. They also complain in very significant Terms of the unjustifiable Dependency of the Council on his Excellency, of their servile Compliances and partial Behaviour on all Occasions, to the Prejudice of their Liberties and Properties.

Notwithstanding their Remonstrances the Assembly had drawn up against Mr. *Warseley’s* Administration, we find the Body of the People were not so unanimous in it, but that the Grand

Grand Jury of the whole Island presented an Address, wherein among other Things they say, *Tho' the most cautious and inoffensive Conduct on your Excellency's Part has not entirely freed you from some Attempts to make you uneasy, yet we have Reason to think many, who once gave too much Countenance to such Proceedings, are now convinced, that the same were impertinent and absurd, &c. too florid and flattering for a short History.* It was signed by

John Trescourt.  
Christopher Lacy.  
William White.  
Richard Dowell.  
Ambrose Whitaker.  
Benjamin Philips.  
Samuel Johnston.  
Samuel Gittens.  
John Gittens.

Samuel Clarke.  
John Bullins.  
Charles Burton.  
William Grenidge.  
Richard Alder.  
Thomas Macullock.  
Edward Mead.  
John Kirton.

But what the Assembly of *Barbados* say of their Grand Juries at this Time shews us, that little Stress is to be laid on their Addresses. After having spoken of the Council as before-mentioned, and of new Practices to pack Assemblies, they add, ' This notorious Partiality appears not only upon Elections of Assembly Men and Vestry Men, but also in their returning of Juries for the Grand Sessions, consisting of the meanest of the People, and out of these are pricked, by his Excellency's favourite Judges occasionally made for the Purpose, such Grand Juries as twice a Year, in their Panegyrics on his Excellency, rail at all those that happen to be of Sentiments different to theirs.' We know not what became of the Assembly's intended Petition, but we find that Governor *Worseley* removed soon after to *England*; for in the following Year 1731, *Samuel Barwick*, Esq; succeeded him as Commander in Chief in Quality of President of the Council, and so was to continue till the Arrival of the new Governor — *Chetwynd*, Esq; It would be partial and condemnable in us, if we mentioned what the Assembly said of the Council, and sunk what the Council said of the Assembly in the Council's Remarks on the Minutes of that House, touching the *Excise Bill* 1731. ' 'Tis apprehended that no unprejudiced Person can look back on the Disputes that have happened betwixt this Board and the General Assembly for three Years past, but must easily perceive at least, that the Source of them has been owing more to the

1731.

vain and ambitious Views of particular Men than to any other Cause.'

The Difference between the Council and the Assembly, concerning the former's Amendment of the Excise Bill, contains too many Particulars to have a Place here; a Clause in that Bill in Favour of the Attorney General, being only for Services done by himself in and for the Island, was very just and reasonable, but the Clause for Services done by Lord *Micklethwaite*, &c. as Secretaries for the Island, for Services done in an Island where they never were, and never were likely to be, do not seem to stand on so good a Footing as the Attorney General's, who had frequently and personally signalized himself in its Service. *John Signal*, Esq; Member of the Assembly excepted against this Clause in these Words, *As we have not been allowed hitherto to know the Nature and State of these Demands, we cannot in Justice to the People we represent, consent to let any of the publick Money be directed to the Payment of them.* This refers to the Council's insisting upon it, that the Assembly should pass the many Clauses in their Amendments in the lump, without inquiring into the Uses or Proportions of the several Payments. Whereas nothing is more obvious, than the Reason and Equity of the Assembly's Pretensions to know and be satisfied with the said Uses and Proportions. I here meet with no Answer to such Exceptions as these, on the Side of this or other Colony Assemblies in the like Cases, but Mandations, Letters from *England*, which leaving the Equity and Reason of the Thing still with the Representative of the People, out of whose Properties the Money demanded is to be raised, I cannot here enter any farther into a Dilquisition of the Matter.

Before Mr. *Worsley* left *Barbados*, a Petition was presented him by Mr. *William Isolford*, complaining of several grievous Exactions and Extortions of *Oliver Kennedy*, Esq; *Deputy Provoost Marshal*. And here it is to be noted, that the most beneficial Places in the Island are patented to Persons living in *England*, and are rented and executed by Persons living in *Barbados*, who remit yearly many Hundreds, if not Thousands, to their Principals in *England*; where it has the Effect which Soil taken from one Ground to cultivate another always will have, the enriching the latter proportionably to the Impoverishment of the former. The Renters of the Patents being screwed up in their Rent to as high a Pitch as the several Offices will bear, make no Scruple to use their utmost Dexterity towards enlarging their Fees and Perquisites at the Expence of the aggrieved Inhabitants, whose Judge is the Governor, who holds his Commission on the same Foot, as the Aggressors hold their Patent.

Mr.



Mr. *Worfeley* with great Formality referred Mr. *Holford's* Proceedings Commission to *Thomas Gallop*, Esq; Chief Baron of the Ex- against the chequer, *Othniel Haggat*, Esq; *Francis Vaughan*, Esq; Pravost *Joseph Pilgrim*, Esq; *George Foster*, Esq; *John Reeves*, Esq; Marshal. Chief Judges of the Common Pleas, *Henry Dodsworth*, Esq; Judge of the Admiralty, and *Jonathan Blenman*, Attorney General; Persons well qualified to determine the Right and the Wrong, in that or any other Cause whatsoever. Accordingly they took a great deal of Pains in examining *Holford's* Complaints, and found that he had been egregiously abused by *Kennedy*, in fraudulent and unlawful Extortion of Fees from him, and one no less than 22 *l.* of a poor Widow for laying out of a Dower, when scarce half of that Sum was his Due; but we have no Room for Particulars, and therefore shall only mention, that the Gentlemen determined in their Report, that he had enhanced the Marshal's Fees in various Articles: But I do not find that Mr. *Holford* had any pecuniary Satisfaction for the Damage he suffered by it, and am sensible of the Difficulties any particular Person in our Colonies will have to struggle with, that seeks for Redress of Patent Grievances by the Arbitrament of a Governor.

Mr. *Worfeley* did not find the People of *Barbados* so ready to pay his enormous Salary of 6000 *l.* a Year, as they were to settle it upon him, and when he returned to *England*, near 20,000 *l.* of it was in Arrear. Happy it had been for the *Barbadians*, if that Arrear had been demandable by such Governors as the Duke of *Portland* or Lord *How*; but the Defaulters here were by particular Orders from Home, prosecuted in the surest Manner of Process, which falling into the Hands of a Gentleman perfectly well acquainted with the Circumstances of the Inhabitants and the Interest of the Island, he with great Capacity and Success obeyed the Orders he received, and remitted to *England* 17000 *l.* of that enormous and hated Salary, the bad Effects of which were a main Cause of the Steadiness of the *New-England* Assembly, in opposing the stated Settlement of an annual Salary on their Governor a Native, and not likely to send away the Treasures that were given him.

Mr. *Worfeley* returning to *England*, the Government fell Samuel Bar- of Course to the President, *Samuel Berwick*, Esq; wick, Esq; President Preside<sup>nt</sup>. of the Council, whose Name and Family had been of Distinction in this Island from its first Settlement under Governors and Assemblies. This Gentleman's prudent Management, prepared the Way for that good Agreement and Harmony, which made the Lord *Howe's* Government so easy and happy to himself and the *Barbadians*. Now it was, that

the famous Island Address, entitled, *The humble Petition of the Planters, Traders and other Inhabitants of your Majesty's Island of Barbados*, was transmitted to *England*, setting forth the Advantages of their Trade and Shipping to the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, the Causes of their Decay, and some probable Means of retrieving them. The main Cause is contained in the following Words.

*That within these few Years, great Improvements have been made by the Dutch and French in their Sugar Colonies, and great and extraordinary Encouragements have been given to them, not only from their Mother Countries, but also from a pernicious Trade carried on by them to and from Ireland, and the Northern British Colonies; and the French do now from the Produce of their own Sugar Colonies, effectually supply with Sugar not only France itself, but Spain also, and a great Part of Ireland and the British Northern Colonies, and have to spare for Holland, Germany, Italy, and other Parts of Europe: And the French and Dutch Colonies have lately supplied the Northern British Colonies with very large Quantities of Molasses, for the making of Rum and other Uses, to the vast Prejudice of your Majesty's Sugar Colonies. As Rum is a Commodity, and which next to Sugar they mostly depend upon, and they have in Return for such Sugar, Rum and Molasses, Shipping, Horses, Boards, Staves, Hoops, Lumber, Timber for Building, Fish, Bread, Bacon, Corn, Flower, and other Plantation Necessaries, at easier Rates than your Majesty's Subjects of the Sugar Colonies have. For the continual Supplies received by the Dutch and French from the British Northern Colonies, have enabled them to put on and maintain a great Number of Slaves on their Plantations, and to enlarge their Sugar Works, and make new Settlements in new fertile Soils; and at the same Time cost little, being now purchased chiefly with Molasses, which before this late Intercourse between the foreign Colonies and the Northern British Colonies, were flung away as of no Value. They then reckon up the Advantages of the French and Dutch Sugar Colonies over the British, as that they pay inconsiderable Duties, as but 1 per Cent. for the Sugars they carry directly to Spain. &c. To remedy such Evils, they propose a Prohibition of foreign Sugar, Rum, Molasses, &c. from being imported to Ireland and the British Northern Colonies, till they have first been imported into Great-Britain, or that the British Sugar Colonies may be at least on the same Footing with them. Since this Petition was considered in England, some Steps have been taken for the Relief of the Sugar Islands. As 6 s. Bounty on the Re-exportation of refined Sugar. The Liberty of importing*

French  
Trade with  
our Northern  
Colonies.

Steps to-  
wards re-  
dressing  
Plantation  
Grievances.

Rum,

Rum, &c. directly into *Ireland*. Foreign Sugar, Rum and Molasses entirely prohibited from being imported into *Ireland*, unless shipped in *Great-Britain*. A high Duty is laid on all foreign Sugar, Rum and Molasses imported into any of our Northern as well as Southern Colonies. Liberty to carry all Sugars directly from our Plantations to all the foreign Parts of *Europe* under certain Restrictions, which probably will be repealed when this Matter is reconsidered by the Legislature; as 1. *Excluding Ships built in our American Plantations*; an unspeakable Detriment to the Colony, and consequently to the *British* Navigation. 2. *Taking out Licences in Great-Britain only*; a great Incumbrance and Delay on the Sugar Trade. 3. *All Owners of Ships in this Trade to reside in Great-Britain, or the Sugar Islands*. 4. *All Ships bound to the Northward of Great-Britain to enter first there*, which besides the extraordinary Charge and Delay of Time, may very often lose a Market.

On the 11th of *April* 1733, the Lord *Howe*, whom his Majesty had appointed Governor of *Barbados*, arrived there in the *Rye* Man of War, and was received in as grand a Manner as the short Time they had to prepare could admit of; and on the 17th he met the Assembly at *Pilgrim*, and made them a very handsom Speech, the Promises of his future good Government.

1733.  
Lord Howe,  
Governor.

A short Time before his Lordship's Arrival, a News Paper was printed and published at *Bridge-Town* by *Samuel Keimer*, lately a *London* Printer. It was called the *Barbados Gazette*, and came out every *Wednesday*.

Lord *Howe's* prudent and engaging Behaviour soon reconciled all Parties in Affection and Regard for his Person and Government: The Emulation among the Inhabitants seemed to be who could give the greatest Marks of their Love and Obedience to his Person, and of Duty and Service to his Government. They looked back on the turbulent Times of former Governors, with a Pleasure which Men who have escaped Shipwreck take in surveying the Storm they were in, from the Shore. My Lord *Howe* was continually pressing the Representative to be watchful for their Safety, and zealous for the Increase of their Trade and Welfare, to which he was always ready to contribute whatever lay in him. The Assembly cheerfully settled on him 4000 *l. per Annum*, which his Lordship as cheerfully spent amongst them with a large Addition out of his own Revenue in *England*.

We have seen in *New York*, to what the Severities of Governors may drive them against the Press, and there



was now an Attempt to have *Keimer* the Printer of the *Barbados Gazette* fined without any Trial by the Court of Session, for some Offence given in that Paper to a Gentleman who had published several Mercantile and Plantation Schemes, which had produced Animadversions upon some of them enough intemperate, but not Matter of Process at Law; however a Presentment was ready drawn up for the Grand Jury to sign, under Pretence that the Paper had reflected on the Chief Justice, who denied he knew any Thing of it, and the Matter dropped, and it was not likely that any irregular Proceeding could pass in so mild and equal a Government as my Lord *Howe's*; Of which every Heart and Tongue in *Barbados* was full, except those of a Set of Men who are seldom easy themselves, or would suffer any to be easy about them; for we shall see by the following Address of the Assembly, that it was the Practitioners in the Law only who expressed any Uneasiness in the present Administration: after the greatest Expressions of Thankfulness, Duty, Respect, and Affection to his Excellency, they say in their Address, *publick Grievances, my Lord, let them be in what Persons, Stations, or Professions soever, ought to be enquired into, and proper Remedies agreeable to Justice be given. Your Excellency's Conduct manifestly evinces, you intended no more by the late Enquiry concerning the Lawyer's Fees, &c.* 'Twas a sensible Pleasure to us, since we were to find some Opposition to this excellent Governor's just and wise Administration, that it should come from that Quarter which has ever been most productive of Discord.

3734

During the Government of Lord *Howe*, there happened a Quarrel at *Bridge-Town*, between Mr. *Gelasius Mac Mahon*, and Mr. *Thomas Keiling*, in which several Persons were engaged on both Sides, and a Scuffle ensuing, Mr. *Keiling* was unfortunately killed. Mr. *Mac Mahon* having been very active in the publick Differences for several Years passed, the Island was divided in their Judgments on this Event, and in their Hopes as to the Issue of it. Mr. *Mac Mahon*, Mr. *Theophilus Morris*, and *John Laurence*, quitted the Island on the preferring a Bill of Indictment against them and Mr. *William Perry*. The latter was seized and imprisoned, and having petitioned for a Trial, was brought to the Bar of the Grand Sessions; but the Attorney General being ready to make it appear by Affidavits, that some ill Practices had been used in tampering with several of the King's Evidences, and that one of them was actually enticed away and carried off the Island, the Trial was put off by Consent of those that appeared in Behalf of the Prisoner, without reading the

Affidavits; whereupon the Prisoner's Council moving that he might be admitted to Bail, the Court was pleased in Regard to his ill State of Health, and the Circumstances of his Family, to admit it, and accordingly he gave four Securities in 5000*l.* each, and himself in 10,000*l.*

About this Time Mr. *Christopher Gillmor*, a *Romish* <sup>*A Romish Priest turns Protestant.*</sup> Priest, made a publick Recantation of the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, and embraced the Protestant Religion according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; declaring his Assent and Consent, &c. in due Form, in the Church of *St. Michael's* before a numerous Congregation, and a Certificate of it was signed by

J. Blenman,  
Tho. Funckes,  
*Recorded in the  
Secretary's Of-  
fice the 23<sup>d</sup> of  
July 1734.*  
William Duke,  
*Dep. Secr.*

H O W E,  
William Johnson, *Rector*,  
Charles Game, *Church-Warden*,  
Jasper Young,  
Tho. Withers,  
Joshua Brook, *Curate*,  
Tho. Harrison.

While the People of *Barbados* were flattering themselves of being many Years happy in Lord *Howe*, he was suddenly taken ill of a Fever, which held him six days; the Distemper took several different Turns, so that their Fears were mixed with Hopes, which however were of very short Duration, and *March* the 27th, 1735, he expired in the 37th Year of his Age, to the unspeakable and universal Grief of the Inhabitants of this Island, who were all thrown into outward and inward Mourning. His Lordship lived with them almost two Years, and in that short Time gained the Love of the People more than all the preceding Governors had done from its Settlement, to the present State of the Island: So much of this Subject is said in their printed Papers, of one of which above 20,000 were dispersed in the Sugar Islands, that we cannot pretend to copy it, but refer thereto, and how the Representative of the People behaved on this Occasion will be seen by the following Minutes.

At a Meeting of the General Assembly *Tuesday* the 22d Day of *April* 1735.

P R E S E N T.

The Honourable *Henry Peers*, Esq; Speaker.

The Hon. *John Bignall*, Esq; *Samuel Palmer*, Esq; *John*

John Green,  
 Thomas Waterman,  
 Edward Brace,  
 John Cumberbatch,  
 William Gibbons,  
 J. Waterman,

Esqrs;

William Jeves,  
 Enoch Gretton,  
 John Lyte,  
 John Cobham,  
 The Hon. J. Bruce,

Esqrs;

James Dot-  
 tin, Esq;  
 President.

To whom James Dottin, Esq; who as President of the Council, succeeded in the Government, made a Speech, which began thus :

Gentlemen,

*L*ittle did I imagine before our Meeting, to return an Answer to our most worthy Governor's Speech on the calling of that Assembly, we should be deprived of that inestimable Life on which our Happiness so much depended. A Governor possessed of his amiable and shining Qualities, which he exerted equally for the Honour of his Royal Master, and the true Interest of this Colony; as he well deserved the Favour of his Sovereign, so he merited every Thing from us, that we were capable of doing to him.

We were indeed fully sensible of the Blessing, being satisfied that his Presence gave Life and Vigour to all our Actions, and 'tis certain that without him, we must have desponded under our Misfortunes; but his Chearfulness, and the Means he was incessantly contriving for our Benefit, raised our Hopes, and made us even forgetful of our own Condition, &c.

Former Governors, the longer they remained with us, usually became the less respected; but the Lord Howe daily increased in our Affections: But while we are regretting our Loss, let us not forget to pay that Regard which is justly due to his noble Family. Her Ladyship, whose prudent Conduct and most engaging Behaviour raised the Admiration, and equally engaged the Affection of the Inhabitants, demands our more immediate Consideration, and calls for all the Assistance in our Power to alleviate her great Affliction.

Though we made the best and largest Settlement on his Excellency, the Circumstances of this Island could afford, yet it was not sufficient to answer his Expences here. The Charges he was necessarily at in coming over hither, and that which her Ladyship will be put to in returning will be very great, whereby instead of receiving an Advantage by accepting of the Government, a Loss will rather accrue to his Family, which surely the Publick ought not to suffer. It is but too manifest he



lost his Life in the Service of our Country. Besides, as we were prevented (by his own express Directions) from expending a large Sum at his Funeral, our Gratitude ought to be shewn in another Way, by the Provision I would recommend to you, to make for the Payment of his Lordship's Debts here, and for the Use of her Ladyship.

Then the President laid before the House a Bill prepared for that Purpose, entitled, *An Act the better to manifest the Gratitude of the People in this Island, for the Benefits they received from the just and prudent Administration of his late Excellency, &c.* and the same was read and passed *Nemine Contradicente*.

After which the House appointed a Committee to bring in a Bill to settle the Fees of the several Officers of the Island, and ordered that the Hon. *John Bignall*, and *James Bruce*, Esqrs; *Samuel Palmer*, *John Lyte*, and *John Green*, Esqrs; do bring it in.

By this Act, 2500*l.* was given to her Ladyship for the Uses before-mentioned. Her Ladyship soon after embarked on Board a Merchant Man with her Daughter and the Corpse of her late dear Consort, and the Captain of the Man of War, then stationed at *Barbados*, very generously offered his Service to attend her Ladyship some Days sail on her Way, and the Merchant Man in which she went arrived in *England* in 34 Days. President *Dottin* behaved to the General Satisfaction of the People of *Barbados*, and was himself very well satisfied with an Appointment of 600*l.* a Year only granted him by the Assembly.

2500 *l.* given  
to Lady  
Howe.

This shews us what a vast Difference there is between the Charge that a Governor is to an Island, and that of a President. Governor *Worseley* had ten times the Salary that President *Dottin* had, and yet gave not the 10th Part of the Content which the People had in this President's Government.

Ten Weeks after Lord *Howe's* Death, Mr. *Gelasius Mac Mahon* returned to *Barbados*, and surrendered himself to the Provost-Marshal; on the 12th of *June* 1735, he petitioned for a Trial, but the Attorney General shewed to the Court that the Petitioner, from the Circumstances of his Case, was by no Means entitled to the Benefit of the Royal Instruction in Pursuance of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, on Account of his having gone off the Island and avoided the Justice of the Court for two several grand Sessions before, and that if the Prisoner had proposed to be tried, he should have signified it sooner, and ought to have petitioned for it the first Day of Sessions. But Mr. Attorney perceiving the

1735.

Court

Court generally inclined to a Trial, declared, that although he had a Right to put it off, he would notwithstanding immediately order the Witneffes to be fummoned, and if poffible try the Prifoner next Day. Accordingly it was expected that the Trial of Mr. *Mac Mabon* would have come on, and there was a great Concourse of People to hear it, as might well have been expected confidering the Prifoner had been an Affembly Man; but in calling over the Witneffes that had been fummoned, it appeared that one of them was off the Ifland, and two more not attending, the Trial was deferred. The Prifoner then moved that he might be bailed, which was oppofed by the King's Council; but the Court were pleafed, after hearing Arguments on both Sides, to admit him to Bail; and accordingly the Hon. *John Frere*, the Hon. *Thomas Applewaite*, *George Hannay*, and *Robert Warren*, Efqs; became his Sureties in 5000 *l.* each, and himfelf in 10,000 *l.*

His Trial came on afterwards, and the Jury was fo tender to him, that they only brought in their Verdict *Manflaughter*.

In the Beginning of the next Year Prefident *Dottin*, fummoned a new Affembly, which confifted of the following Members.

For the <i>Parifh of</i>	{ The Hon. <i>Henry Peers</i> , Efq;
<i>St. Michael.</i>	{ The Hon. <i>John Bignal</i> , Efq;
<i>Chrift-Church.</i>	{ <i>Francis Ford</i> , Efq;
	{ <i>George Hannay</i> , Efq;
<i>St. Philips.</i>	{ <i>Enoch Gretton</i> , Efq;
	{ <i>Ralph Weeks</i> , jun. Efq;
<i>St. John.</i>	{ <i>Samuel Palmer</i> , Efq;
	{ <i>Henry Leslie</i> , Efq;
<i>St. George.</i>	{ <i>Edward Brace</i> , Efq;
	{ <i>John Lyte</i> , Efq;
<i>St. Jofeph.</i>	{ <i>Thomas Waterman</i> , Efq;
	{ <i>John Waterman</i> , Efq;
<i>St. Andrew.</i>	{ Hon. <i>James Bruce</i> , Efq;
	{ <i>William Feeves</i> , Efq;
<i>St. Lucy.</i>	{ <i>Hurdis Jordan</i> , Efq;
	{ The Hon. <i>William Sandford</i> , Efq;
<i>St. Thomas.</i>	{ <i>John Cobham</i> , Efq;
	{ <i>Jofh. Cumberbach</i> , Efq;
<i>St. James.</i>	{ <i>Reynold Alleyne</i> , Efq;
	{ <i>Phil. Gibbs</i> , Efq;
<i>St. Peters.</i>	{ <i>John Pickering</i> , Efq;
	{ <i>William Gibbons</i> , Efq;

These Members made choice of *Henry Peers*, Esq; to be their Speaker, to which Station he had been annually elected ever since the Year 1727, the Duties whercof, it is universally allowed, he has discharged with the strictest Honour and greatest Abilities. A Gentleman deservedly of so great an Interest in the Island, that it would be difficult for any Member to be elected, if he should be pleased to declare he thought him unworthy of it.

In the Year 1739, President *Dottin* resigned the Administration to *Robert Byng*, Esq; who arrived here with the Character of Governor. This Gentlemen had the Misfortune to have the fine Equipage he had provided for this Voyage taken by the *Spaniards*, and the Assembly of *Barbados* very generously presented him with 2500 *l.* to make good that Loss; but being unwilling to come into such a Settlement of Salary as he insisted upon, it occasioned some Misunderstanding between him and them, which however was not of long Continuance, nor had any ill Consequences, that Matter being happily compromised; but he lived not long in his Government, being taken ill and dying about a Year after his Arrival; upon which President *Dottin* re-assumed the Government a third Time: But these Events have happened so lately, that we have little Information, and cannot enlarge farther upon them, but must not omit, that so great Care and Diligence has been used of late in repairing and improving the Fortifications that the Island is now in a good Posture of Defence.

Robert  
Byng, Esq;  
Governor.  
1739.

He dies.

The following is a *List* of the Chief Officers Civil and Military now in Employment at *Barbados*.

MEMBERS of the COUNCIL.

- |  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Hon. <i>James Dottin</i> , Esq; President. | <i>John Gallop</i> , Esq;     |
| <i>Ralph Weeks</i> , Esq;                  | <i>Charles Dunbar</i> , Esq;  |
| <i>John Frere</i> , Esq;                   | <i>Abel Dottin</i> , Esq;     |
| <i>Thomas Maxwell</i> , Esq;               | <i>Thomas Harrison</i> , Esq; |
| <i>Thomas Applewhaite</i> , Esq;           | <i>John Maycock</i> , Esq;    |
| <i>Richard Salter</i> , Esq;               | <i>Reynold Hooper</i> , Esq;  |

Deputy Secretary, and as such Clerk of the Council, *Samuel Husbands*, Esq;  
Clerk of the Assembly, *William Duke*, Esq;

JUDGES.



## J U D G E S.

- Honourable *James Bruce*, Esq; for the *Bridge*.  
*Ralph Weeks*, Esq; for *Oistin's*.  
*Francis Vaughan*, Esq; for the *Hole*.  
*John Terryl*, Esq; for *Speight's*.  
*John Bignall*, Esq; for *Scotland*.
- Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, Hon. *Tho. Harrison*, Esq;  
 Attorney General, *Thomas Baxter*, Esq; in the Room of  
*Jonathan Blenman*, Esq;  
 Solicitor General, *Edmund Jenkins*, Esq;  
 Judge of the Admiralty, Hon. *John Fairchild*, Esq; on Mr.  
*Blenman's* leaving the Island.  
 Treasurer, the Hon. *John Bignall*, Esq;  
 Collector of the Customs for the *Bridge*, *Edward Lascelles*  
 Esq; who is also Agent Victualler.  
 Surveyor General, Hon. *Charles Dunbar*, Esq;  
 Provost Marshal, *Thomas Stevinson*, Esq;  
 Agent for the Island in *England*, *John Sharpe*, Esq;  
 Commissary to the Bishop of *London*, the Rev. Mr. *William*  
*Johnson*, Rector of *St. Michael's*, who dying lately,  
 the present Rector is the Rev. Mr. *Huxley*.  
 Lieutenant General, was *Henry Peers*, Esq; but Governor  
*Byng* removed him, and put *Thomas Applewhaite*, Esq;  
 in his Room, who had been Major General.

## C H A P. II.

A Geographical Description of the Island, with its  
 Towns, Forts, Fortifications, Ports, Harbours,  
 Rivers, Publick and Private Buildings.

THE various Accounts that are given us of the Situation  
 of *Barbados*, obliged us to be very exact in examining  
 it by the latest Surveys that have been taken of the Island, and  
 comparing them with the Informations we received from the  
 Inhabitants of the Place.

*Ligon* says in his History, it lies in 13 Degrees, 30 Minutes  
 Northern Latitude; and where 'tis longest, is somewhat  
 above 28 Miles in Length; and where 'tis broadest, 17 Miles  
 in Breadth: Which Description agrees exactly with the Map  
 that was printed with this Book.

An anonymous Author, who pretends to have been on the Spot, says, it lies in 13 Degrees, 20 Minutes, Northern Latitude, is 24 Miles long, and in some Places 15 Miles over.

Monfieur *Robbe*, the famous *French* Geographer, says, it is situated in 17 Degrees North Latitude, and is above 30 Leagues in Circumference.

The last printed Survey of this Island makes it to be situated between the 13th and 14th Degrees of North Latitude. The South Part lying in 13 Degrees, 10 Minutes; and the North Part in 13 Degrees, 27 Minutes; being in Length from the Point, below *Carew's* Plantation in the South South-East, to the Spout below *Dowden's* in the North North-West, 21 Miles: And from *Needham's* Point to *Conger* Rock, 12 Miles over, and about 75 Miles in Circumference.

The Latitude is right, and so is the Breadth of the Island; but we are assured by Gentlemen who have often travelled from *Ostin's* in the South East, to *Cluff's* Bay in *St. Lucy's* Parish in the North-West, that 'tis full 28 Miles long; which, reckoning the Breadth at 12, and multiplying the one by the other, makes 336 square Acres of Land; in all 215,040 Acres.

But this Calculation, however just it may be found to be according to the Rules of Arithmetick, will certainly deceive any one that shall survey it; for the Island does not contain in all above 100,000 Acres: And this vast Diminution proceeds from the Inequality of the Breadth; in the North-Western, where it is narrowest; and that in the South-Eastern Part of the Island, where it is broadest.

*Barbados* is the most Windwardly Island of all the *Charibbee* Islands, *Tobago* excepted, as some will have it; of an oval Form, broad towards the South End, growing narrow to the North, with a bending in on the East Side.

The nearest Islands to it are *St. Vincent* and *St. Lucia*.

At *St. Vincent's* the *English* had formerly a small Settlement. This Island may be seen from *Barbados* in a clear Day. The nearest Part of the *Continent* to it is *Surinam*, about a Day and a half's Sail off of it. The *English* were once in Possession of that Country, but the *Dutch* dispossess'd them; and the former have not thought fit to require to be restored to their Plantation.

The Country in general is gradually rising, level in some Parts, and in others, some high Hills, affording most lovely Prospects all over the Island, with a continual Verdure.

In the Description of *Barbados*, we shall begin with the Capital, the *Bridge-Town*; and from thence proceed from one Parish to another, over the whole Island.

The *Bridge-Town* was at first called *St. Michael's*, from the Name of the Parish-Church, which is dedicated to *St. Michael* the Arch-Angel. 'Tis situated in the Latitude of 12 Degrees, 55 Minutes, in the inmost Part of the Bay, commonly called *Carlisle Bay*; and the Choice of the Place to build this Town upon, seems to have been directed more by Convenience than Health: For the Ground thereabouts being a little lower within Land than the Sea-Banks, the Spring-Tides flow over, and make a great Part of the Flat a Bog, or Marsh: From which there used formerly to ascend noxious Vapours, that contributed very much to the Unhealthiness of the Place; but the Inhabitants have since drained the Flats, and defended it so well from the Influxes of the Sea, that they are not much troubled with those unwholesom Fumes, which before corrupted the Air, and bred Diseases.

The Bog or Morafs, which is now on the East Side of the Town, is occasioned by the Freshes or Floods that sometimes overflow the whole Town; which lies at the Entrance of a Valley, that runs several Miles into the Country, and is called, the Valley of *St. George*.

There was a small River, that some Years ago fell into *Carlisle Bay*, at the *Bridge*. It was very commodious for the Planters and Merchants, being deep enough for Sloops to go up about a Mile into the Country: But now 'tis quite choked up; and without the Inhabitants be forced to get it cleared, is like to remain so; no Body thinking it their Business or Interest to set about so necessary a Work, unless the Government gave them due Encouragement.

The *Bridge-Town*, or rather City, is certainly the finest and largest in the Island. It contains 1200 Houses, built of Stone; the Windows glazed, many of them sashed; the Streets broad, the Houses high, and the Rents as dear in *Cheapside*, in the *Bridge*, as in *Cheapside* in *London*.

The Wharfs and Keys are very neat and convenient; and the Forts to the Sea so strong, that there would be no taking it by Force, if they were as well manned and furnished with Ammunition as they ought to be.

The first of these Forts Westward, is *James Fort*, near *Stewart's Wharf*. 'Tis mounted with 18 Guns. In this Fort the Lord *Grey*, when he was Governor of the Island, built a very fine Council-house. Next to this is *Willoughby's Fort*, built on a small Neck of Land, that runs out into the Sea.



'Tis mounted with 12 Guns. The Coast of *Carlisle Bay*, from this Fort to *Needham's*, is fortified by three Batteries. *Needham's* Fort is mounted with 20 Guns.

Above this Fort, and more within Land, the late Governor, Sir *Bevill Granvill*, began the Royal Citadel, in Honour of our Sovereign Queen *Anne*, called *St. Anne's* Fort. This will be the strongest in the whole Island, and stand the Country in above 30000*l.* Sterling.

The Assembly were frightened into such a vast Expence, by Advice that Monsieur *Herbeville* was making vast Preparations at *Martinico* to attack *Barbados*, as he really intended, but durst not venture to make any Attempt upon it: So the Storm fell on *St. Christopher's* and *Nevis*; the latter of which Settlements he entirely destroyed, as will be related elsewhere.

There is a small Fort of eight Guns to the Eastward of the Town; which is thus secured from any foreign Invasion, or home Insurrection; and it is this Security which makes it the richest Town of the *Charibbees*. The Merchants Store-houses are here safe; and both those, and the Tradesmens Shops, as well furnished as the Shops and Ware-houses in *London*.

The Church in the *Bridge-Town* is as large as many of our Cathedrals. There's an Organ in it as fine and as big as most in *England*. There belongs also to it a very good Ring of seven Bells lately put up, and a fine Clock.

Here are several large Taverns and Eating-Houses, and a Post-House for Receipt of Letters from all Parts. There have been, in this War, Packet-boats employed monthly by the Government, to carry Letters to and from the *West-Indies*.

*Carlisle Bay*, at the Bottom of which the *Bridge* stands, is a very spacious one, and capable of containing 500 Sail of Ships. There was a Mole in it before the late dreadful Hurricane: It ran out from *James* Fort into the Sea; but that terrible Tempest entirely ruined it, in the Year 1694.

One may judge of the Populousness and Strength of this Place by the Number of its Militia, which are no less than 1200 Men, for the Town, and *St. Michael's* Precinct: They are called the Royal Regiment, or the Regiment of Foot-Guards. Here the Governor, Council, and Assembly, hold their Sessions, the Court of Chancery is kept, and all the publick Affairs of this Island generally transacted.

In short, if this Town stood in as healthy a Place, as it does in a safe and advantageous one, 'twould be the best of

the Bigness in her Majesty's Dominions, as it is the wealthiest.

On the East Side of the Town is a Magazine-house, built of Stone, where the Stores of Powder for the whole Island are always kept under a good Guard. From the *Bridge*, about four Miles up in the Country, stands the Parish-Church of *St. George*, in a delightful Valley.

And in the Way about a Mile from the Town, the Assembly has ordered a stately House to be built for the Governor's Residence. 'Tis called *Pilgrim's*, from the Name of the Proprietor of the Land on which it stands. And a Mile and an half from the *Bridge*, to the Southward, is *Fontabell*, which was usually the Seat of the Governors; the Island renting the House for that Purpose of the Owner Mr. *Walrond*.

From the *Bridge* to *Fontabell*, along the Shore, there's a Line fortified with a Parapet; and at *Fontabell* a Battery of 10 Guns. From *Maxwel*, near the *Chaces*, there runs along a Ridge of Hills to *Harrison's*, the farthestmost Westward Plantation. The Line is continued from *Fontabell* to *Chace's* Plantation: Under which there is a Battery of twelve Guns; and from thence, along *Mellows's* Bay, are great Rocks and steep Cliffs, which have naturally fortified the Island against any Invader.

On *Mellows's* Bay is a Battery of 12 Guns, and from thence Entrenchments, till you come to the *Hole-Town*, vulgarly called the *Hole*.

The *Hole* lies 8 Miles from *St. George's*, and 7 from the *Bridge*. This is a pretty Town, and consists of a Street which comes down to the Water-side, and thence leads up into a long one, that forms the Town. There are about 100 Houses in it. The Road is good, and lies commodious for the Planters in *St. Thomas's* Parish, to ship off their Goods. It has a regular and handsom Church, dedicated to *St. James*; from whence it is sometimes called *James-Town*. Every Month the Sessions is held there for *St. James's* Precinct; and, for the Defence of the Port, there is a Fort, mounted with 28 Guns, and a Battery of 8 Guns at *Church-Point*, near *St. James's* Church.

From the *Hole* to *St. Thomas's* Parish to the East, is a Mile and an half; and from *St. Thomas's* to *Speight's* Town on the Coast, about 6 Miles.

The Line is still continued along the Shore, from *Church-Point* to *Col. Allen's* Plantation; under which there is a Fort of 12 Guns, that goes by the Name of *Queens Fort*. From whence the Line and Parapet are carried on to *Reid's* Bay, where there is a Fort mounted with 14 Guns. The En-

trenchment is thence continued to *Scot's* Plantation; under which there is a Fort of 8 Guns. And from thence to *Baily's*; by whose Plantation there is a Battery. From *Baily's* it is carried on to *Benson's* Battery of 4 Guns. From *Benson's* it is continued to *Heathcot's* Bay: Upon which stands a Fort, mounted with 18 Guns, near *Speight's* Town; for the Security of which it was erected.

*Speight's* Town lies about 3 Miles and an half from the *Hole*, and was at first called *Little Bristol*. It is the most considerable Place in the Island next to the *Bridge*. It consists of one long Street, called *Jew-Street*; and three others, that lead down to the Water Side; the whole making above 300 Houses. It was much frequented by the *Bristol* Men when it was first built. The Planters in *Scotland* used to send their Goods thither, to be shipped off for *England*; which occasioned the building of Store-houses, and a Concourse of People; and that in Time raised the Town to a flourishing Condition; but the *Bridge* has lately drawn most Part of the Trade thence, and the Place is falling to Decay.

There is a fair Church in it, dedicated to *St. Peter*, which gave Name to one of the 5 Precincts of the Island; and here the monthly Sessions are kept for this Division. The Town is defended by two Forts, besides that to the Southward on *Heathcot's* Bay. One of them stands in the Middle of the Town, and is mounted with 11 Guns: The other at the North End, mounted with 28 Guns.

Near this Town one Mr. *Hancock* built or gave a House for a Free-School. Whether it was endowed or not we cannot tell; but we are better informed of its present Condition, which is going to Decay, if not already a Heap of Ruins.

The Parish of *St. Peter's* is so large, that there's a Chapel of Ease built, and named *All-Saints*, two Miles and an half up in the Country, near that which was *Holloway's* Plantation. This Chapel is so large and beautiful, that it is dignified with the Name of a Church by the modern Surveyors, but it belongs to *St. Peter's* Parish; the Minister there serving both the Cures.

From *Speight's-Town* the Line and Parapet are continued to *Macock's* Bay, in Length 3 Miles and an half. There is a Fort lately built on that Bay; and from thence about 2 Miles up in the Country, is *St. Lucy's* Parish. The Church dedicated to *St. Lucy* is new built of sawed Stone, very handsome and regular.

From hence to the Northern Shore is a fine Champaign Country; and along the Coasts, from *Macock's* Bay to *Lambert's* Point, there are several little Bays, each fortified



by a Fort, for the Length of about 4 Miles, from *Lambert's* Point all round the Northern Shore to *Deeble's* Point.

And thence, to *Ostin's* Town in the East, the Island is fortified naturally by very high Rocks and steep Cliffs, which make it impracticable to land there; from *Conset* Point to *South* Point the Cliffs are very high and contiguous. The Sea also is so deep under the Shore, that there's scarce any Ships Cable can reach the Bottom, at least so as to ride the Vessel; indeed 'tis all so rocky that there's no approaching it.

We must now survey the Inland Parts of the Windward Shore; where, 5 Miles from *St. Lucy's*, we find the Parish-Church and Precinct of *St. Andrew's*, situate in that Part of the Country called *Scotland*. *St. Andrew's* Church is a regular, beautiful Edifice; and the Altar-piece was painted by *Monsieur Birchet*, one of the best Masters in *London*, but is not yet put up.

There's a Ridge of Hills in *Scotland*, the highest Part of which is called *Mount Helleby*, and is esteemed the highest Ground in the Island. From the Top of this Place the Sea is to be seen all round it; and out of these Hills rises the River, that is thence called *Scotland River*, which falls into the Sea near *Chaulky Mount*, forming a Sort of Lake, about a Mile from the Shore.

In this Part of the Island there's a running Soil, which sometimes runs away with a Foot of the Surface of the Earth after 'tis planted, to the great Loss of the Planter.

From *St. Andrew's* Parish to *St. Joseph's*, along the same Shore, is about 3 Miles and a Quarter. In this Parish rises *Joseph River*, the chief in the Island: Its Source is in the Cliff near *Davis's* Plantation; and it falls into the Sea below *Holder's*, after it has had a Course of about 2 Miles from its Head. Some pretend, that both this and *Scotland River*, by the soaking of the salt Water in Spring-Tides thro' the Sand, are sometimes a little brackish, which is not true. But at other Times the Floods overflow the Pastures and Plantations about them, so much, that it has been very difficult for Travellers to pass.

Besides these two Rivers, there are Springs of fresh Water in almost every Plantation: For dig where you will, to any Depth, you are sure to meet with a Spring; from *St. Joseph's*, along the same Coast to *St. John's*, is about 3 Miles and a Quarter. In this Parish is that Part of the Island call'd, *The Top of the Cliff*, near which stands *Drax-Hall*, one of the first Spots of Ground that was planted: And the Owner *Col. James Drax*, from a Stock of 300 *l.* raised the greatest Estate of any Planter of his Time, or since.

About

About 3 Miles and a Quarter to the Southward of St. John's, lies St. Philip's and St. Andrew's. A Ridge of Hills runs from *Wabron's* to *Middleton's Mount*; and thence to *Harding's* in St. George's. This Part of the Island was the last inhabited of any, except *Scotland*. For thirty Years after the *English* first settled upon it, there was no Plantation from *Codrington's Bay*, all along the Coast, and several Miles up in the Country, till you come to *Cotton-house Bay* near *Ostin's*. Indeed most Part of the Windward Parishes were not then cleared of the Woods. *Scotland* was the first planted; and now 'tis as rare to meet a Wood from St. Lucy's to St. Ostin's, except in *Scotland*, as it was then to meet with a House.

From St. Philip's to *Christ-Church* is about seven Miles. This Church is at *Ostin's Town*, which derived its Name from one *Ostin*; whose Plantation was near the Shore, and being a mad extravagant Fellow, the Place became famous on his account, and so was called *Ostin's*, together with the Bay. This Town sometimes goes by the Name of *Charles-Town*; but *Ostin's* is that by which 'tis best known.

The Town Bay is flanked by two good Forts; one towards the Sea, and the other towards the Land; a Platform being carried from the one to the other, for the Benefit of Communication. That towards the Sea is on the North-side of the Town; and before St. Anne's Fort, or the *Royal Citadel* was built at the *Bridge*, this was the best in the Island, being mounted with above 40 Guns. The other Fort, which stands at the South End of the Town, is mounted with 16 or 18 Guns. Both of them are a sure Defence to the Place, which is about the Bigness of the *Hole*, and is built in the same Form; one long Street and a Lane in the Middle. 'Tis one of the five Precincts of the Island, and is a Market-Town as well as the other three Towns, and has, like the rest, a Monthly Sessions held in it. It lies about six Miles from the *Bridge*, and four and an half from St. George's. From the Southward Fort the Line and Parapet reach as far as the *Royal Citadel*.

*Little Island* is a Mile and an half from it, near a Quarter of a Mile from the Shore. It lies off *Allen and Carter's* Plantation: And about a Mile in the Road, from *Ostin's* to the *Bridge*, stands the late Mr. *Piers's* Seat and Plantation, famous for having the best Gardens in the Island, adorned with Variety of Orange-Walks, Citron Groves, Water-works, and all the lovely and pleasant Fruits and Flowers of that delicious Country, as well as with the most curious of our own.

Thus we have gone over the whole Island, and there remains now only to mention some remarkable Places and Things, which we forbore taking Notice of in our way, because we were loth to interrupt the complete Survey we were making of the Country, as 'tis divided into Parishes.

Besides the Bays we have named, there are *River Bay*, *Tent Bay*, *Baker's Bay*, on the Windward Coast: *Skull Bay*, *Foul Bay*, *Mill's Bay*, *Long Bay*, and *Womens Bay*, in the East: between *Deeble's Point* and *Ostin's*, *Six Mens Bay*, to the South-West; and *Cliff's Bay* the most westerly in the Island. There are many more little Bays, which either have no Name, or bear that of the Owners of the Plantations next to them.

There are also some large Brooks that are honoured with the Names of Rivers, as that at *Hockleton Cliff* in *St. Joseph's* Parish, which runs into the Sea, about a Mile from the Mouth of *Joseph's River*; *Hatches River* near *Haynes's*, in *St. John's* Parish. There's another River in the Thickets, in *St. Philip's* Parish; but the Stream is so weak, it can't reach the Sea. There are several Pools besides, by which the Inhabitants are supplied with Water, as also by Ponds and Draw-wells. These are on the Windward or North Coast. The only Water that is allowed to usurp the Title of a River, on the Leeward, or South Coast, is the *Indian River*, between the *Bridge-Town* and *Fontabell*, and this looks much more like a Pond than a River, but in great Floods it falls into the Sea, and that is enough for it to pretend to that Honour. The Fortifications, of which we have given so particular a Description as to their Length, consist of a Line and a Parapet, which goes from Fort to Fort. The Parapet is ten Foot high, made of Sand; before it is a deep Ditch, and for the Security of it a Hedge of Thorns, of a prickly Plant, whose Prickles are very long, and if they get into the Flesh, make a very dangerous Wound.

The Strength of this Island and its Situation, being the Windwardmost Island of the *Charibbees*, give it many Advantages; by which it has, in all times of War, been the Means of preserving the rest of the *English Leeward* Settlements from the Insults of the Enemy, till the last fatal Blow given by *Monfieur Herberville*.

The Inhabitants of this Island, as they have taken a great deal of Pains to fortify it, so they had a great deal of Reason to do it; for if 'tis not the richest Spot of Ground in the World, 'tis only because the Industry of the People is not enough encouraged.



To return to our Description of the Country: There are several vast Caves in it; some of them so large, as that in Col. *Allen's* Plantation, that they will hold above three hundred Men. Others are passable half a Mile or more, under the Ground; and there's one in Col. *Sharp's* Plantation, that has a Stream of Water running in it above a Quarter of a Mile from its Mouth, like that in *Okey-Hole* near *Wells* in *Somersetshire*. To these Caves the Negroes often fly from the Fury of their Masters, when they are conscious to themselves, that their Guilt deserves a severe Punishment. They hide themselves there sometimes for Weeks together, and never stir out but at Night. These Cavities are very unwholesom, because of the Damps. 'Tis thought the *Charibbeans* lived in them, when they inhabited this Island; but 'tis a Question whether any *Charibbeans* ever lived there or not.

There are few publick Buildings in *Barbados*. The Churches, Council House, and the Governor's Seat, are all that can properly be so termed. The Churches are all handsom, regular Buildings of Stone, the Pews and Pulpits are of Cedar, and all the Ornaments as decent as any where in the *British* Empire.

The private Buildings are not so stately as one would expect from the Riches of the Planters. There are many high Houses, and some low ones; for such as built immediately after the Great Storm in 1676. were so apprehensive of another, that they lowered their Buildings; but those who have built since them, not having those Apprehensions, have raised their Houses to three and four Stories high, and the Rooms are as lofty as in *England*. Hung Rooms are very scarce here; for the Walls are so damp, occasioned by the Moistness of the Air, that the Hangings would soon rot. The Planters study Convenience more than Magnificence in their Buildings, which are generally neat, and fit for the Habitations of Gentlemen: They are tiled with Pantiles; and the Out-houses and Negroes Huts are covered with Shingles.

What other things relating to it are worth Observation, will fall under other Heads; and we shall close this with the several Divisions of the Country, as it is divided into five Precincts, containing eleven Parish Churches, and one Chapel of Ease.

- In the South Part of the Island,
- In St. *Michael's*, or *Bridge Precinct*, are,  
 St. *Michael's*,  
 St. *George's*, and } Parishes.  
 St. *John's*,
- In St. *James's*, or the *Hole Precinct*,  
 St. *James's*, and } Parishes.  
 St. *Thomas's*,
- In St. *Peter's*, or *Speight's Precinct*,  
 St. *Peter's*, with  
*All-Saints Chapel*, and } Parishes.  
 In the West,] St. *Lucy's*
- In St. *Andrew Overhil's*, or *Scotland Precinct*,
- In the North, { St. *Andrew's*, and } Parishes.  
 { St. *Joseph's*,
- In *Ostin's Precinct*.
- In the East, { *Christ-Church*, and } Parishes.  
 { St. *Philip's*,

## C H A P. III.

*Of the Climate, Soil, and its Productions.*

HAVING thus given a Geographical Account of the Island in its present State, we come now to treat of the Soil, and its Productions.

We may imagine, that this must be one of the most fruitful Soils in the World, since at the first using it with Sugar Canes, it brought forth a considerable Crop yearly, from three Years to nine, without farther planting, but only weeding, and keeping it clean. Though 'tis not now quite so fertile as before, (and how can it be expected after it has been so much worn?) 'tis yet so apt to produce, that with a little cultivating, it still brings forth a Treasure that seems scarce credible to such as are not acquainted with the Trade  
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of the Island, every Acre, one with another, yielding 10 s. a Year Profit to the National Stock of *England*, besides what the Planter gets, and the many thousand Mouths that are maintained there and here out of it. 'Tis blessed with such a productive Faculty, that few Soils, if any, exceed it. Some Parts of it are however poorer than others; as about the *Bridge*, the Earth is sandy and light; and in *Scotland* and *St. George's* Parish, near Mount *Helleby*, and *Middleton* Mount, the Mould is rich. In most Places 'tis a light spongy Mould, yet so fertile, that it bears Crops all the Year long. The Trees, Plants, and Fields are always green; some of its Productions always in Blossom, and Fruit on others always hanging on the Trees; there being at once to be seen in this Island the verdant Beauties of the Spring, and the mature Glories of the Summer.

The Inhabitants are always planting or sowing, but chiefly in *May* and *November*, which are the Seasons for sowing and planting Indian Corn, Potatoes, Yams, &c.

There was at first no particular Season for Sugar Canes, all were thought to be alike favourable to them; and indeed they thrived wonderfully; but since the Ground has wanted cultivating, by being so much worn for so long time, the Season for planting Sugar Canes is from *August* to the latter end of *January*, as will be shewn in another Chapter.

This Commodity is the chief of its Productions; the others are Indigo, Cotton, and Ginger. There was formerly Logwood, Fustick, *Lignum Vitæ*, and there are still Variety of Trees, Plants, Fruits, and Herbs.

Of Trees. The Physick Nut is much talked of, being, says *Ligon*, of so poisonous a Nature, that no Animal will approach it, and therefore 'tis made use of in Fences. He adds, it grows 18 Foot high; which is not true, for rarely it grows above eight or nine Foot high, and is generally reckoned a Shrub, not a Tree. There's nothing poisonous in it, but the Leaf in the Nut; which, like other Physick, if taken to Excess, might be mortal; but if used moderately, is only a gentle Purge. This Nut is often eaten, Leaf and all, and Beasts browse often near it, though not upon it.

The *Poison* Tree is as big as the *Locust*, and looks very beautiful. Its Juice, 'tis said, will strike a Man blind, if it happens to get into his Eyes: and 'tis reckoned very unhealthy to stand under its Shade; yet of this Tree the Inhabitants first used to make their Sugar Pots, afterwards of Cedar, and now of Earth.

Though the Sap of the *Cassavia* Tree is Poison, yet the Planters make Bread of the Root of it for their Negroes: They



They grate it, and press the Liquor out of it as clean as possible, then bruise it, bolt it, and bake it, for the use we have before-mentioned; and this Cassavia Bread is reckoned one of the most nourishing Foods they give their Slaves.

Coloquintada bears a beautiful Fruit. The Rind smooth, of several Colours, as the green, murry, yellow, and Carnation in streaks. This is not very common now.

Cassia Fistula, a Tree of the quickest Growth of any, it having been known to rise eight Foot high in a Year's time. The Pulp of the Fruit of it is Physical, and made use of by the Apothecaries in *England* for its purgative Faculty. The Leaves in Form are like a Beach Tree.

The Tamarine Tree was first planted in *Barbados*, about threescore Years since, being then brought from the *Indies*; as was also the Palm Tree, famous for the Wine and Oil it produces.

Dr. *Stubs* writes, that he was credibly informed, there was a Palm Tree in this Island 300 Foot high; but I am as credibly informed there never was any such thing.

Lowth.  
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Vol. III. p.  
554.

The Fig Tree bears a small Fruit, little regarded by the Inhabitants. Its Trunk is as large as an ordinary Elm. The Cherry is less; its Fruit useles and insipid. These Fig Trees shoot Beards or Fibres out of the main Trunk, which root in the Ground again; and so continuing to grow on, would make a Grove of itself, if suffered; this is what Monsieur *Legat*, in his Description of the Island of *Diego Ruys*, by Mistake calls the *Pavilion* or Tent Tree; for that Island being a Desert, it had Room theré to grow to what Bigness it could. The same are to be met with in *Guinea*.

The Citron is a small Tree, but bears a large Fruit, the Weight of which often pulls it down to the Ground; the Stalk is of a darkish Colour, the Leaf like that of a Lemon, of a dark green Colour. With the Rind of this Fruit the Ladies of *Barbados* make the finest Cordial in the World; that which is imported for Sale is not so good as what they keep for their Closets; which, they taking Care to have all the Ingredients good, is infinitely above the choicest Waters at *Philips's*; and the *L'eau de Barbade*, as the nice People affect to call their Citron Water, would without doubt be esteemed more than any of his costly Cordials, did it not come from our own Plantations.

This Tree also, by the Peel of its Fruit, furnishes the Planters with another valuable Commodity, their Succats, or Sweatmeats; which are extraordinary good, and excel any the Confectioners make in *London*, when they are well prepared: Indeed, in the Art of conserving and preserving,  
the

the *Barbados Ladies* outdo the best in *England*; for which they have the Advantage of the finest Sugar, and the finest Fruits that Nature produces, and abundance of excellent Leaves, Roots, &c. to pickle, which are equally wholesom and picquant.

Orange Trees thrive wonderfully in *Barbados*, and the Planters there may as easily have Walks of Orange, Lemon, or Citron Trees, for Avenues to their Seats, as the Country Gentlemen, in the Counties about *London*, have Rows of Lime; or of Elm Trees, at a greater Distance from the City. And when we consider that these Trees are almost always either covered with Blossoms, or loaden with Fruit, we cannot but envy the Inhabitants the Pleasure of these delightful Walks and fragrant Shades, where the Evening Breezes scatter a thousand Sweets, and perfume the Groves with Variety of odorous Smells. The Description of the *Elysian Fields*, the Garden of the *Hesperides*, and all that is lovely and charming in the Fictions of the ancient Poets, are but faint Images of this real Paradise; and 'tis impossible to keep within the Bounds of the Gravity of an Historical Stile, when we treat of such a tempting Solitude.

They have all sorts of Oranges and Lemons, sweet, sour, and *Sevil*, in Abundance; the Fruit of which is large, and the Juice delicious; the *China* is not so apt to surfeit, as those that come from *Spain*; the Fragrancy of the Lemon Juice is as remarkable, as the Beauty and Bigness of the Fruit.

The Lime Tree in *Barbados* is like a Holly Bush in *England*. Fifty Years ago the Planters made Hedges of them about their Houses; and their Prickles served for a Fortification against the naked Negroes. It grows seven or eight Foot high, full of Leaves and Fruit; the former like those of a Lemon Tree; and the Fruit resembles a Lemon so much, that at three Yards Distance they can't be distinguished one from another. The Juice of this Fruit, since Punch has been such a fashionable Drink in *England*, has sold in great Quantities at good Rates, and is now a staple Commodity, some Tuns of it having been imported at *London*, and other Ports of *England* and *Ireland*, in a Year.

The Prickled Apple bears a Fruit in Form like an Ox's Heart. Its Leaf is like that of a Walnut-tree; 'tis of a pale green Colour, and tastes like a musty Lemon.

The Pricked Pear is of a better Taste and Form; it resembles a *Greenfield* Pear; the Rind of it, near the Stalk, is of a pale green Colour, streaked with yellow; 'tis larger at the End than in the Middle; the Body of it is of a fine Red, striped with prickled Spots of yellow; 'twill thrive if plant-

ed on a Wall, and the Fruit is as pleasant as a Strawberry.

The Pomegranate is a handfom Tree, the Leaves small, of a green Colour, mixt with Olive; the Fruit not so large as the *Spanish*. Here are also the Sourfop, which is spoken of in *Jamaica*; the Sugar Apple, and Shaddocks, which is a sort of Orange; the Fruit is as big as a Melon, or rather bigger. *China*, or Sweet Lemons, are frequent here, and *China* Limes; but not of so much Use or Profit as the other.

There are several other Trees and Shrubs that bear Fruit also, of which the most valuable are the *Papa*, so soft, that when the Trunk of it is as big as a Man's Leg, it may be cut down with a Knife; the Fruit is boiled, and served instead of Turnips with salt Pork.

The *Guaver*, according to Mr. *Ligon*, resembles a Cherry-tree; the Fruit of it is as big as a small Lemon; the Rind as thick as a Lemon's, but soft, and of a delicate Taste. It encloses a pulpy Substance, full of small Seeds like a Fig, some white, and some of a stammel Colour within; the Fruits have different Tastes; and we are told, that if the Seeds are eaten, where-ever they are evacuated again, they grow, which in the Infancy of the Settlement did Mischief to the Plantations; for the Cattle eating them, dropt them again every where, to the great Incumbrance of the Pasture-Ground.

This Fruit is like a Quince, and the Tree has been known to bear at half a Foot high, as well as at 18 Foot high. It makes the best Gelly and Marmalade in the World, both much beyond that of the Quince.

We must not omit the Coco-Tree, which grows 20, 30, or 40 Foot high; the Branches shoot forth in several parts of the Trunk, with Spaces between them. It bushes pretty much at the Top, and the greatest Quantity of Boughs growing there, occasion the Coco Tree's always stooping. The Nuts grow where the lower Branches sprout out, and are of several Sizes, most of them as big as a large Foot-Ball; the Skin of them is green without; they have a pulpy Substance between that and the Shell, which when it is dry, as like *Hempburds*, or the Rind of the Mangrove-tree, whose Bark being well ordered makes strong Ropes; the Shell of the Coco is near half an Inch thick; those that gather them cut a hole at the End, as big as a Crown-piece; 'tis full of a clear delicious Liquor, which has been reckoned not very wholesom, but lately 'tis found otherwise; the Shell is lined with a Substance as thick as itself; 'tis white, and as sweet and soft as a *French* Walnut; this Shell serves some-  
times



times instead of Cups to drink out of, and in *England* are adorned for that purpose with a Rim of Silver.

The Reader must distinguish between this Tree, the *Coco* and the *Cacao*-Tree, of whose Nuts Chocolate is made; which Tree is of late cultivated very much in *Barbados*; and the best Chocolate I ever drank in my Life was made of the Nut, that grew in *Apesbill* Plantation.

The Planters of this Island finding it thrives as well there as in *Jamaica*, or *Hispaniola*, will no-doubt take Pains to raise it. The Fruit being one of the most valuable Commodities that comes from *America*, we shall treat more particularly of it in the History of *Jamaica*.

The Custard Apple bears a Fruit as big as the largest Pomewater; 'tis of the Colour of a Warden: It must be kept a Day after 'tis gathered, before it should be eaten; then those who eat it, cut a Hole big enough for a Spoon to enter at the End, and the Pulp of it is so like a Custard, that thence it took its Name.

This is *Ligon's* Description; but he is not always to be depended on: For the Colour of this Tree is a fine clear Red; and the Fruit is so ordinary, that none but the Servants and Negroes eat it.

The Macow Tree, remarkable only for its Figure, being stuck all over with Prickles: 'Tis about the Size of an ordinary Willow; neither Man nor Beast dares touch it. Here *Ligon* draws us into an Error again, for 'tis as high as a *Coco* Tree, some of which are about 40 Foot high.

The Mangrove Tree is a Shrub, but spreads itself to a great Width. It drops a Sort of Gum, which hangs together like Icicles, one Drop after another, till it touches the Ground, where it takes Root, and encreases the Bulk of the Tree. If all this may be reckoned to be one Tree, the Mangrove will hide a Troop of Horse; which however may be better said of the Fig-tree before-mentioned. The *Indians* make Ropes of the Bark, and Threads as fine as Flax, to weave *Hammocks*.

The Calibash Tree bears a Fruit as big as a *Coco*, round as a Ball, and of a fine green Colour. It grows so close to the Trunk, that till 'tis pulled or cut off, one can perceive no Stalk that it has. The Shells are employed for several Uses, according to their several Sizes; some for Dishes, some for Cups, some for Basons, and the largest for Pitchers and Pails; there being many of them that hold 2 or 3 Gallons.

There are other Trees that bear Fruit, as the Anchovie Apple, the Date Tree, the Poisonous Cane, and the Bay Tree, &c. But not designing this for a Natural History, we

we shall tire the Reader no farther about the Fruit Trees and Shrubs.

Of all the Trees in the Island, the Cotton Shrub might be made to turn to most Advantage, as will be seen in the Chapter of its Trade. It grows up to the Heighth of a Peach Tree; the Bark is of a brownish Colour, the Leaves small, divided into three Parts: It bears a Flower about the Bigness of a Rose, under which there are three little Green sharp-pointed Leaves that encompass it round. This Flower consists of 5 Leaves, of a bright yellow Colour, that have several purple Streaks towards the Stem, and a yellow Button or Crown, surrounded with Fibres of the same Colour. The Flowers are succeeded by a Fruit of the same Colour, as big as a Walnut Shell; when 'tis ripe 'tis black on the Out-side. In these Pods the Cotton is contained; and as soon as they are ripe they will open of themselves, the Sun cracking them.

The Cotton Tree is of no Use; it grows vastly big, and very tall, bearing Pods 5 Inches thick, when they are ripe; and the Sun cracking them, they open, and out flies the Cotton; 'tis very fine. People wait for it, or gather it before the cracking, or 'twould be lost: 'Tis excellent for Quilting.

The Timber Trees in *Barbados* are as follows: The first and fairest of the Forest is very common there, and that is the Cedar Tree; 'tis the most useful Timber in the Island, strong, lasting, light, and proper for Building. There have been great Quantities of it sent to *England*, for Wainscoting Stair-Cases, Drawers, Chairs, and other Household-Furniture; but the Smell, which is so pleasing to some, being offensive to others, added to the Cost, has hindered its coming so much in Fashion, as otherwise it would.

The Leaves of this Tree are like those of an Ash; it grows sometimes to a prodigious Bigness, and the Timber has sold so well, that Col. *Alleyne* made 400 *l.* of one Tree, a Sum hardly credible to an *English* Reader; but the Truth of it is not to be questioned, the Author having received the Information from a Gentleman of Worth and Honour, and nearly related to Mr. *Alleyne*.

The Mastick Tree grows to a vast Heighth, some 60 Feet high, and in Bigness proportionable. The Timber of it is used for Wind-mill Work; as is also that of the Bulley Tree, which is something less, and bears a Fruit like Bullace in *England*, whence it takes its Name; and the Locust Tree, growing in Form like a *Tuscan* Pillar, thickening at the Foot, and lessening by Degrees to the Top of it. The Timber of it is lasting, and serves for many Uses in Building.

There's the Bastard Locust, the Iron Wood, so called from its Weight and Hardness; it grows very tall, blossoms twice a Year, in *March* and *September*; the Wood is of a dark red Colour: The *Lignum Vitæ* Tree, Red Wood, Prickled Yellow Wood, and the Palmetos, the Lefs and the Royal Palmeto; the Lefs Palmeto grows about 50 Foot; the Royal Palmeto from 100 to 300, and is one of the most stately Trees in the Universe. At 12 Years Growth 'tis about 17 Foot high; at 40 Years Growth 180 Foot; and at an 100 Years Growth, when in Perfection, 300 Foot high, and but three Foot Diameter; the Bush or Head 80 Foot round; the Leaves are 18 Foot long; and yet the Roots are no bigger than Swans Quills, nor the Fruit than *French* Grapes.

The Plants that grow in *Barbados* are Ginger, whose Root shoots forth Blades, in Shape not unlike those of Wheat when 'tis ripe. The Roots are dug up and scraped by the Negroes, to clear it of the outward Skin, and kill the Spirit, otherwise 'twould be always growing. Those that have not Hands enough to scrape it, are forced to scald it; which Ginger will prove nothing near so good as the other, 'twill be as hard as Wood; whereas the scraped Ginger is white and soft: And accordingly scalded Ginger is sold 40 *per Cent.* cheaper than scraped.

Red Pepper, of which there are two Sorts; one of them so like a Child's Coral, as not to be discerned from it at two Yards Distance. The Colour of it is a Crimson and Scarlet mixed; the Fruit about two Inches long. The other, or the Bonnet-Pepper, is of the same Colour, and shines as much, but 'tis shaped like an old fashioned Cloak Button. The Quality of both the one and the other is the same, and both are so strong, that when they are broken, there comes forth such a Vapour, as will set all who are near it a Coughing, after the Pepper is removed. The *Spaniards* love it to season their Sauces, and it has such a violent Houghgoe with it, that Garlick is faint and cool to it.

There are also Cucumbers, Melons, 16 Inches long, Water Melons, like an Apple for Colour, cooling, and good for the Stone. There are Grapes, but not so good, and in such Quantities, as in the Northern Colonies.

The Plantine Tree, or Shrub, bears a Fruit, which tho' it is not very delicious, yet is of as great Use as any in the Island, being the most nourishing Food that the Negroes eat. It is of a swift Growth, and the Manner of it extraordinary; three or four Sprouts come out of one Root, and one of them getting the start of the rest, keeps its Superiority, and is always uppermost. This Sprout shoots up from the in-



terior Part of the Stem, and as it grows the Out-Leaves hang down and rot, but new ones come forth in their Places; they rise up like a Pike, as the Palmetos do; and as the Sun opens them they become Leaves.

When the Plantine Tree is 8 or 10 Foot high, it is at its full Bigness, and then the Leaves are so too; after which they shed no more. The Fruit grows much like a Long-Boat's Grapling-Iron; it is Yellow when it is ripe. The Negroes don't love it so well then, as while it is Green; they then boil it, and eat it: The *English* eat it only when it is ripe, first peeling it. It is a pleasant, wholesom, nourishing Fruit. The wild Plantine resembles the other, only it is of a Scarlet Colour, the Leaves not so broad, and the Fruit good for nothing.

The Banana is like the Plantine in the Body and Leaves, excepting that the Leaves are something less, and the Body has here and there some blackish Spots; it is of a faint Colour, with the Mixture of the Ash; the Fruit stands upright, like a Bunch of Puddings, each 4 or 5 Inches long; it is sweeter than the Plantine, eats well stewed or preserved, both in Look and Taste not unlike a Quince. The Negroes don't like it so well as the Plantine, because it is sweet, they they having an Aversion to sweet Things, if my Author is not mistaken, for I am informed they are very far from hating Sugar.

In the Fruit, when it is cut, as you do the Root of Fern to find a spread Eagle, you see the lively Representation of Christ upon the Cross, the Head hanging down, the Arms extended to a full Length, with some little Elevation, and the Feet cross one upon another.

Thus several Authors have written; but I have been told by several Gentlemen, that there is no Manner of Representation of a human Figure; it is true, there is a Sort of a Cross, and Fancy may supply the Want of the Representation.

The last and best of all the excellent Fruits we have nam'd, is the Pine, the most beautiful and pleasant of all Nature's Productions. The Fruit is almost of the Colour of an Abricot not full ripe, it eats crisp and short as that does, is full of Pores, and those of such Forms and Colours, as render a lovely Sight to the Eye, and are tempting to the Taste. It would never endure bringing to *England*, tho' frequent Trials have been made to do it. The Smell of this Fruit is extremely fragrant; the Tree never grows to be above 4 Foot high, and the Fruit is sometimes 14 Inches long, and 6 Diameter. There are two Sorts, the King and Queen Pine, and both painted with so many different glorious

*Colours,*

*Colours*, that it makes a most charming Prospect to the Eye.

The Taste of it is wonderfully picquant, sharp and sweet alternatively, and both in a very high Degree. The Pleasure it gives is so delicious, and at the same Time so refreshing, that it transports the Person who tastes it.

There are many other Plants proper for Physick or Food; as Aloes, which is a beautiful Plant; the Leaves are four Inches broad, and a Quarter of an Inch thick, and a Foot and an half long, with Prickles on each Side. Out of these Leaves, when they are cut, the Aloes issue. The Trees in this Island continue green all the Year; and at whatever Time they are lop'd and cut, they sprout out again.

The sensible Plant is common in *Barbados*, which when you touch it closes its Leaves, and in a little Time will open again. The Humble Plant, and the Dumb Cane are frequently met with here; also most Sorts of *English* Pot-herbs and Roots thrive. Leek-feed will not come up, nor Rose-trees bear Flowers.

Mr. *Ligon* tells us this, which is however a Mistake; for there are as good Leeks in *Barbados*, as in *England*, and fine Damask and Provins Roses all the Year round.

These Herbs were all carried thither; for when the first Planters landed, they found nothing of that Kind but Purcelain; with which the Place was then so over-run, that it was thrown away as a Weed. They have Potatoes in Abundance, and *Yams*, which is Part of their Slaves Food.

Tho' there are few Flowers in the Island, there are some very lovely ones; such as the White Lily, which grows spontaneously, and is a fairer Flower than the *English*; the Red Lily is of the same Bigness, neither of them sweet. The *St. Jago* Flower is very beautiful, but of a nauseous Smell.

The Passion Flower takes its Name from the Picture of some of the Instruments of our Saviour's Passion there represented; they creep along the Ground like Ivy, if they have no Tree to grow up by. This Flower in *Barbados* is known by the Name of, the *Vinegar Pear Flower*, and is used to run over Arbours, as we do Honey-Suckles here; the *Water Lemon Flower* is put to the same Use. And as to other Flowers, there are few or none, the Heat of the Soil being too fierce for the cultivating Things of so delicate a Constitution.

The Four a Clock Flower, so named, because it always opens at Sun-set; it is in *England* called the *Merveille de Peru*. It grows in Tufts, the Leaves in the Form of a Heart,

the Point turning back; the Flower bigger than a Primrose, and of the finest purple Colour that ever Eye beheld. The Seed is Black, with an Eye of Purple, shaped like a Button, and so hard, that it might serve for the same Use.

There is a Root in the Island, the Name of which I cannot learn, but suppose it to be the *Yams*; the Seeds were brought thither by the *Negroes*, and planted there in little Hills as big as Mole-Hills. When it shoots forth its Stalks they turn down the Ground on each Side, and then there grows up a Stem, not unlike Asparagus, of a purple Colour; which being gathered, and eaten as a Sallet, with Oil, Vinegar, and Salt, is a tolerable Sauce, where no better is to be had. The Root is also good boiled with powdered Beef and Pork, eaten with Butter and Vinegar; the Cabbage which they call the *Seven Years Cabbage*, and is much sweeter than ours, when it is ripe, shoots forth many Slips, which being transplanted, produce others, that grow to be as fair, and as large, as if they rose from the Seed. But the common Cabbage is not so much minded, as otherwise it would be, on Account of the Cabbage-Tree, which grows 20 or 30 Foot high, and bears a Flower of proportionable Bigness, resembling a Cabbage in Form and Taste.

*Eddoes* is a Plant, the Pulp of whose Stalk they eat, as we do Artichoke Bottoms, and it is every whit as good.

We must not close this Chapter, without taking Notice of the *Withies*, which formerly crept among Bushes, and fastened on the Trees, but now are quite rooted up: They bear a beautiful and odoriferous Flower; but if they got into a Plantation, they crept about the Ground like Horse-Radish; and if not taken up, which was very difficult, ruined the Growth of the Canes.

There are all Sorts of Pulse in *Barbados*, in very great Plenty, and excellent in their Kind. Apples and Pears never thrived there, nor many of our Shrub Fruits, as Gooseberries, Currants, or Cherries.

As for Corn, the Planters never sow any *English* Wheat; and the poorer Sort of People, who spare most of their Ground for Corn, plant only *Indian* or *Guinea* Corn, which they sell to the richer, but at so great Rates, that they are forced to send to the Northern Colonies for *Indian* Corn.

That Part of the Island called the *Champaign*, and that called the *Thickets*, are entirely planted with Corn. There are many thousand Acres of Land lye waste for want of Hands to cultivate it. The *English* Corn is generally sent thither from *England* in Flower. *Indian* Corn is sometimes sold for 2 s. 6 d. and sometimes 10 s. a Bushel, but commonly 5 s. a Bushel.

There



There is no *English* Grain cultivated here; if there was, there is no doubt but all the Summer Corn would thrive; as Oats, &c. have done, when, for an Experiment, some Grains have been thrown into the Ground.

The Seasons for Planting *Indian* Corn are chiefly in *May* and *November*; but it is also planted all the Year, from *May* to *January*.

Orchards and Gardens are rare in this Island, and they are at very little Labour to cultivate any Thing besides Sugar-Canes, and the Commodities that are fit for a home Market. Nature has done, and continues to do so much for them, that they take the less Pains to do for themselves; and depending on her Bounty, and Supplies from *England*, and the Northern Colonies, they content themselves with what she produces, which is enough to satisfy the Desire of the most luxurious Taste in the World; so delicate, and so rich are the Fruits of this little, but lovely Island.

As to the Climate, one would think, by its Situation, that it is intolerably hot; and indeed for 8 Months in the Year, the Heats would be insupportable, were it not for the fresh Breezes which rise with the Sun, and blow fresher as the Sun gets higher.

The Place is sensibly cooler since it was cleared of the thick Woods, we have before spoken of. The Breezes blow from the East, with a Point or two to the North, except in the Months of *July*, *August*, *September*, and *October*; which is their Mid-summer, and then the Weather is excessively hot: But yet the Sea Breezes, the Groves and Shades, and their cool Houses, render it very tolerable; and it was reckoned the healthiest Island in *America*, till about the Year 1691, when some Forces were shipped at *Cadiz*, to go upon the Expedition against *Martinico*.

These Regiments carried with them a pestilential Fever, with which the whole Island was so infected, that in the Course of 12 or 13 Year, it carried off above a third Part of its Inhabitants, and destroyed most of the Seamen, as well in the Merchant Men, as Men of War, that came thither.

The dreadful Turnado's, or Hurricanes, that used to threaten this Island with a general Ruin, are not so frequent as formerly; and the Distemper which was called, the *Sickness*, is so much decreased, that the Island begins to recover its former Reputation for Health.

From the Situation of the Place, it follows of Consequence, that the Length of the Days must be very near equal; and the Sun rises at Six, and sets at Six, or in less than half an Hour before or after, which continues so all the Year round.

Three Quarters of an Hour after Sun-set it is dark, the Twilights being no longer in these Parts.

#### C H A P. IV.

Of the Beasts, Birds, Fish, Insects, and other Animals in *Barbados*.

THERE were several Beasts found on the other *Charibbee* Islands, but few or none at *Barbados*; which, as has been said, was almost over-run with Hogs. Afterwards Beasts of Burthen were brought thither, and Cattle for Food.

Those that were either some Years ago, or are still to be met with there, are Camels, of which there were several imported at the first Settlement of the Island. They did not thrive, and for that Reason no more were brought over. Captain *Higginbotham* of *St. Philips* had four or five; each of them would carry 15 or 1600 Pound Weight of Sugar to the *Bridge*, and bring as good a Load to his Plantation, eight Miles from it.

Horses the Inhabitants have from *England* for their Coaches, and for their own Riding, and the Militia, from *New-England*. For Carts and common Uses, they had some from *Bonavista*, *Cape Verd Islands*, and *Curassau*.

When they first settled there, *Virginia* also used to furnish them with Horses, but now they have almost all from *Old* and *New-England*. Their own Breed are mettlesom, swift, and hardy, but small, and not very handsom.

Oxen, Bulls, and Cows, were brought from the Isle of *May* and *Bonavista*, to the first Planters. Their Posterity and Successors breed all now; for it has been found, that the black Cattle brought from foreign Parts, lick off the Pitch and Tar with their own Hair, which never passes thro' them, but occasions their Death, few of them living when they come ashore.

The *Barbados* Cattle is a midling Breed; and they seldom cut their Bulls, but yoke them, and put them to the Cart; as they do also Cows, and work them there, and in their Cattle-Mills, of which there are not many now; the meaner sort, who want Negroes, only making use of them. The Bulls are so well taught, that they will work very orderly.

*Assnegoes*, or Asses, are extraordinary useful, in carrying Sugar to the *Bridge*. These Beasts will run along with their Burthen, in Ways where Horses cannot pass. The former will

will pick and choose their Way; and if any one of them fall, two Negroes can help him up; they will carry from one hundred and an half, to two hundred Weight. The *Affnegoes* were brought thither, as well as other Cattle.

This Island having no living Creature in it bigger than a Hog, till the *English* settled there, Hogs were in such extraordinary Plenty, that the *English* were more pestered than served by them at their first landing. It is thought they were left there by the *Portuguese*, to breed, and supply them with Provisions, in their Passage to and from the *Brafils*.

The Hogs the *Portuguese* landed there multiplied, in a few Years, so fast, that the whole Island could hardly maintain them; the *Europeans* and *Charibbeans* came from the other Islands to hunt them; and the *English* thought to have given it the Name of, *The Isle of Hogs*.

The Flesh of these Hogs, as the Inhabitants have mended the Breed, is extremely delicious, and surpasses the best Pork in *Europe*; they are some large, and some little, but all good.

Sheep don't thrive well in *Barbados*; yet there are some whose Meat is not so kindly as ours in *England*. There is greater Plenty of Goats, much of the same Nature with the *Welsh*, the Flesh tasting like that of the *Welsh* Goats. Monkeys and Racoons are there in abundance.

The Birds of this Place, says an Author who lived in the Island, are hardly worth the Pains of describing. The biggest they have there is a Buzzard, less than the *English* Grey-Buzzard, swifter of Wing, and serviceable to the Planter, by destroying the Rats, which otherwise would destroy his Canes; for there are great Numbers of them.

There's great store of the larger Turtle-Dove; a much handsomer Bird in Shape and Colour than the *English* Turtle, and much better to eat. The lesser Turtle is a finer Bird than the larger, shaped like a Partridge, her Feathers grey and red, brown under her Wings.

There's a Bird in this Island like a Thrush, which is so called; her Feathers always ruffled, and her Head hanging down, as if her Neck was broke: She has three or four Notes, loud and sweet. Another they have like a Wren, they call it the Quaking-thrush, a very merry Bird by her Motion, but she seldom or never sings; she has a long Bill. There's a Black-Bird, so called, with white Eyes; her Voice harsh like a Jay; a great Devourer of Corn and Blossoms. They fly in Flocks of many thousands; they walk, and don't hop. Another in Colour like a *Fieldfare*: It is, says *Ligon*, called a Counsellor, because her Head seems too big for her Body; but her true Name is a Loggerhead. She is extreme-



ly wanton in her Flight, and so strange in her Note, that no Voice or Instrument can imitate it; it is a Quarter Note, which is a Discovery in Musick that no Master has yet been able to make.

There are Sparrows, Haysocks, Finches, Yellow-Hamers, Titmice, and such like Birds; for which the *English* have not thought fit to be at the trouble to invent Names, they are so little and worthless, either for Flesh, Feather, or Note.

The most famous of all the feathered Nation in *America*, is the *Colibry*, or *Humming-Bird*, which, according to an ingenious Author, is admirable for her Beauty, Shape, Smell, which is like Musk, and way of Life; it is much less than a Wren; yet though she's the least, she is the most glorious of all Birds. Some of these Birds are no bigger than the greater sort of Flies, the biggest scarce exceeding an Humble Bee in Bulk; the Colours of the Feathers of her Neck and Wings represent those of the Rain-bow: Some of them have such a bright Red under their Necks, that at a Distance one would think it were a Carbuncle; the Belly and under the Wings are of a gilt yellow, the Thighs as green as an Emerald, the Feet and Beak as black as polished Ebony, the two little Eyes shine like two Diamonds, the Head is of a Grass-green; the Plumage of the Male is finer than the Female's, and on his Head he has a Crown of Feathers, as it were to distinguish his Superiority. It is so strong in its Flight, that it makes a louder Noise, by the Agitation of its Wings, than the greatest Birds. It loves to fly near those that pass, and surprizes them like a little Whirlwind. It lives on the Dew, which it sucks with its Tongue from the Blossoms. Its Tongue is much longer than its Beak, hollow like a Reed, and about the Bigness of a small Needle. It is seldom seen on the Ground, nor standing on the Trees, but hovering in the Air, near the Tree from whence it takes its Nourishment. Humming-Birds covet the Blossoms of Cotton-Trees most, roost in that or the Orange-Tree, and are very curious in building their little Houses in the Branches. The only way of taking the *Colibry*, is by shooting it with Sand, which stuns it for the present: When you have it, you cannot keep it, for no body can furnish it with the Food it is used to feed upon.

This Description of the *Colibry* suits in most Things with the Humming-Birds of *Barbados*, which have no Smell, unless it is what is given them after they are dead; when they are perfumed, and sent for Presents to *England*. The bright Red under the Neck was never seen in *Barbados*; the Belly and under the Wings of a dark Colour; the Thighs, as well as the Feet and Beak, black: Its Neck is about the Bigness of half a Walnut Shell, split in two Parts. As

As for Wild Fowl, the Inhabitants of *Barbados* do not often see any: They sometimes take Teal near their Ponds, and a sort of Fowl they call *Oxen and Kine*. They have a Bird which goes by the Name of the *Man of War*, because it flies out to Sea for Discoveries; and it is said, these Men of War are so much to be depended on, that whenever they return, the People cry out a *Sail*, and are never deceived in it. These Birds will meet Ships 20 Leagues from Land. Mr. *Ligon*, who gives this Account of the Wild Fowl of *Barbados*, must not here also be trusted; for when the Winds change to the South and South-West, there are great Quantities of Wild Fowl, that come in Flocks from the Continent, as Plovers, Curlews, Snipes, Wild Pigeons, a few Wild Ducks, and Teal. The Wild Pigeons are so fat, that when they are shot in the Trees, they sometimes fall down and burst; they are bigger than our Pigeons, and of a very dark Colour; some of them with a Ring of white about their Necks; 50 of these Wild Fowl have been killed at a Shot.

Their Tame Fowl is of the same Kind with ours in *England*, only the Meat of the several Sorts are better. Their Ducks, which they call *Muscovy*, are excellent Food; so are their Pigeons, Pullets, and all their Poultry.

They have some Rabbits, but no Hares, nor Venison. The Rabbits are good and scarce, so that they are generally 5 s. a Couple.

The Insects that are most frequently met with in this Island, are Snakes, some of which are a Yard long, they kill the Planters Pigeons, do the same Mischiefs as they do in *England*, and suck up their Milk; they will climb up a Wall, six or seven Foot high, come in at a Window, get down in the Room, where the Milk Pans are, skim them, and return back the same Way they came; they never sting any body.

The Scorpions in *Barbados* are as big as Rats; they will combat the Snakes that attack them to eat them, but they always have the worst on't; they never hurt Man or Beast. There are no Toads or Frogs. Lizards were more common in the Island than they are lately, the Cats having almost destroyed all of them; they loved to be where Men were, to gaze in their Faces, and hearken to their Discourse; they are not like those in *Europe*, their Bodies are about four Inches long, their Tails near as much, their Heads resembling a Snake's, their Backs are of a Grass-green Colour, blewish towards the Side, their Bellies yellow; they have four Legs, and are very nimble.

Musketoos sting and bite People in the Night, and are indeed the most troublesome Creature the *English* meet with in *America*; they are like Gnats in *England*, and are not so frequent in *Barbados* as in the Colonies upon the Continent, where there are large Fens and low Places.

Cock-roaches are about the Bigness of a Beetle; if they happen upon sound Sleepers, they bite till they fetch Blood; and if they awake, and hunt them, they are nimble, that 'tis not easy to catch them. The Negroes, who have thick Skins, and by Reason of their hard Labour, are not easy to be waked when they are asleep, are sometimes bitten so, that for the Breadth of both your Hands together, their Skins are razed, as if it was done with a Curry-comb. Thus it might be in Mr. *Ligon's* Time, but now 'tis certain they are not so very mischievous: It is true, where-ever they touch, they leave a Sting; and if Children go to Bed with greazy Fingers, will nibble them unmercifully; they are the most offensive things in *Barbados*.

Merriwings are of so small a Size, and so thin and aerial, they can hardly be discerned, but by the Noise of their Wings, which is like a small Bugle Horn, at a great Distance: Where they sting, they raise a Nob as big as a Pease, which lasts a whole Day. These Merriwings, so pompously described by Mr. *Ligon*, are nothing but what we call Gnats in *London*, and Stouts in the West-Country. All Lands that lie low will be troubled with them in Summer-time.

Caterpillars eat the Potatoes, and are eaten by Turkeys. The *Chegoes* are another little mischievous kind of Insect; and there are various Sorts of smaller ones, as Ants, Pismires, &c. but none that are peculiar to the Country, and therefore not proper to be inserted in this Place, unless it be the Wood Ant and Mastick Fly; the former of which destroys the Timber in the Houses. Upon a Deal Beam they will build a Nest as big as a Barrel; and within it is like a Honey-comb, but without any Honey; they will eat up and destroy a Piece of *English* Oak in a very little time; their Colour is white, and if they are squeezed, there comes out a soft Substance of the same Colour; they build upon Trees in the Woods, or in Houses.

The *Mastick Fly*, which is so called from its destroying the Mastick Trees; the Smell of it is so fragrant, that it perfumes the Air as it flies by you. It is supposed to destroy the Tree by a Sort of a Rasp in the Bill, with which it makes thousands of Holes in the Tree, so that there will be Pecks of Dust, like Saw-dust, under it.



The Sea of *Barbados*, if that Part of the Ocean which surrounds it, may be so called, yields almost all Sorts of Fish that are caught elsewhere; those that are rarely to be seen in other Parts of the World, are, the Parrat Fish, Snappers, and grey Cavallos, *Terbums*, Coney-fish.

The Mulletts are reckoned extraordinary good of their Kind, and so are their Lobsters and Crabs.

There's a Sort of Land Crab, which lives almost always on the Shore; they hide themselves in Holes and in Houses, and sometimes in Hollow Trees: They are often met upon the Stairs, in Parlours, and Gardens, where they eat Herbs. In *March*, they all come out of their Holes, and march down to the Sea in such Multitudes, that they cover a great Part of the Ground where they go. Several Years ago the Planters used to ride over them in the Roads; they never eat them, but the Negroes love them, and frequently feast upon them.

The Parrat Fish is about 20 Pound Weight, and well tasted. It has Scales like a Carp, of a green Colour; it has no Teeth, but sharp strong Jaws, and feeds chiefly on Shell-fish.

As to the Description of the other Kinds of Fish we have mentioned above, we must be forced to leave it as we found it in general, and therefore cannot descend into Particulars: We are told they are all excellent Meat, and are often served up to the Gentlemens Tables of the Island.

As for the Tortoise, we shall speak of it more at large in the History of *Jamaica*, and shall in this Place only correct an Error of Mr. *Ligon's*, who writes, a Tortoise has three Hearts, which Dr. *Stubs* says he found to be false; Lowth. Vol. 3. p. 552. for though the Resemblance of the two Auricles be such, as also their Bodies or Flesh, as to deceive the unwary Observer, yet is there but one Heart triangular and fleshy, &c.

In all the Rivers are Craw-fish, Maid-fish, Grigs, not *Eels*, about nine Inches long, Prawns, and several Fish that come out of the Sea, and live in the fresh Water, as Cophmirs, Snooks, Place, and some Eels.

## C H A P. V.

Of the Inhabitants, Masters, Servants, and Negroes:  
Their Numbers, Strength, Manner of Living,  
Diet, Exercifes, and Diversions.

**T**HIS Island was the soonest peopled of all our Colonies; the Riches of the Planters produced by that of the Soil, tempted Gentlemen of good Families and moderate Estates, to transport themselves thither to improve them. And tho' it seems trivial to relate Particulars of the Honours bestowed on private Persons; yet for the Credit of *Barbados*, there have been more of that Island knighted by the Kings of *England*, than of all the rest of the *English* Plantations in *America*; for since the Settlement of the Island 13 Baronets and Knights were made, for the Incouragement of the Industry of the Inhabitants.

Created Baronets the same Day, *Feb. 18. 1661.*

Sir *John Colliton,*  
Sir *James Modiford,*  
Sir *James Drax,*  
Sir *Robert Davers,*  
Sir *Robert Hacket,*  
Sir *John Yeomans,*  
Sir *Timothy Thornhill,*  
Sir *John Witham,*  
Sir *Robert Legard,*  
Sir *John Worsum,*  
Sir *John Bawdon,*  
Sir *Edwyn Stede,*  
Sir *Willoughby Chamberlayne,*

} Baronets.

And indeed whoever will look over the Map of *Barbados* will find, the Country is not possessed by such a Set of Men as inhabit the other Plantations; the *Walronds*, the *Fortescues*, the *Collitons*, the *Thornhills*, the *Farmers*, the *Pickerings*, the *Littletons*, the *Codringtons*, the *Willoughbies*, the *Chesters*, the *Kendals*, the *Dimocks*, the *Hawleys*, the *Stedes*, the *Prideauxs*, the *Alleyns*, the *Quintines*, the *Bromleys*, and others, whose Families are of the most ancient and honourable in *England*; nor must we omit one, which is indeed a mighty Name, *Palæologus*, who had a small Plantation near the

Top

Top of the Cliff. How he came by that Imperial Name, we have not heard fairly made out; neither can we believe the Tradition of the Family, of whom one attested to the Author, that his Ancestors were originally *Greek* Fugitives, and descended from the Emperors of *Constantinople* of that Name, who reigned in the *East* from the driving out of the *French* by *Michael Palæologus*, in the thirteenth Century, to the Dissolution of that Empire under *Constantine Palæologus*, in the fifteenth Century, by *Mahomet the Great*.

Enough of this Digression, which is only designed to shew, that the common Reflection made upon the Plantations, as to the Meanness of the Planters Origins, is groundless as to *Barbados*, where there are as many good Families as are in any of the Counties of *England*, where Commerce and Trade flourish. But were that Reflection true, it would be far from lessening the Reputation of the present Inhabitants; the vast Estates which many of them enjoy, as the *Draxes*, the *Guys*, the *Walters*, and the *Hallets*, are glorious Proofs of the Industry and Wisdom of their Ancestors; and a fair Invitation for other Merchants in *England* to remove thither, and endeavour to acquire the same Possessions, equal to many of our Nobility and Gentry, of the first Rank in *England*. Indeed, the Pleasantness of the Country is such, that it might tempt over the most prosperous; and the Profit would be great enough, were it duly encouraged, to invite the most covetous to live there. Wealth and Pleasure, which are generally Strangers, dwell there together; and an industrious prudent Man may grow rich with as much Delight, as a Prodigal grows poor in *England*.

The Character of this Island was such, as drew over Multitudes to see and inhabit it; insomuch that twenty Years after the first Settlement was made there, the Militia of the Country were more in Number than that of *Virginia* is now, though the Place is not a fiftieth Part so big. They mustered then 11000 Horse and Foot, as good Men, and as resolute as any in the World: This Number was considerably increased afterwards, and in the Year 1676, when the Island was in its most flourishing Condition, during Sir *Jonathan Atkins's* Government, there were 20000 Men, and 50000 Souls, all *Europeans* by Birth or Descent, and 80000 *Negroes*; in all above 150000 Souls; in an Island not much bigger than the Isle of *Wight*.

By this we may see how much this little Isle had flourished in about 50 Years. There are few Counties in *England* that have 130000 Souls in them; and the Kingdom itself, taken all together, fell infinitely short of the Populousness of *Barbados*.



*bados* at that Time; for granting there are 100000 Acres of Land in *Barbados*, and 40 Millions in *England*, as there are by the best Computations, as *Chamberlain's*, *Houghton's*, &c. *England* contains 400 Times as much Ground as that Island, and in Proportion, should have above 50 Millions of Inhabitants, whereas it has not 8 Millions by Sir *William Petty's*, and the largest Calculations.

The Number of Souls is since considerably decreased in *Barbados*, as well by the Removal of several of the most eminent Planters to *England*, where they have purchased Estates, and live in great Affluence and Splendor, as by a fatal Disease, which infected the whole Island. It was, as we have hinted, brought thither in the Year 1691, and swept away so many of the Inhabitants, Masters, Servants, and Slaves, that there are not above 7000 fighting Men, and 25000 *English* Souls in the Place, nor above 60 or 70000 Negroes, Men, Women, and Children.

The Distemper is lately abated, and the Colony encreases in People daily, in which the present Health of the Place will, if it lasts, advance it in two or three Years to the happy State it was in formerly, if they are not too much discouraged from Home.

Every Freeholder, and white Servant, able to bear Arms, is listed in the Militia of the Island, which consists now of about 3500 Foot, and 1200 stout Horse; and these are as good, or better, than any regular Forces; for besides that the *Creoleans* are as brave Men as any in the World, they would certainly fight resolutely for so rich and so pleasant a Country.

Such Englishmen as are born in Barbados are so called.

We have shewn in our Geographical Account of the Island, how it is fortified by Nature and Art; and that the Reader might not be at a Loss, to know how a Line of such Length, above 30 Miles on the Coast, is manned, he must understand, that in Case of an Alarm, the Government can arm 10000 stout Negroes, dextrous at handling a Pike, who would defend those Entrenchments against any Invader.

The Inhabitants are ranked in these three Orders; Masters, who are either *English*, *Scots*, or *Irish*, with some few *Dutch*, *French*, and *Portuguese Jews*; White Servants, and Slaves: The White Servants are either by Covenant or Purchase; there are two Sorts, such as sell themselves in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for 4 Years, or more; and such as are transported by the Government from those three Kingdoms, for Capital Crimes.

The Gentlemen of *Barbados* scorned to employ any of the latter Sort, till the late Sickness and War had reduced them

to great Want of Hands : And of the former, several poor Mens Children have been driven thither, by Necessity or Discontent; who behaving themselves honestly and laboriously, have raised themselves, after their Servitude was expired, to be Masters of good Plantations, and been the making of their Relations at Home.

The Masters, Merchants, and Planters, live each like little Sovereigns in their Plantations; they have their Servants of their Household, and those of the Field; their Tables are spread every Day with Variety of nice Dishes, and their Attendants are more numerous than many of the Nobility's in *England*; their Equipages are rich, their Liveries fine, their Coaches and Horses answerable; their Chairs, Chaises, and all the Conveniences for their travelling, magnificent.

The most wealthy of them, besides this Land-train, have their Pleasure-Boats, to make the *Tour* of the Island in, and Sloops to convey their Goods to and from the *Bridge*.

Their Dress, and that of their Ladies, is fashionable and courtly; and being generally bred at *London*, their Behaviour is genteel and polite; in which they have the Advantage of most of our Country Gentlemen, who living at great Distances from *London*, frequent the World very little; and from conversing always with their Dogs, Horses, and rude Peasants, acquire an Air suitable to their Society.

The Gentlemen of *Barbados* are civil, generous, hospitable, and very sociable. They were not, till lately, troubled with Factions and Parties; and, to prevent the growing of Divisions among them, in the Time of the Distractions in *England*, they made a Law among themselves, that whoever named the Word *Round-head*, or *Cavalier*, should give the Company, at his own House, a Pig and a Turkey; and sometimes they would make Forfeitures, on Purpose to have an Opportunity to entertain their Neighbours. But this Hospitality is now almost lost there, the Gentlemen learning in *England* to keep their good Things to themselves, and to part with them very sparingly : Yet some there are, whose Houses are still free to Strangers, and who receive all with a cheerful Look, and open Heart.

Their Diet is the same with ours in *England*; they have Beef, Pork, Veal, Mutton, and Lamb, of their own breeding, or at their Markets, for 9 *d.* Half-penny a Pound, which is cheap there.

Their second Courses are their Poultry, as Turkeys, Geese Ducks, Fowl, Chickens, and Fish, which they have in Abundance, by the Convenience of their Situation.

All Sorts of Sauces, as Pickles, Olives, &c. they have from *England*, as also Tongues, Hams, Anchovies, Caveer, &c. Their Pastry, and their Bread are made of *English Flower*; and their Kitchin Servants are as good Cooks as any in *England*.

Their Deserts are all admirable, and the very Idea of a Table spread with their Melons, Succats and Pines, is transporting.

Their Drink is chiefly *Madeira Wine* and Water: Of that Wine there are two Sorts, *Malmsey* and *Vidonia*; the former as rich, and not so luscious as Canary; and the latter as dry, and as vigorous as Sherry; it is Red, being coloured with *Tinto*; they also drink cool Tankards of Wine, excellent Lemons, fine Sugar and Spring-Water, Lemonades made of all the last Ingredients but Wine.

The more sanguine People entertain one another with Punch, made of the best Ingredients, Lemons, double refined Sugar, Spring-Water, and right *French Brandy*.

The good Husbands use their own Manufacture Rum, instead of *French Brandy*. They have also all Sorts of other Wines, Malt Drinks and Cyder, from *England*. In short, the Inhabitants of *Barbados* live as plentifully, and some of them as luxuriously as any in the World. They have every Thing that is requisite for Pomp and Luxury; they are absolute Lords of all Things, Life and Limb of their Servants excepted, within their own Territories; and some of them have no less than 7 or 800 Negroes, who are themselves, and their Posterity, their Slaves for ever.

Every Dwelling-house, and other Out-housing, looks like a handsom Town, most being new built with Stone, and covered with Pantile or Slate, brought hither in the Ballasts of Ships, as is also Sea-Coal for Forges; and the Freight being by that Means made cheap, there is Plenty enough of those Necessaries.

The White Servants are sold for about 20 *l.* a Piece; but if they are Mechanicks, for much more. Women, if they are handsom, 10 *l.* As soon as the Time, for which they covenanted to serve, or at the End of which they are free by Law, is expired, they are entirely their own Masters; and, during their Servitude, are treated more gently than the *Blacks*.

Their Clothing is made of Ozinbrig Jackets and Drawers, and sometimes of coarse Cloth. The Male Servants have thick Drawers, Shoes, Stockings, Caps, and Canvas Waistcoats allowed them. And the Females have Shifts, Petticoats, Waistcoats, Shoes, and Stockings, made neat and serviceable.



We must add to Mr. Ligon's Account, that the Servants, when they are out of their Time, have 5 *l.* for those that are *British* Servants. All others have but 40 *s.* And as for Female Servants there are now none, unless they are Natives of the Country, and hired as Servant-Maids are in *England*. 'Tis by Chance that any come from *England* to be hired, and no Women have been sold these 20 Years.

Their Labour is not very hard; much less than our Day-Labourers in *England*, and their Encouragement much more; for if they are good for any Thing when they come, out of their Times, there are enough will employ them on their own Terms.

Their Diet is not so good, as those who have been used to rich Farmers Tables in *England* would desire, because they cannot be fed every Day with Beef and Mutton; however they cannot complain of any Want; and the Planters distinguish them from the Negroes, by providing them Bisket from *England*. The chief of them are supplied from their Masters Tables. The Overseers have Tables of their own in the House, when the Owner is in *England*.

The Variety of Fruits, Roots, and Herbs, that grow there, is a great Help to the Servants Diet, in furnishing them with Sauce and Change, when they are weary of the salt Beef, Pork and Fish, which is brought them from *New-England*, and other Places.

The Condition of the *Blacks* is only worse, because their Servitude is perpetual. There is as much Care taken of them, and rather more; because if a Negro dies, the Owner loses 40 or 50 *l.* whereas by the Death of a White-Man, he is at the Loss only of 2 or 3 Years Wages to another.

The *Blacks* Business lies most in the Field, unless it is those that are taken into the Boiling-House, the Curing-House, the Still-House, the Mills, the Store-House, or Dwelling-House; where the handsomest, cleanliest Maidens are bred to menial Services, and the properest, cleanest limbed Fellows, to be Coachmen, Footmen, Grooms, and Lacquies. Others often are employed in handicraft Trades, as Coopers, Joiners, Carpenters, Smiths, Masons, and the like.

A Slave that is excellent in any of these mechanick Employments, is worth 150 or 200 *l.* and I have known 400 *l.* bid for a Boiler, belonging to Sir *John Bawdon's* Plantation in *Scotland*. They are all of them worth from 40 to 50 *l.* a Head, Males; and answerable for Females at this Time, occasioned by several Accidents, which will be mentioned in our Article of Trade.

The Slaves are purchased by Lots, out of the *Guinea Ships*. They are all viewed stark naked, and the strongest and handsomest bear the best Prices. They are allowed to have two or three Wives, that they may encrease the Planter's Stock by Multiplication: For their Posterity to all Generations are Slaves, unless their Liberties are given them: But it is questioned, whether their Polygamy does not rather hinder than promote their multiplying. The immoderate Use of such Pleasures enervates and decays Men, and no vigorous Issue can be expected from them.

If their Female Slaves were treated more gently, their Burdens and Labour lessened, the Planters would in all Probability find their Account by it; in the Increase of the Number of their Servants, if every Negro was obliged to keep to one Woman, more than now they are suffered to have two, or more.

These Women are very constant to the Man that passes for their Husband. Adultery is reckoned the most abominable of Crimes, even by those Barbarians, who are as jealous as the *Italians*.

As to the Scandal some People take at the Masters denying their Negroes the Benefit of Baptism, it is as groundless as the Notion, that their Conversion to Christianity sets them free. They and theirs are as much Slaves as before, only some more scrupulous Overseers might not be willing to handle the Cat-a-nine-tails so often against their Fellow-Christians, as they would against Infidels.

The Truth is, few of these poor Wretches shew any Disposition to hearken to the Doctrine of the Christians. They are so fond of their own Idolatry, that unless the Government of *Barbados* was impowered to set up an Inquisition, they would never be converted. But such of them as desire to receive the Sacrament of Baptism, are suffered and encouraged so far, that they are used more favourably afterwards. 'Tis true, the Planters are not over forward in promoting such Conversion; for their Slaves, in Hopes of better Usage, would all profess Christianity with their Lips, while their Hearts retained their old diabolical Idolatry: Wherefore due Care is taken to enquire into the Reality of their Conversion, before they are admitted to the Holy Sacrament of Baptism; and it would be well if the same Care was taken elsewhere, to prevent others receiving unworthily that of the Lord's Supper, which is too often prostituted to temporal Concerns.

The Negroes are generally false and treacherous. Some Instances of great Fidelity have been found among them, which

which have been related in the Historical Account of the Island; but for the most Part they are faithless, and Dissemblers. They are apt to swell with a good Opinion of themselves, on the least Occasion for it to be very stubborn, are sullen and cruel, and their Masters are almost under a fatal Necessity to treat them inhumanly, or they would be un-governable.

Their Numbers render them very dangerous, they being three to one to the Whites; and by their frequent Attempts to get the Mastery one may see, that the Planters are forced to carry a strict Hand over them.

The Stories that are told of the Severities they suffer from the Overseers, are aggravated; and few *English* have been so barbarous, as they are all represented to be, by the Enemies of the Plantations; tho' according to the Nature or Understanding of the Masters, the Slaves are used the better or the worse. Their whipping them with Thongs, till they are all a-gore of Blood; their tying them up by their Hands or Feet, to endure such Stripes, and the pickling afterwards with Brine, are Bugbears to frighten Children with, like Tales of *Raw-head, and Bloody-bones*. And yet when we consider how lazy they are apt to be, and how careless, and that the Fortune of their Masters depends almost entirely on their Care and Labour, one can't blame the Overseers, for punishing the Idle and Remiss severely. Some of them have been so negligent, as by laying Fire too near the Canes, to set whole Lands of Canes, and Houses too, in a Flame; the knocking out a Tobacco Pipe against a dry Stump of a Tree, by others of them, has set it on Fire, and the Wind fanning it, and a Land of Canes being near it, has caught and burnt down all that were before the Wind. Mr. *James Holduppe*, and Mr. *Constantine Silvester*, several Years ago, lost 10000 *l.* by such an Accident.

Their Diet is very coarse, and yet they are very well contented, being perhaps better than any they had in their own Country. Their choicest Fare is Plantines, which they boil or roast, and then eat. They have now, twice or thrice in a Week, salt Fish, Mackarel, or salt Pork.

They have some Bread made of *Indian Corn*, of the Produce of the Country, or fetched from *Carolina*. But of this there is not too great Plenty amongst them; each Family has a Cabbin belonging to it, for the Men, his Wives, and Children. They are built with Sticks, Withs, and Plantine-Leaves, which makes every Plantation look like a little *African City*, and the Planter's House like the Sovereign's in the midst of it.



To each Hut there is a little Plot of Garden set out, where the Negroes plant Potatoes, Yams, Cassavia-Roots, &c. They have also another Sort of Food, called *Loblolly*, made of Maize, the Ears of which they roast, and then eat it.

The White Servants are sometimes dieted with this Maize, which is thus dressed for them; it is pounded in a Mortar, and boiled in Water, to the Thickness of Frumenty, then messed out to them, with some Salt. This is a poor Kind of Food, and seldom used of late, unless in a Time of great Scarcity.

If an Ox, Bull, or Cow, or any Sort of Cattle, die accidentally, the Negroes feast upon it, and the White Servants have often not disdained to come in for a Share.

All the Inhabitants of the Island run so much upon making of Sugar, that they will not spare Ground for Pastures, which renders Flesh-Meat very scarce, and fit only for the Masters Table.

The White Servants and Negroes make Cassavy and Potatoe-Bread. The latter many ordinary Planters were contented with at their first Settlement on the Island; but now Meal, Flower, and Bisket are plentier, few Masters will deign to eat any Thing but Wheat-Bread.

The Servants and Slaves Drinks are *Mobbie*, brewed with Potatoes, Water, and Sugar; *Kowwow* of Molasses-Water, and Ginger; *Perino* of the Cassavy-Root; after the old Women had chewed the Juice, they used to spit it out into the Water, where in 3 or 4 Hours it would work, and purge itself of the poisonous Quality. The Root is put in with the Juice, and this Drink is the most like the *English* Beer of any. 'Tis a very beastly Preparation, and one would think by its fine Taste that it had been some more delicate Drink.

Plantine Drink is made of Plantines mashed in Water, and well boiled; strained the next Day, and bottled; it will be fit to be drunk in a Week's Time, is pleasant and stronger than Sack.

There is another Liquor, called *Kill-Devil*, made of the Skimmings of Sugar, it is strong, but not very palatable, and seldom falls to the Servants Lot.

Pine Drink is made by pressing the Fruit, and straining the Liquor; it should be bottled: This is one of the best Drinks that the Island affords; the Planters themselves will often drink of this pleasant Liquor, and when it was first made, it was compared to *Nectar*.

The Negroes have often large Drams of Rum given them to hearten them at their Work; and a Pipe of Tobacco

and

and a Dram is the most acceptable Present that can be made them.

They are rung up every Morning at 6 a Clock, and at eleven are set to Dinner; at one they are rung out again to the Field, and must work till six.

Their Mens Clothing is coarse Woollen Jackets, or Ozing Waistcoats and Drawers. The Women have Petticoats and Waistcoats of the same; the Men *Monmouth* Caps, and the Women the same. They had formerly also in some Plantations Rug-Gowns to wrap over them when they were hot; which Custom was introduced by Col. *Walrond*, and is much better than burning out their Lungs with Rum.

Sundays are the only Days of Pleasure to the Negroes; and the most industrious of them, instead of diverting themselves, or resting, as it was intended they should, spend it in making Ropes of the Rind of certain Trees fit for that Use, which they sell to other Servants, Whites or Blacks, for what Necessaries they can furnish them with.

There is a great deal of Difference between the Negroes; those that are born in *Barbados* are much more useful Men, than those that are brought from *Guinea*. Mr. *Ligon* could not make this Observation, the Colony was too young; but the *Creolian* Negroes are every Way preferable to the new Comers (which they call *Salt-Water* Negroes) whom they despise, and value themselves much on being born in *Barbados*. The Children that come over young from *Africa* are also better Servants, when they are grown up, than those that come thence Men or Women.

As for their Living: By the Allowance of Ground, which the Master allows them, they have Opportunities to sow several Roots and Plants, to breed Goats, Hogs, and Fowl, which they either sell or eat themselves; and some of them, by their Industry, especially if they are Mechanicks, come to be worth 40 or 50 *l.* and sometimes more, which they are cunning enough to keep from their Masters. Such of them as can afford it, buy Clothes finer than their Master allows them; as the Men, white Holland Waistcoats, and Breeches, a Shirt, and Silver-Clasps. The Women also will make their rich Husbands purchase them a Shift, a fine Waistcoat and Petticoat, and Lace for their Heads, to set themselves out for a Holiday. They often buy Part of the Share of the White Mens Provisions, who are such Sots as to part with it for Money to purchase Rum, which is the *Kill-Devil* mentioned by *Ligon*; and a mean Spirit, that no Planter of any Note will now deign to drink; his Cellars are better furnished,

If the Negroes could come at a dead Bull, Cow, or Horfe, it is likely they would difpatch it; but the Planters are careful to keep them out of their Way, by burying them immediately, or otherwife difpofing of them, that they may not come at them, for Fear of their eating them, and being infected by it with fome contagious Diftemper. Thus it is plain, no Gentleman admits of his Servants being fed with Carrion, whatever Inclination they may have to it; for it muft be owned the new Comers are very greedy, for fuch a Repaft, when they come firft to *Barbados*; an Instance of which is told us in an Accident that happened to Col. *Helms*, who having fome Years ago bought a Lot of Negroes, fent them to his Plantation; where it happened that a Cow had lately died by fome ill Hap: He ordered it to be flung into a Well 40 Fathom deep, not thinking any of the Slaves would have ventured down after her; but the Negroes not having fathomed the Well, and thinking they might get up as eafily as the Cow got down, one of them leapt firft into the Well, and was followed by another, then by a third, a fourth followed him, and him the fifth, at feveral Times, till at laft the Owner miftrufing what had happened, difcovered his Misfortune in the Death of his Slaves, and prevented the fixth going after the other. The Notice *Ligon* takes of the Planters eating Potatoe Bread is fo true, that feveral have affirmed to me they preferred it to Wheaten Bread.

As for the old Womens chawing the *Caffavy* Root, 'tis a Falſity, or at leaſt has not been practiſed in *Barbados* in the Memory of Man, the *Perino* being made of the *Caffavy*, worked up with Sugar, after it is baked. There's now no Drink made of Plantines. Pine Drink, ſomething of the Colour of Mead, taſtes ſharp like the Pine, is a cooling Drink, and too good to fall to the Servants or Slaves, who would perhaps prefer a ſtrong Spirit to it.

As for the Rug-Gowns, mentioned by Mr. *Ligon*, they are now quite out of Uſe; whether the Reaſon of them is not as good in our Times, as in his, let the Gentlemen of *Barbados* determine.

In the Plat of Ground allowed them, beſides their little Gardens to each Cottage, which is now built of Poles, and covered with Thatch, having ſeveral Partitions round about it, they ſet Plantine Trees, ſo that their Houſes are not to be ſeen; they are not contiguous, but at a little Diſtance from each other, for fear of Fire.

As for their Diverſions on *Sundays*, the Generality of them dance, or wreſtle all Day, the Men and Women together. In Mr. *Ligon's* Time, the Men danced by themſelves, and the



the Women by themselves, but it is not so in ours. They have two Musical Instruments, like Kettle-Drums, for each Company of Dancers, with which they make a very barbarous Melody. They have other Musical Instruments, as a *Bangil*, not much unlike our Lute in any thing, but the Musick; the *Rookatw*, which is two Sticks jagged, and a *Jinggoing*, which is a Way of clapping their Hands on the Mouth of two Jars. These are all play'd together, and accompany'd with Voices, in a most terribly harmonious manner.

They are so far superior in Number to the Whites, that one would think it should be unsafe for the *English* to dwell among them; and yet the Danger by that Superiority is very little, especially since the Government there has taken Care to build such strong Forts as are lately built.

The Reasons of the Planters Security are these: The Slaves are brought from several Places in *Guinea*, which are different from one another in Language, and consequently they cannot converse freely in *Barbados*; or if they could, they hate one another so mortally, that some of them would rather die by the Hands of the *English*, than join with other *Africans*, in an Attempt to shake off their Yoke. None of them are allowed to touch any Arms, unless it is by their Master's Command: They are kept in such Awe, that they are afraid even to think of Liberty; and when they see the *English* muster and exercise, there can be no Terror in the World greater than what they lie under at that Time. It is true, the *Creolian* Negroes are not of this Number; they all speak *English*, and are so far from fearing a Muster, that they are very familiar with it, and can exercise very well.

The Way of the *English* Merchants trafficking for them was, till lately, by sending Ships with Beads, Pewter, Jars, Cloth, Hats, Copper Bars, Knives, and Toys, to *Africa*; but now the Trade is by Perpetuanoes, Guns, Powder, Flints, Tallow, and Spirits. They trade from *Sierra Leona* to Cape *Negro*, a vast Territory on the Coasts, near fifteen hundred Miles in Length; in which are many petty Kingdoms, where the Kings sell their Subjects and Prisoners of War; some mean Men their Servants, their Children, and sometimes their Wives. They are all Idolaters, and the Object of their abominable Worship is the Devil, if it has any Object, or have any Worship at all. The *Creolian* Negroes are far from such a Diabolical Religion; and if they have any at all, it must be the *English*, for they have no Opportunity to learn any other. The Foreign Slaves believe they return to their own Country; which Belief they brought from thence with them. Some of these Wretches are very ingenious, and others of them as stupid. Indeed such of them as are dull,

are so to Brutality; and such as are ingenious are as apt to learn as any People. They make good Mechanicks when they take to it, and such are the Treasure of a Planter; for the chief Riches of the Island consists in the Slaves, of whom some have so great a Multitude, that their Stocks in that one Article would amount to above 20000 *l.* When a Mortality seizes them, the Planter is undone, unless he is a Monied Man, and can renew his Stock; which must be replenish'd every Year, or he would soon want Hands for his Work, for there must be great Numbers of them, almost half in half die in Seasoning, the Polygamy of his Negroes serving little to the Stocking his Plantation. Every *Pickaninny*, or Infant Negro, is valued at 6 *l.* at a Month old; and the Commodity in general rises or falls, like any other of the Market.

Lowth.

The Blood of the Negroes is almost as black as their Skins. Doctor *Towns* says, I have seen the Blood of at least twenty drawn forth, both Sick and in Health, and the Superficies of it is all as dark as the Bottom of any *European* Blood, after standing a while in a Dish; which is an Argument that the Blackness of Negroes is likely to be inherent in them, and not caused by the scorching of the Sun, especially seeing that other Creatures that live in the same Clime and Heat with them, have as florid Blood as those that are in *England*.

Whatever this Doctor has been pleased to communicate to the *Royal Society*, I have been informed by Gentlemen, who have seen the Blood of a thousand of them, that there is no manner of Difference between the Colour of the Blood of a Negro and that of an *European*; as an Instance of which he told me, Col. *Titcomb* had a Negro scalded with Sugar in several Parts of his Body, which left in it white Spots; and these white Spots wore into one another till the Negro was perfectly white; and his Skin grew so tender, that it blistered and freckled with the Sun, which, had his Blood been black, would never have been so. This Change of the *Æthiopian's* Skin, both in the Colour and Nature of it, obliged the Owner to clothe him as a white Servant. Besides, all the Physicians that lived on the Place, and have dissected several, assured the same Gentleman, there was no Blackness in the Blood of the Negroes, nor any other Difference between the Bodies of them and the Whites.

One may imagine, that the Charge of a Plantation, where often there are 2 or 300 Mouths to be fed, must be very great; and this is managed under the Master by a Head Overseer, at 100 or 150 *l.* a Year Salary and Maintenance, 2 or 3 Under-

3 Under-Overseers, Accomptants, and other Officers; who have all enough to do to keep things in Order.

What has been said of *Barbados*, with Relation to Servants and Slaves, may serve for *Jamaica*, they being the Riches of that Island as well as of this, their Work and their Manner of Living the same.

Before we conclude this Chapter, we should take some Notice of the Diversion of the Whites, as well Masters as Servants, who have their times of Recreation; the Servants on Holidays and Festivals, the Masters when they please, as in other Places.

Gaming, as Cards, Dice, Tables, was much more frequent and extravagant in *Barbados* than it is now; but they are obliged to use sedentary Diversions more than active, on Account of the Disposition of the Country, which is not fit for Hunting or Hawking. Some have attempted to hunt Hogs, which have been left wild in the Woods, or Goats with Mongrels, but it may properly be called a Mungrel Sport without the Offence of a Pun.

The Turf, according to *Ligon*, will never be fine enough, nor the Ground soft enough to make a Bowling-Green in *Barbados*. But my Lord *Grey*, when he was Governor of the Island, quite ruined this Author's Reasons, for he made one at Mr. *Hotherfall's* Plantation, which he rented; and there was another long before to the Windward, upon the Cliff.

Bares they might have, but there has as yet been no Trial made of one; wherefore the Diversion of the Gentlemen in this Island are most within Doors.

The Gallant People delight most in Balls and Concerts; the good Fellows, in Drink and good Company; and though one would imagine, that Men should be afraid to drink such a hot Wine as *Madeira*, in such a hot Country, yet it has been known that some of them have drank their five and six Bottles a Day, and held it on for several Years. Sweating is an admirable Relief to them in this Case, and has been practised by many with Success.

*Madeira* Wine, white and red, which is drunk here, is in Nature contrary to all other, for 'twill not endure a cool Cellar. *French* and *Rhenish* Wines neither keep in *Barbados*, nor agree well with the Stomachs of the Inhabitants, if so constantly drunk as in *England*. Few care for *Canary* Wine.

There was once a Company of Poppet Strollers in this Island; they came from *England*, and set up their Fairy Drama at the *Bridge*, where, for the Novelty of the Matter, they found a good Market; From thence they went to  
the



the Leeward Islands, and thence home. We wonder their Example has not been followed by some of the young Fry of Poppet Players at *London*, who would do better to go over, and either play or work at *Barbados* voluntarily, than rake at home till they are sent thither by the Magistracy against their Wills.

The Servants in *Barbados* follow the Sports and Exercises of the common People in *England*, as far as consists with the Heat of the Climate; and being all *Englishmen* like our selves, the Reader is not to expect much Difference in their way of Living, Exercises, or Diversions, from our own.

## C H A P. VI.

Of the Government of the Island, Civil and Military: Of the Laws, Courts of Judicature, Publick Offices, Revenues, and Church-Affairs.

**T**HE Government of *Barbados* is like that of the other Colonies, by a Governor and Council, who are named by the King or Queen of *England*; and an Assembly, chosen by the Freeholders of each Parish, two for each.

The Governor is the King or Queen's Representative in this, as in the other Plantations. He is Captain General, Admiral, and Chancellor of the Island, and has Power to issue out all Sorts of Commissions under that of a General; to summon and dissolve Assemblies, to make Counsellors, to pardon all Crimes, but Treason and Murder; and even in those Cases to grant Reprieves; to place and displace all Officers, who are not by Patent. In a Word, to act with Sovereign Authority, taking Advice of his Council, under the King or Queen of *England*, according to the Laws of this Island; and he has a Negative Voice in the passing of all Acts of the Assembly: As he is Chancellor of *Barbados*, he is impowered to grant Administrations and Executorships of Estates, of Persons dying intestate; to whom he pleases; which has been a profitable Branch of the Prerogative in some ill Governments.

The present Governor is *Mitford Crow*, Esq; whose Salary is 2000 *l.* a Year. It formerly was but 1200 *l.* but then the Island used to make large Presents to each Governour on his Arrival, and so much every Year, to engage his Favour, which in time grew to a Sort of a Prescription, and was expected by the Governors as their Right. Her

Her present Majesty put an end to this Grievance, by forbidding any such Benevolences for the future; and, to make amends for it, encreased the Salary to 2000*l.* a Year. There are however some lawful Perquisites and Advantages, which renders the Government worth near 4000*l.* per Annum, besides the 500*l.* a Year for the Rent of the House, which is built for his Residence, at the publick Charge, on *Pilgrim's* Plantation; which is also for his Use.

The Council are Twelve in Number, and are generally Men of the best Estates and Quality in the Country. They are appointed by Letters of *Mandamus* from the King or Queen: And on the Death or Dismission of any of the Members, the Governor has Power to fill up their vacant Places with others.

Their Business is to advise and assist the Governor in all Matters relating to the Government; and to be a Check upon him if he exceeds the Bounds of his Commission. In the Assembly they make the Upper-House, and claim an intire Negative Voice, as the House of Lords in *England*. The President of the Council, in the Absence of the Governor, and his Deputy, supplies his Place; and every Counsellor sits in the Court of *Chancery* with the Governor, and is stiled Honourable, by Virtue of his Place.

The present Members of the Council are,

<i>Geo. Lillington, Esq;</i>	<i>Alex. Walker, Esq;</i>
<i>Wil. Sharp, Esq;</i>	<i>Middleton Chamberlain, Esq;</i>
<i>Patrick Meine, Esq;</i>	<i>Tho. Alleyne, Esq;</i>
<i>Richard Scot, Esq;</i>	The Rev. Mr. <i>Samuel Beresford.</i>
<i>Samuel Cox, Esq;</i>	
<i>John Mills, Esq;</i>	

These following are lately put in by Mr. *Crow*.

<i>William Wheeler, Esq;</i>	<i>John Colliton, Esq;</i>
<i>Timothy Salter, Esq;</i>	

Clerk to the Council, Mr. *Coffin*.

The Manner of electing Assemblies, of their sitting, voting, and passing of Laws, is, as near as possible, like that of the House of Commons in *England*.

As to their Power and Privileges, they are at large set down in the Laws of the Plantations; to which we refer the Reader, and also for an Account of such as are now in Force and

and Use in this Island; where the Laws of *England* are always valid, as far as consists with the Custom of the Colony.

For the easier Distribution of Justice, the Island is divided into Five Precincts: Over which there are as many Judges, who preside one in each, and hold their Courts of Common-Pleas, for Trial of all Causes, according to the Laws of *England*, and Customs of *Barbados*.

The first of these Courts is kept at *Oistin's*, the last *Monday* and *Tuesday* in *January*.

The present Judge of it is — *Brewster*, Esq;

The second at the *Bridge*, on the *Wednesday*, *Thursday*, and *Friday* following.

The present Judge, *John Sandford*, Esq;

The third at the *Hole*, on the *Monday* and *Tuesday* next ensuing.

The present Judge, *Tho. Warren*, Esq;

The fourth at *Speight's*, on the *Wednesday* and *Thursday* following.

The present Judge, *Alexander Anderton*, Esq;

The fifth in the Parish of *St. Andrews*, on the *Friday* and *Saturday* next ensuing.

The present Judge, *Reinold Allen*, Esq;

They continue their respective Sittings from four Weeks to four Weeks, till the 26th of *September*, yearly, and then adjourn to the last *Monday* in *January*.

From these Courts there lies an Appeal, in all Causes above 10 *l.* Value, to the Governor and Council: And from them, in all above 500 *l.* Value, to the King, or Queen, and Council in *England*. Besides these Courts, they have

A Court of Estreats,

A Court of Exchequer, the present Chief Baron, *John Mills*, Esq;

Court of Admiralty, the present Judge, *Dudley Woodbridge*, Esq;

Two Masters in Chancery, *Robert Stillingsfleet*, Esq; and *Gyles Thyer*, Esq;

Clerk of the Crown, *Norman Maccafcall*, Esq;

Attorney General, — *Hodges*, Esq;

Solicitor General, *Wil. Rawlins*.

This Gentleman, in the Year 1698. collected the Body of the Laws of *Barbados*, into one Book; which was printed by Order of the Assembly: And that Book of Laws, by



by an Act passed by them, is to be deemed and held a good lawful Statute-Book of this Island of Barbados. These Laws are all abridged, in the Treatise we have had frequent Occasion to speak of.

Clerk of the Assembly, *James Cowes*, Esq;  
Register in Chancery, *Wil. Walker*, Esq;  
Provost Marshal, *Geo. Gordon*, Esq;

Which are the Chief Officers in the Law, and in the State; the first next to the Governor, and those we have before-mentioned, is,

The Treasurer of the Island, *John Holder*, Esq.  
The Secretary, *Alexander Skeyne*, Esq;  
The Governor's Secretary, — *Merchant*, Esq;

Besides these the People of the Island have Agents in England, to take Care of their Affairs, to whom they allow 250*l.* a Year; a very handsom Salary: And one would expect from such an Allowance, that the Planters should have no reason to be at so much trouble, to sollicite the Business of the Island themselves. There are three of these Agents, who are at this time,

*William Bridges*, Esq;  
*Rowland Tryon*, Merchant; and  
Sir *John Stanley*; Brother-in-law to Sir *Bevill Granville*, the late Governor.

As to the Military Affairs of the Colony, they are, under the Governor, managed by Colonels, in the several Parts of the Island, where are five Regiments of Foot, and two of Horse, besides the Regiment and Troop of Guards, each consisting, when it is full, of above 1200 Men.

In the Time of War the Governor makes General Officers, for the better Conduct of the Forces; as, a Lieutenant General, and Major General. The last Gentlemen who had these Commissions were

*Abel Alleyne*, Esq; Lieut. General.  
*John Holder*, Esq; Major General.

F O O T.

The *Bridge* Regiment is the biggest, and is called the Royal Regiment, or the Regiment of Foot-Guards. It consists

consists, when it is full, of 1400 Men, and is commanded by Col. *Hallet*.

*Leeward Regiment* 1200, commanded by Col. *Thomas Maycock*.

*St. Joseph Regiment*, 1200, commanded by Col. *Robert Yeamans*.

*St. Thomas and St. James Regiment*, 1200, commanded by the Honourable *Thomas Alleyne*, Esq;

*Oistin Regiment*, 1200, commanded by Col. \_\_\_\_\_.

*Windward Regiment*, 1200, commanded by Col. *Henry Pierce*.

## H O R S E.

*Leeward Regiment of Horse*, 1000, commanded by Col. *Thomas Sandiford*.

*Windward Regiment*, 1000, commanded by Col. *John Frere*.

The *Gard de Corps*, or, Troop of Guards, consists of 130 Gentlemen; and on all publick Occasions attend the Governor's Person.

Their present Captain is Col. *Salmon*.

Keeper of the Stores in the Magazine, Mr. *William Moor*.

His Salary 110 *l.* a Year.

Surveyor and Engineer General, Col. *Lilly*.

Commissioners of the Customs, *William Sharp*, Esq; and *Samuel Cox*, Esq;

Naval Officer, Mr. *Cox*.

Receiver of the Casual Revenues, Mr. *Yeamans*.

Collector of the *Hole-Town*, *Hugh Howel*, Esq;

Collector at *Speight's*, *William Denny*, Esq;

Clerk of the Markets, *Norman Maccafcall*, Esq;

Receiver of the 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. *Thomas Edwards*, Esq;

Commissioner of the Prizes, *William Cleland*, Esq;

Agent for the Ordnance, *John Merring*, Esq;

The Way of listing, raising, and paying the Militia, comes under that Article in the *Laws of Barbados*; and therefore we shall say nothing of it in this Place, but proceed to the Revenues; which are such as are raised for the King or Queen's Use, and such as are raised for the Use of the Island. As first, the 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. upon all Goods shipped off; which is settled on the Crown, and amounts to, *Communibus Annis*, 10000 *l.* per Annum.

The next Duty is 4 Pound of Gun-powder for each Tun, of every Ship that unlades there, and is always paid in Specie, amounting to about 600 *l*.

There is also a Duty on *Madeira* Wines, 4 *l*. 10 *s*. a Pipe, which amounts yearly to about 7000 *l*.

And on all other Liquors, which does not bring in above 2000 *l*.

These are settled Duties; the other are such as are raised by the Assembly for the Service of the Colony; and that is generally done by a Pound-Tax, or Pole-Tax, and some Years have amounted to 20000 *l*. But there is nothing settled on the King or Queen, and their Heirs, except the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. The other two Duties are appropriated to the Use of the Stores and Forts: And the *Barbadians* say the same of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. Duty: With what Reason, will be seen hereafter.

The Parish-Taxes are raised by the Vestry, for the Maintenance of the Minister, and the Poor, and keeping the Churches in due Repair. And this brings us naturally to the Church-Affairs of the Island, which are under the Government of a Surrogate, appointed by the Bishop of *London*, who is the Ordinary of all the *English* Colonies in *America*: Where, in Imitation of his Lordship's Zeal for the Church of *England*, its Faith and Worship are, for the most Part, strictly professed. The Laws of *Barbados* charge and command, that all Persons inhabiting that Island, conform themselves to the Government and Discipline of the Church of *England*.

There are so few Dissenters in this Island, that there has been no publick Meeting established, with a Pastor, since the Year 1690. The last Presbyterian Minister there, was Mr. *Vaughan*: And none of his Opinion, since his Death, have thought it worth their while to go so far to propagate it.

The Ministers have good Allowances, the least Benefice being worth 150 or 200 *l*. a Year; and that of the *Bridge-Town* 6 or 700 *l*. The present Minister of that Place, or,

St. *Michael*, is Mr. *Berisford*.

Of St. *George's*, Vacant.

Of St. *James*, or the *Hole*, Mr. *Gordon*.

Of St. *Thomas*, Mr. *Hargrove*.

Of St. *Peter's*, or *Speight's-Town*, Mr. *Ball*.

Of *All-Saints-Chapel*, Mr. *Ball*.

Of St. *Lucy's*, Mr. *Tuckerman*.

Of St. *Andrew's*, Mr. *Justice*.

Of St. *Joseph's*, Mr. *Fullwood*.



Of St. *John's*, Mr. *Wharton*.

Of St. *Philip's*, Mr. *Irvine*.

Of *Christ-Church*, or *Oistin's*, Mr. *Ramsfey*.

The present Surrogate is the Rev. Mr. *Berisford*, who succeeded the pious and learned Mr. *Cryer*; as he did the Rev. Mr. *William Walker*, Minister of St. *Peter's*, and a Member of the Council; the first on whom the Bishop of *London* was pleased to confer this Reverend and Honourable Office.

The Assembly have lately had it under Consideration, to erect a College, and endow it; towards which great Legacies have been left, for the Education of their Youth: For it is not every Planter who can be at the Charge of sending his Sons to *England* to be educated; which the most wealthy of them have found inconvenient, by the Distance from their Parents and Guardians, and the Indulgence of their Correspondents here. Who, to flatter these young Gentlemen, in Hopes of their Consignations, when they come to their Estates, or to engage them to write kindly of them to their Friends, give them what Money they ask for; and by this they often get a Habit of Extravagance, which ends in their Ruin. This would be prevented, if there were fitting Schools in *Barbados*; which they might easily have.

Mr. *Thomas Tryon*, who understood the Interest of that Island as well as any Man, affirms, that this sending their Children to *England* has been a very great Hinderance to the Redress of their Grievances; for who can think they are under such heavy Loads as they complain of, when they can afford 2, 3, 4, and 500 *l.* a Year to their Sons in *England*, most of them proving Beaus of the first Rate, and distinguishing themselves by the Gaiety of their Dress and Equipage: *From whence*, says he, *it is inferred, they are grown wonderful rich, insomuch that it can't be thought amiss, or any Oppression, to lay Impositions upon their Produce or Commodities; but the wiser Sort are Men of other Sentiments as well as myself.* And again, *The loose and extravagant Education of your Youth (writing to a Planter) is a sure Indication of Calamity and Misery to your Country, for in a few Years they come to govern the publick Affairs.*

All these Expences and Inconveniences would, in a great Measure, be prevented by the erecting a College and Library at the *Bridge*, with learned and pious Professors in the Sciences, to breed up young Gentlemen, without exposing them to the Hazards of the Sea, and the more fatal Dangers of Temptation and ill Company in *England*; where, having Money

Money at Will, when they are not of Years to know how to make Use of it, they frequently continue in their Profusion and Prodigality, till they have none left to spend.

As the Gentlemen of *Barbados* may suppose the Author is very well acquainted with this Truth, so they cannot but know, that he can give a great many Exceptions to this bad Custom, but not enough to argue against its being abolished.

## C H A P. VII.

Of the Sugar Canes, and the Way of making and refining Sugar, as it is now practised in *Barbados*; together with an Account of the Nature and Use of that Commodity, Rum, and Molasses.

**W**E have, in the first Chapter, shewed at what Time Sugar Canes began to be first planted in *Barbados*; we shall now shew as well how those Plants were then cultivated, as how they are managed at present.

'Tis for the Sake of this Plant, that many Thousands of *Englishmen* have transported themselves, their Families, and Estates, to the *West-Indies*; by this they have been raised from mean Conditions to a State of Affluence and Grandeur. By this many Thousands of Families have subsisted, and been enriched in *England*; the publick Revenues, Trade, and Navigation, have been advanced, and the national Stock has encreased above three Millions. In a Word, the Grain produced by this Plant has been said, by very good Judges, to contain a Substance, was it altogether, as big as the whole Island.

Sugar grows in a long Stalk, which we call a Cane, full of Joints, two, three, four, or five Inches asunder, and about six Foot high; the Sprouts and Leaves at the Top rising up so high, as may make it near 8 Foot in all. The Body of the Cane is about an Inch Diameter, seldom more. The Colour of the Cane Tops is a pure Grass-green; of the Cane itself, yellowish, when ripe: 'Tis covered with a thin Skin or Bark, somewhat hard on the Inside, being of a white spongy Substance, full of Juice, which the Servants and others suck, and eat great Quantities of, without injuring their Health; nothing is pleasanter than this Sap, when the Cane is ripe; it is also very nourishing and wholesom. if taken with Moderation. Their Way of eating it is thus:

They cut the Skin or Rind off, and put the Pith or spongy Parts into their Mouths, when the Juice will come out more freely than Honey out of the Comb; and this Sweetness as far exceeds that of Honey, *as a Pippin does a Crab*. 'Tis not surfeiting, but the cleanest and best Sweet in the Universe. The Nature of this Juice is much like to that of Apples, but something thicker, it is yellow when the Cane is ripe, clean, and without any ill Taste or Hogo, and goes off the Palate as sweetly as it came on. Of this Juice Sugar, Rum, and Molasses are made.

The Season for planting of Sugar Canes is from *August* to the Beginning of *December* sometimes; which Canes don't arrive to Maturity, till they have been a Year and a Quarter, or a Year and an half in the Ground.

Their Manner of growing is in Sprouts, three, four, or five, from one Root. They are not all of a Size, either in Bigness or Length, according to the Goodness of the Soil, and the Seasons. Some Canes will not rise above 3 Foot high, and others 6, and the Flags or Cane Tops of them exceed 9 Foot high, Stalk and all, and sometimes are under 6. These Cane Tops make very good Food for Horses and black Cattle; but the solid Canes are carried to the Mill, for the Uses we shall mention hereafter.

The Manner of planting them, is by digging long Trenches in the Earth, about 6 Inches deep, and as many broad, and laying a double Row of Canes along in the Trench one by another, from one End of the Trench to the other; then the Earth is thrown in, and another Trench dug, and so another, at about two Foot Distance, till all the Land is planted, by laying the Canes along. Thus they produce the greater Number of Sprouts; for this Way a Branch shoots out of every Joint of the Cane, whereas the first Planters used to thrust a Piece of Cane perpendicularly into a Hole at certain Distances, which yielded no Shoot but from the Top; and having three or four Sprouts, whose whole Weight depended on one Root, when they grew tall and heavy, the Storms loosened the Roots, and so they rotted, and became good for nothing. By this new Way of Planting, the Root is secured, and the Produce encreased. They come up in a little while after they are planted; in about 12 Weeks they will be 2 Foot high.

The next Care of the Planter is to keep his Canes well weeded, Weeds being very apt to grow among them, and formerly the *Withies* in particular, a Creeper that runs along the Ground, and fastens to the Canes, by which they hinder their Growth.



The Roots must also be examined to see if any have failed, that they may be supplied in Time with others, lest the Ground should yield something hurtful to the Plant.

If the Withy had over-run a Plantation, or the Planter had neglected to fill up the Vacancies of the Roots that failed in Time, by which Means the Crop was some ripe and some green, and could never be separated but by much more Labour than they were worth, the Planter burnt the Canes on the Ground. By this tho' he lost so much Time as his Canes had grown, yet he did not lose his Planting, for the Fire did not touch the Root, which shoots out again presently; and it bettered the Soil, and destroyed the Rats. They did this by kindling the Fire on the Outsides of the Field, in a Circle quite round the Piece of Ground; the Rats retired from the Borders to the Centre, and the Flames reaching at last to that, consumed a Swarm of them together.

These Vermine were brought thither by the *English Ships*, and will so gnaw and suck the Canes, that they rot after it. In the Time of the Turnado, in *November* and *December*, the Rats flew to the Houses, where they would have done as much Mischief, but that they were more easily destroyed.

The Practice now is to dung the Canes, which is done either when they are planted, or when they come up, and are two Foot high, and this is the greatest Trouble and Expence the Planter is at; for if it was not for this dunging, a third Part of the Negroes would do.

When the Canes are ripe, which is known by their Colour, they are cut up by Hand with a Bill, or other Tool, by one at a Time (for they are too big to be mowed with a Scithe, or cut with a Hook) as they cut them, they trim them, chop off the Top, and cut or strip off the Leaves or Flags on the Sides, which are saved for the Uses we have already spoken of.

The Canes thus cut were bundled up in Faggots, and tied up with the Withies that grew among them, but are now only tied with the Tops of the Canes. Then they are carried to the Mill by Assnegoes, in Carts, or drawn by Horses.

The Mills that were at first in Use there, were Cattle-Mills; but lately every substantial Planter has one or two Wind-Mills, and some three, as at Sir *Richard Hacket's*, Sir *Samuel Husband's*, and Col. *Drax's* Plantations.

Their Cattle-Mills and Wind-Mills are made after the same Manner as ours in *England*, and they grind the Canes thus in the Cattle-Mills: The Horses and Cattle being put to their Tackle, go about, and turn by *Sweeps* the Middle Roller; which being cogg'd to turn others at the upper End,

turn them about. They all three turn upon the same Centres, which are of Brass and Steel, going so easily of themselves, that a Man, taking hold of one of the Sweeps with his Hand, may turn all the Rollers about; but when the Canes are put in between the Rollers, it is a good Draught for five Oxen or Horses. A Negro Woman puts in the Canes on one Side, and the Rollers draw them through on the other Side, where another Negro Woman stands, receives them, and returns them back on the other Side of the Middle Roller, which draws the other Way.

This Operation presses out the Juice, and the *English* do no more to the Canes: But the *Spaniards* have a Press to squeeze out the Remainder of the Liquor, after both the former Grindings. Their Works are small, and they are willing to make the most of them.

Mr. *Ligon*, from whom some Part of this Account of the Cattle-Mill is taken, speaks more largely of it; but these Cattle-Mills are almost quite out of Use, there being 40 Wind-Mills to one Cattle-Mill. The Rollers are of Wood, cased with Iron, and they press out the Juice so thoroughly, that there is no Occasion of a Press to squeeze them; for in an Hour's Time the Sun dries the Canes so much, they are fit to burn.

Under the Rollers there is a hollow Place, into which all the Juice that runs from the Canes is received, and by Pipes of Lead, or leaden Gutters covered over close, conveyed into a Cistern, near the Stairs, as you go down from the Mill-House into the Boiling-House.

The bruised Canes, which are called *Trash* in *Barbados*, are dried in the Sun; and since Wood is grown scarce, become the principal Fuel there. *It makes*, says Mr. *Tryon*, *a weak and uncertain Fire, much inferior either to Wood or Coals, in the boiling of Sugars.*

See h's Letters.

When Sugar was first planted in this Island, one Acre of Canes yielded more than now, for four, five, six, or seven Years together, without any farther planting or dunging; the same Root would shoot forth new Branches, and those be fuller of Sap than the Canes are at this Time; when the Sugar being of so great a Substance, and containing such a Quantity of rich Juices, and the Planters being limited to a small Proportion of Land, pressing it so often with the same Plant, and never letting it lie still, the Soil is so impoverished, that they are now forced to dung and plant every Year; inso-much that 100 Acres of Cane require almost double the Number of Hands they did formerly, while the Land retained its natural Vigour, which also then did not only bring forth

forth certain Crops, but fewer Weeds too, the Weeds having been encreased by frequent Dunging.

Most of the Sugar Islands, *Barbados* especially, have a kind of white chalky Gravel, called *Marl*, two or three Foot deep, which of it self is of so hot a Temper, and that is encreased so much by dunging, that their Crops in all dry Seasons are sure to fail; and on the other Hand, in a wet Year the Canes grow rank, and never come to Marurity.

Some Objections will certainly be made to this at *Barbados*; for what is said of the Uncertainty of the Fire of the dried Canes, can only relate to the Negligence of Servants, in feeding it, for if there's Fuel, it will always be a constant and vigorous Flame.

As to the *Marl*, said to be frequent here, it is so rare, that I have been told by an Inhabitant of the Island, he rarely or never saw any, nor met with a Soil too hot, or a Season too rank for his Canes.

We have before treated of the Growth of the Canes, and the squeezing out the Juice in a Cattle-Mill; the Practice is much the same in a Water-Mill; but this relates to *Jamaica*, and those Islands, where Rivers are more common than here. The chief Difference between the one and the other consists only in the Way of turning the Rollers, either by Draught or Wind.

When the Liquor is in the Cistern, it must not remain there above one Day, lest it grow sour: From thence it is conveyed through a Gutter, fixed to the Walls of the Boiling-house, to the clarifying Copper, or Boiler, and there boiled, till all the Filth or gross Matter rising on the Top, is skimmed off. This is the largest Copper in the Boiling-house; and as the Liquor is refined, 'tis taken out of the Copper, and carried into the second, and so into a third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh. The least is called the *Tach*, where it boils longest. It is continually kept stirring and boiling, till it comes to a Consistency; and yet all this Boiling would reduce it only to a thick clammy Substance, without kerning or turning to a Grain, were it not for the *Temper* that is thrown into it. This *Lye* or *Temper* was many Years ago made of the Ashes of the *Withy*, which in the Field was so destructive to the Cane, steeped and boiled in Water to a certain Strength; and of this a small Quantity was thrown into the Boiler, when the Sugar was boiling, upon which it would presently kern, and grow hard.

The Quality of the *Temper* is sharp, and this Acid causes the clammy Substance to part, curdle and kern; and so it candies, and becomes Sugar. A Drop of this thrown into



the Copper when the Liquor was first boiling, would have quite spoiled it, and it would never have made Sugar.

The *Temper* now used is made of Lime infused in common Water. The Boiler makes his Liquor stronger or weaker according to the Goodness of the Canes; and there is never any brown nor white Sugar made without this Lime Water, or its Equivalent, Pot-Ashes, which yet is very rarely used, being neither so good, nor so cheap, as Lime-Water is found to be.

*Muscovado Sugar*, a Term borrowed from the *Portuguese* of *Brazil*, which is the brownest Sort, requires sometimes stronger Lime-Water than our Sugar-bakers or Refiners use, in refining White Sugar: And without this Operation, as has been said, the Juice of the Canes could never be made into a firm substantial Body, nor acquire a sparkling Grain, but would remain a dull flat *Syrup*, of a heavy gross Nature; neither wholesom nor pleasant. For as the Juice of the Cane is a compleat Sweet, wherein the saltish, astringent, bitter, and sharp Qualities, are weak and impotent, so without their Assistance it cannot obtain a Body: Wherefore Lime-Water, which includes them all, is thrown into it, when the Sugar begins to rise up with a turbulent un governable Fury, occasioned by the Fermentation of the Liquor of the Lime-Water, and the vehement Heat of the Fire.

To prevent its running over the Copper, they throw in a Piece of Butter no bigger than a small Nut. This, though there are two or three hundred Gallons of Liquor in it, will presently make it fall down within its Circle in the Boiler, which proceeds from a kind of Antipathy between the salt nitral Property of the Juice of the Cane, and the animal Sulphur of the Butter. From the *Boiler*, when it is reduced to a proper Substance, the Liquor is carried to the Cooling-Cistern, called the *Cooler*; where it remains till it is fit to be put in Pots, which are now made of Earth, and the Form of them known to every body, they being daily to be seen in the Sugar-Houses in *London*, and elsewhere. They are wide at Top, and taper downwards; where a Hole is left for the Molasses to run out: A Commodity which always is in Demand in *England* among the Distillers.

Of the Skimmings of all the Coppers the Planters distil the famous Spirit known by the Name of *Rum*; which by some Persons is preferred to Brandy. It is a hot Spirit, and has an offensive Smell and Taste with it; it is said to be very wholesom, and therefore it has lately supplied the Place of Brandy in Punch. Indeed it is much better than Malt-spirits,

spirits, and the sad Liquors sold by our Distillers. But a fine Spirit extracted from Molasses, or Raisins, will certainly have the Preference of Rum by all nice Palates.

We must remember, that the Liquor of the Cane, when put into the Pots, would run out; but they are stopped with a Cane-top, till they are set upon the *Dripps*, hereafter mentioned.

The Sugar remains in these Pots two Days, and two Nights; at the End of which it will be thoroughly cold; and then, if it is good, knock upon the Pot with your Finger, and it will give a Sound. But if the Sugar be bad, it will neither be hard, nor give any Sound.

The Pots afterwards are removed to the Curing-house, and set upon Earthen-pans, called *Dripps*, about a Foot from the Ground, and the Molasses run into them, which is afterwards either carried to the Distil-house, or put into a Cistern, where it remains till it rises to a good Quantity; which is sometimes boiled again, and a Sort of Sugar made of it, called *Paneels*, worse than Muscovado, and shipped off in Casks for *England*.

In a Month's time the Planters reckon the Sugar is sufficiently cured. If the Molasses did not run from any of the Pots, as it ought to do, they formerly bored a Hole in their wooden Jars with an Augre, to open the Passages.

From the Curing-Room the Pots are removed to the *Knocking-Room*; so called, because the Pots are there turned upside down, and the Sugar knocked out of them: Which will appear of three different Colours and Qualities, the Top brown, and a frothy light Substance for the Depth of an Inch or two; the Bottom black, heavy, moist, and full of Molasses for about a Foot; and the Middle white, dry, and good; and this is generally three Quarters of the whole. The Top is packed up with the Bottom; about half of the whole are boiled, and further refined with the *Paneels*. The Middle is carried to the Store-house, as fit for the Market; yet the finest of this Sort will have a *Foot*; that is, a Sediment at Bottom, after it is in the Hogshead, which will be blacker than the rest, moister and fouler, occasioned by the Molasses that remain in it.

This is the Sugar that is commonly imported, and is fit for both the Grocer and Sugar-baker. Nine Pound of the Juice of the Cane, which is a Gallon, makes but one Pound of Muscovado, and one of Molasses; the rest is Skimmings and Dregs.

If the Canes be not good, then nine Pounds make but three Quarters of a Pound of Muscovado Sugar, and the like Quantity of Molasses.

The Badness of the Canes was, in times past, caused either by their being planted too thick, which intercepted the Heat from penetrating through them to the Roots, or a wet Season, by which some will be ripe, and some not; and what are of them, will not be so much in Quantity, nor so good in Quality.

There was as much Difference between the Sugar made of such Sort of Canes, and of such as were ripe, as there is between Cyder made of Apples growing on the Out-side of the Trees, and of those that grow under the shady Boughs, where the Sun cannot influence them with its warming Beams. This was when the Soil was too rich; but now there's no such Fault, and the Canes all ripen well, if planted in time.

There are also other Causes of Goodness of the Colour and Grain of some Muscovado Sugar, and the Badness of others: As the Goodness and Badness of the Lands the Canes grow on; the good or bad Times of the Year the Sugar is made in; and the Art and Experience of the chief Boiler. The best Sort is that which is of a lively, whitish and bright Yellow, with a sparkling Grain. I have seen some of this Sort made at Mr. *Walter's* Plantation at *Apehill*, so fine and white, that when there was a heavy Duty on first and second Whites, and another on Sugars fit for Use, besides that on Muscovado, which continues to this Day, was past by the Surveyors at the Custom-house for first Whites, and his Correspondent Sir *John Bawdon* was forced to use a great deal of Solicitation to get them off as *Fitts*, a Term the Merchants called the Sort next above Muscovado by, and was the lowest degree of clay'd or purged Sugars. Other Sorts I have seen as bad as *Antego* Sugar, and fit only for a *Dutch* Market.

The next Operation with Sugar, is refining the Muscovado by the same *Lime-Water*, as the Juice of the Cane is refined with; and these Sugars are called *Whites*, or purged Sugar. Clay'd Sugars are made white by claying the Pots of Muscovado: Which is done thus: They take a kind of whitish Clay, somewhat like Tobacco Pipe-clay, and temper it with Water for that Purpose, to about the Thickness of Pancake-batter; they pour it with a Ladle on the Sugar in the Pots, near an Inch thick; which Clay has a wonderful Power over the Sugar, to purge the grosser, flatulent, or treachy Part downward, and to cause the Pot of Sugar, which generally



nerally contains about half an hundred of Brown-sugar, to become less in Quantity, and of several Colours and Goodness. For the first three or four Inches on the Top of the Pot, the Sugar, after it has stood four Months, is very white, near the Whiteness of our Sugar-bakers Sugar; and the next four or five Inches is not so white; and so the whole Pot is in degrees, till you come to the Bottom; every Degree downwards growing worse and worse. For this Reason the Sugar-bakers and Clayers divide the several Sorts into *Firsts*, *Seconds*, *Thirds*, and *Fourths*; each of which Sorts is packed in separate Casks from the other, and sold at different Prices, very far short of what they bore in the Infancy of the Colony, White-Sugar selling then for 10 *l.* a Hundred, and now not for 3 *l.*

This Account is given us by Mr. Tryon, who was not so well acquainted with the Claying of Sugars, as he was with Muscovado: For the true Way of Claying of Sugars is this; When the Liquor is brought from the *Clarifiers*, it is strained, and then carried into the *Taches*, and made as other Sugars are: But when it comes to be put into Pots, it is kept stirred till it begins to cool. When it has been kept ten Days, it is dug up for five or six Inches deep, and then levelled again, and covered with the Clay, which lies on it, for ten Days; then it is dug up and levelled as before, and a new Clay put on, which lies on it till it is thoroughly purged: After which it is knocked out, and divided into *Firsts* and *Seconds*, and the Bottom sometimes makes a *Third Sort*. There is at least 30 or 35 *per Cent.* waste; but this is made up by the Molasses, which makes a very good *Panel-Sugar*; and the Molasses of those *Panels* is distilled into Rum, which of late has been rarely made, because of the excessive Duty. The vast Quantities of purged Sugar that are made here and there, occasion its Cheapness; though the Planters have lately been forced to lay down the claying of Sugars, on account of the high Duties, and low Rates in *England*.

Clay'd Sugar not being refined, that is, boiled over again, is not free from various, gross, Treacly Qualities; which Refining only will purge away, or separate. None of our Sugar-Islands can make this Sort to any Advantage, except *Barbados*. And it is not all Plantations there, that yield Canes whose Juice kern to a Muscovado Sugar, fit for claying, for want of Strength.

If a 100 Weight of *Firsts* and *Seconds* should be refined, it would not make above half that Quantity, the rest being, as we have said, Coarse Sugar, Molasses and Skimmings, of a dirty black Substance; which gross excrementitious Mat-

ter, while the Sugar remained entire, was unknown and imperceptible to the most curious Eye; and it is the like in Muscovado, to a larger degree, as to the gross Matter.

The finest purged Sugar that ever came from *Barbados*, was, till within these 18 or 20 Years, made of the Growth of Sir *Timothy Thornhill's* Plantation, Sir *John Bawdon's*, and Mr. *Walter's*. The former had a Negro who was allowed to communicate his Art to one of Sir *John Bawdon's*, a Boiler; and he became so excellent, that I have heard that Gentleman say, he would not sell him for 500*l.* This Black instructed Mr. *Walter's* Servant, and others have since made excellent Whites, but none so good as came from those Plantations.

Mr. *Walter's* and Sir *John Bawdon's* Plantations lye both in *Scotland*; and one may thence imagine, that that part of the Island produces a Sugar fittest for the Clay; though it is to be supposed, that the Skill of their Servants contributed most to the Goodness of their Sugars.

There are other Ways of distinguishing good Sugar from bad, particularly Muscovado Sugar, that has only gone thro' the Operation of boiling, which is by its keeping; Muscovado being fouler and grosser than either clayed or refined, will not keep so long. It may be kept several Years, and be fit for Use, though not so good the second Year as it was the first; and if it is a Year and an half old, it grows of a soft yielding Temper, and a small weak Grain or Body. The Refiner will find out its bad Qualities as soon as it is in his Pan, and it will neither yield so much, nor what it makes be so good, as if it had been worked sooner.

Clay'd Sugar, if well ordered, will keep longer, though not much; for which reason *Brazil* Sugar is generally moist; and *Barbados* clay'd Sugar will also sink into the same Clamminess, and not keep so long as what is refined.

We have so often mentioned refined Sugars, the Reader will expect an Account of them, and in what they differ from clay'd.

The clay'd, as is before-mentioned, has no Lime-Water put into it, neither is it boiled again, but only Pots of Muscovado Sugar clay'd down; which Clay, by its Coldness, condenses, and forces the Moisture downwards; yet enough is left behind, to make it fouler and grosser than refined Sugar; which is Muscovado boiled over again, and clarified with Lime-water, potted and strained; and this Sugar will be drier, and of a more sparkling White than the brightest of the clay'd.

Double and treble refined is only the same Sugar clarified twice, or thrice over. By which means I have seen some Sugar whiter than the falling Snow, and of a Grain as fine as Flower; yet of a Sweetness that nothing could equal, which was not of the Juice of the Cane; and this sold after the rate of ten Pound a Hundred; when first Whites fetched but three Pound, or three Pound ten Shillings.

There are no great Quantities of this Sort exported from *Barbados*, the Duty on refined Sugar being no less than 30 s. a Hundred in *England*.

The Sugar refined in *Barbados* is infinitely finer and whiter than the Sugar-Bakers Sugar here in *England*; who are a Sort of Men that have adulterated this Commodity, and brew it as much when it is in Liquor, as Hedge-Vintners sophisticate their Wines.

The Grain of the *Barbados* Refined Sugar is very fine, and the Colour a true white, comparable to the best of that Kind in Nature: Whereas the Sugar-Bakers refined Sugar is a blewish sickly white, which looks glaring to the Eye, but will not bear Examination like the *Barbados*. One Reason of this, among many others, may be the whitening the Sugar in *Barbados* in the Sun. Some Planters use *Barbicues* for this Purpose; a Machine made about three or four Foot high, with Drawers to hold the Sugar; and these are drawn out when the Sugar is exposed, and shut in on the Likelihood of wet or misty Weather, which would melt that Commodity.

Sugar dried and whitened by the Sun-beams, in a serene Climate, must of Consequence be a purer White, than what is dried in smoky Rooms by Coal-Fires, or in Stoves, where the Dampness will prejudice the true Brightness of the Sugar, though the Bakers have a way to make it sparkle even more than that of *Barbados*. Since both they and the Planters work up all their Sugar with the Salt Nitre of Stones, infused in Water; which is better understood by Lime-Water, as we have hitherto called it; and that this Ingredient is reckoned unwholesom by several Men and Women, Doctors, Apothecaries, and others, that the dusty, stony Quality of the Lime remains in the Sugar, especially the refined; and will rather use brown, dirty, or clay'd Sugar, it will not be improper to answer this Objection, that many thousands of Persons, who have not given themselves the Trouble of studying this Matter, may be convinced of their Error: In which I shall make use of the Argument of the late Mr. *Thomas Tryon*, an eminent and an ingenious *Barbados* Merchant at *London*, who reconciled Business and Letters, and  
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shewed,



shewed, that a Man might at once improve his Understanding and his Fortune. His Words are these ;

Tryon's  
Letters.

‘ The brown or clay’d Sugars are good in their kind ;  
 ‘ they are not to be compared with our white refined Sugars, this being a general and sure Rule, that the whiter any Sugar is, the cleaner, finer, and wholesomer it is, and is the more purged from all Grossness and Impurity. On the other Side, the blacker, duller, and moister any Sugar is, the fouler and grosser it must be, and consequently the more unwholesom and unhealthy ; for the most, if not all the Operations of boiling, skimming, clarifying, and straining, performed in making the gross crude Juices of the Sugar-Cané into Muscovado Sugar, is done by the Refiners, even to a higher Degree, and with great Charge, Skill, and Cleanliness, in working Brown-Sugar into White ; and certainly the more Sugar is freed from its Grossness and Molasses, the more compact and harder is its Body, and the more Spirits and Life is in it. It will perform all the Uses in Housewifery to a greater Perfection, is of a finer Taste, of a more excellent Complexion, and causes all Things, wherein it is mixed, to be more wholesom and pleasant ; so that these scrupulous Persons may assure themselves, that the sparkling Grain, and Hardness of White-Sugar, are not at all occasioned by any Mixture of Lime, but by its own Fineness, as being freed from the grosser Part, or Molasses, or treacly Quality, which is soft, gross, and of a black or dull Complexion : Besides, the *Sal Nitral* Powers and Virtues that imbibe and give themselves forth, and incorporate with the Water, are invisible and spirituous Qualities, as much unseen, and unknown to Mankind, as the Powers and Virtues that dwell in the Centre of all vegetative and animal Creatures. And though we know each Creature encreases, grows, and multiplies, yet the inward Power from whence this proceeds, remains a Mystery, and wholly invisible to us. Now for the Satisfaction and better Information of such as persist in a Belief that there is some Trick of the Workman in preparing a Compost or Mixture of Lime, or some such thing in white refined Sugar, let them take common Water, as that of the *Thames*, or *New-River*, which for the most Part is not very fine nor clear, into which let them infuse such a Quantity of slacked Lime as Refiners do, in a short Time the dusty Body of the said Lime will sink to the Bottom, and the Water will become, as it were, purged or rarified from all its Impurities, and thereby be rendered much finer and clearer than other Water that  
 ‘ comes

comes from the same Spring: Besides, the Lime Water will keep sweet, and free from all Kind of stinking Foulness, a considerable Time longer than any other common Water that is entire, or without this Ingredient of Lime. 'Tis with this clear and fine Water, that both brown and white Sugars are boiled up, and that which endues both Sorts with its sparkling lively Grain, and brisk spirituous Body, and without which no Art could raise it to such a complete and useful Body, and become so lively and vigorous in Operation; unto which most or all the best exhilarating Cordials, made by Physicians, Apothecaries, and Housewives, owe their Original: So that let them believe or not, it is manifest there is no such Mixture of Lime, Alum, or any Thing like it in the Refiners white Sugar.

There is another white Sugar of several Colours, exceeding our Muscovado, called *Lisbon* Sugar, because it came first from *Brasil* to *Lisbon*, but particular Planters have made as good Sugar of that Sort at *Barbados*, as ever was made at *Brasil*; an Instance of which I have given in this Chapter; and the moist *Barbados* Sugar is often sold by our Grocers for *Lisbon*, which the good Women call a *Fat Sugar*, supposing it will sweeten better, but our Refiners white Sugar is much whiter, drier, and cleaner than the *Brasil* white Sugar.

The best Muscovado is whitish; with a sparkling Grain. The next is that which tends towards an Ash Colour, having a large sandy Grain or Body; this is 3 or 4 s. a Hundred cheaper than the first Sort, and is generally bought up by the Refiners, as the first is by the Grocers. The third is of a darkish sad Colour, somewhat inferior to the other two, and proper for refining. The worst Sort of all is of a deep redish Colour, has a soft weak Grain and Body, and makes the poorest Work in refining, both in Quality, Colour, and Quantity. The Value of all Muscovado Sugar is always in Proportion to its Colour and Strength; of white Sugar, to its Whiteness and Driness; and the same of refined Sugar; the former of which has always a *Foot*, or Sediment, and the latter very little or none at all.

We have been the larger in our Account of this profitable Plant, because it is the main Article of the *British* Commerce in *America*; we have seen how it rises from a Root to a Plant, and have followed it in all its Operations, till it is fit for the Table, or the Lady's *Conservatory*; by which we may see how painfully and chargeably the Planters work up this Commodity, which we in *England* don't set so great a Value upon as we ought: We have seen how the Cane is carried to the Mill, Cattle-Mill or Wind-Mill, how the Juice is conveyed

veyed to the Cistern, thence to six or seven Boilers, thence to the Cooler; how it is then put into Pots, then set in the Curing-Room, thence removed to the Knocking-Room: All these Rooms are built conveniently, one after another, to ease as much as possible the Labour of the Servants; who from *Monday* Morning, when they begin to work, to *Saturday* Night, when they always leave off, are kept constantly at it; but being too hard Work for the same Men to hold it so long, they are relieved twice a Day, and take their Turns in the Field. And the like do the Horses in the Mill, which requires 5 or 6 Horses at a Time to draw it.

Since Wind-Mills came up, the Planters have not used, nor wanted so much Cattle as before. Assnegoes used to carry the Canes, as Carts do now, to the Mill, and the Sugar from the Store-house to the Water-side; where it is ship'd or sold.

What remains now to be treated of, are the Dregs of the Juice, the Skimmings of the Copper, and the Droppings of the Pots, which are all capable of Improvement. They are carried to Cisterns and Backs, where they ferment; and are then drawn by Pipes into the Stills, in a House adjoining to the former, which is called the *Distilling-House*. Here they are first distilled, and then rectified into the Spirit we have spoken of, called *Rum*.

The Ways of managing it is much improved, since the first Settlement of the Island. 'Tis brought to such Perfection, that were it not for a certain Twang or Hogo that it receives from the Juice of the Cane, it would take Place next to *French* Brandy; for it is certainly more wholesom, at least in the Sugar-Islands; where it has been observed, that such as drink of the latter freely, do not live long; whereas the *Rum*-Drinkers hold it to a good old Age.

*Rum* does not so soon destroy the radical Moisture and Digestion of the Stomach, as *French* Brandy does; whose thin hungry Leanness is proved, by putting a raw Piece of Flesh into it, where it will be eaten, and perish much sooner than a like Piece put at the same Time into *Barbados* Brandy or *Rum*.

The *Molasses*, which is the Runnings from the Sugar, is either distilled at Home, or ship'd for *England*, and sold to our Distillers, who make a noble, clean Brandy with it, much better than the Spirit of Malt, or any other Spirit, except what is extracted from the Productions of the Vine.

The Runnings from the Sugar-Pots in the Refiners Curing-Houses in *England*, are called Treacle; and this is much cleaner than the *Molasses* of *Barbados*, but not than the



*Barbados* Treacle; which is also the Runnings of the Sugar-Pots, after the Sugar is refined there.

Treacle makes admirable Brandy, and brown Sugar a finer Spirit still than that. This exceeds all other Brandy, as much as Light does Darkness, being the highest and noblest Cordial that can be made of any Fruit or Vegetable.

Molasses and Treacle are of excellent Use in Medicines, and other Things, particularly in fermented Liquors or Drinks; in which they are to be preferred, by many Degrees, to the Sweets of Malt; and there is no Use which they are put to, but that Sugar, and its Syrrup, will serve much better in its stead.

We must confess, that this excellent Production of the Cane in *Barbados* is one of the most pleasant and useful Things in the World, in many Cases: For besides the Advantages of it in Trade, which will be discoursed of in another Chapter, Physicians and Apothecaries cannot be without it, there being near three Hundred Medicines made up with Sugar; almost all Confectionary Wares receive their Sweetness and Preservation from it. Most Fruits would be pernicious without it; the finest Pastries could not be made, nor the rich Cordials that are in the Ladies Closets, nor their Conserves; neither could the Dairy furnish us with such Variety of Dishes, as it does, but by the Assistance of this noble Juice.

## C H A P. VIII.

Of the Trade of *Barbados* to and from *England*, to *Africa*, and the other Parts of *America*; and of their running Cash, or Coin.

THE Trade of *Barbados* is more general than a great many People imagine; who seeing nothing come from thence but Sugar, and a few other Commodities, think all the Merchants there are wholly employed in buying of Sugar, and shipping it Home.

This, it is true, is the main Article, and it is this draws so many Trades after it, as to *England*, for Necessaries for the Subsistence and Clothing of the Planters, and their Families; to *New-England* and *Carolina* for Provisions; to *New-York* and *Virginia* for Bread, Pork, Flower, *Indian* Corn, and Tobacco; to *Guinea* for Negroes; to *Madeira* for Wine;

to *Terceras* and *Fyall* for Wine and Brandy; to the Isles of *May* and *Curassau* for Salt; and to *Ireland* for Beef and Pork; but that Trade is somewhat lessened lately.

'Tis amazing to think what a prodigious Number of Hands this little Spot of Ground employs, which we shall treat of elsewhere, and what great Commerce it occasions in those Parts of the World.

As to its Trade with *England*, it formerly loaded 400 Sail of Ships, most of them of considerable Burthen, with Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, &c. Since the War, that Number is decreased to 250; and even that is much more than all the other Sugar-Islands put together ever loaded Home.

The Inhabitants at first planted Tobacco, and sent it to *England*, but it was found to be so bad, that Necessity, as well as Profit, obliged them to look out for some other Trade, tho' as good Tobacco as any in the World has grown there.

Indigo was shipped thence some Years since, but there is now little or none made in the Island. Of Ginger scraped and scalded they make great Quantities, and have Abundance of Cotton-Shrubs; a Commodity that turns very well to Account.

They also ship *Lignum Vitæ*, Succats, Citron-Water, Molasses, Rum, and Lime-juice, for *England*. The two last Commodities, about 20 Years ago, used to come in Kegs for Presents, so did the Succats; and the Citron-Water in Bottles: But now *French* Wine and Brandy are dear, and Lemons scarce, Rum-Punch has been much used, and Lime-juice supplied the Place of Lemons. These Goods they consign to their Factors or Correspondents in *England*; who have 2 and half *per Cent.* Commission for Sales, and as much for Returns; and one half *per Cent.* Commission, for paying and receiving Money by Bills of Exchange.

The Merchants in *Barbados* have 5 *per Cent.* Commission for Sales, and 5 *per Cent.* for Returns; which, together with other Advantages, make their Business very advantageous; but they are apt to impose upon the Planters in the Prices of what they buy and sell, obliging them to take their Necessaries, which they know they must have, at what Rates they please; and giving them the same for their Sugar, which they know they must sell.

Most of the Merchants there are a Sort of Shop-keepers, and retail their Goods in their Ware-houses. Of late there are several Shop-keepers, who buy whole Cargoes of them at so much *per Cent.* Advance upon the prime Cost in the In-

voice,

voice, and retail out the Goods afterwards. These Goods, which are all brought from *England* or *Ireland*, are,

Ozinbrigs, which is a chief Commodity, vast Quantities being consumed by the Servants and Slaves, whose Clothing is made of this Sort of Linnen.

Linnen of all Sorts, for the Planters and their Families.

Broad Cloth and Kerfies, for the Planters own Use, or their Overseers.

Silks and Stuffs, for their Ladies and Household Servants.

Red Caps, for Slaves, Male and Female.

Srockings and Shoes of all Sorts, for Masters and Servants.

Gloves and Hats, of all Sorts and Sizes.

Millenary-Ware and Periwigs.

Laces for Linnen, Woollen and Silks.

Beef from *Ireland*.

Pork from *England* or *Ireland*.

Pease, Beans, Oats, and Bisket. The three former from the *West* Country; the latter from *London*, the Bread being better there than in any other Part of *England*, and will keep better; which is a great Convenience now, that good Bisket is bought for 8 s. a Hundred. By that Time it gets to *Barbados*, perhaps it will be half Worm-eaten, or at least by that Time it is half spent, the rest will be good for nothing. This Damage is in some Measure prevented, by the Goodness of the Bread, which the *London* Bakers understand best; and tho' it may come cheaper in the Country, yet by that Time it is sold at the *Bridge*, or in the Store-house at the Planter's Habitation, there will be so much Waste, that the Price is generally double; and it is often so with *London* Bisket also.

Wine of all Sorts, strong Beer, and Pale-Ale, Pickles, Candles, Butter and Cheese, Iron Ware for Mills and Sugar-Works; as Whip-saws, Hand-saws, Files, Axes, Hatchets, Chisels, Adzes, Hoes, Pick-axes, Mattocks, Plains, Gouges, Augres, Hand-bills, Drawing-knives, Nails, and all Sorts of *Birmingham* Ware, Leaden-Ware, Powder and Shot, and Brasfery Ware. As to Brasfery and *Birmingham* Ware, tho' they are good Commodities, yet they are such as agree the least with the Climate of any. They rust, canker, and are eaten up in a few Years.

The Air there is so moist, that if any Instrument of Steel is never so clean, let it lie one Night exposed to the Air, it will be rusty by next Morning; which, tho' Things do not



rust so soon now, occasions the Necessity of frequent Supplies of such Sort of Goods. Copper Ware for the Sugars is a very good Commodity.

Clocks and Watches seldom go right there; but I believe the Watch-makers are as often in the Fault, or the Owners at least in not looking well after them, as the Air, the Dampness of which is said to affect the Springs and Movements, so as to render the Motion uncertain. I know a Gentleman who carried over a Watch to *Barbados*, of *Waters's* making, ten Years ago, after he had had it four in *England*, and that Watch went well for seven Years there, without wanting to be cleaned or righted: Whereas a Watch made at the same Time by the same Man, of the same Price, and with equal keeping, was spoiled in a much less Time in *England*, without any Accident coming to it; and yet for several Years it went as well, or better, than the other, which has been since another Voyage to *Barbados*, and goes still well without mending. And this is a plain Proof, that the Climate is not such an Enemy to the noble Machine, a Watch, as some ignorant *Voyagers* pretend; who either carried over Trash, or did not know how to use them.

All Sorts of *India* Goods and Toys, Coals, Pan-tiles, Hearth-stones, Hoops; and, in a Word, every Thing that is proper for an *English* Market, or Fair, will sell there, the Difference of the Climates always considered.

Servants will go off well, especially such as are not transported for Crimes, but go voluntarily. Of these many Companies have been sent from *Scotland*; and since the Union has succeeded, it is to be hoped many more will be transported thither. But upon the Disputes between the two Nations, about the *West-India* Trade, at *Darien* and elsewhere, the *Scots* denied the *English* the Advantage which their Colonies drew from their Plenty of Servants, occasioned by the Number of the Poor in that Kingdom.

Mechanicks, as Carpenters, Joiners, Masons, Smiths, Paviers, Coopers, Taylors, go off best; and if very good ones, are worth 25 or 30 *l.* a Piece for their 5 Years Service.

This and the other Islands in King *Charles's* Reign lay under the Scandal of kidnapping young Men and Boys, that is, forcing or enticing them aboard a Ship without their own or Friends Consents; some great Merchants were charged with it, and Sir *W. Hayman*, a *Bristol* Merchant, actually tried for it by Judge *Jefferies*, but the Fact was never fairly proved upon them, and since the Laws against it have been so well put in Execution in the Colonies, as well as in *England*, that wicked Traffick is quite destroyed. There are some

some Cautions necessary to be observed by such as would send a Cárge of wasting or perishable Goods to *Barbados*, which are, that they ship their Butter, Oil, Candles, Liquors, and Provisions, as near as they can about the latter End of *September*, and then the Ship on which they are loaden, may arrive about the Middle of *November*, the Length of the Voyage being commonly six Weeks, if the Vessel sails directly thither. I have known a Ship, as particularly the *Richard* and *Michael*, Captain *John Williams* Commander, belonging to Mr. *Richard Walter* and Col. *Michael Terrill*, to make the Voyage homewards in 22 Days, the shortest Passage that was ever heard of from that Island to *England*, which is generally a six or seven Weeks Voyage homeward bound, and a five or six Weeks Voyage outward bound. The Packets generally make it in twenty six or twenty eight Days.

Care also should be taken in the Choice of the Goods that are bought to be sent thither; for if the Factor or Merchant trusts to the Tradesmen in *London*, or other Places, he will often find his Merchandize come out very ill in the Country, where he should have a good Correspondent to give him constant Advice of the Demand of all Sorts of Commodities, some of those we have mentioned always going off better than others, according to their Scarcity, and the Necessity of the Planter. He must be sure to be mindful of their being well packed, especially millenary Ware, Glasses, and all Goods that are easily broken, or he will unload Rubbish instead of Merchandize, when he comes to *Barbados*.

The Freight of Goods homeward before the late War was 5 or 6 *l.* a Tun, and since it has been 12 *s.* a Hundred, which is as good as thirty Pounds a Tun; for many Hogsheads of Sugar weigh 12 and 13 hundred Weight, of which four make 56 Hundred, almost three Tun, of 20 Hundred to the Tun; and I have seen Barrels of 8 hundred Weight a Piece, at which Weight there was 64 hundred Weight to the 8 Tun; which at 12 *s.* per Cent. Freight, from *Barbados* to *London*; amounts to near 40 *l.* a Tun Freight. Outward bound used to be 20 *s.* and is now 4 or 5 *l.* a Tun. These are grievous Burdens to the Planters, which they have no Way to prevent; but of this we must treat more largely elsewhere.

Sugars in King *James's* Reign sold for 20 and 21 *s.* a Hundred; the coarsest of all for 17 and 18 *s.* and the same Sorts sell now at 30 and 32 *s.* They sold in King *William's* Reign for near 3 *l.* and Whites proportionably; which Rates being occasioned by bad Crops, Storms, or Captures, the

Planters must not expect to see again in their Accounts of Sales, unless the same Accidents happen.

We shall not enter into the Detail of the Prices of all the Commodities that come from *Barbados*, and should not have said so much of this, but that it is the capital one, and there is something in the Account that is historical.

The next Trade to the *English* in *Barbados* is the *African*, which is managed chiefly by the *Royal African Company's* Agents there, who are at present Col. *Butler*, Mr. *Bates*, and Mr. *Steward*, Merchants at the *Bridge*; but that Company do not engross the Trade as they did formerly, to the great Loss of the *London* Merchants, who paid them 40 *per Cent.* Advance Money on their Cargoes to *Guinea*, for Liberty to trade; and besides that, were obliged to let the Company buy their Merchandize, and charge them at their own Rates; which, with other Advantages, were as good to that Society as 60 *per Cent.* on all the Merchants Invoices, that dealt to *Africa* for Slaves. That Trade is now open, and 10 *per Cent.* only paid by all Merchants, trading to *Guinea* for Negroes, to the *Royal Company*, towards maintaining their Forts and Castles.

The Commodities sent from *England* thither, are Guns, Powder and Arms, Perpetuanoes, Tallow, &c. as elsewhere mentioned; some Hats, and other wearing Apparel.

The Price of a Negro in *Guinea* 30 Years ago was 50 *s.* or 3 *l.* and now the *Barbarians* understand their Advantage, and our Necessities so well, that they hold up their Slaves at 9, 10, and 12 *l.* a Head, which occasions their Dearness at the Plantations, where 20 Years ago they were sometimes sold at the same Rates.

The Planters having been a long Time imposed upon by the Company's Agents, and private Factors, in the Price of their Negroes, have lately fallen very much into this Trade themselves. They send to *England* for what Cargoes they want for the Voyage, and dispatch away small Vessels, either alone, or in Partnership to *Guinea*, to bring them Slaves to supply their Plantations; which must every Year be recruited with 20 or 30 Negroes, for every 4 or 500 Acres, or their Stock will soon come to nothing: For Hands are the Life of all Business in *Barbados*, and it is the Want of them that keeps the Planters poor, when they fall into those unhappy Circumstances.

The other considerable Trade that remains to be treated of, is that to *Madeira* for Wines, which is the chief Drink of the Island that the Gentlemen make Use of, either by itself, or mixed with Water: Of these there are about 3000



Pipes, *Malmsey* and *Vidonia*, imported in a Year, either by the *London* Merchants, or the *Barbadians* themselves. The first Cost at *Madeira* is from 20 to 25 Milrees a Pipe, each Milree worth 6 s. 8 d. of our Money, that is from 7 to 9 l. a Pipe, besides Charges; and the Value at *Barbados*, from 18 to 20 l. a Pipe, according to the Plenty or Scarcity of the Commodity. This is a noble Wine, and has one peculiar Quality, that it keeps the better for being kept hot. That Wine which comes directly from *Madeira* to *England* drinks pall'd, in Comparison of that which comes round by *Barbados*, and so home; which, in Time of War, is the most usual Way of importing it here.

Tho' *Barbados* could never boast of equal Advantages with *Jamaica*, as to the Trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, and had never such Resort of Pirates, who are the Men that make Silver plenty, yet 4 or 5 Years ago there was a great running Cash in the Island, thought to amount to no less than 200000 l. Sterling in Value, many Merchants at the *Bridge* having paid 10000 l. ready Money upon Occasion; but that Plenty is now so abated, that it is well if there's a fourth Part of that Sum at this Time at *Barbados*. This was occasioned chiefly by the good Weight of their Pieces of Eight; and the Proclamation put forth in *England* in 1702, to reduce Coin to a certain Value by Weight, which tempted many of the Traders to buy up the Silver, and export it to the other Islands, or to *England*, to save the Premium of Bills of *Exchange*; which, on the calling in of the Pieces of Eight, and establishing Paper Credit, rose to 60, and is now 35 per Cent. and in Time of Peace, when Trade flourished, was but 10 or 12 per Cent. By the Laws of the Country, all Pieces of Eight, *Sevill*, *Mexico*, and *Pillars*, were to pass for 5 s. and all half and quarter Pieces in the like Proportion. The Eight-Pieces, or seven Pence Halfpennys, are called *Bits*, and is generally the Money that passes in the Markets or Ordinaries. Light Pieces, and those of baser Alloy, were forbidden to be imported from *England*, where it was a common Thing to buy up such Pieces, and send them to *Barbados*. Tho' the Currency of this Money was thus settled, yet there was not enough of it to answer all the Necessities of Trade, and the Merchants bartered the Commodities they imported for Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, and the Product of the Island; *Muscovado* Sugar being the general Medium of Commerce there, as well as in the other Islands.

The only Thing that remains to be treated of under this Head, is the Insurance, which Merchants and Planters make for the Security of their Trade, and this is so extravagant in

Time of War, that the Insurers will have 30 *per Cent.* out and home, when before the War they would have been glad with seven or eight. The Uncertainty of such Insurances, most of the Insurers having been ruined by it, insomuch that of 2000 *l.* in one Policy, I have known 1500 bad before the Loss happened, makes the Planters run their own Risk, and some of them have lost ten thousand Pound in a Year too by the Venture, which leads us to the next Article.

1817

## C H A P. IX.

Of the Riches of the Island, in the Time of its Prosperity; the Advantage it has been to *England*; the Disadvantages it lies under; and how it may be relieved and improved.

WHEN we examine the Riches that have been raised by the Produce of this little Spot of Ground, we shall find that it has been as good as a Mine of Silver or Gold to the Crown of *England*, by the vast Number of Mouths it feeds in this Island and that, the Fleet of Ships it used to employ, the Numbers of Mariners it bred, and the Addition it has made to the National Stock, as well as the great Estates that particular Men have got by it; for (to say nothing of Men worth 100000 or 150000 *l.* in the Island) how many Merchants have in a little Time acquired Lands, Honours, and Offices, by the Credit and Profit of this once thriving Trade, which in the Reign of King *Charles II.* used to employ 400 Sail of Ships, of 150 Tuns each, one with another, in all 60000 Tuns, which could not be managed by less than 2000 Seamen, nor the Families that subsisted at Home, by building and fitting out so many Ships, contain less than 8 or 10000 Souls? The Import from the Island used to come to 30000 Hogsheads of Sugar, of which half was for a Home, and half for a Foreign Consumption; and by the 15000 Hogsheads spent at Home, no less than 10000 Souls more were maintained, and some of them enriched. The neat Proceed of these Sugars might amount to about 250000 *l.* and that of the other Commodities, as Ginger, Cotton, Molasses, &c. to 100000 *l.* more, in all to 350000 *l.* half of which was returned in Manufactures and Goods from hence; for they eat, drink, and wear

wear all of the Product of *England*, and by this Means 20000 Mouths more were provided for; besides as many that subsisted by working or retailing these Commodities. In all, by a modest Computation, one may venture to affirm, that the *Barbados* Trade did not subsist less than 60000 Persons in *England*; and there being then 50000 in *Barbados*, this Island maintained 100000 Souls, all *English* or *Europeans*, a 60th Part of the Inhabitants of the *British* Empire; though calculating by the Number of Acres, it is not a thousandth Part as big, reckoning the three Kingdoms only. By the 15000 Hogsheads exported to *Holland*, *Hamburg*, and the *Streights*, where considerable Quantities of clayed Sugar were sent to *Alicant*, *Genoa*, *Leghorn*, and *Naples*, the National Stock was encreased 150000 *l.* besides what was raised by it in the Exportation of Ginger, Indigo, &c. which all together was a yearly Advantage to the Nation of 200000 *l.* and this for 20 Years together makes four Millions; and allowing but half that Sum for the last 20 Years, two Millions, it will amount to six Millions, which the Publick has encreased its Stock by this Trade in 40 Years time: Besides that, it brings in 30 or 40000 *l.* yearly to the Exchequer, by Customs and Imposts, and has drawn little or nothing out of it for its Defence. On the contrary, 6 or 7000 *l.* yearly has been remitted thence to the Treasury here, for the 4 and a half *per Cent.* Duty; and what Charge the Inhabitants have been at for their Security, has all come out of their own Pockets, excepting some few Guns, and some Ammunition, that have been sent them very sparingly from *England*.

This has occasioned great Complaints in that Plantation, and frequent Petitions for Redress from their Agents here. In the late War they were obliged to go through all without the least Assistance, excepting in one or two Expeditions against the *French*, which put them to more Charge than the Government received Benefit by it.

In this War they have far'd better, which they owe to the present prudent Administration: For Care has been taken to have Supplies of Warlike Stores sent them. But they are still under an unspeakable Want of Hands, which not only occasions their neglecting to manure many thousands of Acres, but also the high Price of Servants and Slaves. This would be in some measure prevented, by sending them 5 or 600 Men, to man their Forts, that they might not fear a Surprise, and be able to employ their own Hands on their Plantations.



Several Regiments have been sent to the Leeward Islands and *Jamaica*, but it has not been the good Fortune of the *Barbadians* yet to have any sufficient Number of Men left among them. On the contrary, they have drained their own Island, to defend the others.

They sent down 1500 Men with Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, &c. against *Martinico*, in King *William's* Reign, and 1000 with Col. *Codrington* against *Guardaloupe*, in her present Majesty's, of whom many hundreds never returned; yet there never were any Recruits sent in their Places.

The War at home takes up all those spare Men, that would otherwise transport themselves, or be transported thither; and the *Scots*, since their hard Usage at *Darien*, will not furnish our Colonies with Servants, as they used to do at reasonable Rates; which all together has reduced the Island to such a small Strength, that perhaps her greatest Security is, that her Enemies do not know her Weakness.

The Act for the 4 and an half *per Cent.* says in the Preamble of it, that it was given towards the raising and maintaining the Forts, building a State-house, &c.

This Revenue brings in some thousands yearly; and from the Time it was first given, may have amounted to above 300000*l.* yet there was not a thousand Pound laid out by the Government for the Use of the Island, in all King *Charles*, King *James*, or King *William's* Reigns. Pensions were granted out of it; and what the *Barbadians* wanted, they were forced to raise themselves by other Taxes. Neither in all this Time have the Agents, though they have good Salaries for minding their Affairs, done them any considerable Service, in getting this Revenue, or part of it, appropriated to the Uses it was given for. Convoys, it is true, have been sent thither, and Ships have lain there some time for the Security of the Commerce; but they have not been able to hinder the *French* Privateers from surrounding the Island, and taking all Ships that come that Way, Homeward or Outward-bound. Twelve Privateers have roved off the Island at a Time, and a Man of War lain all the while in the Harbour; the Captain of which pretending want of Hands, has refused to stir out, though he has been desired to do it in very pressing Terms. For when those Officers get there, and out of the hearing of the Admiralty-Board, they act sovereignly, and think their Power should be directed by their Pleasure.

The Loss of their *Barbados* Ships in the Wars with *France* has been a dreadful Blow to the Planters, Merchants, and all that have any Concerns in that Island. They have suffered

ferred more than any other Trade whatsoever. Their Loss by Captures, within the Compass of one Year, of the last War, being computed at 380000 *l.* And in the Year 1704. out of a Fleet of 33 Ships, 27 were taken. Out of another of six Ships, four were taken: And out of a Fleet of 40 Ships, the greatest Number were lost to the *French*.

How to remedy this Evil is apparent enough, but it does not become us to direct our Superiors, whose Wisdoms may have those Reasons for acting otherwise, which we may not be able to answer.

Some light Frigats to cruize off the Island there, and some others in the Chops of the Channels, would, perhaps prevent the Loss of so many of our *West-India* Ships; and the Trade is so profitable, it would very well answer the Charge.

Insurances are so high, the Planters cannot afford to pay the Premio's. If they do, the Insurance Money sometimes will not pay the first Cost. But supposing the Insurers stand, the Deductions of 18 and 20 *l. per Cent.* for no manner of reason, the Expence of Meetings, Commission and other Charges, rise so high, that if the Planter has one Hogshhead in two come safe, without Insurance, he had better run the Risk.

This is only prevented by the Security of our Trade. And that is a general Article, which would be too tedious to treat of here.

The *Barbados* Trade has nothing particular in this from the others, but that it has been more unfortunate. Another main Disadvantage which they lie under, is the Discouragement that is given to their claying and refining their Sugars, by the heavy Duty that is laid on all First and Seconds, no less than 12 *s.* a Hundred. By which Means they are forced to send home their Sugars unpurged, to their very great Damage; for they could refine their Sugars more easily, and at a cheaper Rate than the Sugar Bakers in *England*.

The low Prices of that Commodity in this War Time, have been another Calamity to the *Barbadians*. During the last War they had terrible Losses, but then their Sugars sold well, from 50 *s.* to 3 *l.* a Hundred; but now they sell for 30 or 32 *s.* a Hundred: And this is occasioned chiefly by the very Thing that one would think should keep up the Price, by the Number of the Ships taken by the *French*. For, as we have said, half of the Sugars imported from *Barbados* is for a foreign Market; and when they were in demand Abroad, they were always so at Home: Whereas now the *French* sell them cheaper than the *English*, and glut the foreign Markets, by the Quantities they export of the Product of our Plantations.

The Price of Sugars has lately been very much affected, by the *Dutch* bringing some thousands of Chests from the *East-Indies*. They can afford to do this in Time of War, when the Commodity bears an answerable Price: But in peaceable Times it will not turn to Account. In the mean while, the *Barbadians* feel the Damage of it to their Trade; and the only Way to prevent it, is, by lessening the Duty upon white Sugars, that they may be able to under-sell them Abroad; for all Nations have a Right to plant what they please in their own Soils, and sell the Product of it where they can find a Market, and the cheapest will always have the Preference.

The excessive Freights, 20 and 25 *l.* a Tun, is another vast Disadvantage to the *Barbadians*; and the only Way to remedy it, is to take such Care here of sending them Convoys and Fleets, and furnishing their Ships with Seamen, that Owners may be encouraged to let their Ships out for that Voyage; and if they had Ships enough, Freight would return to its old Rate.

The Exchange of Money which has been 50, 60, and 70 *l. per Cent.* is a great Balk to the Trade; and the protesting the Planters Bills in *England*, of the same ill Consequence to both the Planter and the Merchant. The Planter draws upon his Bill of Lading, and if his Sugar is lost, his Bill comes back, where he is immediately run up 20 *per Cent.* for Interest and Charges; and often brings a Debt on himself, and his Plantation, which he can never clear.

The want of Provisions is also a great Inconvenience to the Inhabitants of this Island. Fifty or sixty Sail of Ships formerly went every Year from *England* and *Ireland*, loaden with Bear, Ale, Bread, Flower, Butter, Cheese, Beef and Fish, and now half that Number is not sent thither yearly, with those Cargoes; neither can they get sufficient Supplies from the Colonies on the Continent, for want of Hands to man Ships for that Trade.

The Act of Navigation prohibiting Foreigners to trade with them, was another severe Discouragement; and tho' some of these were temporary, yet others will be lasting, unless it shall please the great Council of the Nation to look into the Hardships they suffer, and take care to procure them Redress; in which her Majesty, though she is always ready to relieve her Subjects, cannot give them Ease in some Cases, without an Act of Parliament.

And when we consider the vast Charge they are at, that a Man must be in Disburse there 2 or 3000 *l.* before he can make 100 Pound Weight of Sugar, which is not worth



above 12 or 14*s.* in Time of Peace ; and must have a living Stock of 5000*l.* to make 100 Hogshheads of Sugar ; one cannot but believe it is reasonable they should be encouraged as much as the State of Affairs at home will permit.

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## St. L U C I A.

**T**HIS Island may, as it is said, be seen from *Barbados*, from whence it is distant 24 Leagues, only 7 Leagues from *Martinico*, and the like from *St. Vincent's*. It lies in 13° 40 Minutes of North Latitude, is 22 Miles long and 11 broad, hilly in many Places, but the greatest Part of it good Land, well watered with Rivers, which give it an Advantage of the Island of *Barbados*. The Air is reckoned healthy, and the Reason given for it is, its being so narrow and the Hills not so high, as to intercept the Trade Winds that always fan it from the Eastward, whereby the Heat of the Climate, says Capt. *Vring*, *Is mitigated and made rather agreeable than troublesome*. 'Tis full of tall Trees, among which are great Quantities of good Timber fit for building Houses and Wind-mills, as the Planters of *Barbados* and *Martinico* find by daily Experience. *Cocoa* is here in Plenty, and Fustick in Abundance. It has several good Bays and Harbours, where there is good Anchorage for Shipping: One of which called the *Little Careenage*; is the Place at which the *English* lately designed to fortify themselves, it being the finest and most convenient Harbour in all the *Charibbee Islands*, taking its Name from the Convenience of careening Ships there.

Great Numbers of Ships may be safe there in all Weathers. So much may be said of the Benefit that might accrue to the *British* Trade by the Possession of this Island peaceable and uncontested, that it does raise much Speculation in the Minds of *English* Readers, acquainted with that Trade in and among the *Charibbee* Islands, how it comes to pass, that this, which has been so often asserted to be the undoubted Right of the *British* Crown, should remain unpossessed by *Britons*, when it is included in every Commission of the Governor for the Island of *Barbados*. And the said Governor was wont to assert the same, sometimes by going thither in Person with great Pomp and Ceremony, hoisting the King's Colours, firing Guns, &c. and otherwise. And how that Right is  
founded

*The Right of the English to it.* founded will appear by the following State of it, in a Memorial drawn up in England for the Use of the British Ambassador in France, after his late Majesty's Grant of it to the Duke of Montagu, in the following Words.

' It is agreed by French as well as English Historians of the best Credit, that the English settled on the Island of St. Lucia in 1639, and lived there near two Years without any Interruption or Disturbance; but that in 1640, they were driven off from the said Island, and the Governor and most of the Inhabitants killed by the Charibbeans, and as the English suspected, by the Instigation and Encouragement of the French, which the French Generals Parquet and de Poincy, however, both disowned; nor did the French at that Time or any other Time make any Sort of Pretension to the Island. A tacit Acknowledgment of the Right of the English.

' The civil Wars in England breaking out, the English neglected this Settlement, and Mons. du Parquet sent 30 or 40 Frenchmen to take Possession of the Island. The Sieur de Rouffelan governed here till 1654, and was succeeded by de la Riviere, whom the Charibbeans killed with several of his Men, and carried off his Wife and two of his Children. He was succeeded by M. le Briton, he by M. Aygremont, who was also destroyed by the Charibbeans.

*The French dispossessed.*

' After this the English made a Treaty with the Charibbeans for the purchasing the Island from them, and in 1663, sent 1400 or 1500 Men on Board five Men of War, who being joined by 600 of the Charibbeans in 17 Canoes, came before the Island in June 1664, which was delivered to them without Resistance, on Condition, that the French Governor and Garrison in the Fort, which amounted only to 14 Men, should be transported to Martinique with their Cannon, Arms and Baggage.

*Mr. Robert Cook Governor.*

' In 1666, the English Governor Mr. Robert Cook, by Reason of the Mortality of his People, Want of Necessaries, &c. abandoned the Island and set Fire to the Fort; yet two Days afterwards a Bark arrived from the Lord Willoughby (Governor and Captain General of Barbados and the other English Charibbee Islands to Windward of Guadaloupe) with Provisions, Ammunition and all Necessaries for the Colony.'

The foregoing are Matters of Fact received by Historians, particularly by Father Tertre, who is very exact and circumstantial; and as he was a Missionary to the French Charibbee Islands and a Frenchman, not to be suspected of being favourable in his Narrations to the English Rights and Pretensions.

tensions. *This Pere Tertre is the Author, whose Accounts I have made Use of in all that I have said in this Work of the Caribbeans.*

The Memorial proceeds to tell us, that the French King by his Treaties with King Charles and King James II. and by those of Ryswick and Utrecht, stipulated to restore to the King of Great-Britain all the Islands, Countries, Fortresses and Colonies, which may have been conquered by the most Christian King, and such as were in the Possession of the King of Great-Britain, before the War began; which shews us that it was taken for granted, that the English had the first Possession, and consequently the prior Right to this Island, St. Lucia being included in the Words, *all the British Dominions.* And this the Governor of Barbados asserted, as appears by what he wrote Monf. Du Quesne, General of the French Islands in Answer to his Letter, which ran thus,

S I R,

*I can't dispense with begging Mr. de Valminier, an Officer of Distinction here, to bring you my Complaints of the Insults which your Men of War have offered at St. Lucia, to the King's Subjects, in taking away the Wood which they cut for his Service; this Procedure is contrary to the good Faith and Union which should be between the two Crowns, and very improper to cultivate a good Understanding. It is also surprising, that Mr. St. Lo, Commander of the Valour, has been capable of such a Procedure. I hope, Sir, that you will not refuse upon this Occasion the Justice which is due. Mr. de Valminier has been pleased to undertake to represent to you the just Grounds which we have to complain to you, of the Violences of your Captains against the King's Subjects, who always in Time of Peace, with the General's Passport have gone to St. Lucia to cut Wood, without disturbing the Subjects of the King of England, who have also gone there. I hope then Sir you will do Justice, by causing to be returned the Wood that has been taken away, and in prohibiting the like for the future, &c.*

Governor of  
Martinico's  
Letter to the  
Governor of  
Barbados.

Fort-Royal, in Martinique,  
Feb. 24, 1715. N. S.

Du Quesne.

P. S. *I am actually informed, that several English Vessels go to Tobago to cut Wood there: You know that should not be, and that it is not lawful for them.*



To which Mr. President *Sharpe* answered.

S I R,

Governor of  
Barbados's  
Answer a-  
bout St.  
Lucia.

‘ I received your Excellency’s Letter of the 24<sup>th</sup>, by Mr. *Valminier*, complaining, &c. The Regard I had for your Excellency’s Letter, obliged me to inquire into this Affair, and I cannot find that any of the King’s Ships have done what is alledged therein; nor that they have any Ways acted contrary to their Duty.

Forbids the  
French to  
settle here.

‘ The King my Master’s *sole Right* of Sovereignty to that Island, *St. Lucia*, cannot be unknown to you, nor is it now to be controverted, and therefore, Sir, it cannot be permitted that any Persons, other than his Majesty’s own Subjects, should settle or cut Wood there without his Majesty’s Licence: I must therefore earnestly press you to give Order, that such of the King your Master’s Subjects as I hear are about to settle there, may forthwith remove, and that none of them re-settle there for the future, least by such a Procedure, the good Understanding between the two Crowns be indeed interrupted.

‘ The same Right the King my Master has to the Island of *Tobago*, and therefore I can’t but be surprized at the Postscript of your Letter, wherein you say it is not lawful for his Majesty’s Subjects to cut Wood there.

‘ It is my Inclination, Sir, to cultivate a good Understanding between the Subjects of the two Crowns in these Parts, as far as is consistent with my entire Devotion to the King my Master. But I think (and I hope when you have re-considered it, you will be of the same Sentiments) to draw Conclusions of Right from some Liberties which may have been occasionally winked at, in (not allowed to) his most Christian Majesty’s Subjects, in those the King my Master’s Islands, is by no Means a proper Method to establish it, &c.’

*Pilgrim* in Barbados, Feb.  
21<sup>st</sup>, 1714. O. S.

*William Sharpe.*

This Matter is of so great Importance in the Article of Commerce, that it is well worth the particular Regard of the *British* State in all future Treaties with *France*, to have the Right of the *English* to *St. Lucia* specified and confirmed. The *French* seem to found their Right chiefly on being the next Neighbour. *English* and *French* have landed and planted in several Parts of it: The *English* had once the greatest Number of Inhabitants there, no less than 1500, near 100  
Years

# The Island of S<sup>T</sup> CHRISTOPHERS

By Her. Moll Geographer.



English Miles.



## Islands of AMERICA & c.

### ATLANTICK OCEAN



(+1)

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Years ago, whose Habitations were upon Sandy Bay to the East ward of *Carcening* Harbour. *English* and *French* had formerly at the same Time Habitations on the *North East* and *South East* Coasts of the Island, but that mixed Possession was not of long Duration, for in less than 20 Years, I found all the Island along *Sandy Bay* marked in Capt. *Vring's* Draught for *French* Habitations; and about the Year 1719. the *Mareschal de Estrée*, by a Grant of the *French* King, sent a Colony to possess, settle and plant the Country. The Governor of *Barbados* immediately notified to the commanding Officer of the *Mareschal's* Colony, he should be obliged to dispossess them by Force; but the *British* Ambassador in *France* represented the Matter with so much Spirit and Reason, as a Violation of the Rights of his *Britannick* Majesty, that Orders were sent to the *Mareschal de Estrée's* Colony to evacuate the Island, which they did accordingly; and three Years after, his Majesty King *George I.* granted the Islands The Island granted to the Duke of Montagu. of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*, to *John* Duke of *Montagu*, by Letters Patent bearing Date the 20th of *June* 1722. His Grace appointed Capt. *Nathaniel Vring*, late Commander of the *West-India* Packet Boat, to be Deputy-Governor of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*; Capt. *John Braithwaite* to be Lieutenant Governor, Mr. *William Falkener* to be Secretary, and others, to supply the Offices requisite for the Management of the Affairs of his well intended Colony.

The Preparations made for transporting them to *St. Lucia*, and their Settlement when they arrived, will appear by the following Account,

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Officers.</i>	<i>Servants.</i>
<i>Elizabeth</i>	130	4	3	9
<i>Charles and Freemason</i>	200	10	13	108
<i>Griffin Sloop</i>	90	12	3	48
<i>Little George</i>	100	4	8	30
<i>Adventure</i>	200	12	13	141
<i>Hopewell</i>	250	6	11	89
Total ———	520	48	51	425

Aboard which were shipped great Quantities of all Sorts of Provisions and Stores.

- 56 Pieces of Cannon.
- 1163 Muskets and Bayonets.
- 500 Cutlasses.

1000 Grenado



1000 Grenado Shells fixed with Fuzees.

4 Brass Cohorn Mortars.

100 Barrels of Musket Ball.

20 Barrels of Bird and Drop Shot.

100 Barrels of Gunpowder.

200 Barrels of all Sorts of Nails.

A great Quantity of Tools for *Carpenters, Bricklayers, Smiths and Masons.*

20 Tons of Bar Iron.

10 Tons of Cordage.

All Sorts of working Tools, Household Furniture, wearing Apparel, and in Fine, of every Thing fitting for the secure and commodious Being of a new Settlement.

Aboard the *Leopard*, Capt. *Samuel Foye*, loaden at *Boston* in *New-England*, for *St. Lucia*.

30 *House Frames*, one large *House Frame* for the *Governor*, 50000 Feet of Board, 95000 Shingles, 40 live Sheep, and 2 breeding Sows. The *Winchelsea* Man of War, Captain *Humphry Orme* Commander, was ordered to convoy and attend this Colony, which stopped in *Ireland* to take in more Stores of Provisions, at *Madeira* for Wine, and at *Barbados* for additional Supplies of Stores. The *Adventure* and the *Hopewell* not being ready to sail with the Convoy and the other Ships from *Ireland*, followed them to *St. Lucia*, but came too late to be of Service to the Colony, the best provided with Necessaries that ever any was that went from *Europe* to *America*, to possess and settle a Country.

The *Winchelsea* Man of War, the *Elizabeth*, *Griffin* Sloop, and the *Little George*, Transports, arrived at *St. Lucia* the 17th of *December*, 1722, after a long Passage from *Ireland*. They anchored in *Pilgrim* Island Bay, and Captain *Orme* seeing there were Men on the Island, sent his Boat to know who they were, and understood they were *French*, who came from *Martinico* in a small Canoe, to catch *Guanocs*; their coming in a small Canoe a Pleasuring, shews that *St. Lucia* is so near *Martinico*, that the *French* will never admit of any Settlement there while they have Power to prevent or destroy it, unless the Right to it is specified and recognized. Some Person at *Barbados* advised Mr. *Vring* to settle at *Pilgrim* Island, but Captain *Orme* himself and the Engineer having surveyed it, found the Land a barren sandy Soil, and the River not safe for Ships; the Wind at *West*, therefore they failed to *Petite Careenage*, about three Leagues farther to the Southward. This is a good Harbour, and in it are several Places fit for Careening, Ships sheltered from all Winds, and from this Convenience of *Careening* it took

takes its Name. Mr. *Vring* landed 50 Men on a Point which commanded the Entrance into the Harbour, and set them at work to cut down the Trees and Bushes to make Way for raising a Battery at that Place which was called *Montagu-Point*; but there was a Hill so near it as within Musquet Shot, which they also intended to fortifie. Mr. *Vring* dispatched Mr. *Falkner*, Secretary to the Colony, to *Martinico*, with the Duke of *Montagu's* and that of the Admiralty's and his own Letters to Captain *Brown*, Commander of his Majesty's Ship the *Feversham*, and Captain *Brand* of the *Hector*, both of them in that Harbour, the Contents of which were to give the Colony of St. *Lucia* all necessary Assistance. Captain *Brown's* Letter to Mr. *Vring*, shews the desperate Situation of their infant Colony's Affairs.

*Feversham*, Port-Royal, *Martinico*, Dec. 18. 1722.

Sir,

I congratulate you on your safe Arrival here Abroad, and am sorry the Settlement of St. *Lucia* is like to meet with many Difficulties; for you may depend on it, that last Sunday an Order was published in all the Churches of *Martinico* from the Court of *France*, that after Notice given, if you do not remove in 15 Days, that then they are to compel you so to do. Captain *Brand* is much your humble Servant. We shall wait on you on *Thursday* next, and am,

Sir,

Your humble Servant,

To Nat. *Vring*, Esq; Governor  
of St. *Lucia* and St. *Vincent*.

Charles Brown.

Mr. *Vring* wrote to Captain *Brown* of the *Feversham*, Captain *Brand* of the *Hector*, Captain *Orme* of the *Winchelsea*, to give them formal Notice of the Danger he and his Colony were in, and desired Assistance pursuant to their Instructions from the Admiralty; but he received Answer only from Captain *Brown*, in which he explains the Contents of Mr. *Vring's* to him and the other Captains.

*Feversham*, at St. *Lucia*, Dec. 23. 1722.

Sir,

This owns the Receipt of yours dated the 22d of *December*, with the inclosed Letters and Declarations from Monsieur *Fouquiere*. I have only to answer, that I shall always

ways be strictly careful in the Execution of my Duty in every Thing that relates to his Majesty's Service, and am, &c.

Mr. *Vring* had sent him the Copy of the *French King's* Order, which had been read in the Churches at *Martinico*, which the Governor Monsieur *Fouquiere* had sent him, with a Notification of his Intention to obey it, unless he removed in 15 Days. Mr. *Vring* in his Answer to the Governor of *Martinico*, proposed to refer the Matter to the Determination of their Masters in *Europe*, but the *French* Governor kept to the Letter of his Mandate, and it is very plain that Captain *Brown* and the other Commanders of the Men of War, did not think the general Order in the Grant of *St. Lucia* to all the Governors and Commanders to be assisting to the Colony that should be sent to *St. Lucia*, or the like Instructions from the Admiralty, were sufficient to justify their acting offensively against the *French*, which must have ended in a War between *Great Britain* and *France*, the occasion of which they would not take on themselves, neither would the Governor of *Barbados* or any other Governor of the *British* Colonies in *America* take these general Orders and Instructions to be a sufficient Warrant for them to begin Hostilities against the *French*, for obeying their King's Mandate. After what had happened to the *Marschal de Estrees's* Colony, it seems to have been requisite to have known how the *French* would act in the like Case did the *English* attempt a Settlement at *St. Lucia*, and how far the *English* would be supported by a national Power before they attempted a Thing which the *Marschal de Estree* and his Colony had been obliged to abandon; for it is most certain the *French* did pretend as well to *St. Lucia* as the *English*, and had actually at that very time Habitations on some part of the Island, though no regular Settlement. But if the *English* had the first Habitations, such seizing gives them a prior Right, which is well worth defending, when the Juncture is favourable, which it did not now seem to be. Notwithstanding these Difficulties that seemed insurmountable, and the Captains of the Men of War declining to act in any Manner that might produce ill Consequences in *Europe*, Mr. *Vring* went on in landing the Cannon, Arms, and Stores, and was very active in forwarding a Fortification raised on the Hill, which he proposed to make defensible before the 15 Days, to which his Removal was limited by the *French* Mandate, were expired.



He sent Mr. Egerton, and Mr. Medley, two of his Colony, to St. Vincent, to try what they could do towards a Settlement in that other Island of his Government.

While Mr. Vring's Men were very busy in raising their Fort on the Hill, they spy'd December 29. 13 Days after their coming to St. Lucia, several Sloops standing into Shoque-Bay, where they landed Men within an Hour's March of the Hill. The Land about this Shoque-Bay, seemed at that very Time to be inhabited by the French, for the Governor writes, *two young Negroes came to us which were supposed to be French, of which the Inhabitants of Shoque-Bay were acquainted, and they were claimed and returned to the Owners.* For it appears that the Marechal de Estree's Colony were settled in that Place where Mr. Vring intended his Settlement, by what he says, *we found an old Oven as his Men were working in the Hill, which we suppose was made by the Duke de Estree's Colony when there.* I mention this to shew that it must be well known that the French had formerly pretended to claim, nay to possess and settle in this Island; and that there were French Inhabitants upon it at this very Time, some of them in Ability to maintain and employ Negroes. However they could not weaken the prior Claim and Possession of the English; but before that should have been asserted in so solemn and expensive a Manner, it had been well if any Dispute of that kind had been adjusted, and Measures taken to prevent or effectually to oppose any Molestations from the French.

The next Day after the French began to land at Shoque-Bay, the Governor and Council of St. Lucia published a Proclamation, which was sent by Mr. John Braitwaite, Deputy Governor, to be read to them at the Shoque. The Title of it will I believe be enough, considering the present Circumstances of the Colony.

*A Proclamation, requiring all Strangers and Foreigners now within the Islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, or either of them, to submit and conform to the Government therein established, or to depart thereout.*

Mr. Vring informs us, the French told the Deputy-Governor he did not understand the English, and made light of the Proclamation, which is not surprizing. In the mean Time, the English were raising their Fort on the Hill, and a Barricado on the Point, to secure their Store-houses and Fruits which were there; they carried it from Sea to Sea, and indeed there was no Diligence wanting in the Governor and those he employed to take Care of the Works.

The *French* continued landing Men daily from *Martinico*, and being encreased to about 2000, were joined by 500 Men from *Guardaloupe*; and Mr. *Vring's* small Number was so diminished by Desertion and Disease, that he had not above 70 Men fit to bear Arms. The Marquis *de Champigny* who commanded the *French* Troops, mostly *Martinico* Militia, sent Monsieur *de Point Sable* with a Letter to Governor *Vring*, requiring the Evacuation of the Island by the *English*; and Monsieur *de Fouquiere*, General of the *French* Islands, insisting upon it, and rejecting all Proposals for leaving Matters in their present State, till Orders should come from *Europe* concerning them; Governor *Vring* consulted his Council thereupon, who resolved to draw off and leave the Island, and Lieutenant Governor *Braithwaite* was dispatched to the *Shoque*, to treat with the Marquis *de Champigny*, who readily agreed to the reasonable Demands of the *English*. That all their Deserters should be restored, and sufficient Time be allowed for re-imbarking the Cannon, Arms, Ammunition, Provisions, Stores of all Sorts, and whatever had by them been dis-imbarked in that Island, which the *French* were also to evacuate at the same Time. The same Day, *January* 10, the *French* Forces advanced towards the *English*, and the great Detachment marched up the Hill. Mr. *Vring* was of Opinion, if the *Adventure* and *Hopewell* had arrived in Time with the Men they had on Board, near 240, it would effectually have prevented the *French* from dispossessing the *English*. But doubtless the *French* Forces would have been augmented in Proportion, for according to the Oath of *Robert Bullcock*, taken by *Samuel Cox*, Esq; President of *Barbados*, and sent by him to Mr. *Vring*, the *French* at *Martinico* talked of sending over 10000 Men to *St. Lucia*, rather than they would fail in their Resolution to dispossess the *English*. Tho' that might be a *Gasconade*, yet it was well known they could have spared many more Thousands than they sent thither for that Service, had it been necessary, and there was little Likelihood that the *English*, who with the Reinforcement of 200, had so many come thither fit to bear Arms, could have defended themselves in their new Works raised in Haste against a powerful Army: so they pursued the wisest Counsels, concluded the Treaty for their peaceable Re-imbarkation, shipped again whatever they had landed, demolished their Fort and Barricado, struck their Flag and carried it Aboard, and *January* 14th, sailed out of the Harbour of *Petite Carénage* for the Island of *Antego*, having been a Month upon that of *St. Lucia*, of which

Nathaniel Vring, Esq; was Deputy Governor,  
 \* John Braithwaite, Esq; Lieutenant Governor.  
 Mr. William Falkener, Secretary.  
 Mr. Robert Egerton, }  
 Capt. Watson, } Counsellors.

N. B. This Mr. Braithwaite was afterwards employed in the African Company's Service in Guinea, where he acquired some Estate, and afterwards removed to Carolina, and is the same Person who behaved so gallantly in an Engagement with the Spaniards at Sea, and was barbarously murdered by them after Surrender.

We must now return to the Memorial before cited, where Mention is made of the Evacuation of this Place as follows.  
 ' The French at this Time opposed the English Settlement,  
 ' but by Article VII. of the Treaty concluded on the Part of  
 ' the English by Mr. Braithwaite, empowered by Mr. Vring,  
 ' the Duke of Montagu's Deputy Governor, and on the Part  
 ' of the French by Monf. de Champigny, for the Evacuation  
 ' of St. Lucia, Jan. 8th, O. S. 1722-3, it is agreed, that  
 ' immediately after the Evacuation of the said Colony of  
 ' Monf. the Duke of Montagu, the Sieur Marquis de Cham-  
 ' pigny obliges himself also to make an Evacuation of the  
 ' French Forces, and leave the Island of St. Lucia in its  
 ' former State and Condition, till there shall be a Decision of  
 ' it by the two Crowns. To the Rights and Pretensions of  
 ' which the said Sieurs de Champigny and Braithwaite declare,  
 ' they have neither Inclination or Power to bring any Pre-  
 ' judice to the present Treaty.'

The Treaty between Mr. Vring the Duke of Montagu's Governor, and Monf. Champigny, can be no Way derogatory to the British Title, it being expressly stipulated therein to the contrary, and his Excellency Henry Worsley, Esq; has since then been constituted and appointed by his present Britannick Majesty King George II. Governor and Commander in chief of this Island of St. Lucia, by Commission and the following Instructions.

G E O R G E R.

' T R U S T Y and well beloved we greet you well.  
 ' Whereas the French for some Years have claimed a  
 ' Right to the Island of St. Lucia, and do insist that the  
 ' Right to the Islands of St. Vincent and Dominico under  
 ' your Government is in the Charibbeans now inhabiting the  
 ' same, altho' we have an undoubted Right to all the said  
 ' Islands;



‘ Islands; yet we have thought fit to agree with the *French*  
 ‘ Court, that untill our Right shall be determined, the said  
 ‘ Islands shall be entirely evacuated by both Nations. It is  
 ‘ therefore our Will and Pleasure, and you are accordingly  
 ‘ to signify the same to such of our Subjects as shall be found  
 ‘ inhabiting any of our said Islands, that they do forthwith  
 ‘ quit the same, untill the Right shall be determined as afore-  
 ‘ said. And that they do comply with this our Order within  
 ‘ thirty Days from the Publication thereof, in each of the  
 ‘ said Islands respectively, under Pain of our highest Displea-  
 ‘ sure, and you are to use your best Endeavours, that no  
 ‘ Ships of our Subjects, or of any other Nation, do frequent  
 ‘ the said Islands during the Time aforesaid, except only for  
 ‘ Wood and Water. But it is our Will and Pleasure, that  
 ‘ you do not execute this our Order untill the *French* Go-  
 ‘ vernor of *Martinico* shall have received the like Directions  
 ‘ from the *French* Court, and shall jointly with you, put  
 ‘ the same in Execution without any Exception. And you are  
 ‘ hereby farther ordered to transmit to us by the first Op-  
 ‘ portunity, a full Account of your Proceedings, as like-  
 ‘ wise of those of the *French* in this Behalf; taking care by  
 ‘ all Opportunities to inform yourself, whether our Subjects  
 ‘ and those of the *French* King do punctually comply with  
 ‘ the true Intent and Meaning of this Agreement, until  
 ‘ such Time as the Right to the said Islands shall be absolute-  
 ‘ ly determined as aforesaid. And for so doing, this shall  
 ‘ be your Warrant. And so we bid you farewell. Given  
 ‘ at our Court at *St. James’s*, the 30th Day of *November*  
 ‘ 1730. in the fourth Year of our Reign.’

By his Majesty’s Command,

*Hollis Newcastle.*

The *French* King’s Letter to the Governor of *Martinico*,  
*December 26. 1730.*

*Monsieur le Marquis de Champigni, les Anglois ont depuis  
 quelques Annes formè des pretensions sur l’Isle de St. Alouzie,  
 qui m’appartient, &c.*

‘ *Monsieur de Champigny*, The *English* have for some  
 ‘ Years past laid Pretensions to the Island of *St. Lucia*, which  
 ‘ belongs to me, and to which I have an incontestable Right.  
 ‘ The same Pretensions they have laid to the Islands of *St.*  
 ‘ *Vincent* and *Dominico*, which belong to the *Caribbeans*,  
 ‘ Natives

‘ Natives of the Country according to the Treaty of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of  
 ‘ of *March*, 1660, and in the Possession of which, it is my  
 ‘ Intention to support them. I have nevertheless agreed with  
 ‘ the Court of *England*, that until those Pretensions shall be  
 ‘ determined, the said Islands shall be evacuated by both Na-  
 ‘ tions, and this is to acquaint you, that it is my Pleasure, that  
 ‘ you make it known, &c.’

## St. Vincent's.

THIS Island being in the same Grant with that of St. Lucia, to his Grace the Duke of *Montagu*, was also included in the Commission of Mr. *Vring* as Governor of both Islands; and about 10 Days after his Arrival at St. Lucia, he appointed Mr. *Robert Egerton* to go to St. Vincent's as Ambassador, as Mr. *Egerton* phrases it, to the *Indians* and *Negroes* at St. Vincent's, in Order to prepare them for submitting to the Government of *Great-Britain*.

The *Indians* are the *Aborigines*, the first Inhabitants of this Island; the *Negroes* are the Descendants of a Ship loading of Slaves from *Africa*, who were thrown or ran themselves ashore here 60 or 70 Years ago, and by the Addition of other *Negroes*, either Fugitives from *European* Plantations, or coming voluntarily or involuntarily to this Island in the Course of so many Years, are by Births and otherwise, become a numerous People, and were some Thousands of Men, Women and Children, when Mr. *Vring* sent his Agent to persuade them to submit themselves and their Country to the *English* Proprietor. The same Submission he was to negotiate with the *Indians* who live in Coalition with the *Negroes*, under Chiefs of their own choosing: The *Indians* having particular Chiefs, and the *Negroes* the same with other principal *Indians* and *Negroes* to manage their Affairs under them. Their Government is Republican. They have a just Notion of Liberty, have enjoyed the Sweets of it many Years, are very jealous of losing it, and unanimous and resolute in its Defence, are besides very powerful in their Numbers, the *Indians* being computed to be near 8000, and the *Negroes* 5 or 6000 when Mr. *Egerton* set out on his Embassy. The Tenour of which must be, whatever Terms were made Use of to express it, that they should receive the *English* among them, permit them to take their Lands, plant and settle upon them,

them, to build Forts and to introduce Soldiers and armed Men, to give them new Laws, and enforce their Obedience to them. The *Indians* and *Negroes* were very sensible of all this, and it had been aggravated to them by the *French* perpetually coming thither from *Martinico* and their other Islands, some of which are nearer to *St. Vincent's* than the *English Charibbees*. The *French* who had been among them, told them that the *English* were settling at *St. Lucia*, and intended to do the like in their Island, after which they would sell them or use them as Slaves: Tho' the *Indians* and *Negroes* might not give entire Credit to their malicious Suggestions, yet they were by no Means disposed to receive the *English* as their Masters and Proprietors of their Lands. Their Country was far from being uninhabited, tho' perhaps not a tenth Part of it was planted by either *Indians* or *Negroes*; however they did not understand that their having not as yet cultivated these Parts of their Land, deprived them of their Property in it, and Mr. *Egerton* was to promise Protection and Denization to all that submitted to them. If *Egerton* or any other Agent, before him, had purchased the Propriety of the Land of the *Indians* the first Owners, and the *Negroes* long Possessors of the same, there doubtless had been no Difficulty in admitting them to take Possession of them, and planting and fortifying them as they thought fit; but neither *Indians* nor *Negroes* could understand how their Right could be asserted by a Grant of a Sovereignty to which they did not know, or acknowledge themselves to be subject. This being the natural State of the Case, Mr. *Egerton* succeeded in his Embassy accordingly.

The Beginning of his Report marks the Distance of this Island from *St. Lucia*, December 26. ' Last Night we  
' stretched over to *St. Vincent's*, steering *South South East*,  
' and *South by East*. Between one and two in the Morning,  
' we were up with the Land *St. Vincent*, and when Day, in  
' a Bay to the *Northward*, we saw several Huts ashore in-  
' habited by *Indians*, and three of them in a Canoe paddling  
' off to us, we hoisted out our Boat. Mr. *Medley*, who  
' came with me to assist me in my Embassy went in her, and  
' brought the three *Indians* aboard the *Griffin* Sloop.

' One of the *Indians* spoke very good *French*, a Sign of  
' their being much frequented by, and familiarised with that  
' Nation. *Medley* informed them that the *English* were set-  
' tled in the Island of *St. Lucia*, and that if they would come  
' under and submit to their Government, they should be pro-  
' tected and deemed and dealt with as *Englishmen*. They  
' seemed to like it, and informed him that the *French* had  
' been



' been with them, and as we understood it prepossessed them  
 ' with a Notion that the *English* were their Enemies, and  
 ' would make them Slaves.' The contrary of which *Egerton*  
 and *Medley* endeavoured to infill into him and his Country-  
 men: The *Indians* told them, that one of their great Men  
 lived in that Bay, and Mr. *Medley* going with him ashore,  
 brought the great Man aboard, entertained him plentifully,  
 and Mr. *Egerton* made him and near 20 *Indians* that attended  
 him agreeable Presents. The Discourse was to the same Purpose  
 as before, but not much relished by the great Man; the  
*Negroes* inhabited the Shore to the *North East*, their Hutts  
 near the Water-side, but *Egerton* and *Medley* had no Oppor-  
 tunity to speak with them. To the Eastward of this Island  
 they found a pleasant Prospect, a large Quantity of good  
 Land, tho' hilly, and a great deal of it planted, and the rest  
 fit to plant from the *South West* to the *North East*. In some  
 Places along Shore are Heads of Rocks not very high, but  
 there seemed to be good landing in several Parts, with plea-  
 sant Descents to the Water-side in fine green Patches.  
 Much upper Land fit for Plantation lay unmanured. Mr.  
*Egerton* and Mr. *Medley* went ashore to the *Indian* Dwellings,  
 but finding they were all drunk and in an ill Humour, they got  
 from them as soon as they could. Notwithstanding their  
 Shyness and Aversion to any Treaty of Submission to the  
*English*, Capt. *Vring* being forced to quit *St. Lucia*, pro-  
 posed to his Council the removing to *St. Vincent*, and en-  
 deavour to bring the Inhabitants to accept the Duke of  
*Montagu* for their Proprietor and Governor, which could  
 they have done, would doubtless have been for the publick  
 Interest of *Great-Britain*, as well as the particular Interest of  
 his Grace; but I do not see there was the least Shadow of  
 Encouragement, from the Disposition and Situation of the  
*Indians* and *Negroes* for the Colony of *St. Lucia*, to make  
 any Attempt towards a Settlement at *St. Vincent's*. For be-  
 sides the same Objections that were made to the Settlement  
 at *St. Lucia*, were good against *St. Vincent's*; a much stronger  
 one offered to the Consideration of the *English*, and that was  
 the Island's being already possessed, planted and peopled, and  
 having a great Number of bold daring Inhabitants sufficient to  
 defend it, without the Assistance of the *French*, which how-  
 ever they were sure of. The Council rejected Capt. *Vring's*  
 Proposal, but agreed that Mr. *Braithwaite*, Lieutenant Go-  
 vernor of *St. Lucia*, should go in the *Griffin* Sloop to *St.*  
*Vincent's*, accompanied with such Persons of the Colony as  
 he thought fit, and make another solemn and certain Trial of  
 the Temper of the *Indians*, *Negroes* and *Mulattoes*, to come  
 under

under the Government of the *English*, and Capt. *Vring*, with the rest of the *St. Lucia* Colony, would wait at *Antego* for Mr. *Braithwaite's* Return. At *Antego* Capt. *Vring* received fresh Orders from *England*, brought by the *Adveniure*, to retire with the Colony from thence and go to *St. Vincent*; but as the State of that Island was not so well known in *Europe* as the *Leeward* Islands, Col. *Hart*, General of these Islands, and Col. *Matthews*, Governor of *Antego*, gave their Opinion that Mr. *Vring* would do ill in following these new Orders, and offered to give it under their Hands; so he resolved to wait for the Return of Mr. *Braithwaite*, whose Report of his Negotiation will give the best Light in this Matter. The *Indians* at first treated him roughly enough, but being softened by some Presents of Rum and other Things of small Value, he went a second Time ashore, and was introduced to the General of the *Indians*. I will now use his own Words. ‘ Two principal Men of the *Indians* ‘ came to me from him, and thanked me for my Presents, ‘ and asked Pardon for my former Treatment, *supposed to be* ‘ *to please a Frenchman*, who was then with the *Indian* General: The two *Indians* had Orders to tell me, that if I ‘ pleased to go ashore, they were to remain Hostages for my ‘ civil Usage; I sent them on Board the *Winchelsea*, and with ‘ Capt. *Watson* went myself ashore, and was well received: ‘ I found the Brother of the General of the *Negroes* with ‘ the *Indian* General. The *Negro* had with him 500 Blacks ‘ well armed with *Fuzees*, he told my Interpreter, *They were* ‘ *informed we came to force a Settlement, or they should not have* ‘ *been so uncivil to us at our first landing, as to deny us Wood* ‘ *and Water, which they had never before denied any English,* ‘ *and we might now take what we wanted.* With some Difficulty I prevailed with the *Indian* and *Negro* Generals to go ‘ aboard the *Winchelsea*, Capt. *Orme* Commander, leaving ‘ Capt. *Watson* a Hostage. Capt. *Orme* entertained them ‘ very handsomly, and presented the *Indian* General with a ‘ fine *Fuzee* of his own, and the General of the *Negroes* with ‘ something that was as agreeable to him. The Captain assured them of the Friendship of the King of *England*, &c. ‘ The *Negro* General spoke excellent *French*, and gave Answers with the *French* Compliments. I afterwards carried ‘ them on Board the Duke's Sloop, and having opened their ‘ Hearts with Wine, for they scorned to drink *Rum*, I ‘ thought it a good Time to tell them my Commission, and ‘ what brought me upon that Coast. They told me it was ‘ well I had not mentioned it ashore, for their Power could ‘ not have protected me. That the Thing was impossible, ‘ the

' the *Dutch* had before attempted it, but were glad to re-  
 ' tire. They likewise told me two *French* Sloops had the  
 ' Day before we came been amongst them, gave them  
 ' Arms and Ammunition, and assured them of the whole  
 ' Force of *Martinico* for their Protection against us. They  
 ' told them also, they had driven us from *St. Lucia*, and that  
 ' now we were come to endeavour to force a Settlement  
 ' there; and notwithstanding all our specious Pretensions  
 ' when we had Power we should enslave them, but declared,  
 ' they would trust no *Europeans*: That they owned them-  
 ' selves under the Protection of the *French*, but would as  
 ' soon oppose their settling among them, or any Act of  
 ' Force from them as us, as they had lately given an Instance  
 ' by killing several. And they farther told me, it was by very  
 ' large Presents the *French* ever got in their Favour again.  
 ' This being all I could get from them, I dismissed them with  
 ' such Presents as were ordered for that Service, and a Dis-  
 ' charge of Cannon, and received in Return as regular  
 ' Volleys of small Shot as I ever heard.'

Thus ended the unfortunate Expedition for possessing and  
 settling the Islands of *St. Lucia* and *St. Vincent*: The Pre-  
 parations and Provisions for it at Home were great and well  
 contrived. Mr. *Vring's* Prosecution of it at *St. Lucia* dili-  
 gent and wary; the Men of War attending it sufficient to  
 have prevented the landing of *French* Troops in Sloops, and  
 so gradually. The Governors of *Barbados* and the *Leeward*  
 Islands were well enough disposed to give the Colony at *St.*  
*Lucia* their utmost Assistance, but the Instructions both of  
 the Governors and the Commanders of the Men of War,  
 seemed to be in Terms too general to admit of an offensive  
 War, or indeed to run the Hazard of it for the Sake of the  
 Island of *St. Lucia*; which President *Cox* of *Barbados* in his  
 Letter to the *Chevalier Fouquiere*, Governor of *Martinico*,  
 terms insignificant and desert. President *Cox* must by *insigni-*  
*ficant* mean only as it was then without Settlement or De-  
 fence, but the Situation shews it to be an Island of very  
 great Significance for the Security and Encrease of the *British*  
 Trade and Navigation in those Parts, was it peopled, planted  
 and fortified.

The same would be *St. Vincent's*, but I will not determine  
 whether that would be sufficient Reason to dispossess the  
*Indians*, the natural Proprietors of the Country; or if it  
 were, whether it would be practicable to do it, the Inhabitants  
 in Possession being so numerous, so warlike, and so well pro-  
 tected by their Allies the *French*.



## D O M I N I C O

<sup>15</sup> IS in the Governor of *Barbados's* Commiffion; it lies in ~~52~~ Degrees, 30 Minutes, North Latitude, and is about 40 Miles long, and 40 Miles over, where it is broadest.

There are feveral high Mountains in the midft of it, which encompafs an inaccessible Bottom; where from the Tops of certain Rocks may be feen an infinite Number of Reptiles of dreadful Bulk and Length.

Though the *English* pretend to be Lords of this Ifland, they never durft attempt to make any Settlement upon it, the *Charibbeans* are fo numerous; and we fhould have treated of that barbarous Nation under this Head, if we had thought the Place belonged to the *English*: We have therefore fpoken of them at large in the History of *St. Chriftophers*, the moft confiderable of the *Charibbee* Iflands, at leaft of thofe in Poffeffion of the *English*, to which the Reader is referred. There's none of them fo populous as *Dominico*. The Natives tell all Strangers, who come to vifit it, a ftrange Tale of a vaft monftrous Serpent, that had its Abode in the before-mentioned Bottom. They affirmed, there was in the Head of it a very fparkling Stone, like a Carbuncle, of inefteimable Price; that the Monfter commonly veiled that rich Jewel with a thin moving Skin, like that of a Man's Eye-lid, and when it went to drink, or sported itfelf in the deep Bottom, it fully difcovered it, and the Rocks all about received a wonderful Lutfre from the Fire iffuing out of that precious Gem.

This Story is fo romantick, we wonder the *French* have not found out a *St. George* to kill this fiery Dragon; and no doubt they would have added abundance of fine Stories of the Amours of thefe gallant *Cannibals*.

They had formerly a King here, or rather Captain, who in all the Wars the Natives had with their Enemies on the Continent, led the Vanguard of their Army, and was diftinguifhed by a particular Mark that he had about him.

The *French* have frequented this Ifland more than the *English*, though the latter fay it belongs to them; but whatever is the Matter, the *Charibbeans* have always loved the former better; perhaps there is more Agreement between  
the

the Disposition of the *French* and these *Barbarians*, than between the *English* and them. Hither retreated the *Charibbeans* when the *Europeans* drove them out of the other Islands.

The *French* made Peace with all these Islanders in the Year 1640. but we do not understand the *English* ever gave themselves the Trouble of treating with them, in which perhaps they have been neither just nor prudent; for the *Dominicans* have conceived such an Aversion to them, that they hate them the most of any Nation, except the *Ariovagues*. This was occasioned by the Treachery of our Countrymen, who formerly, under Pretence of Friendship, and treating them, got them aboard their Ships, and when their Vessels were full of them, carried away Men, Women, and Children into Captivity. It is dangerous for any *Englishmen* to be seen upon this Island; and several whom Storms have driven ashore, have paid severely for the Treason of their Countrymen.

There is one remarkable Passage in the History of the *Charibbee* Islands, written in *French*, and done into *English* by Mr. *Davyes* of *Kidwelly*; whereby we may perceive, what Right Princes and States have to the Countries they seize in *America*; and if his Assertion is true, the Title of the *English* to *Dominico* will not appear very plain: *It is a general Rule, (says the Author) that a Country destitute of Inhabitants, belongs to him who first possesses himself of it; so that neither the King of France's Grant, nor yet that of the Company, does any thing more than secure these Gentlemen against the Pretensions of such of their own Nation, as might oppose their Designs.*

Which Observation may be made use of in all Cases, wherein the Nations of *Europe* contend for any part of *America*; and since all Countries must be destitute of Inhabitants, to give any People a Right to possess them, such as are inhabited should be bought of the Possessor. It is likely the *Charibbeans* will never part with the Possession of this Isle; and it may as well be left out of the Governor of *Barbados's* Commission, as the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* out of the King of *Spain's* Titles.

About the Time that this Island was discovered, a *Charibbean*, whom the *French* called Capt. *Baron*, lived in it, and from hence made Incurfions upon the *English* in the other Islands: But the *Indians* were afraid of disturbing their powerful Neighbours, who might easily extirpate them if they pleased; and we find nothing more material relating

to this Island but what Captain *Vring* says in a Voyage to the *West-Indies* 10 Years after my first Impression; that his Ship stopped there to *wood* and *water*, where he found several *French* Families, and during *the Ship's Stay* a large *Periagua* of the native *Charibbean Indians* came on board; the Men were naked, but the Women had a small piece of Cloth to cover them, and that he entertained them with *Drams*, with which they were well pleased; and that having *wooded* and *watered* there, they departed, and I do not find that the *English* have made any other Use of this Island.

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T H E

# H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

## Leeward-Islands.

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### A N T E G O .

*A N T E G O* lies between *Barbados* and *Desirado*; in 16 Degrees, and 11 Minutes, North Latitude. It is about 20 Miles long, and as many broad, in several Places. The Access of it is dangerous for Shipping, by reason of the Rocks that encompass it.

There are few or no Springs of fresh Water in this Island; on which account it was for a long Time thought to be uninhabitable: But the Lord *Francis Willoughby*, about the Year 1663. procured a Grant of this Island of King *Charles the Second*; and about the Year 1666. planted a Colony here.

It is true, the *English*, in Sir *Thomas Warner's* Time, discovered this Island, and some Families settled upon it, 30 Years before the Propriety was granted to the Lord *Willoughby*. But so uncertain was their Settlement, that the *French* intended to have possessed themselves of this Island, after the *Spaniards* had driven them out of *St. Christopher's*, had they not afterwards recovered their Part of that Isle.

This Governor *Warner*, we are told by the Voyager *Dampier*, had a Son by an *Indian* Woman, which he bred up after the *English* Manner; he learned the *English* Language also of his Mother, but being grown up and finding himself despised by his *English* Kindred, he forsook his  
Father's

Father's House, got away to *St. Lucia*, and there lived among the *Charibbee Indians*, his Relations by the Mother's Side, where conforming himself to their Customs, he became one of their Captains, and roved from one Island to another as they did.

Vol. II. Part  
II.

*Dampier* was in these Parts in the Year 1674, and writes, ' About this Time the *Charibbees* had done some Spoil on our *English* Plantations at *Antego*, and therefore Governor *Warner's* Son by his Wife, took a Party of Men and went to suppress these *Indians*, and came to the Place where his Brother the *Indian Warner* lived; great seeming Joy there was at their Meeting; but how far it was real the Event shewed; for the *English Warner*, providing Plenty of Liquor, and inviting his Half-brother to be merry with him, in the midst of his Entertainment, ordered his Men upon a Signal given to murder him and all his *Indians*, which was accordingly performed. The Reason of this inhuman Action is diversely reported: Some say, that this *Indian Warner*, committed all the Spoil that was done to the *English*, and for that Reason his Brother killed him and his Men. Others that he was a great Friend to the *English*, and would not suffer his Men to hurt them, but did all that lay in his Power to draw them to an amicable Commerce, and that his Brother killed him, because he was ashamed to be related to an *Indian*. But be it how it will, he was called in Question for the Murder, and forced to come home and take his Trial in *England*. Such perfidious Doings as these, continues *Dampier*, besides the Baseness of them, are great Hindrances of our gaining Interest among the *Indians*.'

This Voyager writes largely of the Hurricane that happened here in 1681, and of the Signs that it gave of its coming, common with the *Caribbean* Hurricanes; but the most remarkable Accident in it, happened to a Ship of 120 Tons and ten Guns, commanded by Captain *Gadbury*, who had careened his Ship in *Musketo Cove*, in *St. John's* Harbour but a little before; and being warned by the Planters of the approaching Hurricane, he moored his Ship as secure as he could with all his Cables and Anchors, besides some Cables which he made fast ashore to great Trees; and about Seven that Evening went ashore to a poor Planter's House about half a Mile from the Shore. By the Time he and his Men were arrived at the House, the Wind came on very fierce at North East, and veering about to North and North West, settled there, bringing with it very violent Rains. Thus it continued about four Hours, and then fell flat Calm, and the Rain ceased. In

In this Calm he sent three or four of his Men down to the *Cove*, to see what Condition the Ship was in, and they found her driven ashore dry on the Sand, lying on one Side, with the Head of her Mast sticking into the Sand; after they had walked round her and viewed her a while, they returned again to the Captain to give him an Account of the Disaster, and made as much haste as they could, because the Wind began to blow hard at South West; and it blew so violently before they recovered the House, that the Boughs of the Trees whipt them sufficiently before they got thither, and it rained as hard as before; the little House could scarce shelter them from the wet, for there was little besides the Walls standing. Yet they staid till the next Morning, and then coming to the Ship, found her almost upright, but all the Goods that were in the Hold were washed out. Hurricanes since that have been frequent in this Island, but there was nothing in them so extraordinary as this.

This Island is divided into five Parishes, four of which are Towns; as *St. John's-Town* to the Northward; and *Falmouth*, *Parham*, and *Bridge-Town* to the Southward. The other Parish is *St. Peter's*.

*St. John's* Harbour is the most commodious. Besides which there are several other good Harbours; as *Five Island* Harbour; so called, from five little Islands to the Westward of the Isle. *Carlisle-Bay*, *English Harbour*, at the Bottom of which is *Falmouth Town*, defended by *Charles Fort*. Next to it is *Willoughby-Bay*. On the *East Shore* is *Bridge-Town*; then *Green-Bay*, off of which is *Green-Island*, then *Nonsuch* Harbour, a spacious Bay.

Of this Coast, on the North East Shore, are several little Islands, called *Polecat-Island*, and *Goat-Island*; and more to the Northward, *Guana-Island*, *Bird-Island*, *Long-Island*, *Maiden-Island*, and *Prickle-Pear-Island*.

The Forts are now in pretty good Repair; *Monk's-Hill* Fort is mounted with thirty Pieces of Ordnance, it has a Magazine with about 410 Musquets, and 800 Bayonets in good Order. The other Fort erected at the Entrance of *St. John's* Harbour, is mounted with 14 Pieces of Canon; there are seven other Batteries raised for the Defence of so many landing Places, in all mounted with 26 Guns.

The Capital of the Island is *St. John's-Town*, which consists of about 200 Houses, and the Number of Souls in all this Colony are computed to be about 8000 Whites, besides the Blacks, which were thrice the Number, but are not now 18000; the Number of Men enrolled in the Militia is now 1500.



The want of fresh Springs in this Isle is supplied by Cisterns, in which the Inhabitants catch Rain-water, and save it when they have done. There are some Springs, but no River in the whole Island.

Some Creeks are to be met with here, as two at the Bottom of *Five-Island* Harbour, and one called *Indian-Creek*, between *English* Harbour and *Willoughby-Bay*.

We cannot at most say very much of the *Leeward-Islands*, there having few memorable Events happened in them; and they being all of them separate Governments, under one Governour, or Captain General, the Succession of the Deputy-Governors, appointed by the Governors in Chief, is so uncertain, that we cannot pretend to put them in a true Order; and therefore shall only name them, as we have occasion to mention any Facts wherein they were concerned.

But before we proceed in our Account of *Antego*, we think it not improper to finish what we have to say of the Climate, Soil, Animals, Productions, and Trade.

The Situation of this Island shews it must be hot; and the Heats are indeed more excessive here than even in *Barbados*, though farther from the *Equator*; the Soil being more inclining to Sand, and the Ground not so well cleared of Woods, may be the occasion of it.

Turnados, or Hurricanes, used to be very frequent and troublefom here; and they are but too much so still, as the Inhabitants have experienced this last Year, to their great Loss.

The Animals that may be said to be most peculiar to this Island are first, among the Fish, the Dorado, or Sea-bream, of which Mr. *Davyes* of *Kidwelly*, in his Version of the History of the *Charibbee* Islands, says it is called Dorado, because in the Water the Head of it seems to be a green, gilt, clear Sky Colour. It takes a Pleasure in following the Ships, but swims so swift, that he must be very dextrous who shall take it, either with the Iron-hook, or Long staff with the Casting-net at the End of it. No Man can imagine Fish better furnished for Swimming than this; for it has the Fore-part of the Head sharp; the Back bristled with Prickles, reaching to the Tail, which is forked; two Fins on each side of the Head, and as many under the Belly, small Scales, and the whole Body of a Figure rather broad than big: All which give it a strange Command of the Waters. Some of them are about five Foot in Length. The Meat of this Fish is a little dry, yet no less pleasant to the Taste than Trout or Salmon, in the Opinion of many.

The Shark-Fish abounds in the *Charibbean* Seas, and is observed to be as common near *Antego*, as any of the other Islands; wherefore we shall speak of it in this Place. It is otherwise called the *Requiem*, and is a kind of Sea-Dog, or Sea-Wolf, the most devouring of all Fish, and the most greedy of Man's Flesh. He is dreaded very much by such as go a swimming; and that with very good Reason, for he lives by Prey, and commonly follows Ships, to feed on the Filth cast out of them into the Sea.

These Monsters seem to be of a yellowish Colour in the Water. Some of them are of an unmeasurable Length and Bigness, and such as are able to cut a Man in two at a Bite. Their Skin is rough, Files were formerly made of it, to polish Wood. Their Heads are flat, and the Opening of their Mouth is not just before the Snout, but under it; whence it comes, that to fasten on their Prey, they are forced to turn their Bellies almost upwards. Their Teeth are very sharp, and very broad, being jagged all about like a Saw. Some of them have three or four Ranks of these Teeth in each Jaw-bone. They lie within the Gums, but they make them sufficiently appear when there's Occasion.

The Shark-fish is commonly attended by two or three Fishes, that go before him with a swift and regular Motion, and either halt, or advance more or less, as they perceive the *Requiem* does. Some call them Rambos and Pilgrims; and the *French* Mariners, the *Requiem's* Pilots, because those small Fishes seem to be their Guides. They are not much above a Foot long, and of a proportionable Bigness. But their Scales are beautified with so many pretty lively Colours, that, says my Author, it might be said, *They are encompassed with Chains of Pearl, Coral, Emerald, and other precious Stones.*

The Meat of the *Requiem* is not good, at least when it is not very young. The Brains of the old ones are thought to be a Remedy for the Stone or Gravel. The *French* and *Portuguese* call this Fish *Requiem*, or Rest, because 'tis wont to appear in fair Weather. Its Liver, when boiled, yields a great Quantity of Oil, good for Lamps.

We might with as much Reason perhaps have treated of these Fishes, when we wrote of any other Part of the *Charibbee Islands*; but we have placed them here, for that we find others have done so before us.

The *Bucane* found on this Coast, is, like the *Indian* Inhabitants, greedy of Man's Flesh. It resembles a Pike in Figure; but it is seven or eight Foot long, and proportionably big. It lives by Prey like the Shark, and furiously fastens

on the Man it can reach in the Water. Whatever it seizes, it carries off; and if it did not, its Teeth are so venomous, that the least touch of them becomes mortal, if some sovereign Antidote be not immediately applied.

There's another Kind of *Bucanes*, by some called Sea-Woodcocks, from the Figure of the Beak, which is somewhat like a Woodcock's Bill, excepting that the upper Part is much longer than the lower; and that this Fish moves both Jaws with like Facility. Some of them are so big and long, that there are above four Foot between the Head and the Tail; and they are 12 Inches broad near the Head, measuring sideways.

The Head is somewhat like that of a Hog's, but illuminated by two large Eyes, which are extremely shining. It has two Fins on the Sides, and under the Belly a great Plume, rising higher and higher by degrees, like a Cock's Comb, reaching from the Head almost to the Tail, which is divided into two Parts. Besides this long and solid Beak, it has two Sorts of Horns, hard, black, and about a Foot and a half in Length, which hang down under its Throat, and are particular to this kind of Fish. These it can easily hide in a hollow Place under its Belly, which serves them for a Sheath. It has no Scales, but is covered with a rough Skin, which on the Back is black, on the Sides greenish, and under the Belly white. It is safe, but not pleasant, to eat the Meat of it.

Ib. p. 106.

Another Fish found on these Coasts, is called the *Sea-Urchin*, and well deserves that Name. It is as round as a Ball, and full of sharp Prickles. Some *Europeans* who have taken them, have dried them, and sent them as Presents to the Curious for Rarities to hang in their Closets.

Ib. p. 98.

The Sea Parrots, common in these Seas, are scaled like *Carp*s; but as to Colour, are as green as Parrots, whence they got their Name. They have beautiful and sparkling Eyes; the Balls clear as Crystal, encompassed by a Circle ludent, enclosed with another as green as an Emerald; of which Colour are the Scales of their Backs, and those under the Belly of a yellowish green. They have no Teeth, but Jaws above and below of solid Bone, which is very strong, and of the same Colour as their Scales, divided into little Compartments, very beautiful to the Eye. They live on Shell-fish; and with those hard Jaw-bones they crush, as between two Mill-stones, Oysters, Muscles, and other Shell-fish, to get out the Meat. The Meat of them is excellent; and some of them are so big they weigh 20 Pound.

Ib. p. 101.

The *Espadon*, or *Sword-Fish*, is observed to frequent the Seas off these Coasts. It has at the End of the Upper-Jaw a defensive



a defensive Weapon, about the Breadth of a great Cutlass, which has hard and sharp Teeth on both Sides. This Weapon in some of them is about five Foot in Length, about six Inches broad at the lower End; and *palisado'd*, to use my Author's Words, with 27 white and solid Teeth, in each Rank; to which the Bulk of their Bodies bears a Proportion.

The Head of these Sea-Monsters is flat, and hideous to behold, being of the Figure of a Heart. They have near their Eyes two Vents, at which they cast out the Water they swallow. They have no Scales, but a greyish Skin on the Back, and a white under the Belly, which is rough like a File. They have five Fins, two of each Side, two on the Back, and that which serves them for a Tail. Some call them *Saw-Fishes*, some *Emperors*, because there is an Hostility between them and the *Whale*, which they many times wound to Death.

These Fish, and several others mentioned in other Parts of this Treatise, are common also in other Parts of the *Charibbean* Seas. But the Inhabitants are apt to give them other more vulgar Names; and perhaps they will not be known to the meaner sort of them by these, no more than some of the Fowl which we find treated of by Mr. *Davyes* in the above-mentioned History: As the *Canides*, about the Big-<sup>Ib. p. 90.</sup>ness of a Pheasant, of a most beautiful Plumage. This Bird is more frequent at *Curassau*, and therefore we shall say no more of it here.

The *Flammans* are great and beautiful Birds; but we should not have mentioned it in this Article, because it delights in Fenny-Places and Ponds, that are not common in this Island, which abounds in all Sorts of Fowl, wild and tame.

It has more plenty of Cattle, and other Beasts, especially Venison, than any other of our *Charibbee-Islands*; the Animals of which are much the same, as also their Productions.

Sugar, Indigo, Ginger, and Tobacco, were the chief Growths and Commodities of *Antego*, when it was first planted; but now Indigo and Ginger are very rarely cultivated there. The Sugar and Tobacco were both bad of the Sort; the former so black and coarse, that one would scarce have thought any Art could have refined it; and as if our *English* Sugar-bakers scorned to put such Dirt into their Coppers, it was generally shipped off for *Holland* and *Hamburg*, being sold for 16 s. a Hundred, when other *Muscovado* Sugar fetched 18 or 19 s. a Hundred.

The Planters of *Antego* have since improved their Art, and as good *Muscovado* Sugar is now made there as in any of our

Sugar Islands. They have also clayed some Sugar, which was not known to have been done in *Antego* 20 Years ago.

Lowth. Vol.  
2. p. 665.

Tho' there is not much Tobacco planted in this Island, what there is, is not so bad as it was formerly, when it was sold for no Uses, but to make Snuff. The wild Cinnamon Tree is said to grow in the *Lowlands*, or *Savanna Woods* in *Antego*.

We know of no other Productions here, which it has not in common with the other Islands; and having treated of them elsewhere, we shall proceed in our History, which is indeed but short: Our Memoirs for the *Leeward-Islands* did not, and perhaps the Facts themselves would not enable us to enlarge upon it much more.

The History of the *Charibbee-Islands*, translated by Mr. *Davyes*, mentions, that *Antego* was inhabited by the *English* almost as soon as *St. Christophers*; but we cannot get any other Proof of it, and it does not appear that it was planted till after it became the Lord *Willoughby's* Propriety: It has since reverted to the Crown, and is made a Part of the general Government of the *Leeward-Islands*, and did not make any considerable Figure among them, till about the Year 1680. It has owed most of its flourishing Condition since to the Care and Interest of Colonel *Christopher Codrington*; who removing from *Barbados*, where he had been Deputy-Governor, to *Antego*, planted here, and in other *Leeward-Islands*, and having a great Knowledge and Experience in the Sugar Plantations, and a great Stock to support it, acquired as good an Estate as any Planter had got at *Barbados* or *Jamaica*. Others following his Example, *Antego* throve; and he making it the Seat of his Government, when he was Captain General, and General Governor of all the *Leeward-Islands*, this Isle flourished equally at least with the rest, and became wealthy and populous.

Among others who came with the Lord *Willoughby* from *Barbados*, was Major *Byam*, whose Family still remains on the Place. He was one of the Commissioners appointed by that Lord, to treat with Sir *George Ayscues*, about the Surrender of *Barbados* to the Parliament. His Son Colonel *Willoughby Byam*, was one of the most considerable Planters in the *Leeward-Islands*.

We have not been able to procure an exact List of the Governors of these Islands, from their first Settlement, and much less of the particular Governors, or rather Deputy Governors of the particular Islands, and therefore shall not pretend to give any. Sir *Nathaniel Johnson* was Governor of all them at the *Revolution*, and not conforming to the Government,

vernment, was removed: Upon which, Col. *Codrington* succeeded him in his Government, and Colonel *Rowland Williams* was made Deputy Governor of *Antego*.

In *March*, 1689. there happened a terrible Earthquake in the *Leeward-Islands*, *Montserrat*, *Nevis*, and *Antego*. In *Nevis* and *Montserrat*, no considerable Hurt was done, most of the Buildings being of Timber; but where there were Stone Buildings, they were generally thrown down, which fell very hard on *Antego*; most of the Houses, Buildings, Sugar-works, and Wind-mills being of Stone. Several Sloops felt the Violence of the Shake at Sea.

On the breaking out of the War between *England* and *France*, after the *Revolution*, the Inhabitants of *Antego*, as well as those of the other *Leeward-Islands*, desired Assistance of the Governor and Government of *Barbados*; and when Sir *Timothy Thornhill* had raised his Regiment, he sailed with them to *Antego*, where he arrived on the 5th of *August*, and received the unwelcome News, that the Fort at St. *Christopher's* was surrendered to the *French*, on *Monday* the 29th of *July*, 1689. upon Articles. Sir *Timothy* knowing his Strength to be too inconsiderable to attack an Island so well fortified as St. *Christophers*, and the Government of *Antego* soliciting him to continue with them till the Arrival of the *English* Fleet, which was daily expected; he agreed to their Proposals, and landed his Regiment there, which he quartered in the Town of *Falmouth*, about the same Bigness as that of St. *John's* Town.

After a Month's Continuance in this Island, Lieutenant-General *Codrington* sent three Sloops manned with 80 Men of Sir *Timothy's* Regiment, under the Command of Capt. *Edward Thorn*, from *Falmouth*, to fetch the *English*, with their Goods and Stocks, from the Island of *Anguilla*, where they had been miserably abused and destroyed by some *Irish*, whom the *French* had landed there for that Purpose.

Before Sir *Timothy Thornhill's* Arrival, and during his Stay at *Antego*, the *Indians* of the neighbouring Islands, who were in League with the *French*, landed several Times upon that Island, killing those Inhabitants who lived near the Sea, (to the Number of 10) and then making their Escape in their swift *Periagas*. These Pyratical Excursions were all the People of *Antego* suffered by the Enemy. General *Codrington* ordered several Sloops that were good Sailors to pursue them, but the *Periagas* were too nimble for them: To prevent the like Damage for the future, strict Guard was kept on the Coasts.



About the Middle of *September*, a *French Privateer* landed his Men at *Five-Islands*, near *Antego*, and took off some *Negroes*. As he was going away with his *Booty*, he met with two *English Sloops*, one of which, after some *Resistance*, he took; the other making her *Escape*, came in, and gave an *Account* of the *Action*: Upon which *Sir Timothy* sent out two *Sloops* manned, with a *Company* of *Grenadiers*, under the *Command* of *Captain Walter Hamilton*, who next *Day* brought her in with her *Prize*. On board the *Privateer* were 30 *French* and six *Irish Men*; the latter were tried by a *Court Marshal*, and four of them hanged. In *November* *Sir Timothy Thornhill* removed to *Nevis*, at the *Desire* of the *People* of that *Island*.

The *Inhabitants* of *Antego* raised 300 *Men*, who were commanded by *Col. Hewetson*; and landing on an *Island* belonging to the *French*, called *Mary-Galanta*, they beat the *Inhabitants* into the *Woods*, burnt their *Town*, nailed down their *Guns*, demolished their *Fort*, and returned back to *Antego* with the *Plunder* of the *Island*.

*Lieutenant General Codrington* (for as yet he had not received his *Commission* of *Captain General*) remained at *Antego*, while *Sir Timothy Thornhill* went from *Nevis* against *St. Bartholomews* and *St. Martins*: While he was upon the latter, *Monsieur Decasse* came down with 700 *Men* from *St. Christopher's*, to the *Assistance* of the *French*; the *Major General* (for such was *Sir Timothy's* *Commission*) dispatched away a *Sloop*, with an *Exprefs* to the *Lieutenant-General* at *Antego*, to acquaint him with his *Condition*, and desire him to send some *Ships* to his *Assistance*. Accordingly *General Codrington* ordered *Col. Hewetson*, with about 200 *Men* from *Antego*, aboard three *Sloops*, under *Convoy* of three *Men of War*, one of 40 *Guns*, and two of 20, fitted out for that *Purpose*, to sail to *St. Martins*, where he arrived the 30th of *January*. The *French Ships* who were at *Anchor* near the *Island*, attacked the *English Frigats*; and after four *Hours* *Dispute*, with little or no *Damage* on *Col. Hewetson's* *Side*, they bore away.

In the following *Year*, *General Codrington* received a *Commission* from *King William* and *Queen Mary*, to be *Captain General*, and *Commander in Chief* of all their *Leeward Charibbee-Islands*; and *Admiral Wright* arriving from *England* with a strong *Squadron* of *Men of War*, all the *Leeward-Islands* raised *Forces* for the *Recovery* of *St. Christopher's*; among which that of *Antego* furnished a whole *Regiment* of 400 *Men*, who were commanded by the *Deputy-Governor*, *Col. Rowland Williams*, whose *Son*, *Mr. Samuel Williams*,

*Williams*, was some Time after a Gentleman Commoner of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, and a great Lover of the Studies of Humanity; in which he made a good Proficiency in a short Time. The Author owes this Justice to the Memory of his Friend, and the Reader will therefore excuse this Digression.

Nor must we omit doing Justice to *Christopher Codrington*, jun. Esq; the Governor's Son; who distinguished himself in the same illustrious Academy, by his Genius and Judgment in Poetry and Eloquence; wherein he performed several Things with equal Merit and Success: He was a Gentleman Commoner of *All-Souls College*; and when King *William* paid his Visit of Kindness, as his Majesty was graciously pleased to call it, to the University of *Oxford*, Mr. *Codrington* expressed the publick Thanks of that learned Body, in a very elegant Oration. He was a Patron of the famous Mr. *Greech*, who dedicated his *Latin* Edition of *Lucretius* to him. When this Gentleman left the Study of the Arts, he took to the Practice of Arms, signalized himself at the Siege of *Namure*, was made a Colonel of his Majesty's Foot Guards: And more might be said of his Actions and Worth, only we remember we are writing the History of Countries, and not of Persons; but the high Post he afterwards enjoyed in this Island, where he is now an Inhabitant, will excuse us for what we might otherwise be thought to digress in.

The Success of the Expedition of *St. Christopher's*, and other Enterprizes in the *Leeward-Islands*, will be related in the proper Places, where those Actions were performed; only we must correct an Error in the *Gazette*, which on the 18th of *September*, 1690, told us, *Eight hundred Men were raised at Antego, for the Expedition against the French at St. Christopher's*; whereas, by an exact and faithful Account of it, written by Mr. *Thomas Spencer*, Jun. Secretary to the Honourable Sir. *Tim. Thornhill*, Muster-Master to his Regiment, and Deputy Commissary, we find, the *Antego* Regiment consisted of 400 only; and indeed if this Island could raise 800 Men, and spare them for such an Enterprize, we may very well compute the Number of Souls at this Time to be 14 or 15000, which none pretend there ever was in *Antego*. This Island sent their Quota to all the Forces that were raised against the *French* in the last War.

In the Year 1696, the *Hastings* Frigate was here, and sailed for *London*, Convoy to a small Fleet of 11 Ships, which were above eleven Weeks in their Voyage.

General *Codrington* dying in the Year 1698, his Son *Christopher Codrington*, Esq; of whom we have spoken already, was appointed Captain General, and Governor in Chief of the *Leeward-Islands*; and in Pursuance of this Commission, he removed from *England* to this Island, where he mostly resided during his Government, being one of the greatest Proprietors in it.

In *January*, 1699, Admiral *Bembow* arrived at the *Leeward-Islands*, having Col. *Collingwood's* Regiment on Board, Part of which was quartered in *Antego*, and Part in the other Islands. The Governor having received some more Forces from *England*, to make up the Loss of these, most of them having died in the Islands, resolved, on the breaking out of the present War, to attack the *French* at *Guardaloup*.

The Merchants of *Antego* had equip'd several Privateers; which, in Conjunction with some Privateers of the other Islands, and a Squadron of Men of War, made a Strength at Sea too mighty for the *French*. He raised a Regiment of Soldiers in *Antego*, of which Colonel *Byam* was Colonel; and the other *Leeward-Islands* furnished Men also for this Enterprize.

On the 7th of *March*, 1702, the General came off the Island of *Guardaloup*, with the Land and Sea Forces. The *French* shot at them from the Shore, but did no other Mischief than killing one Man, and wounding a Boy aboard the Commodore. The Fleet stood off and on till the 10th, waiting the coming up of the *Maidstone* Man of War, and some other small Ships, which lay off of *Mary Galantâ*. When they arrived, the Governor came to an Anchor, to the North-West of the Island, and ordered a Party of Men to land, and destroy some scattering Plantations on the Coast, which they did.

On the 12th, Col. *Byam* with his Regiment, and a Detachment of 200 Men of Col. *Whetham's* Regiment, landed by Break of Day, at a Place called *Les Petits Habitans*; where they met with some Opposition, but soon obliged the Enemy to retire.

About 9 in the Morning, Col. *Wetham*, with about 800 Men more, landed in a Bay to the Northward of a Town called the *Bayliffe*; where he met with a vigorous Resistance from all the Enemy's Forces, posted in a very good and advantageous Breast-Work. These plyed the *English* continually with great and small Shot, while they were landing, particularly in a more furious Manner at the Flag; yet notwithstanding all their Fire, the *English* bravely marched up to their Entrenchments, with their Muskets shouldered, with-  
out



out firing one Shot, till they could come up to lay the Muzzles of their Pieces upon the Top of the Enemies Breast-Works. The *English* had 3 Captains killed at the Head of their Grenadiers, before they could make themselves Masters of the first Breast-Work. Col. *Willis* signalized himself in this Action, by his great Bravery; and all the Officers and Soldiers behaved themselves on this Occasion, like *Englishmen* fighting with *French*; we mean, like Men born to conquer.

By Noon they had mastered all the Enemies Out-Works. In an Hour after, the Town called the *Bayliffe* was taken; as also the *Jacobines* Church, which the *French* had fortified, and ten Pieces of Cannon.

About 2 in the Afternoon, they took a Platform, where the *French* had planted three Pieces of Cannon, and a Redoubt with one.

At Night, 400 Men, and the Regiment of Marines, attacked the *Jacobine* Plantation, and the Breast-Work along the *Jacobine's* River; which was the strongest and most advantageous of any the *French* had in the *West-Indies*, yet they quitted it after the *English* had fired but two Volleys of Small-Shot at them.

The next Day the General marched without any other Opposition, than that of the Enemies Cannon playing upon him, and possessed himself of the great Town, called *Basseterre*, where the *English* stayed about a Week, sending out Parties to burn and destroy the Inhabitants Houses, Works, Sugar Canes, and Provisions. They laid Siege to the Fort and Castle of *Basseterre*, and advanced within Pistol-Shot of the Fort, and within Musket-Shot of the Castle, having 16 Pieces of Cannon mounted for Battery: Into these Forts, and another called the *Dadaw Peck*, the Inhabitants retired with their Families and best Effects, leaving all the open Country at the Mercy of the *English*, who had been taught by the *French* to shew little enough on such Occasions.

But all these Successes were rendered fruitless by some unhappy Differences among the Commanders, and something must be imputed to the vigorous Defence of the *French*, and the Sickness of the *English* Soldiers, which obliged the General to reembark his Men, after they were so near making a Conquest of this Island.

In the Year 1704, Sir *William Matthews* was made Governor of the *Leeward-Islands*; who dying soon after, Col. *Park* of *Virginia*, who brought the Queen the glorious News of the Victory the Duke of *Marlborough* obtained over the *French* at *Hochstet*, and was his *Aid de Camp*, had the

the Government of these Islands conferred on him. He arrived at *Antego* the 14th of *July*, 1706, and made this the Place of his Residence: *Nevis* had been destroyed by the *French* some Months before. *St. Christopher's* had also suffered extremely by an Invasion, but *Antego* was not attempted by them.

About the Time that Colonel *Park* arrived, an *Irish* Vessel from *Belfast*, having on Board nine Men and six Boys, was attacked in Sight of this Isle by an open Sloop with 50 *French* Men aboard, and made so good a Defence, that 40 of the Enemy were wounded, and the Sloop was taken and brought into *Antego*.

In the following Year, 1707, there happened the most terrible Hurricane or Turnado, that ever was known in these Islands. It damaged them all, but *Nevis* and *Antego* more than the rest. It blew down Houses, Works, Trees, tore up Plants, Sugar Canes, and made almost a general Destruction; which fell the heavier, because the Inhabitants had had so many Losses by the Enemy in their Trade otherwise, that they could ill undergo it: But this Blow coming from Providence, ought to be born more patiently by them all.

We will here insert a List of the Officers, Civil and Military, as they stood at that Time.

Governor and Captain General of all the *Leeward-Islands*,  
*Daniel Park*, Esq;

Lieutenant Governor of *Antego*, *John Yeamans*, Esq;

*Edward Byam*, Esq; President of the Council,

Col. <i>John Hamilton</i> ,	} Counsellors.
Col. <i>Rowland Williams</i> ,	
Col. <i>William Thomas</i> ,	
Col. <i>George Gambell</i> ,	
Col. <i>Lucy Blackmore</i> ,	
Major <i>Henry Lyons</i> ,	
Major <i>Thomas Morris</i> ,	

We have seen another List of the Counsellors, wherein the following were added.

*Christopher Codrington*, Esq;  
*Charles Mathew*, Esq;  
*William Codrington*, Esq;  
*Barry Tankard*, Esq;  
*Lawrence Crab*, Esq;

Chief

Chief Justice, *Samuel Watkins*, Esq;  
Secretary, ——— *Rhodes*, Esq;  
Judge of the Admiralty, *George Gambell*, Esq;  
Commissioner of the Customs, *Edward Pirry*, Esq;  
Collector of the Customs, *Richard Buckeridge*, Esq;  
Colonel of the Regiment of Foot, Col. *Edward Byam*;  
Colonel of the Regiment of Horse, Col. *Lucy Blackmore*.  
Ministers of the 3 Parishes supplied with Incumbents,  
Mr. *James Field*, Mr. *John Buxton*, Mr. *John Powel*.  
Commissary of the Bishop of *London* for all the *Leeward*  
*Islands*, the Rev. Mr. *James Field*.

Sir *William Matthews* late Captain General and Commander in Chief of the *Leeward-Islands*, was a Gentleman of so courteous and equal a Temper, of so much Honour and Prudence, that Col. *Park* his Successor in that Station, came to his Government with great Disadvantage in Character, *Park* being imperious, arrogant, rash and vicious, and soon giving Proofs in every Kind of these ill Qualities, he became odious to the most sober and most interested Persons of this Island, where he made his Residence.

I avoid entering into the Detail of his Life and Actions, before he had this Government; the Subject is not very agreeable, such as it is, it may be found in the *Political State*, for April 1710, p. 242. 'Tis true, the Writer says afterwards his Account is *erroneous*, and I must needs own great Caution should be used by such as have Occasion to take any Thing out of his Collection; however, in this Case some of the Facts he mentions relating to Col. *Park*, have come to my Knowledge by other Means, and I can perceive by his referring this Matter entirely to the Board of Trade, and the Queen and Council, what Influence he was under when he mortified himself so far, as to own what he found was full of Error. I shall therefore avoid following him, and have Recourse to other Memoirs for Governor *Park's* unhappy Administration and *tragical End*.

The Government of *Antego* before Col. *Park* arrived, was in the Hands of the Lieutenant Governor and Council, who were

*John Yeamans*, Esq, President.

*John Hamilton*, Esq;

*Edward Byam*, Esq;

*Henry Lyon*, Esq;

*George Gambell*, Esq;

*William Codrington*, Esq;

To these were added,

*Thomas Morris*, Esq;

*Richard Oliver*, Esq;

*Herbert Pember*, Esq;

The



The latter came with him to *Antego*, and was made Attorney General, which gave not so much Offence as his making a private Man of the Regiment of Foot stationed in the *Leeward-Islands*, Provost Marshal, a Place of as great Profit and Trust as any in the Government, and that without giving Security as the Law of *Antego* requires. But one can hardly believe what the Inhabitants alledged against him on this Occasion, in the Beginning of his Administration, that this *Provost Marshal* executed all his Commands without Reserve, and that Col. Park frequently declared, he would suffer no Provost Marshal to act, who would not at all Times impannel such Juries as he should direct. This being an Article of Complaint against him, he answered by insisting on the Quality of a *Foot Soldier* as a Gentleman, and that as he never directed any Thing but what was Law, his so saying could not be exceptionable. I shall say no more of the Articles against him, nor his Answer to them, but refer to his History written by Mr. *George French*, who hazarded his Life in Defence of him, when his Adversaries proceeded to Extremities, but shall content myself with observing, that his Behaviour seems to be very rash and dangerous, in setting the greatest Men in the Island against him, almost as soon as he came among them there, as Col. *Christopher Codrington*, who had the greatest landed Interest, and Mr. *Edward Chester*, who had the greatest trading Interest in the Island. Col. *Codrington*, is that Gentleman Commoner of *Oxford*, who composed and pronounced an elegant and spirited *Latin* Oration to our Deliverer King *William* at his coming to that University. He is the Gentleman to whom *Creech* dedicated his learned Edition of *Lucretius* in an Epistle, wherein this Gentleman's Merit has all the Justice done it that could be expected from so masterly a Pen. This is the Gentleman who gained so much Glory by his Valour at the Siege of *Namur*, that his Majesty rewarded him on the Spot with a principal Command in his Guards, at the same Time and in the same Post with the Lord *Haverham*, and the late Lord *Windsor*. Col. *Codrington* is the same Gentleman who wrote these gallant and harmonious Verses to Sir *Samuel Garth* before his *Dispensary*, of which I cannot forbear repeating this Triplet.

*I read thee ever with a Lover's Eye,  
Thou hast no Faults or I no Faults can spy,  
Thou art all Beauty, or all Blindness I.*

This Col. *Codrington* is the Gentleman, whose Father was Captain General and Commander in Chief of the *Leeward Islands*, who was himself Chief Governor and Commander of the said Islands; in which and *Barbados*, he had an Interest valued at 10000 *l. per Ann.* This is the Gentleman who by his Will left above 30000 *l.* for promoting Religion and Learning: In fine, this is the Gentleman whom Col. *Park* took the Liberty to vilify and to treat with so much Insolence, that, as his own Historian confesses, he retired to *Barbados* to avoid the like ill Treatment by the Abuse of *Park's* delegated Power; tho' the said *Park* said himself, that Col. *Codrington* intended to make him either one of his Executors, or give him a good Legacy. As to Mr. *Edward Chester*, he was the *Royal African Company's* Factor, and the most considerable Merchant in *Antego*.

It happened that this Mr. *Chester* resenting some provoking Words of one *Sawyer* of *Virginia*, about shipping some Goods, flung a Tankard of Punch, or Punch Tankard at him, which bruised his Head a little, and the Man dying of a Disease soon after, Governor *Park* endeavoured to have *Chester* found guilty of Murder, but the Coroner's Inquest brought in a Verdict of *natural Death*, for which the Deputy Marshal that impannelled the Inquest fell under his Displeasure: *Sawyer* was a *Virginian*, Col. *Park's* Countryman, which no Doubt was not forgotten, in the Care he took to have his Death so curiously sifted; but if the *Antego* Author who wrote against *French's* History is not mistaken, the Governor afterwards took a more pleasant Kind of Revenge, *Pag.* 6. in this Question, *What English Subject besides Col. Park, that had a larger or more distant Command, durst have carried away a Gentleman's Wife, and that before the Face of her Husband, and kept her as his Mistress.* The Answer to this being only a flat *Negative*, is not strong enough to dispel any Suspicions that are raised by strong circumstantial Evidences: However, I shall have done with it, it having more Relation to Col. *Park's* Person than his Office, in which chiefly consisted his Relation to the Island of *Antego*; or this particular Article of *Chester's* Wife, might be not a little confirmed by a general Charge, in the Answer to his History written by *French*; wherein the Answerer, speaking of his Commerce with the *Antego* Mens Wives and Daughters, says, *He took Care to people the Island with them.* Now there never was such Charge brought against a Wife and virtuous Governor, since Government was established; and therefore I must think Col. *Park's* Historian does not tread on sure Ground, where he says in his Answer to the *Antego* Writer

*Pag.*

*Pag. 37. The Lords of Trade gave him the Character of the best Governor the Queen had, or perhaps should have during her Reign. But as I am under no Temptation to compliment or vilify the Character of Col. Park, I shall represent Things in their natural Light only.*

At his first coming the Assembly voted him 1000*l.* a Year for House Rent, but the good Intelligence between him and them lasted not long, and it is very plain, that his affecting rather a Sovereignty than a Superiority over them, was the chief Occasion of the Disgust his Government soon gave them: He had not been in it much above a Year, before the chief Inhabitants began to cabal against him, and prepare Articles of Impeachment to be transmitted to *England*. Whoever reads his own Historian's List of Names of those that entered into this Party, and knows any Thing of *Antego*, will be convinced, that Men of their Character and Interest, would not hazard the Peace and Prosperity of their Country by a Contention with their Governor, unless they had been driven into it by the Violence and Injustice of his Administration, not sufficient however to justify Violence and Injustice in themselves. They drew up above thirty Articles to be delivered to her Majesty and Council, with a Petition thereto signed by fourscore of the principal Inhabitants of *Antego*, as Governor *Park's* Historian confesses, and that the *Complainants* were the major Part of the Islanders. I refer to his Historian *French*, as well for their Articles as for his Answers, and shall abridge what seems to me the most material. 'That he gave out soon after his coming to his Government, *Let him do what he would, he should be protected and supported by the Lord Godolphin, Lord Treasurer, and the Dutchess of Marlborough.*' This would be very foolish as well as very impudent, were it true; for besides that the Dutchess of *Marlborough* was then not so high in the Queen's Favour, as when she lived with her at *Sion* and *Berkeley* House, in a Strangeness with her Royal Brother and Sister King *William* and Queen *Mary*, it was not decent for a Governor and Captain General to declare himself to be under the Protection of a Court Lady; but Rashness often produces the most unguarded Expressions.

That by *Methods unheard of, and abhorred in Law*, the Words of the Petitioners, with whom joined also their Correspondents the Sugar Merchants in *London*, he endeavoured to have taken away the Island of *Barbuda* from Col. *Codrington* first, and afterwards from his Heir the late Sir *William Codrington*, then one of the best interested Planters in our Sugar Islands; tho' Col. *Christopher Codrington's* Father and



Uncle had been in Possession of it near 30 Years, by several Patents, and been at a vast Expence in peopling and planting it. In Excuse for this Extravagance he urged, that it was in his Instructions so to do: Whoever gave him those Instructions must do it without sufficiently acquainting themselves with Col. *Codrington's* Right to that Propriety, tho' the very Possession and maintaining it at so great Charge, was a Right that Reason and Justice sufficiently guarded against any Claim by an Insertion, *with other Charibbee Islands*, in the Governor's Commission. To claim any Place as one's own because we have called it ours, seems too whimsical; unless one has been at the Expence and Trouble of possessing it. However, the *Codringtons* Grants must needs have been known by those that would have brought their Right into Litigation, and then their Care for the Interest of the Crown got the better of their Care for the Property of the Subject; a *Dilemma* that very often happens, when Persons imagine they greaten or strengthen their private Interests, by affecting a Zeal for those of the Publick; the late Sir *William Codrington* being peremptorily required by Governor *Park* to make out his Title to the Possession of his Family, unquestioned and apparent as it was to all the People in every one of our Sugar Colonies among the *Charibbees*.

The Governor thought it proper to make the Council liable to as much Censure as himself, and Col. *Codrington* refusing to give any Account to him of his Title, which was so well known to all the World, the Governor consulted his Council, who advised him to proceed no farther in the Matter, as he himself owns, by publishing the Answer of that Council to this and other Articles against him. But his Acrimony against Sir *William Codrington* was so excessive, that he forbore not to treat him at several Times with the unhandfom Terms of *Wretch, infamous, villainous, and impudent*. French p. 354. & al. Be *Codrington* what he will as to his Morals, *Park's* certainly were not purer; and this Language to a Gentleman of that Distinction and Fortune shews the Tendency of the Man to Passion and Insolence, very ill Requisites in the Formation of the *best Governor* in the *British World*, as his Historian says he was thought, and said to be by his Superiors at Home.

The Complainants say he altered the Method of electing Members of the *Assembly*, with a View to keep out *Edward Perry*, Esq; Surveyor of the Customs. This was sworn by *Edward Kerby*, Esq; Secretary of the Island.

He entered the House of Mr. *Edward Chester* before-mentioned with an armed Force, and seized several Gentle-

men there met for good Fellowship, on a Suspicion that they might be conferring about their Proceedings against him: These he sent to Jail, tho' some of the principal Men of the Island. He sent his *Provost Marshal* to the House of *Barry Tankard*, Esq; 8 Miles from *St. John's*: The Marshal's Officers and Followers entered in the Night Time with Files of Musketeers, to apprehend the said Mr. *Tankard*, and hawl him to Prison for a *Breach* of good Behaviour, as himself adjudged it. The Ruffians broke into Mrs. *Tankard's* Bed-chamber Sword in Hand, which so frightened her, that it endangered her Life.

The Complainants say farther, he called no Assembly in eleven Months, and forbad the Lieutenant Governor to call one at a Time when the *French* threatened an Invasion. He frequently insinuated in Discourse, that it was usual for Governors in other Colonies, to be presented with vast Sums to pass beneficial Laws. That it was become dangerous for the Inhabitants of the Town of *St. John's* to go abroad about their Business, for Fear of being insulted: That he was wont to stroll about the Streets in the Night privately armed, listening and *Eves dropping*, being jealous of the People's Dissatisfaction with his Management:

I have not touched on a Quarter Part of the Articles against him, the Articles and Answers being at large in his History: But as his Answers turn chiefly on the Extent of his Prerogative, which he sanctifies with the Name of the *Queen's*, and the Consent of the Council, as much under his Influence, as Persons generally are under that of those on whom they depend, I shall not enter into the *Pro* or the *Con* of this Contest.

The Complainants have doubtless exaggerated the Facts in the Articles against him, but it was not likely that a wise and equal Administration would have produced such a general Aversion to his Government, that in a few Months Time they were so exasperated against him as to attempt his Life; for as he rode in the Highway near Mr. *Otto Byar's* Plantation, he was shot at by *Sandy* a Negro of that Planter's, out of a Piece of Canes, and grievously, though not mortally wounded, and himself charged Mr. *Jacob Morgan* one of the Assembly and others, as he says, of that Body, with hiring a Soldier to shoot him. *Barry Tankard*, Esq; a Friend of Mr. *Codrington*, sent him a Challenge to fight him for some insufferable Provocation, but his Dignity forbad him to descend to such Inequality, and to match his Excellency with the Rank of a Gentleman only. These and many such Instances of the Peril his Conduct had brought him into, he defied,

thinking himself secure from all Violence, by the Commission he brought from *England*. He was *armed*, says his Historian, *with the Queen's Commission, and clothed with the Royal Authority*; which had he used for the Good of her Subjects ought to have made his Person sacred, and in such Case it would have been so thought; and tho' he behaved otherwise, as is well known to all that knew the Truth of the Fact, yet the killing him is less justifiable than the Measures he took to deserve it, as was too often said by the most considerable Men in the Country, who had no Concern in the Action wherein he was killed. But as no Man can deserve Death who is not so adjudged by Law, the *tragical End* of Col. *Park* remains among those Events that were necessary in the Intention, but criminal in the Execution. The getting him removed by all fair and legal Means was necessary, but the killing him was criminal, tho' attended with such Circumstances, that the Queen thought fit to prevent the spilling of more Blood, by a Pardon for those that spilt this:

'Tis impossible to bring a tenth Part of the Matter contained in three or four Volumes, published on one Side and the other, on the Subject of Col. *Park's* Conduct, within the Compass of my Work. Therefore I must only observe, that his Administration was so intolerable to the richer and greater Part of the Inhabitants of *Antego*, that in little more than a Year, they resolved to send an Agent to *England*, on Purpose to set forth their Grievances in the said *Park's* Government and procure Redress. They also wrote to *Richard Cary*, Esq; Merchant in *London*, their stated Agent, to be assisting to their Solicitor Mr. *William Nevin*, and to enable *Nevin* to make the Voyage and negotiate this Affair, a large Sum of Money was raised to defray his Expence, by the Party who signed the Articles and Petition against Governor *Park*, who knew well what was doing; and yet, even by the Account of his own Historian, abated nothing of his arbitrary overbearing Behaviour towards the Assembly and the Party that adhered to them, which he knew to be the most substantial Interest in the Island; and as if his Authority was really originally *royal*, always interposed his *Delegation* as the Sovereignty itself. He encroached on the most valuable Branches of the Assembly's Privileges, and awed that Body the Representatives of the People with the Army, such as it was then in *Antego*, which probably was the Occasion that his Historian tells us, Mr. *Perry* Surveyor of the Customs remembered the Governor of *Charles* the Ist's Government, and the Catastrophe that followed it.



The Indiscretion of *Col. Park*, as well as the Impetuosity of his natural Temper, are apparent in his exposing the Honour of the Crown, by setting himself up against the whole Island he was sent to govern; not to flatter his Pride and Vanity, by clothing himself on all Occasions with the *Authority Royal*: His Historian is so frank as to name the chief Persons which his haughty and irregular Conduct provoked to be on their Guard against it, by inciting the main Body of the People in Defence of their Liberties and Privileges, as

*Col. Christopher Codrington*, late General.

*Barry Tankard*, Esq;

*William Thomas*, Esq;

*Edward Perry*, Esq;

Rev. Mr. *James Field*.

*Samuel Watkins*, Esq; Chief Justice.

*Nathaniel Crump*, Esq; Speaker of the Assembly.

Dr. *Daniel Mackennen*.

The whole Assembly, one only excepted.

*William Hamilton* Esq;

*John Gamble*, Esq;

Capt. *John Pigott*.

Capt. *John Painter*.

*Thomas Williams*, Esq;

*Aril. Cochran*, Esq;

Mr. *Jacob Morgan*.

Mr. *Edw. Chester*, Merchant.

Mr. *William Glanville*.

*Francis Carlisle*, Esq;

Mr. *John Tomlinson*.

Mr. *Isaac Horsefoot*.

Mr. *Samuel Philips*.

Mr. *John Frye*.

Mr. *John Kerr*.

Mr. *William Pearn*.

Mr. *John Elliot*.

Mr. *James Baxter*.

Mr. *Samuel Frye*.

Principal Planters and Merchants.

*John Otto Byar*, Esq;

*Thomas Kerby*, Esq;

Mr. *Thomas Trant*.

Mr. *John Burton*.

Mr. *William Osborn*.

Mr. *Baptist Looby*.

Mr. *John King*.

Mr. *Joseph Adams*.

Mr. *Richard Smith*.

Mr. *Bartholomew Sanderfon*.

Mr. *Richard Sheerwood*.

Mr. *Charles Dunbar*.

Mr. *William Fenton*.

Mr. *Mark Monk*.

Mr. *John Englefield*.

Mr. *Samuel Meares*.

Mr. *Ob. Bradshaw*.

Mr. *John Codner*.

Mr. *Edward Horne*.

Mr. *William Grantham*.

Mr. *Ambrose York*.

These and a Hundred more such Names the Historian prints, to be revenged of them for their opposing Colonel *Park*, in whose Defence he fought stoutly and received some Wounds in the Action, which thro' all his Book he calls a *Rebellion*. If that Writer had had the Judgment, Experience and Talent of *Jeremiah Dummer*, Esq; late Agent for *New-England*, he would have forborn much of his Bitterness both in Thought and Expression. Mr. *Dummer* in a Discourse, address'd to the Lord *Carteret* then Secretary of State, speaking of ill Governors says, *I suppose with Respect to Mr. Park's Fury and Fate, other Governors, have fallen Victims on the Spot, not to the Fury of a Faction or a Rabble, but to the Resentment of the whole Body of the People rising as one Man to revenge their Wrongs.* Mr. *Dummer's* Discourse of ill Governor's will be better relished in our *American* Colonies than at Home, and being of very great Importance to all Persons therein concerned, I shall give it *Verbatim*.

' It is a general received Opinion, that the People in the Plantation have an Interest distinct from that of the Crown, when it is supposed at the same Time, that the Interest of the *Governors*, they being the *King's Representatives*, is one with the Crown, and from these Premises it is concluded, there can't be too much Power given to the Governors, or too little to the People: Whereas, with humble Submission, I conceive this to be a very wrong Judgment, and that the Reverse of it is true. The only Interest of the People is to thrive and flourish in their Trade, which is the true Interest of the Crown and Nation, because they reap the Profit of it. When on the other Hand, the View that Governors generally have is private Gain, which being too often acquired by discouraging and oppressing *Trade*, it is not only an Interest distinct from that of the *Crown*, but extremely prejudicial to it. The proper Nursery for that Plant is a free Government, where the Laws are sacred, Property secure, and Justice not only impartially but expeditiously administered.' *This will serve at Home as well as Abroad.*

' That *Governors* are apt to abuse their Power, and grow rich by Oppression, Experience shews us. We have seen not many Years since, some Governors seized by their injured People and sent to *England*; others have fallen Victims, &c. as before. Indeed it can hardly be expected but these Corruptions must happen, when one considers that few *Governors* will cross the Seas for a Government, whose Circumstances are not a little streight at Home, and that they

‘ know by how light and uncertain a Tenure they hold their  
 ‘ Commissions, from whence they wisely conclude, that no  
 ‘ Time is to be lost, &c.’ And as Lust of Power often puts  
 them upon Acts of Oppression as well as that of Lucre, the  
 latter seems to be the Rock on which Governor *Park* split.

Col. *Park* in his Answer to the Articles against him, and  
 his Historian every where in his Apology for him, screen all  
 his Actions with the *Royal Prerogative*, of which they sup-  
 pose him to have been in as full Possession as Queen *Anne* her-  
 self. This is the grand Air he gave himself on all Occasions ;  
 to oppose him by Complaint was *Sedition*, and by Resistance  
*Rebellion* ; for which his Historian would have had the best  
 Men in the Country hanged ; and Mr. *Douglas*, who came to  
 this Government after him, when he found the Inhabitants  
 preferred Mr. *Hamilton* to him in their Affection and Esteem,  
 talked of *Rebellion*, *Rebels* and the Gallows, as Col. *Park*  
 and his Adherents had done, a Way of thinking and speaking  
 equally insolent and impolitick. The *Authority Royal*, and the  
*Prerogative of the Crown*, are guarded in *France* from all  
 Approach, as was the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of the *Jews* ; but  
 so great is that despotick Government’s Care of their Colo-  
 nies, on which their Commerce so much depends, that they  
 will not suffer their Governors to insult and oppress their  
 Fellow Subjects, under the Pretence of the *Prerogative of*  
*the Crown* or the *Royal Authority*, as will plainly appear by the  
 following History.

About the Time of Mr. *Park*’s being made General of  
 the *Leeward Islands*, Monsieur *Philippeaux*, a Minister him-  
 self, or nearly related to a great Minister in *France*, was Ge-  
 neral of *Martinique* and the *French Sugar Islands* ; and being  
 in Disgrace at Home, so highly resented his being sent to the  
*Charibbees*, tho’ as General, that he took it for a Sort of  
 Banishment, and formed a Project to cast off the Depen-  
 dency of these Islands on the Crown of *France*, and to erect  
 a Republican Government on the Plan of that of *Venice*,  
 the worst he could have pitched upon. He had prepared the  
 chief Inhabitants for it ; but his Death, which happened not  
 without some Suspicion of foul Play from a Physician sent from  
*France*, prevented it : This Project was said to be found among  
 his Papers, and my Author pretends to have seen the Heads of  
 it. He had not been dead long before the Inhabitants of  
*Martinique* broke out into open Rebellion, seized on their  
 General and Intendant, and by Force sent them both to  
*France*. See the rest in the Words of my Author, ‘ Yet  
 ‘ the Court thought proper to overlook it with as good a  
 ‘ Countenance as it could, for tho’ it declared them *Rebels*,  
 ‘ and



and obtained Orders from the *British* Court and others not to relieve or assist them, yet their Punishment was winked at. The killing Mr. *Park* was a horrid Crime, but 'tis plain he tempted his Fate, by daring the Power of a Number of desperate Men, who were determined to do by him as the *French* had done by the Governor of *Martinique*, and send him Home by Force since he would not go without it: But the Endeavour of Mr. *Douglas* and others to have the Chief Justice *Watkins* and Dr. *Mackennen*, a Member of the Council, hanged for *Rebellion* against Mr. *Park*, shews they were to learn Justice, Politicks, and Moderation, even of their Neighbours the *French*.

This cannot justly be termed a Digression, since it has so near Relation to the Tragedy that was acted at *Antego* in the Death of the Governor.

I find all his Exorbitancies were much extenuated by his great Pretences to Zeal for his delegated *Prerogative*, and refusing the *Assembly* their old Custom, to have all their Acts signed by their Speaker after the Governor had signed them, which Mr. *Park* called a *Negative Voice*; and tho' this seeming to be affected only, to disguise his own obstinate imperious Humour, with a Pretence of his Concern for the Rights of the Crown; yet he and his Creatures from thence took Occasion to call all that thought otherwise *factious*, and even *rebellious*.

Having mentioned the Persons that composed the *Council*, I shall here insert the then *Assembly* of *Antego*.

<i>Rich. Oliver</i> , Esq; Speaker.	<i>John Brett</i> , Esq;
<i>William Grear</i> , Esq;	<i>Jeremiah Blizard</i> , Esq;
<i>John Paynter</i> , Esq;	<i>William Thomas</i> , Esq;
<i>William Peara</i> , Esq;	<i>Edward Perry</i> , Esq;
<i>William Byam</i> , Esq;	<i>Francis Rogers</i> , Esq;
<i>Baptist Looby</i> , Esq;	<i>Samuel Philips</i> , Esq;

There could not be many Alterations in this List afterwards; considering that during Col. *Park's* short Government, he for near a Year of it had no *Assembly*; the Truth is, that the Uneasiness the People were in on Account of their Disgust with his Government, hindered a due Application to the Dispatch of all publick Affairs; Jealousie, and Disturbances were every where prevalent, the *Country Party* were perpetually complaining of the Governor's browbeating, insulting and menacing; the latter conceived Hopes by the Dilatoriness of Mr. *Nevin's* Negotiation, and gave out that the Governor would be too hard in *England* for all his Opponents; but they were mis-

taken, for Mr. *Nevin* returned, and brought the Queen's Letter, directing that the Witnesses should be examined, to prove the Allegations in the Articles against Mr. *Park*, and his Answers to them. The Complainants not doubting of their making good their Complaints by Evidence, rejoiced extremely at *Nevin's* Success in *England*, and the People grew so mutinous upon it, that the Governor did not think fit to appear at the examining his Witnesses, for Fear of the Effects of their Animosity and Resentment: Yet he in nothing condescended to bring them into a better Temper, the *Royal Prerogative* of which he was so chary, that he would not suffer the Assembly to breath upon it, was in all his Speeches and Writings, and justified in his Sense of it the worst Things laid to his Charge. There was no Exception to the Behaviour of the Complainants as to Loyalty and Affection to her Majesty's Person and Government, except what relates to the rash and imperious Behaviour of this Governor, and her Majesty's re-calling him is a Proof of her disapproving it. The Depositions concerning the Articles and Answers were sworn before *Edward Byam*, Esq; one of the Council, and *Nathaniel Crump*, Esq; Speaker of the Assembly of *Antego*, and were ordered to be sealed with the *Broad Seal* of the Island, and transmitted to *England* at the same Time; but some Difficulty arising on the Governor's Part, he refused to seal the Affidavits to the Complainants Articles, alledging his own were not ready; occasioned by the Delay of the Justices that took the Affidavits. So the Complainants sealed them with great Care and Formality with another Seal, and gave them to their Agent to carry to *England*. But the Governor missing the Opportunity of returning thither by the Ship that then offered for his Conveyance, and they mistrusting he intended not to remove as he was directed, it made them desperate, and they looked upon him as a Governor *per Force*, and not regularly possess'd of her Majesty's Commission, by his keeping it, and staying upon the Island after his being re-called, or to use his own Historian's Phrase, *directed to come by the first Man of War bound from Antego to England*. This Management could not but alarm and irritate the Inhabitants, and in that Disposition, they doubtless put the worst Construction on every Thing he did or said. He was sensible of the Danger he was in, but the Pride of his Heart could not submit to healing and pacifick Counsels. A small Portion of Discretion and Moderation would have induced him to have temporized with the People's Impatience, and have treated their Distemper rather with Lenitives than Inflammatories; so he continued in the  
delightful

delightful Exercise of Acts of Power, till the Inhabitants looking upon him as a Kind of *Usurper*, by staying with them after he was ordered Home, they resolved to compel him to obey these Orders, or to quit the Government.

He dissolved the Assembly, but they continued sitting, in an Opinion that the Governor being re-called, his Proceedings were invalid, and it was their Duty to take Care of the Safety and Peace of the Island, when it was threatened with a *French* Invasion; upon which the Governor thought convenient to authorise their Meeting by a new Summons, or summoning a new Assembly of the same Persons, who came together with the same Dispositions and Resentments as when he parted with them; and he knew very well that they would insist on their Speaker's signing all Bills which they should pass, as had been the Custom, to shew their Assent to them, as the Governor's signing signified the Assent of himself and Council, or at least his own Assent including also the Council. This he called the *negative Voice*, the *Authority Royal*; the Prop and Pillar of all *French* Laws, the *Rights of the British Crown*, which the Assembly had no more Inclination than they had Power to infringe. Hoping to make a Merit of his gratifying his Lust of Power by a Zeal for that of the Sovereign, he not only declared his Resolution to persist in refusing them that Privilege, but also that of appointing their own Clerk. He and his Council being met in the *Court-House* at *St. John's*, the Assembly went thither attended by a Number of *Townsmen* and *Planters*, which his Historian terms an *unruly Mob*, and some high Words past between them; upon which one *Worthington* a Lieutenant of the regular Troops then in Garrison there, hastened to the *Guard-House*, and fetched a Party of Grenadiers led by a Serjeant which he brought to the *Court-House*. The Assembly terrified by the Appearance of the Soldiers, left the Place and adjourned themselves. This Innovation could not but still more provoke and even enrage the People, who saw their Laws and Liberties were trampled under Foot, and the Army, as they phrased it, were made Use of to awe the *Representatives*. The Members of the *Assembly* in this Alarm gave Notice to their Electors of the Peril they thought themselves in. Let me now copy Governor *Park's* Historian. ' That Night  
' and the next Day was spent in summoning the Inhabitants  
' in Col. *Edward Byam's* Name, to come armed to Town  
' the *Thursday* following to protect their Representatives;  
' but whether Col. *Byam* issued out such a Summons or no,  
' he can best tell; but 'tis certain he was acquainted there-  
' with, and never contradicted it; and when they were as-  
' sembled



sembled together at St. John's, never once offered to undeceive them, or desired them to disperse, though it is very probable that he whose Name had Influence enough to bring them together, might easily persuade them to depart.' *Park's* Historian charges Colonel *Christopher Codrington* with being the first that spirited the People against him, and he owns Mr. *Codrington* to be possessed of a greater Interest in the Island than 100 others of the most leading Planters; and here he insinuates at least a Charge against Colonel *Byam*, the most discreet and popular Man in the *Leeward-Islands*, with countenancing of the Insurrections which proved so fatal to his Party. Let the Reader judge whether it is likely that this Governor should be the best in all the *British Colonies*, whose Government provoked two Men of the best Heads and best Fortunes in the *British America*, to come to such Extremity against him. I am not ignorant that some Years after Mr. *Codrington's* good Head was disordered, but I have not heard it so was when Mr. *Park* came first to *Antego*. The Historian owns the *Assembly* gave out that the *General's Life* was not at all aimed at, that they designed to take him Prisoner, and send him off the Island.

On *Thursday* the 7th of *December*, 1710. early in the Morning, three or four hundred Men appeared armed in the Town of St. John's, where Colonel *Park* had been making Provision for Resistance if they offered to attack him. He got all the Soldiers that were in the Town to his House under Captain *Newin*, Lieutenant *Worthington*, and Ensign *Lynden*. He had also there with them Mr. *Pember*, whom he had made Attorney-General; Mr. *Galewood*, whom he had made a Justice of Peace, Mr. *Ayon*, whom he had made Provost Marshal, both obnoxious to the Inhabitants: Mr. *French*, Author of this History, who could not think much to hazard his Reputation for him after he hazarded his Life; Mr. *Rosengrave* and three others, whom Mr. *French* calls Gentlemen. He sent Mr. *Ayon* with a Proclamation to be read to the People to disperse immediately, it was easy to foresee that such a Proclamation was Waste-Paper: *Ayon* was not very civilly used by them, they let him know their Strength, then about 500 Men well armed, that they did not value the Governor's Army, and were resolved to seize him, and send him Prisoner off the Island. However to prevent the Effusion of Blood, they sent their Demands to him by *Nathaniel Crump*, Esq; Speaker of the Assembly, and *George Gamble*, Esq; one of the Council, That he should discharge his Guards and quit the Government. His Answer was,

was, That neither Threats nor Death should make him do it ; his alledging that the Queen had intrusted him with it was very unreasonablc, because that Trust was vacated by his being ordered Home ; and though while he stayed on the Island for want of Opportunity to ship himself for England, he was still lawful Governor and in very great Trust ; yet he did not seem to be in that Situation after he had neglected an Opportunity that offered for him to obey the Orders he had to return. He bid the Assembly sit at *Parbam*, seven Miles from St. *John's*, if they were afraid of the Soldiers, and said he would pass what Laws they made for the publick Good, as also that he would dismiss his Soldiers if six of the principal Inhabitants would remain with him as Hostages. Mr. *Gamble*, and Mr. *Crump*, offered to be two of the Hostages, and said they would endeavour to fetch four more, for the Governor's Proposal seemed to them preferable to Hostilities, as it did to many of the People there in Arms, who laid them down ; but the much greater Part suspected the Execution of any Agreement that should be made with him, and fearing Delay might tempt more to drop off from them, they resolved to secure the Governor's Person, and marched in two Parties to his House, the one commanded by Captain *John Piggot*, the other by Captain *John Painter*, a rich Planter and a Member of the Assembly, and in these two Divisions were all the Assembly Men as the Governor's Historian acknowledges. The Governor had posted an Out-guard at *Church-hill*, an Eminence that commanded his House, but his Guard deserted that Fort, and the House was surrounded by *Piggot's* and *Painter's* Men ; the Serjeant and Soldiers posted at *Church-hill* were of Captain *Rokesby's* Company, in Colonel *Jones's* Regiment ; Captain *Rokesby* refused to head them himself as the Governor commanded, and forbid his Men at their Peril to fire or oppose the Country, of which Party Colonel *Jones* had declared himself on several solemn Occasions. Both of the Divisions making a brisk Fire on the House, those within it returned it as briskly, but Numbers soon prevailing, the Assailants broke into the House, and *French* writes that Captain *Piggot* fell by the Hands of the Governor ; but it was the general Report and Belief of the Inhabitants, that *Ayon* the Provost Marshal came behind him and shot him in the Back. Governor *Park* received a Shot in his Thigh which disabled him, and he fell into the Hands of the enraged and armed People ; many of his Soldiers were killed, as were several of his Followers and Creatures. It is not agreed by the Writers on both Sides, which it was that fired first, neither Side

is willing to take it on themselves, because nothing could excuse the firing on either Side but *Self-defence*. *French's* Account of the barbarous Treatment of the Governor's wounded and bleeding Body, and which is too full of Horror to be related or read without Emotion far from being agreeable, we leave the Relation as we found it. He adds, every Scoundrel *insulted him in the Agonies of Death*, meaning *Andrew Murray, Esq; Francis Carlisle, Esq; Captain Painter, and Mr. Tomlinson*, who are said to have spoken to him, and if insolently when in the Agony, it was Scoundrel enough to do it. He said to them according to *Mr. French, Gentlemen, If you have no Sense of Honour left, pray have some of Honesty*. After his Body had lain a little Time stript in the Street, and as some write *dismembred* by Persons who thought their Beds had been injured by him, he was removed into the House of *Mr. John Wright*, where he expired. Two or three Days after his Body was buried in the Church, but the People demolished the Regent's Pew where he was used to sit; notwithstanding *John Yeamans, Esq; Lieutenant Governor, Colonel John Hamilton, and Colonel Thomas Morris*, Members of the Council, earnestly dissuaded them from it. Of the regular Forces which *Colonel Park* prevailed upon to assist him against *the Country*, as the Complainants called themselves, *Ensign Lyndon*, and 13 or 14 Soldiers were killed. *Captain Newel, Lieutenant Worthington* and six and twenty Soldiers wounded. *Ayon* was shot through the Body by *Mr. Cochran*, but recovered, as did *Mr. George French* the Historian, who received several Wounds, one of them in the Mouth; *Captain Boileau* was killed, *Mr. Pember, Mr. Rosengrave, Mr. Galeward, Mr. Bonnin*, were only beaten and bruised. On the Assembly's Side was killed *Captain Piggot, Mr. Young, Mr. Turton*, and *Mr. Rayne*, about 30 wounded.

It had been very extraordinary if the Clergy of *Antego*, as few as they are, had not taken Part on one Side or other in the Division between the Governor and the Country, in that especially at a Time when so excellent an Example was set them by the Reverend *Dr. Sacheverell* in *England*: *Mr. James Field*, Minister of the Capital of *St. John's-Town*, sided with the Country, and *Mr. Baxter*, Minister of *Parham*, with the Party of *Governor Park*; but I do not find that either of the *Parties* governed themselves by their Lectures.

On the Death of *Colonel Parks*, the Government of the *Leeward-Islands* fell of course to *Walter Hamilton, Esq; Lieutenant Governor of Nevis*, who was also at that Time  
Lieutenant



Lieutenant General of the *Leeward-Islands*; Mr. *French's* Account of him is too partial to be trusted to, occasioned by Mr. *Hamilton's* good Opinion of the Intention of the Party that opposed Mr. *Park's* Male-Adminiftration, till the Castatrophe defiled it with Blood; and as he did not impute the Crime to a premeditated Design formed against the Sovereign Authority, or the Life of its Delegate, but only to remove the said Delegate from a Government which he had abused, and from which he was recalled, he did not look upon the Gentlemen in the Country Interest as Enemies to the Queen's Government, or that of her Generals and Government in those Islands behaving prudently and in another manner than did Colonel *Park*; so Mr. *Hamilton* resolved to carry himself towards the Assembly Men and their Friends, as the Characters and Interest in the Country deserved. *John Yeamans*, Esq; Lieutenant Governor of *Antego*, who had their chief Government there on the late Chief Governor's Death, had pitched upon four Persons who had been devoted to him to go to *Nevis*, and invite the Lieutenant-General, now Captain General of the *Leeward-Islands*, to come to *Antego*, and assume the general Command; but believing those Men would not be very welcome to Mr. *Hamilton*, he changed his Mind, and sent four Gentlemen in the Assembly or Country Interest on that Errand. Their Deputation was received very graciously by Mr. *Hamilton*, who complimented and caressed them, and accompanying them back to *Antego*, took up his Residence at the House of Dr. *Mackennen*, who was afterwards sent Prisoner to *England* to be tried for the Death of Colonel *Park*. Mr. *Hamilton*, as Chief Governor of the *Leeward-Islands*, called a General Council, consisting of Deputies from all the Islands in his Government, to examine into that Matter; the Deputies for *Antego* were four Gentlemen in the Country Interest, and those for the other Islands in much the same Way of thinking, which did not answer the Expectations of the opposite Party. Nay, the Council of that Island drew up an Address, which Mr. *French* complains *paliated* and excused the Proceedings against *Park*; which not contenting the Adherents of the Deceased, they signed another, for which they met privately, and told the Queen, *their Lives are in so much Danger, that they dare not trust the Acquaintance of their Meeting even with their Friends.*

*Walter Hamilton, Esq;*  
*Captain General.*

These Addressers were,

Col. *John Hamilton*, and he refused to sign the Council's Address,

*Joseph*

Joseph French, Esq;

W. Matthews, Esq;

Richard Buckeridge, Surveyor  
of the Customs.

Mr. John Brett.

Mr. Isaac Royal.

Mr. John Wickham.

Mr. Jeremiah Blizard.

Mr. John Roe.

Mr. Cæsar Rodeway.

Mr. John Hadder.

Mr. Thomas Turner.

Walter  
Douglas,  
Esq; Chief  
Governor.  
1712.

The Address of the Council and this secret one shews, how the People here endeavoured to keep up Division and Animosity even after the chief Cause of both were removed; and as this perpetual jangling must needs be perpetually troublesome to them, so it cannot be pleasant to Readers to meet with nothing but Affirmatives and Negatives took from one to the other, to the Hinderance of all other Business for several Years successively. I shall therefore conclude with observing, that Mr. *Walter Hamilton* was succeeded in this Government by *Walter Douglas*, Esq; who suspended *Hamilton* from the Exercise of all Offices. For it was then thought by many he would have proceeded to this Suspension soon after his Arrival; but he found the Party of *Hamilton* supported by that against the late Governor's so powerful, that he was at first afraid of venturing on so bold a Measure; but being at last provoked to it by some Disregard which he imagined Mr. *Hamilton* had shewn to himself, took Heart and turned *Hamilton* out of all Offices, the Effects of which he felt soon after in an Opposition and Prosecution that ended only in the End of his Government also. For Mr. *Hamilton* going to *England* to manage his Affairs, Mr. *Douglas* turned his Activity against the Gentlemen who had complained against Colonel *Park*, and issued out his Warrant to seize the late Chief Justice *Watkins* and Dr. *Mackennen*, notwithstanding the Proclamation of Pardon sent from *England* for former Crimes, under Pretence of another intended Rebellion; but *Watkins* and *Mackennen* got safe to *England*, as did also *Edward Kirby*, Esq; where they were apprehended and committed to Prison on the Informations that were sent against them; but the Proceedings in *England* were not so rash as those in *Antego*. Let their Crime be what it would, the Proclamation before-mentioned having cleared them of it, and they pleading it accordingly, were discharged without a Trial; but *Douglas's* Warrant to seize them, which drove them off the Island, was one of the Articles the Inhabitants signed and sent home against him. Ensign *Henry Smith* lay in *Newgate* several Months for Rebellion, as it was termed, against Colonel *Park*, which in

Mr. Henry  
Smith  
tried and  
cleared.

Law

Law Phrase was making War on the Queen, but whatever it was, the Jury brought him in *Not Guilty*; and this Jury was as creditable a one as could be pitched upon by the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*.

Sir Thomas Halton.	Alexander Ward, Esq;	Ensign
Alexander Pitfield, Esq;	William Northey, Esq;	Smith's
Joseph Iury, Esq;	John Elwick, Esq;	Jury.
Richard Brown, Esq;	Henry Emmet, Esq;	
Matthew Holworthy, Esq;	John Furness, Gent.	
Daniel Dolins, Esq;	James Williamson, Gent.	

In the mean Time Governor *Douglas* became almost as ungrateful to the Country Party, as Governor *Park* had been, as appeared by the Behaviour of the Inhabitants on the Re-joicing-Day for the *Utrecht Peace*. Mr. *French* writes, there was a Riot little short of a Rebellion at *St. John's* by *Francis Carlisle*, Esq; Mr. *Jacob Morgan*, Mr. *John Gunthorp*, Mr. *Andrew Murray*, a noted Merchant and others, who being at a Tavern, went to the Governor's House in a Body of 50 or 60 Persons, calling out for the *Pope's Head Boys*. These *Pope's Head Boys* were a certain Division of the Island, inhabited by a boisterous Sort of People who delighted in Buffle and Broils. General *Douglas* had now been insulted by them notwithstanding his Guards, had they not been dissuaded from it by Mr. *William Hamilton*, a leading Man of the Assembly, whom the General ordered to be taken up for Colonel *Park's* Business, and was lately bailed.

Complaints were sent Home against General *Douglas*, and the late General *Hamilton*, who seconded the Endeavours of the Complainants for his Removal; at last prevailed so far as to be restored to his Government of the *Leeward-Islands*. *John Yeamans*, Esq; was removed from being Lieutenant Governor of this Island, and Colonel *Edward Byam* put in his Place. The General being returned to *Antego* in 1715. removed Mr. *Yeamans* from the Bench as Chief Justice, and put in his Place *John Gamble*, Esq; who says Mr. *French* could scarce write his Name. He gave *Daniel Mackennen*, Esq; a Seat at the Council-Board, and did the same by *Nathaniel Crump*, Esq; late Speaker of the Assembly. The Court and Assembly pass an Act for 1000 *l.* a Year for the General's House Rent. Governors of Colonies being forbidden by their *Instructions* to receive any Presents or Gratuities, stated Perquisites being not so deemed, and House Rent of 1000 *l.* a Year, where there is not a House to be had worth a 20th Part of the Money,

Walter Hamilton restored.



is, it seems no Gratuity nor Present. Before Col. *Douglas* was removed from this Government, he received Orders from the Queen to see the Act of the 6th of her Reign, concerning the Coin, put in Execution thro' all the *Leeward Islands*, where indeed every Thing ran into Confusion as might well happen under such Changes of Governors.

The Currency of Species according to that Act is mentioned in the Article of *Jamaica*, so I shall here only touch on the Deviation from that Law, by the Practice of the *Antego* Money Jobbers. The Currency here had been according to the Act, till about the Time of Mr. *Hamilton's* being turned out of this Government, for the greater Pieces of Money but *Bits* and half *Bits*, Sevenpenny Halfpenny Pieces, pass so as they had always done in marketing and retailing; but in the *Leeward Islands* a very great Disregard to the Law of Queen *Anne* happened in 1715, which will come more properly in the Article of *St. Christopher's*.

There was no Grievance more complained of by the Traders of *Antego*, than the Difficulty of recovering Debts, by Want of good Laws for it, and a due Execution, as appears by the following Memorial or Petition of the Merchants, Factors, &c.

Deficiency in  
the Law for  
Debts.

*Your* Petitioners being disabled by the ill Compliance of Debtors to answer their Correspondents Expectations at Home, in making their Returns according to their respective Promises and Compacts, are, without any Fault of their own, not only suspected of Injustice, but wounded in their Reputations, upon Supposition, that they are paid here by the Persons who deal with them, and that your Petitioners detain their Effects, or that at least, they are highly to be blamed for not prosecuting their Debtors at Law, and by that Means enable themselves to make better and more punctual Remittances, and are deprived of making or improving their own private Fortunes, the Proceedings at Law being so very dilatory, &c. For which Reasons they pray, that an Act may pass for the more speedy Recovery of Debts, and the Petition was signed by

*James Nisbet.*  
*Robert Joyce.*  
*Barth. Sanderson.*  
*John Barnes.*  
*Edward Chester.*  
*Math. Bermingham.*  
*Christopher Stoodly.*  
*John Roach.*  
*Samuel Procter.*

*John Barbotan.*  
*John Bourke.*  
*Andrew Murray.*  
*John Sweetenham.*  
*John Combes.*  
*Charles Dunbar.*  
*Thomas Trant.*  
*John Brett.*  
*William Glanville.*

*Edward*

Edward Chester, Junior.

Hopefor Bendall.

Joseph Adams.

Jacob Thibou.

Richard Sherwood.

Thomas Doleman.

John Rose.

Pat. West.

Names which argue a flourishing Trade at that Time in *Antego*, and I thought the inserting of this Petition the more proper, because the Complaint in it may serve for the other Sugar Colonies as well as this. And indeed the general Practice of the Law there; as well as at Home, is so tedious and expensive, that it is one of the greatest Discouragements Trade lies under, and the Redress of this Grievance is too much in the Hands of those that occasion it.

The Attorney General, *Thomas Bretton*, Esq; had in 1711, drawn up an Act for settling Law Courts, which would in a good Measure have remedied this Evil. The Council and Assembly were so pleased with it, that they ordered him 100 *Pistoles*, passing there for 28 s. each, for drawing it, but they altered it so much for the worse in the passing it, that a new Act to regulate the Practice, especially in *Executions* became necessary.

Mr. *Hamilton* continued in this Government till the Year 1721, when *John Hart*, Esq; late Governor of *Maryland*, was preferred to the Government of the *Leeward Islands*. By the Speeches to the Council and Assembly here, we find a good Agreement between them all, which had been a rare Thing in this Island. The Assembly made a Provision for his Support, which seemed to be more than competent, by his Sense of it, and the Thanks he gave them.

1721.  
John Hart,  
Esq; Govern-  
nor.

This Gentleman received Captain *Vring* and his disappointed Colony of *St. Lucia* with great Humanity, and took particular Care of them and the Duke of *Montagu's* Effects which they brought from thence, for which good Work he had the ready Assistance of Col. *Matthews* Lieutenant Governor.

There being now no Contest between the Governors and the governed here, there is nothing remarkable in the Events, and the People were at Leisure to follow Trade and planting, in which they were now only disturbed by Hurricanes, very frequent and terrible in these Islands. To this Governor succeeded the Lord *Londonderry*, Son to Mr. *Pitt*, distinguished by the Diamond he brought from the *East-Indies*, which this Lord sold to the *French King*. He died in his Government of the *Leeward Islands*, and was succeeded by *William Matthews*, Esq; who arrived at *Antego*, *October* 1733, and soon after presented his additional Instruction to

Lord Lond-  
donderry,  
Governor.

William  
Matthews,  
Esq; Gover-  
nor.

the Council and Assembly of that Island, and is as follows. *Whereas it has been represented to us, that the Salary of 1200 l. Sterling per Ann. which we have hitherto thought fit to allow out of the Duty of four and a half per Cent. arising in our Leeward Islands, for our Governor in Chief of those Islands, is not at present sufficient for his Support and the Dignity of that our Government, we have taken the same into our Consideration, and are graciously pleased to permit and allow, that the respective Assemblies of our said Islands may, by any Act or Acts, settle upon you such Sum or Sums, in Addition to your Salary of 1200 l. per Ann. as they shall think proper; and you are hereby allowed to give your Assent to any Act or Acts of Assembly to that Purpose. Provided such Sum or Sums be settled on you and your Successors in that Government, at least on you during the whole Time of your Government there, and that the same be done by the first respective Assemblies of our said Islands after your Arrival there.*

In Compliance with which the Council and Assembly settled on him during the Time of his Government, 1000 l. a Year *Antego* Currency.

In the Chapter of *St. Christopher's* we have mentioned some Proceedings of the Governor there relating to the Coin, which had been regulated by a Proclamation and an Act of Parliament in *Queen Anne's* Time, to ascertain the Currency in the Colonies. We have seen in the Article of *St. Kitt's*, how the Proclamation and the Act of Parliament were there broke in upon, and here we shall see how they met with more Indignity and Contempt; for the Assembly took upon them to declare, that Statute *useless* and *impracticable*, and passed an Act of their own in these Words, *It is hereby enacted and ordered, that all Gold Coins of Great-Britain shall be taken or paid at an Advance of 75 per Cent. on their respective Sterling Values and not otherwise, and all foreign Gold shall be received or paid at the Rate of 3 Pence Halfpenny per Grain.*

*Be it also enacted, that all Silver Coins whatsoever shall be received or paid at the Rate of nine Shillings and three Pence per Ounce and not otherwise.* But this Act of Assembly not being likely to be confirmed in *England*, Governor *Matthews* and the Council and Assembly then sitting at *Parham*, had another Contrivance to evade the Law for the Coin. Two Gentlemen of the Assembly, brought to the Governor an *Instrument* of Writing, 'purporting an Agreement and 'Association to pay and receive Gold at three Pence Halfpenny per Grain as in the intended Act, which was read 'publicly in Council, but not entered in the Minutes, and 'there



‘ there signed by the said Governor and all present, except  
 ‘ the Deputy Secretary who refused to sign the same. The  
 ‘ whole Bench of Lawyers who are most of them, if not all,  
 ‘ of the Assembly, soon after agreed, not to take a Fee from  
 ‘ any Man that refused to receive the Gold at that Rate, but  
 ‘ to be concerned against them, and have promised to appear  
 ‘ and defend the other Side gratis.’

Since which a Pistole full Weight, that is 104, passes at  
 1 l. 10 s. 4 d. that used to pass for no more than 28 s. full  
 Weight or over. *Portugal* Moidores that used to pass for  
 42 s. pass for 48 s. an *English* Guinea that used to pass for  
 33 s. now passes for 37 s. and other Pieces in Proportion.  
 This illegal and exorbitant Rise brought the Exchange for  
 100 Sterling from 160 to 175 per Cent.

## MONTSERRAT.

THE *Spaniards* gave this Island its Name, and called it  
 so for the Resemblance it has to a Mountain in *Catalonia*,  
 not far from *Barcelona*, famous for a Chapel dedicated to  
 the Blessed Virgin; in greatest Reputation with the *Roman*  
*Catholics* of any, except that of *Loretto*.

The *English* have not thought fit to give it another Name,  
 since they were Masters of it. It lies in 17 Degrees, North  
 Latitude; is about 3 Leagues in Length, and almost as much  
 in Breadth, so that it seems to be of a round Figure.

It was discovered by the *Europeans* at the same Time with  
*St. Christopher's*, but no Settlement was made upon it till the  
 Year 1632. At which Time *Sir Thomas Warner*, first Go-  
 vernor of *St. Christopher's*, procured a small Colony to settle  
 there, of the Subjects of *England*; for we cannot assure our  
 selves they were *Englishmen*, this Island being generally look'd  
 on as an *Irish* Colony.

It had the same Governors as *St. Christopher's*; but we  
 suppose they put in Deputy Governors, as has been the Prac-  
 tice since. We could not get a good Account of either the  
 general or particular Governors, and a bad one we would not  
 impose upon the Reader.

This Island flourished at first more than *Antego*; but since  
 the Lord *Willoughby's* Time, the latter has got and kept the

start of it. There were 700 Men in *Montserrat* 90 Years ago, which was 16 Years after it was first inhabited.

The Rolls of the Militia at this Time amounts to 360. We find but one Battery for the Defence of the Coast, and other old dismounted Cannon at several landing Places.

As to the Climate, Soil, Animals, Trade and Productions of this Isle, they are much the same with those of the other *Charibbee* Islands, only this is fuller of Mountains, which are covered with Cedars and other Trees, that make it a lovely Prospect from the Sea. The Valleys are fruitful, and better stored with fresh Water than those of *Antego*.

The Reader will not think it tedious to see a farther Account of the strange Animals in all the Elements peculiar to the *Charibbees*, and other Places in *America*. We range these in the Article of *Montserrat*, for that they are said to be most common here.

Davyes of  
Kid. Pag.  
105.

On this Coast, as we find in the *History of the Charibbees* beforementioned, are taken a very hideous Sort of Monsters, from thence called *Sea-Devils*, by my Author and others. This Monster is about 4 Foot long, and proportionably big. On its Back it has a great Bunch of Prickles, like those of a Hedgehog. The Skin of it is black, hard and rugged, like that of the *Sea-Dog*. Its Head is flat, and on the upper Part has many little Rifings; among which is to be seen two very little black Eyes. The Mouth, which is extremely wide, is armed with several very sharp Teeth, of which two are crooked, and bent in like those of a Wild-Boar. It has four Fins, and a broad Tail, forked at the End. But all this would not have got it the Name of *Sea-Devil*, was it not for its having above the Eyes two little black sharp Horns, which turn towards its Back, like those of a Ram. Besides that this Monster is as ugly as any Thing can be imagined, the Meat of it, which is soft, and full of Strings, is absolute Poison.

There's another Kind of Sea-Devil, no less hideous than the other, tho' of another Figure. The largest of this Kind are not above a Foot long from Head to Tail, and the Breadth is almost equal to the Length; but when they please they swell themselves up so, that they seem to be as round as a Bowl. Their wide Mouths are armed with many little, but very sharp Teeth; and instead of a Tongue, they have only a little Bone, which is extremely hard. Their Eyes are very sparkling, and so small, and deep set in the Head, that the Ball can hardly be discerned. Between the Eyes they have a little Horn, which turns up, and before it a large String, that has a little Button at the End of it. Besides, their Tail, which

which is like the broad End of an Oar, they have two Plumes; one on the Back, which stands almost upright, and the other under the Belly. They have also two Fins, one on each Side, over against the Midst of the Belly, having at the Extremities something like little Paws, each of which is divided into eight Claws, armed with sharp Nails. Their Skin is rough and prickly, like that of a Shark's, except under the Belly, which is of a dark red Colour, and marked with red Spots.

The Meat of it is not to be eaten; they may be easily flead, and the Skin being filled with Cotton, or dried Leaves, is preserved by some of the Curious as a Rarity.

The *Lamantine* is often caught in these Seas. This is the best Fish to eat of all the Sea-Monsters, and is kept for Provision, as Salmon and Cod in *Europe*. The *Spaniards* call it *Namantin*, and *Manaty*, from its two little Paws like Hands. Ibid. 103. 'Tis a Monster, that, at its full Growth, is 18 Foot long, and 7 in Bigness. Its Head has some Resemblance to that of a Cow; from whence it is sometimes called the *Sea-Cow*. It has small Eyes and a thick Skin, of a dark red Colour, wrinkled in some Places, and stuck with small Hairs. Being dried, it grows so hard, it might serve for a Buckler against the Arrows of the *Charibbeans*; and some of the Savages use it to ward off the Blows of their Enemies, when they go to Battle. It has no Fins, but instead of them the two little Paws or Hands above-mentioned, under its Belly; each of which has four Fingers, very weak to support the Weight of so heavy a Body. It has no other defensive Weapon. It lives on the Grass and Herbage that grow about the Rocks, and on the shallow Places, that have not much above a Fathom Water.

The Females are disburthened of their young Ones much after the same Manner as Cows are, and have two Teats with which they suckle them. They bring forth two at a Time, which never leave the old one till they have no longer Need of Milk, and can feed on the Grass as she does.

Two or three of these *Lamantines* load a Canoo. The Meat or Flesh is of a Vermilion Colour; it eats short, and does not cloy or surfeit. The most wholesom Way of eating it, is after it has lain in Salt two or three Days.

These Fish are more commonly taken at the Entrance into fresh Water Rivers than in the Sea. Some highly value certain small Stones found in the Heads of these Monsters, as having the Virtue when reduced to Powder to cure the Gravel, and dissolve Stones bred in the Kidnies. But the Remedy is violent, and not much to be depended on, says



my Author, who perhaps has led me into an Error, in treating of the *Lamantine* in this Place. However his Account of this Fish pleased my Curiosity, and I hope will have the same Effect on the Readers.

This Isle produces every Thing that grows on the other *Leeward Islands*: As Sugar, Indigo, Ginger, Cotton, &c. especially *Indigo*; of which great Quantities used to be exported from hence to *England*. The Sugar was not so coarse and black as the *Antego*, nor so fine as the *Barbados* and *Jamaica*.

The Trade of this Place is the same with that of the other *Charibbee* Islands. 'Twas so much resorted to 60 Years ago, that the Inhabitants had built a very fair Church, by the Contribution of the Governor, Merchants and Planters. The Pulpit, the Seats, and all the Joiners and Carpenters Work within it were of the most precious and sweet-scented Wood that grew in the Country.

There were then also 3 or 4000 Souls, *English*, *Scots*, and *Irish*; and since that the Number has rather encreased than decreased: For another good Church has been built, and the Island is now divided into two Parishes, one of which only is supplied by a Minister at this Time.

In King *Charles II.* especially in King *James the II's* Reign, the *Irish* Papists drove a considerable Commerce to this Place; where Mr. *Terence Dermot*, afterwards Sir *Terence Dermot*, and Lord Mayor of *London* when King *James* was at *Dublin*, lived and got an Estate; as did also Mr. *Thomas Nugent*, and other *Roman* Catholicks that were originally of *Ireland*. When Col. *Codrington* was made Governor of the *Leeward Islands*, Col. *Blackstone* was Governor of *Montserrat*.

In the Year 1692, there was a dreadful Earthquake at this, and indeed almost all the *Leeward Islands*. The Inhabitants raised a Regiment of 300 Men, to assist General *Codrington* in his Expedition against *St. Christopher's*: Which Regiment was commanded by Col. *Blackstone*. What they and the other Soldiers did on this Occasion will be found in the Histories of *Antego*, *St. Christopher's* and *Nevis*.

To Col. *Blackstone* succeeded Col. *Hill* in the Government of this Island, who being sickly removed to *England* in the *Mary* Yatch, in the Year 1697, and landing at *Milford-Haven*, died at *Pembroke*, the 24th of *August*; who was his Successor we have not learned.

Part of Col. *Collingwood's* Regiment of Foot, that was sent from *England* in the following Year, was quartered in this Island, of which we can give no farther Account,

It was not so sickly as the other *Charibbee* Islands, and has encreased its People and Trade equally with any of them. The *French* did not attack it when they fell upon *Nevis*. As to the Number of the Inhabitants we can only make a Guess; for if they raised 300 Men in 1690, we may suppose they did not spare above one third Part of their whole Number; and granting they were then able to muster 1000 fighting Men, there would not, by the usual Methods of Computation in Political Arithmetick, be less than between 4 and 5000 Men, Women, and Children; and to those may be added 8000 Negroes: For it is a poor Sugar-Island where the Blacks are not twice as many in Number as the Whites.

The Island of *Montserrat*, as one of the *Leeward Islands*, is Part of Col. *Park's* Government; but he has a Deputy here, as well as in the other Isles. The Names of the other Officers that have come to our Knowledge shall be inserted in the usual Place.

Lieutenant Governor, *Anthony Hodges*, Esq;

*Thomas Lee*, Esq;  
*William Try*, Esq;  
*John Dawley*, Esq;  
*Joseph Little*, Esq;  
*Will. Beddingfield*, Esq;  
*George Milward*, Esq;  
*George Lyddel*, Esq;  
*Charles Matthew*, Esq;  
*William Broderick*, Esq;  
*George Wicks*, Esq;  
*William Geerish*, Esq;

} Counsellors.

Speaker of the Assembly, *George Milward*, Esq;  
 Colonel of the Militia Regiment, Col *Anthony Hodges*.  
 Chief Justice, *George Wicks*, Esq;  
 Judge of the Admiralty, *Anthony Hodges*, Esq;  
 Secretary, *Jonathan Warner*, Esq;  
 Commissioner of the Customs, *William Geerish*, Esq;  
 Provost Marshal, Mr. *William Martyn*, Deputy.  
 Minister of the Church of *England*, the Rev. Mr. *Wright*.

Not long after Col. *Park's* Arrival at *Antego*, which he chose for his Residence, News came thither that the *French* at *Martinico* were preparing to make a Descent on *Montserrat*; upon which a Sloop belonging to *Anthony Patch* and *Francis Monteyre*, was dispatched away to that Island, with

Orders to the Lieutenant Governor Col. *Anthony Hodges* to be upon his Guard, and on the first Appearance of any Number of Vessels making for that Island, to send away immediately an Advice Boat with an Account of it, that the Men of War and the Regiment at *Antego* might be dispatched to the Assistance of *Montserrat*. This Sloop was taken by a *French* Privateer as she went out of the Harbour of *St. John's*, but it had this good Effect, that when the *French* came from *Martinico* and understood by Col. *Park's* Letter to Col. *Hodges*, that he was coming to his Relief with a Man of War and a Regiment of regular Forces, they precipitately left that Island; but about two Years after returned to it with a much greater Force, consisting of several Men of War under Monsieur *Coffart*, having on Board 3500 Men, and anchoring in *Car's* Bay, put them on Shore there. They soon made themselves Masters of the whole Island, except *Dodon* Fort, which stands on an inaccessible Hill, to which the Inhabitants fled with their best Effects that were portable. The *French* took and burnt all the Vessels in the Road, except the *Speedwel* Capt. *George Moulton*, who cut his Cables and made to *Nevis*. The *French* were 10 Days in Possession of this Island, which they plundered and wasted at Pleasure, and then removed to *Guardeloupe* to refresh, when Mr. *St. John* Secretary of State heard of this Depredation, at a Time when the Duke of *Ormond* had refused to act against the *French* in *Flanders*, and himself and the Ministers in *England* were doing every Thing *France* could desire, the Secretary himself appeared somewhat surpris'd, but contented himself with saying, *Had we thought Coffart was sent against our Sugar Islands, we would have sent such a Squadron to guard them, as should have cleared those Seas of him, or Words to that Effect.* I have not heard what Satisfaction, if any, was made the *English* Sufferers for their Losses by the Rapine of the *French* in this Island; and as I never met with any Instance of the *French* having effectually made good the like Damage on the like Occasion, I suppose these Sufferers fared no better than others, notwithstanding the Plenipotenaries at *Utrecht* consented to what the *British* propos'd for the Relief of their Fellow-Subjects in this Island. Article XI. *Commissaries shall inquire into the Damages last Year in the Island of Montserrat; comfortable News for those that sustained it, which however was like to be made good by the English themselves, for the same Commissaries were to bring in an Account of the Infringments made by the English in the Capitulation of Nevis, by which the French pretended to be very much injured.*



One may suspect, that the Inhabitants of *Montserrat* were not so fond of Col. *Park's* Government towards the Close of it, as when he had not been long in it; for not only the Masters of Ships in the Harbour of *Antego*, but the Council and Assembly of this Island, drew up and signed Addresses in Praise of him. The Masters of Ships hearing of certain Complaints against him in respect of Trade, say in their Address, *That in the strictest Enquiries and Observations they could make, Governor Park had exerted his Power to the utmost, in protecting their Rights and Liberties, of which they must needs be excellent Judges, by their extraordinary Capacities, and their living so little in the Island.* The Council and Assembly of *Montserrat* address the Queen's Majesty, and assure her, *They knew not any one Action of Governor Park's since his coming to the Government, which deserves Complaint.* The Gentlemen lumping the Matter and not finding one Mismanagement, is a plain Proof that this Address was dictated more to flatter the Party concerned in it, than to let her Majesty into the whole Truth of the Matter. The Members of the Council and Assembly who set their Names to it were

<i>Thomas Lee, Esq;</i> President.	<i>John Brambly, Esq;</i>
<i>William Frye, Esq;</i>	<i>John Hart, Esq;</i>
<i>John Daly, Esq;</i>	<i>Anthony Ravill, Esq;</i>
<i>George Lyddall, Esq;</i>	<i>William Finch, Esq;</i>
<i>William Geerish, Esq;</i>	<i>Dennis Daly, Esq;</i>
<i>Edw. Buncomb, Esq;</i> Speaker.	

This and other such Addresses procured in like Manner, hindered not the Representations of the Inhabitants of *Antego*, who having perfected their Articles against General *Park*, sent them to *England* by a Ship from this Island, as well as by another from *Antego*.

I find not the Name of Col. *Anthony Hodges* Lieutenant Governor of this Island, among the Addressers; which probably induced Col. *Park's* Advocate to represent him as a *Smuggler, a clandestine Trader, and no Friend to Park, who would not indulge him in that illicite Trade, as is insinuated by that Writer.*

The Generals of this as well as the other *Leeward-Islands* that came after Col. *Park*, are spoken of in the Chapter of *Antego*, and we have no perfect Account of the Succession of Lieutenant Governors of *Montserrat* to this Time, nor of any Thing relating to it that is remarkably particular, till we come to the Hurricane, which happened in the Time of the

the Government of General *William Matthews*. The very surprizing Account of this Hurricane is in the following Letter from *Montserrat*.

1733.  
A violent  
Hurricane.

‘ On the 30th of *June* we had as violent an Hurricane  
‘ here as the oldest Person in this Island can remember. For  
‘ 3 Months together we had one continued Series of scorch-  
‘ ing dry Weather till the 29th of *June*, when about 10 in  
‘ the Evening it began to rain very plentifully, and lasted the  
‘ greatest Part of the Night, which gave us the pleasing  
‘ Hopes of a fine Season; but about 5 o’Clock the next  
‘ Morning the Wind arose, and blew prodigious hard at  
‘ N. E. and N. E. by E. and held till 7, when there fol-  
‘ lowed Gusts and Flaws, the Noise of which sounded more  
‘ like Thunder than Wind; the Force of it too was such,  
‘ that it blew down about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the Houses in this Island, and  
‘ not one in twenty of those which were not entirely de-  
‘ stroyed, escaped without the Loss of some Part, or at least  
‘ so left upon the Careen, that the next small Gale will level  
‘ them with the Ground.

‘ A Store-House built opposite to the Custom-House, and  
‘ about 45 Foot distant being left uncovered, the Wind  
‘ blew the Rafter thereof different Ways; part was carried  
‘ with such Force, that it broke thro’ the Side of the Custom-  
‘ House, making a Hole so large, that had not Mr. *Webb*  
‘ the Collector acted with the greatest Conduct, most Part,  
‘ if not the whole would have been demolished.

‘ A Cattle Mill House belonging to Mr. *James Hussey*,  
‘ weighing at least 20,000 *lb.* was taken fairly up into the  
‘ Air, carried some Distance from its proper Place, lodged  
‘ in a Piece of Canes, and broke in ten Thousand Pieces by  
‘ the Force of the Fall.

‘ An empty Sugar Hogshhead was taken off the Ground by  
‘ the Wind, and carried 30 or 40 Yards over a Dwelling  
‘ House.

‘ A large Copper, capable of containing 240 Gallons,  
‘ was by the Wind carried over a high Wall, and by the  
‘ Force of the Fall jammed close together.

‘ A large Mill-Case (weighing 400 *lb.*) lying on the Ground,  
‘ was lifted up on End, and large Trees of 4, 5 and 6 Feet  
‘ Diameter were blown up by the Roots. We had on the  
‘ 29th 34 Windmills flying in this Island, many of which  
‘ were totally destroyed, and not above 5 or 6 have received  
‘ less than 3 or 400 *l.* Damage, &c.

‘ Such Havock is made among our Sugar Canes, as would  
‘ shock the hardest Heart and enforce Pity to the Owners;  
‘ some who had a Prospect of making 200 or 300 Hog-  
‘ sheads

heads of Sugar next Year, would now gladly compound for 60 or 80. Col. Lyddel, a worthy Gentleman, was so bruised by the Fall of his House that he died 7 Days after. My Dwelling Houses are entirely demolished, my Provision is blown up by the Roots and carried into the Sea, as was also about 14 Acres of Sugar Canes just fit for Sugar.

The Damage sustained in this Island exclusive of the Shipping, is on a moderate Computation 50,000 *l.* this Currency, and many Gentlemen are 2 or 3000 *l.* poorer than they were the 29th of June.

About 3 Years after this General Matthews being here in Person, the Governor, Council and Assembly passed an Act, *For the more effectual preventing all Trade in these Parts, between his Majesty's Subjects and the French.* Something of this illicit Trade has been mentioned in the Chapter of Barbados. It is directly contrary to the fifth and sixth Articles of the Treaty between England and France, concluded on the 6th of November, 1686, and to the Act of Parliament of the 6th of the Reign of his present Majesty intituled, *An Act for the better securing and encouraging the Trade of his Majesty's Sugar Colonies in America,* and to all royal Instructions to Governors of Sugar Colonies, and particularly to an Article, in General Matthews's Instructions, by which he is commanded to take Care that *none of the French Subjects be allowed to trade from their said Settlements, to any of the Islands under his Government, or Fish upon the Coasts thereof.*

1736.

Act against  
French  
Trade.

The French, who are always watchful for preserving the Security and Trade of their Sugar Colonies, took early Care to prevent this unlawful Traffick, by an Edict of October 1727, but they seemed to carry their Care a little too far, by limiting the British Navigation to within a League of their Coast, within which Limits all British Ships were seizable, unless forced by Weather or Pyrates, and in such Case if they broke Bulk to be Prize. Barbados and the other Sugar Islands had too much connived at the Infraction of these Orders, and Montserrat was the first that exerted the Vigour of its Constitution, in confirming them by a Law of their own. Pursuant to this Act, a French Ship of 5 or 6000 *l.* Value was seized here and condemned, in the Court of Admiralty, and several other less Seizures were made in this Island. A good Example in this for all the *Caribbees.*



## N E V I S.

THE next Island to *Montserrat*, following the Distance from the *Equator*, which is the Method we have taken, is *Nevis*, anciently, and now vulgarly called *Mevis*.

It must have been discovered at the same Time with *St. Christopher's*, because 'tis not above half a League from it. It lies in 17 Degrees, 19 Minutes, North Latitude, and is not above six Leagues in Circumference.

There's but one Mountain, and that is in the Midst of it, very high, and covered with great Trees up to the Top. The Plantations are all round the Mountain, beginning from the Sea-side, and ending only at the Summit of the Mountain, the Ascent being commodious enough.

There are several Springs of fresh Water in it, of which some are strong enough to make their Way to the Sea, and may deserve the Name of Rivers. One Spring here is a Mineral, and the Waters hot. Baths were made not far from the Source, and frequented with good Success, for the Cure of those Distempers that the Baths at the Bath in *England*, and *Bourbon* in *France*, are famous for curing.

Before we enter farther into the Geographical and Natural Account of *Nevis*, we must let the Reader a little into the Historical.

Sir *Thomas Warner*, who made the first Settlement on *St. Christopher's*, made also the first at *Nevis*, in the Year 1628. But in the following Year *Don Frederick de Toledo*, who drove the *English* and *French* out of the former Island, seized all the Ships, to the Number of 15, that were at *Nevis*. It was aboard these Ships the *Spaniards* put the *English*, whom they forced to leave *St. Christopher's*.

The *English* Settlement at *Nevis* went on so prosperously, that in 20 Years time there were between 3 and 4000 Men there, who subsisted, and lived handfomly by the Trade they drove in Sugar.

After Sir *Thomas Warner's* Death, we find mention made of one Mr. *Lake*, who was Governor of this Island, and is remembered as a Man of great Piety and Prudence; in-somuch that *Nevis* was said to be the best governed of any of the *Charibbee-Islands*. All manner of Profaneness, Impiety and Debauchery, were severely punished. There were even then three Churches in the Island; not very fine indeed, but convenient and decent for performing Divine Service.

*Charles.*

*Charles-Town* was built, and the Houses were large, the Shops well stored, and Forts were erected to defend the Place against all Invaders. There is but one Fort mounting 19 Guns, which were they in a better Condition, would scarce be a sufficient Defence. The Rolls of the Militia amount to 300 here, and this Island is by no Means in so flourishing a State as when we first treated of it. The Governor and Council at first set a Price upon all Goods, and assigned Times of Payment for them; but that was too great an Imposition on the Liberty of the Market, to be of any long Continuance.

Sir *George Ayscue* reduced *Nevis* with the other *Charibbee-Islands*; and having no certain List of the Deputy-Governors, nor indeed of the Governors-General, we shall not pretend to give any to the Publick, but take some farther Notice of the Climate, Soil, Animals, Trade and Productions.

The Climate is hot, and I have been informed by People who have frequented both Islands, that it is rather hotter than *Barbados*, though the latter is much nearer the Line.

The Soil is fertile, especially in the Valleys. The rising Ground is stony, and the Plantations grew worse and worse in Fertility, the higher the Planters settled on the Mountain. Land was much cheaper there than in the Vale, being coarser, and not so easily cultivated. It is the same with us in *England*, and for the same Reasons: So this Observation might have been spared.

The Rains here are violent, and the Tornado's so in a very high Degree, as we shall observe hereafter.

As to the Product of the Country, and its Trade, what has been said of *Barbados*, *Antego*, and the other *Charibbee-Islands*, will also serve for this. Sugar is the staple Commodity here, as well as there, and serves for all the Uses of Money: For all the Trade of the Island is managed by Sugar. Pounds of Sugar, and not Pounds of Sterling is the Balance of all their Accounts; and, exchanging that Commodity for others, did the Inhabitants Business as well as if they had had Silver.

This Sugar was, generally speaking, Muscovado, of a little finer Grain than that of *Antego*: But they have lately endeavoured to clay. Sir *John Bawdon* ordered his Overseers to attempt it, two or three and twenty Years since, in that Plantation, in this Island, which is now Mr. *Richard Merrinweather's*. He sent Mr. *Hacket*, Brother to Sir *Richard Hacket* of *Barbados*, and an excellent Refiner, from that Isle to this. But, through Negligence in those that were employed, the Project

Project failed, and no white Sugar was made in *Nevis*, but what was for a home Consumption, Presents, or Experiments, till within a very few Years.

Tobacco was at first much cultivated; there's now little or none planted, nor has there been any considerable Quantity this 30 or 40 Years.

Cotton and Ginger have been also planted here; but of late Years those two Commodities have been neglected, and Sugar only taken Care of; of which great Quantities have been made, and 50 or 60 Ships loaden in a Year from this Island to *Europe*.

As to the Animals here, it is a hard Matter to say there are any peculiar to it; however, since we find some taken Notice of as such, we shall give the Reader an Account of them.

*Lizzards* are said to be more frequent here than in any of our other Sugar-Islands. There are several Kinds of them; the greatest of them are those which the *Charibbeans* call *Ouaymaca*. They are five Foot long at their full Growth, measuring from the Head to the Extremity of the Tail, which is as long as all the rest of their Body.

Dav. p. 74.

As for their Bigness, they are a Foot about, their Skins are of several Colours, according to the different Soils they are bred in. The *Portuguese* call them *Cameleons*, thinking they were a Species of that Creature. In some Places the Females are of a light green, checkered with black and white Spots; and the Males are green. In others the Males are black, and the Females of a light grey, intermixt with black and green. And others, both Males and Females, have all the little Scales of their Skin so glittering, and as it were fludded, that at a Distance, one would think them clothed in rich Cloth of Gold and Silver. On their Backs they have Prickles like Combs, which they force up, and set down as they please, and appear less from the Head to the End of the Tail. They go on four Feet, each of which has five Claws, with very sharp Nails. They run swiftly, and are excellent in climbing of Trees. But whether it be that they love to look on Men, or are of a stupid, unapprehensive Nature, when they perceive the Hunter they patiently expect him, without stirring till they are shot. When they are angry, their Craw under their Throat swells, and makes them seem the more formidable. Their Jaws are very wide, their Tongues thick, and they have some very sharp Teeth, which when once they have fastened on any Thing, they will hardly let it go. Their Teeth are not at all venomous. The Females lay Eggs, about the Bigness of  
Wood-



Woodquits, but the Shell is soft. They lay them deep on the Sea-side, under the Sand, and leave them to be hatched by the Sun. From whence some Authors have ranked them among the amphibious Creatures.

The Savages taught the *Europeans* the way to take these *Lizzards*, and by their Example encouraged those that came first among them to eat them. They are very hard to kill, infomuch that some having received three Shots of a Gun, and by it lost some Part of their Entrails, would not fall. Yet if a small Stick be thrust into their Noses, or a Pin between their Eyes, where there's a little Hole, into which the Pin easily enters, they presently die. Their Flesh is luscious, but not safe to eat often: Their Eggs have no White, but are all Yolk.

The *Anolis* is another Sort of *Lizzard*, and at the first <sup>Ib. 75.</sup> settling this Island they were very common in all the Plantations. This Reptile is about the Bigness of an *European* Lizzard, but its Head is longer, its Skin yellowish, and on its Back it has certain blew, green, and grey Streaks, drawn from the Top of the Head to the End of the Tail. Its Abode is in Holes under Ground, whence in the Night it makes a loud Noise. In the Day-time, it is in perpetual Exercise, and wanders about Cottages, to get somewhat to subsist on.

The *Land-Pike* is another strange Reptile, which has been met with in this Island; it is so called from its Likeness to that Fish: But instead of Fins it has four Feet, so weak, that it only crawls on the Ground, and winds its Body as a Pike newly taken out of the Water. The longest of these Creatures are about 16 Inches, and proportionably big. Their Skins are covered with little Scales, which shine extremely, and are of a Silver grey Colour. Some of the Curious used to have young ones in their Closets, and took them for Salamanders. In the Night-time they make a hideous Noise from under the Rocks; it is more sharp and grating to the Ear than that of Frogs and Toads; and they change their Notes according to the Variety of the Places where they lurk. They are seldom seen but a little before Night; and when any of them are met in the Day-time, those that meet them are apt to be frightened with their Motion.

There have been many curious Insects seen in this Island, <sup>F. 78.</sup> and none more so than that called the *Soldier*, a kind of Snail. The Name given it is taken from the *French*; and the Reason of it is so whimsical, we are glad it did not come from an *Englishman*. These Insects have no Shells

proper to themselves; but to secure the Weakness of their little Bodies from the Injuries of the Air, and the Attempts of other Animals, they take Possession of a Shell, commonly that of Perriwinkles; within which they accommodate themselves, as Soldiers, who having no settled Habitation, take up their Quarters in other Mens Houses; wherefore they are termed *Soldats* or *Soldiers*. As they grow bigger, they shift their Shells, and get into larger, as they find them on the Sea Shore, and some have taken up their Quarters in the Claws of great dead Crabs. They are of several Forms and Figures, according to the Diversity of the Shells they possess themselves of. Their Bodies are very tender, except their Heads and Claws. For a defensive Weapon, and instead of a Foot, they have a Claw, like that of a great Crab, where-with they close the Entrance of their Shells, and secure their whole Body. It is all jagged within, and holds so fast whatever it fastens on, that it takes away that Piece with it. This Insect marches faster than the common Snail, and does not with its Foam or Slime foul the Place over which it passes. When the *Soldier* is taken, it grows angry, and makes a Noise. When it is put near the Fire, it forsakes its Quarters; if its Shell is presented to it, to enter it again, it goes in backwards. My Author adds, (I will give it in his own Words, because there's something extraordinary in them.) *When there are many of them met together, with an Intention at the same Time to quit their former Lodgings, and to take up new ones, which they are all much inclined to do, they enter into a great Contestation, there happens a furious Engagement, which is managed with their Claws, till at length the weaker is forced to submit to the victorious, who presently possess themselves of the Shells of the vanquished, which afterwards they peaceably enjoy as a precious Conquest.*

P. 79.

P. 84.

The Reader must be informed, that the History of the *Charibbee-Islands*, an Edition of which Mr. *Davies* put out in *English*, is looked upon to be very authentick; and, as far as we have compared it with Things within our own Knowledge, the Account is very just, allowing for the Distance of Time; and if the modern Inhabitants should happen not to meet with these Creatures in the *Charibbee-Islands*, they are not therefore to conclude there never were any of them, but rather that they are cleared by the Industry of their Predecessors. There are two other Sorts of small Snails, which are very beautiful; one is flat and of a dark Colour, the other is sharp, and has small, red, yellow, or blew Streaks or Lines.

There's another Insect, called the *Flying-Tyger*, because its Body is chequered with Spots of several Colours, as the Tyger's is. It is about the Bigness of the Horned Beetle. Its Head is sharp, and it has two great Eyes, as green and sparkling as an Emerald. Its Mouth is armed with two hard Hooks, extremely sharp, with which it holds fast its Prey, while it gets out the Substance of it. Its whole Body is covered with a hard and swarthy Crust, which serves it for Armour. Under its Wings, which are also of a solid Matter, there are four lesser Wings, which are as thin as any Silk. It has six Legs, each of which has three Joints, and they are bristled with certain little Prickles. In the Day-time it is continually catching other Insects, and in the Night it sits singing on the Trees.

The *Horn-Fly* is a Reptile that has two Snouts, like an Elephant, one turning upward, and the other downward; its Head is blew, like a Grasshopper's; its two Eyes green; the upper Side of its Wings of a bright Violet, damasked with Carnation, with a small Thread of Silver; the Colour so lively and shining, that Art can never imitate it.

The same Author, with what Reason I cannot tell, says, *Ibid.* p. 83, there's a certain monstrous Spider in these Islands, so big, that when its Legs are spread abroad, it takes up a larger Place than the Palm of a Man's Hand. Its whole Body consists of two Parts, one of which is flat, and the other round; smaller at one End, like a Pigeon's Egg. It has a Hole on its Back, not unlike a Navel. Its Mouth cannot easily be discerned, because it is in a manner covered over with Hair, which commonly is of a light grey, but is sometimes intermixed with red. It has two Weapons like Tusks, of a solid Matter, and black, so smooth and shining, that some curious Persons have set them in Gold for Tooth-picks; and Experience, or the Fable, says, they have a Virtue *P.* 84 to preserve from Pain, and all Corruption, those Parts that have been rubbed with them. When these Spiders are grown old, they are covered all over with a swarthy Down, which is as soft and close as Velver. Their Body is supported by ten Feet, that are a little hairy on the Sides, and have below certain small Points or Bristles, that help them to fasten more easily on those Places on which they climb: All these Feet issue out of the Fore part of the Insect, having each of them four Joints, and at the Ends they are armed with a black and hard Horn, which is divided into two Parts like a Fork. They every Year shift their old Skins, as the Serpents do; as also the two Tusks which serve them for Teeth, and are their defensive Weapons. Their Eyes are very little,



and lie so deep in their Heads, that they seem to be only two small Points. They feed on Flies, and it has been observed that in some Places their Webs are so strong, that the little Birds caught in them have had much ado to get away.

P. 83.

The Worm called by the *French Millepede*, (thousand-footed) and *Palmer Worm* by the *English*, has been met with here: The Number of its Feet is almost infinite, from whence it takes its *French* Name. They are like Bristles under its Body, and help it to run along the Ground with incredible Swiftnes, especially when it finds itself pursued. It is about six Inches long. The upper Part of its Body is covered all over with swarthy Scales, which are hard, and jointed one within another, like the Tiles of a House. It has a kind of Claws both in its Head and Tail, that sting cruelly, and with so much Venom, that the Pain remains 24 Hours, or more, after the Patient has received the Hurt.

We must take some Notice of the rare Birds in these Islands; and many Years since there was brought from thence a Bird like a Swallow, only the two great Feathers of the Tail was a little shorter, the Beak turned down like a Parrot, the Feet were like a Duck's; it was black only under the Belly, with a little white like our Swallows.

The *Fly Catcher* is a very pretty Creature, of a small Size, and with four Legs. Some seem covered with fine Gold or Silver Brocade; others with a Mixture of green Gold, and other charming Colours. These Birds are familiar, coming boldly into Rooms, which they clear from Flies, and such Vermin, and do it with such Art and Speed, that the Huntsman's Dexterity is not comparable to it; for they lie down on a Plank, where they hope the Flies will come, and have their Eyes fixed upon them, putting their Heads into as many different Postures as the Flies shift Places. They stand also on their Fore-feet, and gape after their Prey with their Mouths half open. Though a Noise be made, and one should come near them, nothing disturbs them. When they have at last found their Advantage, they start directly on their Prey, and rarely miss it. They are so tame, that they will come upon the Table while Persons are eating at it, and attempt to catch Flies there, or upon their Hands or Clothes. They are very neat clean Things. They lay small Eggs as big as Pease; which, having covered with the Earth, they leave to be hatched by the Sun. When they are killed, all their Beauty vanishes, and they become paler. This Animal has something of the Nature of the Camelion; for it assumes the Colour of those Things on which it resides; for being about Palm-Trees,

it is green ; about Orange-Trees, yellow ; and the like by other Trees.

If these Animals are particular to this, or common to all the *Charibbee-Islands*, they are so rare, that the Curious cannot but be pleased with our Description of them ; and will not look upon this as a Digression from our History, which we shall now continue.

After the *Restoration*, when Trade flourished with Peace, this Isle enjoyed its Share of the Benefit of it with others, and encreased in Inhabitants and Riches. The only Enemy they had to struggle with was the Hurricane, which generally visited them once a Year. On the 19th of *August*, 1667. there was a terrible one in this Island ; at which Time Sir *John Berry*, Captain of the *Coronation* Man of War, was in the Harbour, with that and several other Ships ; of which one was commanded by Captain *Langford*, who having learnt some of the *Prognosticks* of a Turnado from a *Charibbean*, perceiving them, he told Sir *John*, and the other Commanders, of it ; who, depending on his Intelligence, made their Ships ready for the Sea, and in the Morning about Four of the Clock, the Wind coming very hard Northerly, they put to Sea, and came all back within four or five Days-time safe to the Road again. Captain *Langford* was ashore, and being confident of the Hurricane's coming, took such Care before-hand to secure his Sugars, and Goods in the Store-house, that when the Hurricane had carried away the Roof of the House, all, except one Hoghead of Sugar, remained safe.

Lowth. Vol.  
II. p. 106.

When Sir *William Stapleton* was Governor of these Islands, he usually made this the Place of his Residence. Here the Courts were kept ; and the Governor living upon it, most of the Affairs of this Government were transacted here.

Every one of these Islands have a particular Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Assembly ; and the general Government centers only in the Authority of the Captain-General.

We find a wonderful Loyal Address handed to Court in King *Charles* the II'd's Reign, to congratulate that Prince on his escaping the bloody Effects of the famous *Rye-House Plot*. It was delivered by Colonel *Netheway* and Col. *Jefferson* ; the latter descended from that *Jefferson* mentioned in the History of *St. Christopher's*.

On the 28th of *March*, 1685. Sir *William Stapleton* proclaimed King *James* the II'd. at *Nevis*, with great Solemnity. The Provoost Marshal officiated as Sheriff, Drums beating

beating, and Trumpets sounding, attended by Vollies of all the Ordnance in the five Forts, of the Horse and Foot, and the Ships in the Road.

Sir *William Stapleton* made Sir *James Russel* Lieutenant-Governor of this Island, and he enjoyed the Place till his Commission was superseded by that of Captain General, granted to Sir *Nathaniel Johnson*, who also resided at *Nevis*; and at this Time none of the *Leeward-Islands* flourished so much as this. It supplied the others with almost all their Wines and Negroes; and it is computed to have contained at that Time near 2000 fighting Men; which will make the Number of Souls, by common Computation, to be above 10000, besides Negroes, of which Number there were not less than 20000; a prodigious Improvement of an Island scarce six Miles long, to maintain between 30 and 40000 Men, Women, and Children. This may seem incredible at the first View, but we shall give farther Proof of it in the Course of this Relation.

A dreadful Mortality raged in *Nevis*, in the Year 1689. especially among the Men, which reduced that Sex to the Moity of its usual Number, and forced the Inhabitants to make their Addresses to Sir *Timothy Thornhill*; who then lay at *Antego* with his *Barbados* Regiment, to come down to *Nevis* for their Defence; for the *French* being then Masters of *St. Christopher's*, they expected every Day to be attacked. Sir *Timothy* was loth to venture his Men, during the Violence of the Distemper; but hearing it was abated, he removed thither with his Regiment in *November*, landed, and encamped them on a commodious Plain, close adjoining to a little River.

In the Beginning of *December*, a Council of War was called, at which assisted,

*Christopher Codrington*, Esq; Lieutenant General.

Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, Major General.

Col. *Charles Pym*,                    } Colonels of the two *Nevis* Re-  
Col.     *Earl*,                         } giments.

Col. *John Thomas*, Lieutenant Col. to Sir *Timothy Thornhill*.

Major *John Stanley*, and other Field-Officers

By whom it was resolved, that the Major General, with 300 *Barbadians*, and 200 *Nevisians*, to use the Term of my Author, should go down and attack *St. Martin's*, and *St. Bartholomew's*, two of the *Charibbee-Islands* belonging to the Enemy, where they raised a Stock, for the Support of their Sugar Islands. On



On the 15th of *December* Sir *Timothy* embarked his Forces on board a *Brigantine*, and nine Sloops, and went aboard himself the next Day, when he also set sail for those Islands.

On the 18th they pass by *St. Bartholomew's*, and about Four in the Afternoon, being within four or five Leagues of *St. Martin's*, they spy'd a small Sloop standing up towards them; but upon sight of the *English* she tacked, and put into one of the Bays. When they came up with the Bay where she lay, Sir *Timothy Thornhill* sent Lieutenant *Dowden* with three Files of Musketeers, in a Boat, to go up to her to board her, and if she were floating, to bring her out. When the Boat was got near the Sloop's Side, the Enemy, who lay hid in the Bushes on each Side, (the Bay being *landlocked*) fired very thick upon the *English*, and forced them to retreat, two of them being wounded. The Major General being very desirous to have the Sloop, after it was dark, sent 30 Men in four Boats and Canoos, under the Command of Captain *Walter Hamilton*, again to attempt the bringing her out, but the *French* discovered them, and fired hotly upon them. The Canoo which Captain *Hamilton* was in, rowed up close to the Sloop, and found her run aground, the Men being all gone out of her; so he was obliged to leave her, and return to the Vessels. Captain *Hamilton* received two Shots in one of his Legs, four Persons more were wounded, but none killed. That Night the *English* stood off and on, as though they designed to land the next Morning.

Sir *Timothy* on the 19th called a Council of War, on Board the *Brigantine*, by whom it was determined, first to attack *St. Bartholomew's*, to which Island the Sloops stood up in the Night. The next Mornng, before Day, Major *Stanley* landed with 80 Men, notwithstanding the Opposition of the Enemy, beat them out of their Breast-Works, and by Break of Day he had planted his Colours on a Battery of two Guns, which he had taken from them. Not long after, the Major General went ashore with all the Forces, which he divided into three Bodies, himself leading his own Guard of Gentlemen Volunteers, and two Companies of Foot, through the Middle of the Island.

After a Mile's March, the *English* discovered a large Fortification, which appeared to be well man'd: But Sir *Timothy* with his Men charging the Enemy resolutely; they quitted it after 2 or 3 Volleys, and fled into the Woods. The Fortification was Quadrangular, consisting of about two Acres of Land, encompassed with double Rows of Stakes 6 Foot high and 4 Foot distant; the Intervals being filled with

Earth, and a wide deep Trench without it. On each Corner there was a Flanker, in one of which were planted four great Guns. The Entrance into it was a Lock admitting but one at a Time. In the Middle of it was the Governor's House, and a Guard-house for the Soldiers, also a large Cistern with Store of fresh Water, seven or eight Barrels of dried Fish, Bread proportionable, and two Barrels of Powder. It was situate in a Bottom by the Side of a Lake, through which the *English* were to pass to come at it, and on the other Side was a very high Hill. After Sir *Timothy Thornhill* had entered it, he sent his Secretary Mr. *Spencer*, my Author, with 4 Files of Men to gain the Top of the Hill, which he did, finding it fortified with two great Guns loaden and prim'd, with the Match lighted, and several Bags of Partridge-shot lying by them; but the *French* were in so much Haste they did not stay to fire upon him.

About 4 Miles Distance from the Fortification, on the Side of a Hill, there appeared a large white Building, resembling a Fort, to which the Major General sent 300 Men, under the Command of Col. *Charles Pym*, with Orders if he found it strong, to sit down before it and wait his coming. Accordingly a few Hours afterwards he followed Col. *Pym*, with the rest of the Forces, having left a sufficient Guard in the Fortification.

When Sir *Timothy Thornhill* came up to it, he found it to be only a Stone Platform laid shelving, for the Conveyance of Rain-Water into a Cistern. The Reader should know the Occasion of these Cisterns, which is, the Islands being destitute of Rivers, Wells, or other Conveniences of fresh Water, it forces the Inhabitants to make Use of all Opportunities to catch the Rain, each House being furnished with one or more of these Cisterns, some of them capable of holding 14 or 18 Tuns of Water. Here the Major General encamped that Night, and the next Day marched back to the Fortification.

On the 22d Day of *December* two *French* Captains came in with a Flag of Truce, bringing Articles from their Governor, upon which they offered to surrender themselves. Sir *Timothy* returned an Answer in Writing, and sent it by two Gentlemen who spoke *French*, amounting to a Denial of his Proposals: For he replied, if he and the Inhabitants came in with their Arms in two Days, he should find the Major General was a Gentleman: But if he stood out longer he was to expect no Quarter.

The two *Englishmen* who went to the Governor returned the same Day, and brought his Answer, That in 4 Days Time

Time he would come in, but it could not be sooner, because some of the Inhabitants were hid in the Woods, to whom before that Time he could not communicate his Design.

The two following Days the *English* marched round the Island, burning all the Houses as they past along. The *French* fired upon them from the Woods in some Places, but did no Damage. On the Day appointed the *English* spied a Flag of Truce coming towards them with the Governor, and a great Company of the Inhabitants. Upon which the Major General leaving his own Company of Guards in the Fortification, and the rest of his Forces drawn up round it, sent the two Gentlemen who had before been with the Governor to meet him. At the Entrance into the Fortification he was received by Lieutenant Colonel *John Thomas*, who conducted him to the Major General, who sat in the House; a poor one indeed, but it served the *French* Governor's Turn: It rather resembled a Pigeon-House than the Pavilion (as the *French* term it) of a Governor, it consisting only of one Room, about 12 Foot square below, and another above.

The Governor was accompanied by a Frier and some of his Officers, who were all very civilly received by Sir *Timothy*. The Prisoners were between 6 and 700 Men, Women, and Children. The Men were sent as Prisoners to *Nevis*, with the Live-Stock, Negroes, and Merchandize. The Women and Children were transported to *St. Christopher's*. Sir *Timothy* restored the Governor his Horse, Arms, Apparel, and some of his Negroes, and permitted him to send them also to *St. Christopher's*. There were but 10 Men of all the *English* killed and wounded in this Enterprize.

While Sir *Timothy Thornhill* staid upon *St. Bartholomew's*, 8 or 9 Sloops came to him from some of the neighbouring Islands, with about 50 Men to reinforce him. Upon this he sent the *Brigantine* with 9 Sloops, under the Command of Captain *Walter Hamilton*, to alarm the Island of *St. Martin's*, and make a false Attack on the Windward-side. Captain *Hamilton* sailed on the 19th of *January*; and the same Day the Major General embarked all his Men, and sailed at Night for the same Island, where he and his Forces landed the next Morning on the Leeward Side without any Opposition; the Enemy having drawn all their Forces to the other Side of the Island.

About 20 of the *French* that were posted in a Breast-Work on that Side fired once, and then quitted it. When Sir *Timothy's* Men were all landed, they marched entirely through the Body of the Country, and after two Miles March, were



drawn up in a convenient Plain, the Enemy being in Sight, and, as they thought, advancing towards them.

After they had continued an Hour in this Posture, the *French* retired and burnt a great Building upon a Hill, about a Mile distant, which seemed to be a Fortification. Upon which the Major General marched up to it with all his Forces, but found it only to be a large House which they burnt, because it should not serve the *English* for Shelter. However, the Stone-Walls that remained standing proved serviceable to them, in covering them from their Shot.

There was a large Cistern of Water here, but the *French* had rendered it unfit for Drinking, by throwing Salt into it. They also poisoned an adjacent Pond with Tobacco.

The *English* had not been long here, before the *French* began to fire upon them from a Breast-Work, where they had two great Guns planted a Quarter of a Mile off, there being a Valley between them; on the left Hand low and bushy Ground, and on the Right a Ridge of Mountains, with a very thick Wood.

Sir *Timothy Thornhill* sent Captain *Burt* with a Company of Men to gain the Top of the Mountain, which had the Command of the Fort he was at. That being done, he left 100 Men there under the Command of Capt. *Geoffry Gibbs*; to maintain that Post, and marched back into the Plain with the rest of his Forces to secure the Avenues, and hinder the Enemy from coming upon the Backs of the *English*.

Being come into the Plain, himself with several Officers, and about 100 Soldiers went to drink at a Well; where when they were drinking, they received a Volley of about 30 Shot from the Enemy, who lay hid in the Woods; yet there was but one Man hurt tho' they all stood close together. After which Major *John Stanley* was sent with a Party to scour the Woods, which he did, beating them from two strong Breast-Works they had upon a Saddle, between two Hills (opposite to those the *English* had before gained:) In which Works Major *Stanley* posted himself. The Passages being both Ways secured, Sir *Timothy Thornhill* encamped that Night with the main Body of his Forces in the Middle of a Plain; and the next Morning his two Brass Field Pieces with Carriages, and two Iron ones without, were brought ashore. The Iron ones were planted in the Plain, but the Brass ones were drawn up to the burnt House; whither Sir *Timothy Thornhill* removed his Camp: And about three in the Afternoon on the 21st of *January*, they began to play on the Enemy.

In the Evening Captain *Bartholomew Sharp* was sent with one Company of Men to cut a Path thro' the Wood, that the

the *English* might make an Attack on the Enemy that Way: For in the Valley they had 4 great Guns planted directly in the Road; but being without Carriages, they could not bring them to bear upon the *English* as they lay encamped.

Captain *Sharp* was discovered before he had made any Progress in his Work, and so hotly dealt with that he was forced to retreat. The *French* kept firing all Day upon the *English* from their Breast-Work, both with their great Guns and small Arms; but in the Night they silently quitted it.

The next Morning Sir *Timothy* left Lieutenant *James Smith*, with 30 Men at the burnt House, marched to the Breast-Work and demolished it; as also their Line, which ran down to a Well in the Valley near their 4 great Guns.

A Mile off of this he came to a fine Plain, encompassed with Orange and other Fruit Trees where he encamped. Here was Store of Cattle grazing and some Houses, where the *English* took some Prisoners; from whom they understood the Enemy had had near 20 Men killed and wounded.

The Major General left Mr. *Spencer* in the Plain with a Guard to take Care of the Plunder, and marched with the main Body of his Forces against the Enemy's chief Fort about two Miles distant; which he took without any Loss, having but one Man wounded in the Action. Indeed the Enemy quitted it after one or two Volleys. It consisted of 6 great Guns mounted on a Platform without Carriages, with Banks of Earth thrown up.

After he had nailed down the Guns, he proceeded in his March about four Miles farther, and then encamped in a pleasant Valley, where were a House and Garden belonging to a Frier. There he found the Governor's Horse saddled and bridled, he having left him and fled into the Mountains with the Inhabitants.

The same Day being the 23d of *January*, Major *Stanley* marched over the Hills, on the other Side of the Island, and engaged a Party of the Enemy, beating them out of a Breast-Work and demolishing it. At Night he returned to his Post on the *Saddle*.

The 24th Sir *Timothy Thornhill* continued his March round the Island without Opposition; and at Night returned to the Burnt-House, where he again encamped, and ordered the Plunder to be removed thither.

On the 25th the *English* saw three great Ships, a Brigantine and a Sloop standing in with the Island, and understood, by some Prisoners; that Monsieur *Du Cassé* was come down from St. *Christopher's*, with 700 Men, commanded by the Governor of that Island.

The Major General immediately commanded away Guards to all those Bays where he thought the Enemy would land; but they seeing the *English* Sloops perceived he was already upon the Island, and so came not to an Anchor, but gave chase to those Sloops, which made the best of their Way to get clear. One of them being in great Danger, ran ashore to prevent being taken, but was hawled off again by the Enemy, who found no Men in her, for they had all got off.

The Master of one of the Sloops being at the Camp when the Prisoners were brought in, who gave this Account, Sir *Timothy* dispatched him with an Express to the Lieutenant General then at *Antego*, to acquaint him with the Condition the *English* were in, and desire him to send Ships to their Assistance.

*Du Cassé* stood off and on all Night, and in the Morning coming close in with the Shore, fired several Guns to give the Inhabitants Notice of his Arrival. About Noon he came to an Anchor before the Windward Part of the Island, hanging out bloody Colours.

The Inhabitants encouraged by the coming of these Ships, came down out of the Mountains, and finding their Fort unmaned they again took Possession of it, replanting and drilling their Guns. In the Night *Du Cassé* landed his Soldiers. Of which the Major General having Advice, he brought his Field-Pieces from the Burnt-House into the Plain, and planted them on the right and left Wing of the Body which was there encamped; the Iron Pieces being planted before towards each Road. He placed strong Guards upon the *Saddle* at the Burnt-House, and the Mountain which commanded it.

In this Posture of Defence he continued the 27th, 28th, and 29th of *January*; the Enemy not daring to attack him, tho' they had received a farther Reinforcement of 3 Ships, and more Men from *St. Christopher's*.

On the 30th of *January* in the Morning, Col. *Hewetson* arrived from *Antego* with 3 Ships, which the Lieutenant General had sent to Sir *Timothy Thornhill's* Assistance.

The *French* Ships at Anchor, perceiving *English* Colours, weighed and stood out to meet them. About Noon they engaged, and after four Hours Dispute with little Damage on the Side of the *English*, the *French* bore away; the *English* Ships also standing off all Night, but in the Morning on the 31st of *January* they returned. The *French* Ships also appeared in Sight, but kept off at a Distance. The Major General having sent the Plunder and Field-Pieces on board, ordered all his Out-Guards to quit their Posts, and march down



into the Plain in order to embark, which the Enemy perceiving, they marched down also, and both Parties engaged to the great Loss of the *French*, who were beaten into the Woods and fled in Confusion.

Sir *Timothy Thornhill* afterwards made an honourable Retreat, and embarked safe with all his Men, except about 10 who were killed in the whole Action; and 3 who were taken Prisoners by being asleep in one of the Breast-Works, when the *English* quitted them. One of them made his Escape, got down to the Sea-side, and a Boat went and brought him off clear. The other two were afterwards exchanged. There were about 20 Men wounded, who with the rest arrived safely at *Nevis* on the 2d of *February*.

After the Major General's Regiment returned to *Nevis*, the Inhabitants considering the Service they had done, and their Willingness to continue there in their Defence against the expected Invasion of the *French* at *St. Christopher's*, in the Month of *April* 1690, allowed that Regiment Pay 6 Months, except the *English* Fleet should arrive; and if it did arrive, allowed them one Month's Pay after their Arrival.

The Inhabitants of this Island could not have done more prudently, for their Danger was very great from the Neighbourhood of *St. Christopher's*, where 5 Men of War more were arrived from *Europe*; and it was reported, the Enemies were drawing their Forces together to attack *Nevis*; but the Lieutenant General had, with Sir *Timothy Thornhill's* Regiment, 1200 Men very well armed to defend the Island, there being two *Nevis* Regiments then on Foot, Col. *Pym's* and Col. *Earl's*, of 300 Men each. The Forts, Lines, and Breast-Works were also in very good Repair, and the Men in such Heart, that nothing was talked of, but rooting the *French* Interest out of these Parts of the World, as soon as the Fleet arrived that was expected from *England*, which happened in *June* following: Then Preparations were made with all possible Dispatch for an Expedition against *St. Christopher's*, in which all the *Leeward-Islands* belonging to the Crown of *England* were concerned. They all sent their Quota's of Men to *Nevis*, which was appointed to be the Place of general Rendezvous, it lying most convenient for that Purpose.

On *Monday* the 16th of *June*, 1690, Col. *Codrington*, who had now received a Commission from King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to be Captain General and Commander in Chief of all their *Leeward-Islands*, ordered a general Muster in the Island of *Nevis* of all the Forces raised for the Expedition

pedition against *St. Christopher's*, and there were found to be 3000 Men, according to the Muster Rolls then given in, *viz.*

In the Duke of <i>Bolton's</i> Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant General <i>Holt</i> ,	}	700 Men.
In Major General <i>Thornhill's</i> , commanded by Sir <i>Timothy Thornhill</i> himself,		
In the <i>Antego</i> Regiment, commanded by Col. <i>Williams</i> , Governor of that Island,	}	400 Men.
In the <i>Montserrat</i> Regiment, commanded by Col. <i>Blackstone</i> , Governor of that Island,		
In the two <i>Nevis</i> Regiments, commanded by Col. <i>Pym</i> and Col. <i>Earl</i> ,	}	600 Men.
In the <i>Marine</i> Regiment, being a Detachment out of the Men of War, under the Command of Col. <i>Kegwin</i> , Capt. of the <i>Affistance</i> ,		
In the Captain General's Life-Guard, under the Command of Col. <i>Byam</i> ,	}	100 Men.
		3000 Men.

On the 17th and 18th of *June*, the Forces were embark'd, and on the 19th sailed from *Nevis* under Convoy of Capt. *Wright*, Commodore of the Squadron of Men of War that was arrived from *England*. We shall give a farther Account of this Expedition, when we treat of *St. Christopher's*.

Some Time before the Forces and Fleet arrived from *England*, *viz.* on *Sunday* the 6th of *April*, about 5 a Clock in the Evening, a strange hollow Noise was heard for some few Minutes, which was thought to proceed from the great Mountain in the Middle of this Island. The Inhabitants were surprized and amazed at it; and immediately after, to their greater Amazement, began a mighty Earthquake, with so much Violence, that almost all the Houses in *Charles-Town*, which were of Brick or Stone, were in an Instant levelled with the Ground, and those built of Timber shook: Every Body made what Haste they could to get out of them: In the Streets the Ground in several Places clove about a Foot asunder, and hot stinking Water spouted out of the Earth to a great Heighth. The *Sea* left its usual Bounds for more than the third Part of a Mile, insomuch that very large Fish lay bare upon the Shore; but the Water presently returned again, and afterwards the same strange Motion happened several Times, but the Water retired not so far as at first. The Earth in many Places was thrown up in great Quantities, and Thousands of large Trees went with it, which were

buried and no more seen. 'Tis usual almost at every House in this Island to have a large Cistern to contain the Rain Water, of about 9 or 10 Foot deep, and 15 or 20 Foot Diameter; several of which, with the Violence of the Earthquake, threw out the Water 8 or 10 Foot high, and the Motion of the Earth all over the Island was such, that nothing could be more terrible.

Several Sloops that passed from this Island to *Antego* felt it at Sea, between *St. Lucia* and *Martinico*, in their Way to *Barbados*, the Agitation of the Water being so violent, that they thought themselves on Rocks and Shelves, the Vessels shaking as if they would break in Pieces.

Others passing the uninhabited Island, or rather Rock, called *Redunda*, found the Earthquake so violent there, that a great Part of that rocky Isle split and tumbled into the Sea where it was sunk, making as loud a Noise as if several Cannon had been fired. A very great Cloud of Dust ascended into the Air at the Fall. Two very great Comets appeared in these Parts of the World, and in an Hour and a Quarter's Time the Sea ebb'd and flow'd thrice to an unusual Degree. There happen'd nothing remarkable here from this Time to the Peace of *Reswycke*, which restored Peace also to the *Europeans* in *America*.

The Reader may observe, that the Island of *Nevis* rais'd 600 Men for the publick Service against *St. Christopher's*, and we cannot suppose they were above one third of all the fighting Men; if so, there must be 1800 Men in the Island, after so many had been swept away by a Mortality among them: And it is very probable, the Number might be 25000, when the Island was in its most flourishing Condition; in such Case, the Number of fighting Men, old Men, Women and Children, must be 11 or 12000, which will make this little Isle very populous.

The War and Sicknesh having depopulated it, King *William*, for its Security, order'd Col. *Collingwood's* Regiment of Foot to embark aboard the Ships under the Command of Rear-Admiral *Bembow*, who arriv'd at *Nevis* the 12th of *January* 1698, and Part of that Regiment was quartered here. The Seamen, the Soldiers, and the Inhabitants were then in good Health.

In the same Year, Col. *Christopher Codrington*, Jun. succeeded his Father (who was lately dead) in the Government of these Islands; who, on the Death of King *William*, having received Orders for proclaiming her present Majesty Queen *Anne*, he command'd the Forces that were in *Nevis* to be drawn up on the Shore towards the *French* Part of *St.*



St. *Christopher's*, and the Forces in that Island to draw out facing their Fort also. Himself went on Board the Frigats attending this Government, waited on by 12 Sloops and Brigantines, and held in pretty near the *French Town* of *Basse Terre* to proclaim the Queen aboard, he being Vice-Admiral of these Seas. Upon a Signal given, her Majesty was proclaimed first at *Nevis*: The Fire of the Cannon began at the Windermost Part of the Island, passed on through the several Forts and Platforms along the Shore, 15 stout Merchant Ships in the Road took it from them, and the Frigats succeeded, being between the two Islands, and the Artillery at St. *Christopher's* took it from the Frigats. This was done thrice, and her Majesty's Companies of Foot, with the Militia of both Islands in two Lines, made as many running Fires.

As soon as the War broke out, this Island and *Antego* fitted out several Privateers to cruize on the *French Coast*, and they were very successful in securing their own Trade and endamaging the *French*: But the Inhabitants of this Island paid severely afterwards for this Success. The *French*, in the Year 1705, made great Preparations to attack the *English Charibbee-Islands*, and threatened *Barbados* itself; but that Island being too strong for them, the Storm fell upon 'the *Leeward-Islands*, and upon *Nevis* in Particular. The Enemy's Squadron consisted of 12 or 14 Men of War, under the Command of Monsieur *Ibberville*. Their Land Forces were at least 3000; and having made a Descent upon St. *Christopher's*, they came before *Nevis* the 21st of *March*, where they landed their Troops by Night. The Inhabitants had Notice of their coming, and prepared as well as they could for their Defence: They armed some of their Negroes, but that did them more Mischief than Good. Being over-powered by the Numbers of the Enemy, they fled to the Mountain. The *French*, fearing they should never master the Island unless they could reduce the Blacks, tempted them by fair Promises to lay down their Arms, assuring them they should live as well as their Masters; and not a little flattering them with Hopes of Liberty, or at least a very pleasant and easy Servitude. Upon which those false Slaves submitted, and the *French* marching to attack the *English* in the Mountain, the latter beat a Parly, and a Capitulation was concluded on the 24th of the same Month. by which they were to be Prisoners of War, but to remain in the Island, procuring a like Number of *French* Prisoners to be released by Way of Exchange, either in *America* or in *Europe*. In the mean Time they were to be civilly used, and their Houses and Sugar-Works preserved; but the Enemy broke several

Articles

Articles of the Capitulation, contrary to the Law of Nations and the Usage of Arms, treating the People most barbarously, and burning their Houses and Sugar-Works. By Threats and Barbarity they forced several of them to sign a second Agreement the 6th of *April* 1706, promising the Enemy in six Months Time to send down to *Martinico* a certain Number of Negroes, or Money in Lieu of them. After which they left the Island, carrying away about 3 or 4000 Negroes, whom they made believe they were going to the *French* Islands to live at Ease; whereas when they had them aboard, they shut them fast down in the *Hold*, and gave out they would carry them to the *Spanish West-Indies*, and sell them to the Mines as they intended, and really did. One of these Negroes, making his Escape to Land, informed those that remained there, how basely the *French* had dealt by them. Upon which the Blacks took Arms, fell on the *French* in the Island, cut their Throats, and in Part revenged their Masters for what they had suffered by them.

The Agents for *Nevis* and *St. Christopher's* at *London*, solicited the Lords of Trade, &c. to have a Consideration for their Losses, which they represented to be several hundred thousand Pounds; and in order to it, those Lords sent one of their Clerks to the *Leeward-Islands*, to take an exact Account of the Damage sustained by this Invasion.

The People of this Island met with as terrible an Enemy this Year 1707 in a Hurricane, which almost entirely destroyed their Sugar-Works, threw down their Houses, tore up their Trees and Plants by the Roots, and left them in a most miserable Condition.

When Col. *Park* arrived at the *Leeward-Islands* he stayed here some Time, and called an Assembly 'Tis said there has been some Differences between him and them, and some Mal-Administration, but having not the Certainty and Particulars of those Matters, we shall say no more of them, nor of the Success of the Representation of the Island to be compensated for their Damages. 'Tis not likely so great a Sum should be given them, while the *British* Empire is at such prodigious yearly Expences to maintain the War against the common Enemy. What may be done for them in Time of Peace will come easily; till then we fear they must look on their Losses as a Debt, but as uncertain as one as some Debts owing in the *Leeward-Islands* to the Merchants in *London*.

Under Col. *Park*, Captain General of this and the other *Leeward-Islands*, are the following Ministers and Officers in *Nevis*.

Lieu-

Lieutenant Governor, *Walter Hamilton, Esq;*

*William Burt, Esq;* President.

*John Smergin, Esq;*  
*Azarias Pinney, Esq;*  
*James Bevon, Esq;*  
*William Butler, Esq;*  
*William Ling, Esq;*  
*Daniel Smith, Esq;*  
*Richard Abbot, Esq;*  
*Philip Broome, Esq;*  
*Thomas Butler, Esq;*  
*Thomas Belman, Esq;*  
*Laurence Broadbelt, Esq;*  
*James Melliken, Esq;*

Counsellors:

Speaker of the Assembly, *Samuel Brown, Esq;*  
 Chief Justice, *Thomas Belman, Esq;*  
 Colonel of the Militia Regiment, Col. *Richard Abbot;*  
 Judge of the Admiralty, *Thomas Belman, Esq;*  
 Secretary, *Michael Nowell, Esq;*  
 Commissioner and Collector of the Customs, *John Norr-wood, Esq;*  
 Provost Marshal, Mr. *Thomas Denbow, Deputy.*

Tho' Col. *Park* could not have been long in his Government of the *Leeward-Islands*, yet it appears by what Information I had of his Government even 30 Years ago, that it gave Discontent to the People he was to govern, almost as soon as he came among them; but the Council and Assembly in their Address to *Queen Anne* upon his being killed in *Antego* say, they never complained of him, and do as good as own, his Death was occasioned by his *Mal-Administration*, their own Words with this softning only, as they say at *Antego*. Neither do they say, they abhor the *Rebellion* of those People and the Murder of Mr. *Park*, but they abhor and detest all violent Proceedings, Murders and Rebellions, and disown any manner of Concern in the heinous Crime at *Antego*. Col. *Walter Hamilton*, General of the *Leeward-Islands* after Col. *Park's* Death, received the News of it in this Island, where he had married the Lady *Stapleton*, Relict. of Sir *William Stapleton*, General of these Islands, and famous in them for nothing more than procuring that excellent Address to King *Charles II.* on his miraculous Escape of the *Ryehouse Plot.*

Col



Col. *Hamilton* did not at all encourage Addresses to Queen *Anne*, in Abhorrence of his Predecessors untimely End at *Antego*, probably that was the Reason of the Softnings in that of *Nevis*, signed by

The Council.

The Assembly.

*Daniel Smith*, Esq; President.

Col. *Richard Abbot*.

*John Bevan*, Esq;

*Azarias Pinney*, Esq;

*Laurence Broadbelt*, Esq;

*John Norwood*, Esq;

*John Richardson*, Esq;

*Michael Smith*, Esq;

*Robert Ellis*, Esq;

*Charles Bridgwater*, Esq;

*John Symonds*, Esq; Speaker.

Mr. *Samuel Gardiner*.

Mr. *John Butler*.

Mr. *John Horn*:

Mr. *Richard Broadbelt*.

Mr. *Solomon Israel*.

Mr. *John Smith*.

Mr. *Thomas Bridgwater*.

Mr. *Roger Pemberton*.

Mr. *Michael Williams*.

This Address, according to Mr. *French*, was offered to General *Hamilton* to be signed by him, but instead of signing it, he reproved them for so doing.

As we have mentioned the Succession of Generals of the *Leeward-Islands* in *Antego*, which of late has been mostly their Place of Residence, and in that Chapter and others, treated at large of the Sugar, Product and Trade, all which are much the same here as in the other Islands, we have nothing to enlarge upon in this. The present General *William Matthews*, Esq; made some Stop at this Island at his first coming to the Government. He summoned the Council and Assembly, and, which probably was the chief Business, recommended to them the Salary Affair: Some of the lower House were for settling 400 *l.* a Year upon him, some 300 *l.* others (who were for fixing no Settlement at all) proposed 1000 *l.* and one 1500 *l.* a Year. After long Debate it was carried for 300 *l.* per Ann. to be paid in Money or at the Country Produce at Currency. This not giving Content, the Council proposed to the Assembly at their next Meeting to enlarge the Settlement, but the Assembly would not hear of it.

The 300 *l.* is to be raised on Slaves (the Number of which is said to be near 7000) at 1 *s.* 6 *d.* per Head, which amounting to more than 300 *l.* the Overplus was to defray some Charge, together with the Rent of an House for the Governor's Reception for the 1st Year, at 100 *l.* which by the Act that grants the Settlement, is limited to one Year only.

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T H E  
H I S T O R Y

O F

St. *C H R I S T O P H E R*'s.

C O N T A I N I N G

An Account of its Discovery, Settlement, Events,  
Climate, Soil, Product, Trade and Inhabi-  
tants, *Charibbeans* and *Englisch*.

**T**HIS Island is called *Liamuiga* by the Savages, and was discovered by *Christopher Columbus*, in the first Voyage he made to *America*. He gave it the Name of *St. Christopher's*, not from his own, but from the Figure of its Mountains; there being in the upper Part of the Island a very high Mountain, which bears as it were on its Shoulders another less Mountain, as *St. Christopher* is painted like a Giant, with our Infant Saviour on his Back.

'Tis in the Latitude of 17 Degrees, and 25 Minutes on this Side the Line, and about 75 Miles in Circuit.

The *Charibbeans*, who are the *Indigenæ* of the Island, and possessed it before the Discovery of the *West-Indies*, inhabited it when Sir *Thomas Warner*, an *English* Adventurer, came thither.

*Monfieur Desnambue*, a *French* Gentleman, of the ancient House of *Vauderop*, who commanded for the *French* in *America*, arrived at *St. Christopher's* on the same Day with Sir *Thomas Warner*, and both took Possession of the Island in the Name of their respective Masters, that they might have a Place of safe Retreat, and a good Haven for the Re-  
ception

ception of such Ships of both Nations as should be bound for *America*, it being well stored with Harbours. The *Spaniards* used to put in there in their *West India* Voyages, to take in fresh Water; and they were in so good Terms with the *Charibbeans*, that sometimes they left their Sick there, to be looked after by them.

These two Gentlemen considering, that by possessing themselves of this Island, they should very much incommode the *Spaniards*, resolved to leave Colonies of both Nations here; and without entering into Disputes about who came first, and who had the best Title to the whole, they agreed to divide the Island between them. They accordingly became Masters of it, and forced the Inhabitants to submit: But before they left it, having cause to fear there might be some secret Intelligence between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, the *Charibbean* Magicians having advised the *Savages* to take their Opportunity, and cut the Throats of all the *Europeans*, the *English* and *French* fell upon the most factious of the Natives by Night, killed them, and drove the rest out of the Island. Then the two Gentlemen left some of their Men upon the Place, and returned, Sir *Thomas Warner* to *England*, and Monsieur *Desnambue* to *France*, for Recruits.

Their Masters approved of their Conduct, and sent them back with Supplies of Men and Provisions, and Commis-  
Sir Tho. Warner, Governor.  
 sioners to be Governors of the new Settlements.

Monsieur *Robbe* in his Account of *St. Christopher's*, says, Robbe, p. 379. 4 Edit. Par.  
 Monsieur *Desnambue* found several *English* and *French* Fugitives upon the Place when he came thither; to whom he proposed to establish a Colony, and they consenting, chose him for their Governor: Which Design, on his Return to *France*, he communicated to Cardinal *Richlieu*; by whose Means an *American* Company was set up in the Year 1626. And Captain *Warner*, who was there at the same Time, on the like Occasion, gave Rise to a like Company in *England*.

This Company continued in *France* till the Year 1651. when they sold *St. Christopher's*, and the other Islands, to the Knights of *Malta*. But in the Year 1664. the *West India* Company, by the King's Orders, bought out the last Proprietors, and are still in Possession of those Islands.

Sir *Thomas Warner* and Monsieur *Desnambue* sailed in the Year 1626, and the latter arrived there about *January*, 1627. having had a long sickly Voyage. The *French* were about 300 in Number: The *English* Colony as many. Sir *Thomas* had proceeded a good way in his Settlement before Monsieur *Desnambue* arrived; and the two Governors, to prevent Differences among their People, about the Limits of their



their Territories, signed Articles of Division, on the 13th of *May*, 1627. They then set those Boundaries to their several Divisions, which remain to this Day, with this particular Proviso, that Fishing and Hunting should be equally free to the Inhabitants of both Nations; That the Salt-Ponds, and most valuable Timber should also be in common, together with the Mines and Havens: Also a League offensive and defensive was concluded between them against all their Enemies. After which they set themselves to work, each in his Station, to advance his Settlement.

The *English* received constant Supplies of Men and Provisions from *London*; by which Means they thrived better than the *French*, and not only became strong enough to keep what they had, but to be able to spare Men for new Plantations at *Nevis*, which Sir *Thomas Warner* took Possession of, and left People upon it for a Settlement, in the Year 1628. And in that which followed, *Don Frederick de Toledo* was sent with a Fleet from *Spain* of 24 great Ships of Burden, and 15 Frigats, to dispossess the *English* and *French* of the Island of *St. Christopher's*.

The *Spaniards* were alarmed at the Progress of the *English* in the *Charibbee-Islands*, and thought it concerned the Safety of their own Plantations to prevent these Nations from settling in their Neighbourhood.

*Don Frederick* meeting some *English* Ships lying near the Isle of *Nevis*, seized them, and then came and cast Anchor in the Road of *Marigot*, under the Cannon of the *Basse Terre*, where Monsieur *Rossy* commanded.

Neither the *French* nor the *English* Forts were in a Condition to oppose such an Enemy. Their Stores of Ammunition fell short, and their Numbers were no Match for the *Spanish* Army, had they been never so well provided with Powder and Shot. *Rossy*, after a small Opposition, abandoned the *Basse Terre*, and retreated to *Cabes Terre*, another Fort, where Monsieur *Desnambue* was in Person, who could not prevail with his Men either to defend themselves there, or to retire to the Fastnesses in the Forests and Mountains, where a few Men might have resisted a thousand. He remonstrated to them, that *Don Frederick* could not afford to spend much Time in following them, for that he was bound to the *Havana*, to bring home the *Flota*: Yet this, and a great deal more which he said to them, was to no Purpose. Nothing would content them but embarking, and leaving the Place; which he was forced to comply with: And so all the *French* deserted their Settlement, as did their Allies the *English*, who were in a great Consternation; and the  
Disorder

Disorder encreased, upon News of *Desnambue's* being gone with his Colony. Some endeavoured to escape by Sea, others fled to the Mountains; and all of them who left, finding it was in vain to resist such a powerful Enemy, sent Deputies to treat with the *Spaniards*. The *Don* knowing he had them in his Power, commanded them, *en Maitre*, to leave the Island immediately, or he would put them all to the Sword. He sent them their own Ships, which he had taken at *Nevis*, to embark on, and was persuaded to give Leave to those to stay that had not Room in the Ships for themselves and their Families, till they could be transported. Upon which *Don Frederick* weighed Anchor, carried with him 600 *English*, who were fittest for his Service; and he was no sooner gone, but the *English* rallied, and resolved to go on with their Settlement.

The *French*, who were got no farther than *Antego* and *Montserrat*, sent a Ship for Intelligence to *St. Christopher's*, and understanding the *Spaniards* were gone, and the *English* busy in rebuilding and replanting, rejoiced at this happy and unexpected Turn of Fortune, sailed back to *St. Christopher's*, and retook Possession of their former Habitations.

The *English* continued carrying on their Colony, till they were in a Condition to spare more Men for Settlements at *Barbuda*, *Montserrat*, and *Antego*; which *Sir Thomas Warner* peopled and planted: And the same Year the *Dutch* made themselves Masters of *St. Eustace*, and the *French* took Possession of some other Islands.

1623.

The *English* built themselves good Houses at *St. Christopher's*, and had Wives and Families: Whereas the *French* contented themselves with Huts, after the *Charibbean* Manner. Few of them were married, and consequently took little Pains to furnish themselves with all Things necessary and convenient in Life.

*Monfieur Desnambue* died about the Year 1637. and *Sir Thomas Warner* did not long survive him. Before the *English* Governor's Death, the Colony was so encreased, that there were between 12 and 13000 Souls of his own Nation in the Island. He was succeeded in his Government by *Col. Rich*; who by following his Predecessor's Steps, in well governing the Colony, invited more People to come and settle there.

Col. Rich  
Governor.

The chief Employment of the first Planters was cultivating Tobacco; by which they got a competent Livelihood, but afterwards the Quantity that was made, bringing down the Price, they set themselves in several Places to plant Sugar, Ginger, Indigo, and Cotton; and in a little Time became

a rich and flourishing People, both *French* and *English* living very lovingly together, till the late Wars in *Europe* blew up a Flame there, which is likely to end in the dispossessing of the one or the other of them.

Let us now take a farther View of the Country; for which, in the Sequel of our History, we shall find a great deal of Blood shed by the two contending Nations.

The Island is extremely delightful, and the Mountains lying one above another, afford a lovely Prospect over all the Plantations, to the Sea Coasts, all round the Island. Between the Mountains are dreadful Rocks, horrid Precipices, thick Woods, and hot sulphurous Springs at the Foot of them, in the South-West Part of the Island. There's an Isthmus at the South-East End, which runs into the Sea, within a Mile and an half of *Nevis*; on the same Shore is a Salt-Work.

The Air is good and wholesom, but much disturbed with Hurricanes. The Soil is light, sandy and fruitful, as the vast Quantities of Sugar, and other Commodities which it has produced, sufficiently prove.

This Soil produces Sugar of a finer Grain than that of *Barbados* or any other of the *Charibbee-Islands*, insomuch that I have been informed that the Muscovado here turns out as fine without claying, as in those Islands it does with it, which is a vast Advantage to the Planter, saving a great deal of Waste and Labour.

The Middle of the Island is hardly passable, because of the high and craggy Rocks and Precipices in the Mountains, and the Thickets and Forests, where it is easy for Companies of Men to lose themselves, though it is to be hoped, that that Inconvenience will be remedied in Time, the *English* being as dextrous as any People in the World at clearing of Ways, and felling of Woods.

The Mountains are divided, as it were, into Stories, one above another. And from the highest of them the Eye is wonderfully charmed, to see the Trees always green, which are planted round every Ground as Boundaries. The Plantations look like so many Gardens, and Nature is always gay and smiling.

The fine Houses in this Island add to the Beauty of the Prospect, there being no finer Buildings in *America*: Many of them are covered with glazed Slate. The first that are mentioned of this kind to be built here, were Sir *Thomas Warner's*, Colonel *Rich's*, his Successor in the Government, Mr. *Everard's*, and Colonel *Jefferison's*.



The *English*, for the Convenience of planting, live scattered up and down the Country. Their Houses are of Cedar, and the Walks and Groves about them of Orange and Lemons. They are divided into five Parishes, three on the South-Side, and two on the North-Side.

In each of which is a very handsom Church wainscotted within, and the Pulpits and Pews made of variety of precious Wood, as Cedar, Ebony, Red-Wood, Brasil, and others, curious for Colour, and delightful for Scent.

The *French* built a fine Town, under the Cannon of the Citadel of *Basse-Terre*, of good Brick, Free-stone, and Carpenter's Work. There's a large Church, a Town-house, and an Hospital. The Church there was formerly in the Hands of the *Capuchins*; but in the Year 1646. upon some Distaste, they were dismissed by the Inhabitants, and *Pere du Vivier*, with his Jesuits, had the Superintendency of Ecclesiastical Affairs. The *Basse-Terre* is now an *English* Town and Parish, as that Part which the *French* possessed is now entirely *English*.

The Castle in this Town where the *French* Governor resided, is the most noble Edifice in the Island; but for the Planters and Merchants Houses, those of the *English* were more stately than the *French*.

The Rivers are a great Refreshment to the People and Country; this Island is indifferently well fortified, having three good Forts and several Batteries.

On the Mountain, about three Miles North of *Fort-Charles*, is a Place called the *Silver-Mine*; and the People of the Country say there is such a one, but they have not Hands, nor indeed Hearts to work it; for their Sugar Plantations turn to so good an Account, that they do not care to quit a certain for an uncertain Profit, finding they can grow rich at a cheaper Rate: And it must be confess'd, that with due Encouragement our Plantations would bring us in as much Treasure as the Mines of *Peru* and *Mexico* have brought into the King of *Spain's* Treasury; for besides his own Subjects, the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, have always had more than their Share with him. The *Sulphur-Mine* is between *Fort-Charles* and *Point-Sable*, near the Shoar.

The Verge or Out-sides of the Island may be travelled round, the Country being all a Level; but, as has been said, some Parts of the Middle are inaccessible. It is out of the Rocks there that several Springs of hot Water issue, and one Part of the Hills goes by the Name of the *Sulphur Mountain*.

The Fort on *Brimston-Hill* mounts 49 Pieces of Cannon, it contains a Magazine supplied with 18,000 Pounds of Powder, 800 Firelocks, 600 Bayonets and other Military Stores.

*Charles-Fort* is furnished with 40 Pieces of Ordnance and a sufficient Quantity of Military Stores. *Londonderry-Fort*, situated on the East of the Town *Basse-Terre*, secures that Part of the Island, as do also six Batteries raised at so many Landing-places, in all mounted with 43 Pieces of Ordnance.

The Beasts in this Island are the same with those in *Barbados*, and the other *Charibbee-Islands*; a few there are which are more frequently met with here, as the *Rocquet*, an Animal, whose Skin is like a withered Leaf, marked with little yellow or blewish Points. It has four Feet, the Foremost highest, has sparkling Eyes, holds up its Head constantly, and is in continual Motion. Its Tail is turned up towards its Back, making a Circle and half. It loves to stare upon Men; and when pursued, puts out its Tongue like a Grey-hound.

As for Birds, the most particular are, the *Orinoco*, a large Bird, shaped like an Eagle; his Feathers light grey, spotted black, the End of his Wings and Tail yellow. He never sets upon Birds, but in the open Air, and those who have Beaks and Talons like himself.

The *Crawfowl* is another Bird, about the Bigness of a great Duck, ash-colour, has a long flat Back, a great Head, small Eyes, and short Neck, with a Craw, which will contain two Gallons of Water. They sit upon Trees by the Sea to catch Fish, which they discover at a great Distance; and are so intent on their Prey, that they are easily shot, but not eatable.

The *Colebry* or *Humming-Bird*, is admirable for its Beauty, Bulk, sweet Scent, and Manner of Life. It is no bigger than the greatest Sort of Flies, yet so beautiful, that the Feathers on the Neck, Back, and Wings, represent a Rainbow. Under its Neck is such a bright red, that it resembles a Carbuncle. Its Belly is yellow as Gold; its Thighs green, like an Emerald; the Feet and Beak black, like polished Ebony; its Eyes like Diamonds set in an Oval; its Head of a shining green; the Male has a Tuft on his Head, of all the Colours we have mentioned. He makes a Noise with his Wings like a little Whirlwind. He sucks Dew from the Flowers, spreading abroad his little Crest, which looks like so many precious Stones. The Female lays but two Eggs, of an oval Form, as big as a Pea or small Pearl: Some Ladies wear them for Pendants, when dead, though then they lose much of their Beauty. Their Smell is like that of the

finest Musk. This is also found in *Virginia*, *Barbados*, and other Places in *America*.

Before we return to our History, from which we have made this long Digression, if we may be said to digress in what we have written of the Product and Country of *St. Christopher's*, it will not be improper to say something of the *Charibbeans*, who were the Natives of the Island.

They are the same Sort of People with the Inhabitants of <sup>An Account</sup> the other Islands, tractable and credulous. They were willing <sup>of the</sup> enough to live peaceably with the *Europeans* who first land- <sup>Charibbe-</sup> ed there, and were upon the Place, when *Monsieur Desnambue* came thither; but upon his Landing, their Boyez or Conjurers, telling them, in a general Assembly met on Purpose, that the Foreigners were come to take away their Country from them, and destroy them Root and Branch, it was resolved to massacre them, as we have hinted already, and the *English* and *French* drove them out of *St. Christopher's*: After which they had long Wars with both Nations, and made Descents on the Islands they had lost, from those to which they retired.

These *Charibbeans*, say some Authors, were descended from *Arouagues*, a People of *Guyana*; their Ancestors rebelling against their King were forced to fly from the Continent to the Islands, which were till then uninhabited.

Our Country-man, *Mr. Brigstock*, who travelled much in <sup>Day.</sup> *Florida*, and spoke the Language of the Country, derives them from the *Apalachites* in *Florida*, where there is a Nation who to this Day are called *Charibbeans*, the Island of *St. Cruz* being the first they landed upon after they were forced, by the Narrowness of their own Limits, or the Power of their Enemies, to quit the Continent. These *Apalachites* or *Apalicheans* are at the back of *Georgia*, *Carolina*, &c.

They are a handsome well shaped People, not an One-eyed, lame, crook-backed, bald, or deformed Man to be seen amongst them. They are black-haired, and keep it combed nicely. They pluck up their Beards by the Roots as fast as they grow. They go stark naked, both Men and Wo- <sup>F. 254.</sup> men; and the *French*, who are a very complaisant People, to shew these *Barbarians* how well bred they are, when they go among them, strip themselves, to be of the Mode. They dye their Bodies with a Tincture, which makes them red all over. They wear a little Hat of Birds Feathers of different Colours, and sometimes a Crown of Feathers. They make Holes through their Lips, and put a kind of little Bodkin through them, made of the Bone of some Beast



Beast or Fish. They do the same by their Nostrils, in which they hang a Ring or Grain of Crystal, or some such Toy: The Men wear Bracelets on the brawny Parts of their Arms, the Women about their Wrists. They adorn their Legs with Chains of Rossada, instead of Garters. Those of them who have no Acquaintance with the *Europeans*, commonly wear Whistles about their Necks, made of the Bones of their Enemies. The most considerable of all their Ornaments are certain large Medals of fine Copper, extremely well polished, without any graving on them; which are made in the Form of a Crescent, and enchased in some kind of solid and precious Wood. These in their own Language they call *Caracolis*. It is the Livery or Badge by which the Captains and their Children are distinguished from the ordinary Sort of People. The Women paint the whole Body, and wear a kind of Buskins, which fall no lower than the Ankle.

The *Charibbeans* have an ancient and natural Language, and a kind of bastard Speech; in which they have intermixed several *European* Words, especially *Spanish*: The last they speak among the *Christians*, and the first among themselves. Though the *Charibbeans* of all the Islands do generally understand one another; yet there is in several of them some Dialect different from that of the others. Their Language is extremely smooth, and has few or no *Gutturals*. The *Charibbeans* of the Islands have a sweeter Pronunciation than those of the Continent.

Some *Frenchmen* have observed that they have a Kind of Aversion for the *English* Tongue, and carry their Aversion so far, that they cannot endure to hear it spoken.

They are shy of teaching their Language to the *Europeans*, even after they have embraced the Christian Religion. The Men have many Expressions proper only to themselves, which the Women understand well enough, but never pronounce: As for Example; *Amac* a Bed is the Man's Word, and *Nekera* a Bed the Woman's; a Bow, *Qullaba*, the Man's, *Chimala* the Woman's; the Moon, *Nonum*, the Man's, *Kati* the Woman's; the Sun, *Huyeyou* the Man's, *Kachi* the Woman's; and many others. The Women have also their Words and Phrases, which if the Men should use they would be laughed at.

The Savages say this Distinction of the Mens and the Womens Language was occasioned thus: When the *Charibbeans* came to inhabit these Islands, they were possessed by a Nation of *Arouagues*, whom they absolutely destroyed except the Women, whom they married to repopulate the Country; the

Women

Women retaining their own Language, taught it their Daughters, and this is practised to the present Times by Mothers towards their Daughters: The Male Children thus imitate their Father's, and the Female their Mother's Speech.

The *Charibbeans* of the Continent, Men and Women, speak the same Language. The old Men in the Islands have affected Terms and Phrases not used by the young ones.

They have a certain particular Language made Use of only in their Councils of War, which is very sounding and full of Fustian: The Women and Maids know nothing of it, but else they understand the Mens, and the Men their Language very well, though they do not speak it.

They have few Words of Injury, and had none for several Vices, till the *Europeans* supplied them with them. Before they were taught by them, they had no Words for the Virtues, Sciences and Arts: They can name but four Colours, White, Black, Yellow, and Red, to which they make all the rest agree.

Of other Nations they say, the *English* and *Spaniards* are not good at all; that the *Dutch* have as much Goodness as a *Man's Hand as far as the Elbow*; but like true Barbarians, that the *French* are as both *Arms*, which they stretch out to shew the Greatness of their Worth. A *Frenchman* tells us so, and as all of that Nation are very ready to wrong ours, so are they as well disposed to do themselves too much Justice.

The *Charibbeans* are naturally pensive and melancholy, but affect to appear chearful and pleasant, especially when they have drunk a little too freely. They take it as a great Affront to be thought *Savages*, saying, that Term belongs only to Wild Beasts: Nor do they like the Name of *Cannibals*, tho' they eat the Flesh of their Enemies, which they say they do out of Revenge. Perhaps they have learnt so much Delicacy from the *French*, who have conversed with them more than any other *European* Nation. They are pleased with the Name of *Charibbeans*, looking on it as an Acknowledgment of their Generosity and Courage; for in the *Apalachites* Tongue, that Word signifies as much as warlike and valiant Men.

They are of a tractable Disposition, and so compassionate among themselves, that some have died of pure Grief, when they heard any of their Countrymen who were Slaves to *Europeans*, have been ill used by them.

They reproach the Christians with their Avarice, for all their Care is for moderate Food. They wonder the *Europeans*

*peans* prefer Gold to Glass and Crystal. They also lay Injustice to their Charge, in taking their Islands from them.

They have not only an Aversion to travelling into any other Country, but they would not willingly suffer any of their Countrymen to be carried out of their own, yet they are very curious to see every Thing a Stranger brings among them.

In their Traffick they are apt to fall off from their Words; however, if they are reflected upon as light and inconstant, they are ashamed of it.

Theft is a great Crime among them: They leave their Houses and Plantations, without any Body to look to them, and are not afraid of a Thief. If a Knife is taken from them they mourn for a Week. and are eager to be revenged. They are very loving one to another till they are injured, and then never forgive.

Their young Men have no Conversation either with Maids or married Women. The Men are less amorous than the Women, both are naturally chaste; and if they had not been debauched by the Example of the *Europeans*, Lust would have been one of the Words which the *Charibbeans* had no Term for. The Christians have taught them Dissimulation, Lying, Treachery, Luxury, and several other Vices, which were unknown in these Islands, before they had any Commerce with them.

The *Savages* are civil and courteous to Strangers, says my Author; and if they have so many other good Qualities, why are they called *Savages*? They are very simple, and shew it in nothing more, than in the extraordinary Fear they conceive at the Sight of Fire-Arms, not being able to imagine how they go off, but believe the evil Spirit *Maboya* does it, who they think eats up the Moon when she is eclipsed. They cry *Maboya*, or the Devil's here, if they smell any ill Scent. Not long ago they believed Gun-Powder was the Seed of some Herb, and some were so foolish as to sow it. They reckon Salt prejudicial to Health, and therefore are afraid to make any. They will not eat Swines Flesh nor Tortoise; the former for Fear of having small Eyes, and the latter lest they might participate of that Creature's Laziness and Stupidity; yet they are so stupid, they cannot count a Number exceeding that of their Fingers and Toes. The Captains, the *Boyez*, and the most ancient among them who have more Understanding than the common Sort, count the Months by Moons, and the Years by the seven Stars, yet there's no Monument of Antiquity among them. They can't tell how long it is since their Ancestors left the Continent, nor can they



they ever tell what Age they are of, nor give any Account of the Time when the *Spaniards* came into their Country.

As to their Religion, they say the Earth is the indulgent Mother, who furnishes them with all Things necessary to Life. They hearken to what is said to them of a God, the Creator of all Things, and of the Mysteries of Faith; all the Answer they make is, *Friend, thou art a cunning Fellow, I wish I could talk as well as thee.*

The *Gharibbeans* of the Continent have no more Religion than those of the Islands: Some of them have a certain Respect for the Sun and Moon, yet they do not worship them. All that looks like Religion among them is, they have a natural Sentiment of some Divinity, who is content quietly to enjoy the Delights of its own Felicity, without being offended at the ill Actions of Men; that it is endued with so great Goodness it does not take any Revenge even of its Enemies, whence it comes that they neither honour nor adore it.

They think there are two Kind of Spirits, some Good and some Evil. The good Spirits are their Gods, and every one imagines there's one of them particularly designed for his Conduct. They say their Abode is in Heaven, but they know not what they do there.

When an *Englishman* or *Frenchman*, or any other *European* talks to them of the God that made Heaven and Earth they reply, *True, thy God made the Heaven and Earth of England or France, or any other Country which they name, and causes thy Wheat to grow there, but our God made our Country, and causes our Manioc to grow.*

Thus their natural Sentiment of a superior Power is intermixed with so many Extravagancies, and involved in such Darkness, that it cannot properly be said, these poor Wretches have any Knowledge of God.

They have no Temples nor Altars particularly dedicated to their Gods or good Spirits, but they bring their Offerings of *Cassava*; and when they think they have been cured by them of any Disease, they make a kind of Feast in Honour of them. They invoke them when they desire their Presence to demand Revenge, to be cured of some Disease to be advited in their Wars, or to drive away *Maboya*, or the evil Spirit; and this their *Boyez* or Priests do for them. Every *Boyez* has his particular God, which he invokes by the Singing of certain Words, accompanied with the Smoke of Tobacco, as a Perfume very grateful to him. The *Boyez* always invoke their Gods or rather Devils, by Night; but all that is said of the Spirits entering into the Bones of dead Men,

Men, or possessing Women to pronounce Oracles, let those report who believe it.

When any of these Savages are taken ill, they believe the Gods of their Enemies send the Distemper. They apply to their *Boyez*, and they tell them whose Gods did it, which occasions Enmity between the Persons; for there are other Priests besides the Popish, that make it their Business to set People together by the Ears. Their *Boyez* are also Magicians.

As to their *Maboyas* visibly appearing among them, beating them, and playing other Pranks, we think the Reader would believe us as silly as these *Americans*, if we give Credit to it or reported it, tho' we find it done by other Historians; who are fond of Miracles.

'Tis said the Spirits of Darkness take Occasion in the Night Time by hideous Apparitions and dreadful Representations to frighten the miserable *Charibbeans*, that they keep them in a servile Fear of their Power, charm their Senses by Illusions, and oblige them to sacrifice to them on all emergent Occasions.

The *Charibbeans* believe they have every one of them as many Souls as they feel Beatings of Arteries in their Bodies; the principal Soul they think is in the Heart, and after Death it goes to Heaven with its particular God, who carries it thither to live in the Company of other Gods; and they suppose it lives the same Kind of Life as Man lives here on Earth. As to the other Souls which are not in the Heart, they believe some after Death go and live on the Sea-side, and that they cause Vessels to turn. The others live in the Woods and Forests, and are their *Moboyas* or evil Spirits.

They are extremely afraid of Thunder and Lightning, and those of them that seem not to be concerned at it when they are among the Christians, have been found to be as much terrified, as the rest, when they have been at Home.

As for their Habitations, they require only a Tree and a Hedgebill to build them. Their Houses are near to one another, in the Form of a Village, and for the most Part they plant themselves upon some little Ascent, as well for the Goodness of the Air, as to secure themselves against those pestilent Flies, called Muskettos and Maringoins. They love to dwell near Springs, Brooks, and Rivers, because of washing themselves every Morning, before they put the red Paint on their Bodies.

Their Houses or Huts are made in an oval Form, of Pieces of Wood planted in the Ground, over which they put a Roof of Plantane Leaves or Sugar-Canes, or some Herbs; which they can so dispose and intermix one among

another, that under that Covering which reaches to the Ground, they are secured against Rain and all the Injuries of Weather. This Roof will last three or four Years, unless there happens to be a Hurricane.

They make Use of small Reeds fastened a-crofs for Palisadoes. They have as many Partitions under every Covering as they would have Rooms. A Piece of Matting serves instead of Doors, Bolts and Locks. There's nothing above their Heads but the Roof itself, and the bare Earth only is under their Feet; but they are so cleanly, they sweep as often as they see the least Filth upon it.

Besides the little Room where they take their Rest and entertain their Friends, every considerable Family has two other little Rooms, the one is their Kitchen, the other their Storehouse. They have a Sort of Hanging-Beds like Coverlets, made of Cotton neatly woven, which is fastened to certain Pillars, and there they swing as in a Hammock if they please, or fix them in a settled Place as they think fit.

They breed great Numbers of Poultry, and have about their Habitations good Store of Orange-Trees, Citron-Trees, Guavas, Fig-Trees, Bananas, and other Fruit-Trees.

Their Gardens are full of Manioc Potatoes, several Sorts of Pulse, as Pease, Beans, Maize, Millet, and others. They have also Melons, Citrons, Cabbage of very delicious Taste, and Ananas.

They often change their Habitations as the Humour takes them, either on Account of their Health or Cleanliness, or the Death of one of the Family. The Men for the most Part spend their Time abroad, but their Wives keep at Home, and do all that is requisite about the House.

The Men hunt and fish, but the Women fetch Home the Venison from the Place where it was killed, and the Fish from the Water-side. They also get in Manioc, prepare the Cassava and the Ouicou, or ordinary Drink, dress the Meat, set the Gardens, keep the House and Houshold-stuff clean, paint their Husbands with Roucou, spin Cotton, and are continually employed.

In the Islands of *St. Vincent* and *Dominico*, there are some *Charibbeans* who have many Negroes to their Slaves. Some of them they got from the *English*, and some from *Spanish* Ships cast away on the Coasts; and the Blacks serve them as obediently as if they were the most civilized People in the World.

The *Charibbeans* are temperate and cleanly in their Meals, at least the greatest Part of them. They often eat publickly together, the Women never eat till their Husbands have done.



done. They patiently endure Hunger, they dress all their Meat with a gentle Fire, and are not the worst Cooks in the World. They commonly eat sitting on low Stools, and every one has his little Table to himself. Instead of Table-Cloths they use fair and large Banana Leaves newly gathered. They wash their Hands before Meals, and before they dress their Meat. Their ordinary Bread is a thin Cake, which they call *Cassava*, made of the Manive Root. They have another Kind of Bread made of Maze, and some of them instead of Bread eat Potatoes.

Their common Food are Lizards, Fish, Pulse and Crabs. Their Desert are Figs, Bananas or Ananas. Sometimes the *Charibbeans* on the Continent have a detestable Kind of Seasoning to their Meat, which is with the Fat of the *Arouagues*, their irreconcilable Enemies.

Their Drink is generally Mobby, made of Potatoes boiled with Water; as the *Ouicou* is of *Cassavia*. In several Places delicious Wine is to be met with, as Palm Wine, Coufcou and Cane Wine, made of Sugar-Canes; and there was more of this Wine made by the *Charibbeans* of *St. Christopher's*, than by any other Savages, because this Island abounded most with Sugar-Canes.

The *Europeans* have taught them to forsake several of their barbarous Customs, particularly of their Severity to their Wives; for of late they are seldom seen to fetch Home the Fish and Venison taken by their Husbands, and when they have been a fishing, the Husband and Wife eat together: Besides, the Women go oftner to the *Carbet*, or House of publick Feasts and Rejoicings than formerly; neither are the Barbarians such Enemies to the Flesh of Tortoise, Lamantine, and Swine, as they were before. An Instance of which is reported in a *French History of the Charibbee-Islands*. A Gentleman of that Nation who lived in one of them, being visited by a Cacique or Captain of the Savages, entertained him and his Company in Jest, with Lamantine's Flesh. The Cacique mistrusting the *Frenchman* would put a Trick upon him, prayed the Gentleman not to deceive him; and the other upon his Honour assured him he would not. Then the Cacique fell to it, and eat heartily. After Dinner the *Frenchman* confessed the Deceit, to see how the Cacique and his Followers would behave themselves: But the *Charibbean*, the least Savage of the two, replied, *Well Friend, we shall not die of it*: And he and his Followers put a good Face on the Matter, but went Home resolving to be revenged. Accordingly some Time after, the Cacique invited the Gentleman to an Entertainment at his Village;

Village, and the latter went thither attended by some of his Countrymen. The *Charibbean* gave them a plentiful Feast, but had ordered his People to put into all the Sauces some Fat of their dead Enemies, of which the chief *Charibbeans* are always well provided. When Dinner was over, the Cacique asked the Gentleman and his Companions, how they liked their Treatment? They all highly commended it, and thanked him for his Kindness. He then acquainted them with the Trick he had put upon them. Most of the *Frenchmen* were so shocked at hearing it, that they could not retain what they had eaten, and growing sick of the Fancy, the *Charibbean* laughed and said, *I am now revenged of you.*

The Savages take Pains even in their Pleasures. The chiefest of their Exercises are Hunting and Fishing, especially the latter. They are wonderful expert in using their Bows and Arrows. They do not take their Wives with them when they hunt or fish, as some *Basilians* do.

Their ordinary hunting is for Lizards. They are the best Fishermen in *America*, either with the Hook or Dart, or other Inventions. They weave Beds, make Baskets of Bull-Rushes, Wooden-Chairs all of one Piece, little Tables wove of the Leaves of the *Latanier-Tree*, Streining-Cloths, Carocolis, several Kinds of Vessels for eating and drinking, Girdles, Hats and Crowns of Feathers. The Women make Buskins, or Half-Stockings of Cotton for themselves. The Men are very neat in ordering and polishing their Arms, and take a great deal of Pains about the Periagas or Boats, some of which are so large, that they will carry 50 Men. They make earthen Pots of all Sorts, as also Plates. They delight much in handling Joiners and Carpenters Tools, and would make good Mechanicks. They are great Lovers of Diversion and Recreation, and take a particular Pleasure in keeping and teaching a vast Number of Parrots and Parakets.

The *Charibbeans* have musical Instruments, but indeed very far from deserving that harmonious Name. Their Drums are made of hollow Trees, over which they put a Skin only at one End. They have a rude Kind of Organ made of Gourds. As soon as they are up in the Morning, they tune a Pipe well polished, and handsomly made; some of them of the Bones of their Enemies. While they are tuning their Pipes, their Wives are busy in getting them their Breakfasts. They sing certain barbarous Airs over their Fish while it is broiling. Most of their Songs are bitter Satyrs in their Way, on their Enemies. They have also Songs on Birds, on Fishes and Women. In the latter they would give Of-

fence to Mr. Collier, for like the Barbarians of *Parnassus*, they are full of *Smut*.

The *Charibbeans* Dancing is chiefly at their Corbet, or Place of publick Entertainment. At such Times they spend the Day and Night in Eating, Drinking, Dancing, Talking, and Laughing. Both Men and Women then make a shift to get drunk, but they are seldom so beastly except on those solemn Occasions. As when a Council of War is held, when they return from any Expedition, no Matter whether fortunate or unfortunate; on the Birth of their First-born, when their Childrens Hair is cut, when they are at Age to go to the Wars, when they begin a Building, launch a Boat, or are recovered of any Disease. They have on the contrary their solemn Fasts, but it would be too tedious to give all their ridiculous Reasons for them.

They receive Strangers who come to their Islands to visit them, with great Tokens of Kindness and Affection. They are very much afraid of being surprized by the *Europeans*, and driven out of the Islands they possess; and to prevent it have Men posted on the Sea-Coasts and on the high Mountains, to discover who comes and give Notice. Immediately they send away a Canoo, to see if they are Friends or Foes, for they will not trust any People's Colours, having been deceived by the *Europeans*. If they are Enemies and land, they lay Ambuscades, fall upon them from thence, and then on a sudden, joining all together, let fly a Shower of Arrows, and afterwards come to Handy-blows with their Clubs. If the Enemy is too hard for them they fly to Rocks, or even the Sea, and some diving down will rise 200 Paces off. They often rally again after they are routed, meeting all at a certain unknown Place of Rendezvous.

Their having no Arithmetick is the Occasion that they cannot tell what Number of them there is in any of their Islands: But it is supposed where they are most numerous, they cannot make above 1500 fighting Men.

The Strangers that come like Friends are entertained as such, with equal Chearfulness and Plenty. Their Government is as barbarous as their Customs, or rather as strange; for why should they be called barbarous for any Thing we have said of them, except it is their eating the Flesh of their Enemies?

There are several Sorts of Captains in every Island belonging to them, the Captain of the Carbet or Village, which is generally the Father of a numerous Family; the Captain of the *Periaga*, or Boat, and an Admiral, who commands the whole Fleet; the grand Captain, or Captain General, who



is also called Cacique. His Office is during Life, he is preferred by Election, leads their Armies, and is always highly esteemed among them.

There are seldom above two Caciques in an Island. None of these Caciques have any Command over the whole Nation, nor any Superiority over the other Captains after the War is over, and none of them command twice in chief, unless he has distinguished himself eminently.

Let us see what are the Qualities that a new Man must be Master of, to give any a Pretence to stand for the Office of Captain General among the *Charibbeans*. He must have been several Times in the Wars, and have behaved himself bravely in them. He must surpass all his Competitors in running, in Swimming and Diving. He must be able to carry a greater Burthen than the rest of the Pretenders, and to endure Pain; which Experiment is made by cutting and hashing his Flesh, and his best Friends make the deepest Incisions. But this Ceremony is not used every where, and those *Charibbeans* who have much Commerce with the *Europeans*, have quite left it off, with several other Customs, at which they laugh.

The Cacique being chosen makes War, prepares for it, and leads the Army. He appoints Assemblies of Counsellors, and of the Carbet.

As for Laws they have none, and no Magistrates. He who thinks himself injured, is his own Judge, and gets what Satisfaction he will or can of his Adversary. If he does not revenge himself, he is despised as a Coward. They are such Strangers to Law and Lawyers, that they have no Words in their Tongue for *Justice* and *Judgment*. And if they knew what they meant in ours, or how they are abused, they would with Reason turn the Barbarians upon us.

They carry some Women to their Wars, to dress their Meat, and look to their Periagas. Their Canoos are less Boats. fit for Rivers or Bays only. Their Custom is to go from Island to Island to refresh themselves, and to that End, they have Gardens in those which are desert.

The *Arouagues* a Nation of *Guyana*, are their irreconcilable Enemies, who cruelly persecuted the *Charibbeans* of the *Continent*, the Relations of those of the Islands. The latter sail once or twice a Year in their Periagas to find them out, and be revenged on them.

The *Arouagues* never make any Attempt on the Islanders, but always stand on their Defence only. The Island-Savages coast along all the other Islands from *St. Cruz*, the furthestmost of the *Charibbees*, which is 300 Leagues distant from

the *Arouagues*: When they land if they are discovered they take it for an ill Omen, and retire. If not, they seek their Enemies and engage them. The Prisoners they take are not immediately slain, but chained and carried Home.

Next to the *Arouagues* they hate the *Spaniards* and *English*. A *French* Author gives this for a Reason of their Hatred to the *English*, that the latter, under the Flags of other Nations, got several *Charibbeans* aboard their Ships; when they had first made them drunk, carried them to their Plantations, and kept them as Slaves; which, it is very probable, is a scandalous Reflection on our Countrymen by our Enemies the *French*.

They have made several Incurfions upon the Islands of *Montferrat* and *Antego*, burnt Houfes, destroyed Plantations, and carried away Men, Women, and Children; but we do not understand they eat any of them, the *Arouagues* being their only Dish of that Kind.

About 50 Years ago they had some *English* Boys and Girls in the Isle of *St. Vincent's*, who being carried thither very young, were bred up by the Savages with equal Gentleness as their own, and had so accustomed themselves to their Way of living, that they were only distinguished from the *Charibbeans* by their fair Hair.

They have the same Aversion for the *Spaniards*, and for the same Reason; but the *French*, according to my Author, a *Frenchman*, are in the good Graces of the *Charibbeans*.

The Reader will not be displeas'd to have a particular Account of their Treatment of their Captives, or Prisoners of War, it being from thence they are called Cannibals, and are perhaps the only People upon Earth that eat Man's Flesh out of Choice. For though the *French*, who converse most with them of any Nation in *Europe*, gives us such a Description of them, that one would think they were become as polite as themselves; yet it is certain, they often feast themselves with that abominable Repast, which but to think of, makes Nature start, and the Blood curdle in ones Veins with Horror.

When they bring Home a Prisoner of War from among the *Arouagues*, he belongs of Right to him who seized him, and that Savage keeps him at his House, secures him there in Bonds, and after he has been kept fasting four or five Days, produces him at the Carbet to serve for a publick Victim, to the immortal Hatred of his Countrymen towards that Nation.

If there be any of their Enemies dead upon the Place, they eat them before they leave it. The young Maids and Women taken in War are only designed for Slavery. They do not eat the Children of their Female Captives, but formerly had

had good Stomachs for all the Male-Captives, as well of other Nations, as of the *Arouagues*.

We are not entirely convinced of the Truth of this, but in the History of the *Charibbee-Islands*, translated out of *French* by Mr. *Davyes*, the Author pretends this is not only true, but says there was a great deal of Difference between a Ragout made of a *Frenchman*, and one made of a *Spaniard*. His Words are, as they are rendered in our Tongue; *They have heretofore tasted of all the Nations that frequented them, and affirm, that the French are the most delicate, and the Spaniards of hardest Digestion; but now they do not feed on any Christians at all.* Wherein the Vanity of the *French* Nation is the most conspicuous that ever we met with; for they are not only content to say in other Places, they fight the best, write the best, talk the best, paint the best, sing the best, dance the best, &c. but this *French* Author avers, they eat the best of any People whatever; which is a Compliment on his Nation, the Cannibals perhaps learnt to put on them, since they were civilized by them; for there's no doubt, but among other of their Talents, they taught them that of Flattery.

They used to torture their Captives before they killed them, but now they give them the *Coup de Grace*, knock them on the Head, broil, and then eat them. As soon as the unfortunate Prisoner is laid dead upon the Place, the young Men take up the Body, wash it, and cut it in Pieces, then they boil Part, and broil Part of the Flesh; the Women licking the very Stick on which the Fat of the *Arouague* dropped. Each there present has his Portion. All the Greese that is produced by this diabolical Cookery is carefully saved, and distributed among the chiefest of them, who keep it in *Gourds* to relish their Sauces with it.

They rub the Bodies of their Children with the Blood of these miserable Victims, to animate them to future Cruelties, and thus they make their Revenge hereditary. But the *French* Author does all he can to excuse these Cannibals, by Examples of others more cruel than they. And indeed there seems to be a great Disposition in him to forgive the *Charibbean* Man-Eaters, who had so highly extolled the savoury Dish of a *Frenchman*.

When these Savages desire to marry, they have a Privilege to take all their Cousin-Germans, and make no more ado about it, than to fetch them and enjoy them. After which they are their lawful Wives. They may have as many as they please, and the Captains value themselves much on the Number of theirs.



They build a particular Hut for each Wife, continue with her they like most, and the rest conceive no Jealousy at it. She whom they honour most with their Company is very assiduous in waiting upon them. They love their Wives very passionately while it lasts, but leave them when they please, with or without Reason; yet it is seldom known that they forsake their first Wives, especially if they have had Children by them. They often make their young She-Prisoners of War their Wives. Their Children by them are accounted free, but their Mothers are still reckoned Slaves. If any one of them has no Cousin-Germans, he may marry such as are not a-kin to him, demanding them of their Fathers and Mothers. They are then, provided Consent is obtained, *ipso Facto*, their Wives, and Home they carry them. Those young Men that have signalized themselves in the Wars, are much importuned by the Fathers and Mothers of the young Maids, to take them to be their Wives, and as often as they return victorious from War, new Wives are offered them. The young Men never converse with either Maids or Women till they are married. If a Woman was formerly inconstant to her Husband, he knew not how to punish this Crime, but since the *Europeans* have made it better known among them, if a *Charibbean* finds his Wife prostituting herself to another, he does himself present Justice, by beating out her Brains with his Club, or cutting her open with a Razor.

Their Customs at the Birth of their Children are too obscene to be reported. One merry enough is, that the Man lies in instead of the Wife, and is dieted for 10 Days; and at the Birth of the First, the Father is scarified, and fasts a long Time.

As soon as the Children come into the World, the Mothers make their Fore-heads flat. They do not swath them. They name them 10 Days after their Birth, and give them Names from some Accident that happened to the Father while the Wife was with Child: As for Instance, a *Charibbean* of *Dominico* having been at *St. Christopher's*, in the Time of his Wife's being with Child, and seen the *French* General, named the Child he had at his Return *General*, in Remembrance of the kind Entertainment he had met with from him. These first Names are changed by the Male Children, when they grow up to be Soldiers.

The *Charibbean* Women suckle their Children, and are very good Nurses. Their Children are bred up in a great Reverence of their Parents, they are carefully educated in the

Exercise

Exercise of the Bow, and other Arms, to fish, swim, make Baskets. Clubs, Bows, Arrows, Beds, and Periaguas, which is all they think is necessary they should understand.

These *Charibbeans*, by their natural Temperament, Sobriety and Exercise, enjoy Health and long Life. 'Tis said, they are so vigorous in their old Age, that it is common for them to get Children at fourscore and ten Years old. Many among them have not a grey Hair at above 100 Years old. They live, says the above-mentioned Author, commonly Ibid. p. 150 Years, and sometimes longer; for about 50 or 60 Years 342. ago, there were some Persons living among them, who remembered the first Arrival of the *Spaniards* in *America*. Those very old Persons are Bed-riden, immoveable, and reduced to meer Skeletons.

When they are at any Time sick, they have Recourse to Herbs, Fruits, Roots, Oils, and Gums, by the Assistance of which they soon recover their Health, if the Disease be not incurable. They have an infallible Secret to cure the stinging of Snakes, a great Skill in their Kind of Physick, and if it fails, apply themselves to their *Boyez* or Conjurers, who by their devilish Mysteries pretend to cure them. 'Twas formerly a great Act of Friendship among them, to kill such as were old and useles, but it is not thought so now.

They bury their Dead with many ridiculous Ceremonies, reckoned holy among them, and sometimes kill Slaves to wait on the Ghosts of the deceased.

Thus we have in a little Compass, given the Reader a distinct Idea of the Origin, History, Customs, Manners, Religion, and Way of Living of the *Charibbeans*, the first Inhabitants of these Islands; and this Account is to serve for all the other Islands as well as *St. Christopher's*, of which we are treating; and that being one of the biggest, we thought we could not insert it in a more proper Place.

Before we continue the historical Events of this Island, we shall take some farther Notice of the Climate and Country, by other Informations. 'Twas formerly much troubled with Earthquakes, which, upon the Irruption of the *Sulphur* Mountain there many Years ago, have in a great Measure ceased, and have seldom been felt there since. Hurricanes are still frequent here, and it was some Time since the Custom of both the *English* and *French* Inhabitants in this and the other *Charibbee-Islands*, to send about the Month of *June*, to the Native *Charibbees* of *Dominico* and *St. Vincent*, to know whether there would be any Hurricanes that Year; and about 10 or 12 Days before the Hurricane came, they constantly sent them Word, and it very rarely failed.

Lowth. Vol.

II. p. 105.

An *Indian* who lived with *Capt. Langford* several Years, gave him these Prognosticks, to know when a Hurricane was coming. It comes either on the Day of the full Change, or Quarters of the Moon. If it will come on the full Moon, you being in the Change, then observe these Signs: That Day you will see the Skies very turbulent, the Sun more red than at other Times, a great Calm, and the Hills clear of Clouds or Fogs over them, which in the High-Lands are seldom so. In the Hollows of the Earth or Wells, there will be a great Noise, as if you were in a great Storm; the Stars at Night will look very big with Burs about them, the North-West Sky very black and foul, the Sea smelling stronger than at other Times, as usually it does in violent Storms; and sometimes that Day for an Hour or two, the Wind blows very hard Westerly, out of its usual Course. On the full of the Moon you have the same Signs, but a great Bur about the Moon, and many Times about the Sun. The like Signs must be taken Notice of on the Quarter-Days of the Moon. In the Months of *July*, *August*, and *September*, for the Hurricanes come in those Months; the soonest that had been ever heard of was the 25th of *July*, and the latest the 8th of *September*, not many Years since, for the Month they usually come in is *August*.

We have nothing farther to say of *St. Christopher's*, as to the Natural or Geographical Account of it, so we shall return to the Historical; in which, if we are not more exact, the Reader will excuse us, considering the Difficulties we were obliged to struggle with: For having much less Acquaintance with the *Leeward Islands*, than with the other Plantations, we could not procure so many Memoirs, as we have done for other Parts of our History of the *British Empire* in *America*.

Mr. Everard,  
Governor.

To *Mr. Rich*, the second *English* Governor of *St. Christopher's*, succeeded *Mr. Everard*, who continued in the Government several Years; and by what we can understand, was in that Office when the Rump usurped the supreme Power in *England*. The *Leeward-Islands* refusing to acknowledge their Sovereignty, *King Charles* the II. appointed *Major General Poyntz* to be Governor, and he was in Possession of *St. Christopher's*, when *Sir George Ayscue* arrived at *Barbados* and reduced that Island: After which he sailed to *Nevis* and *St. Christopher's*; but *Major General Poyntz* not being strong enough to defend himself against the Power *Sir George* brought with him, withdrew before his Arrival, and ship'd himself for *Virginia*, the only Retreat for Cavaliers.



Who the Parliament put into this Government, we cannot tell, but after the *Restoration*, the Lord *Willoughby* was made Governor of the *Leeward-Islands*, as well as of *Barbados*, and he resided there some Time.

Who was his immediate Successor is not come to our Knowledge, unless it was Sir *William Stapleton*, whom we find not long after the Lord *Willoughby's* Death, in Possession of this Government, in which he continued to his Death; and in his Stead King *James* made Sir *Nathaniel Johnson* Governor of the *Leeward-Islands*, who enjoyed it till King *William's* Accession to the Throne; when, through Discontent or Fear, he withdrew to *Carolina*, and made Way for Colonel *Codrington* in the Government of these Islands, who being a great Proprietor here, was the more acceptable to the Inhabitants.

There had not been any declared War between *France* and *England*, since the Settlement of the Island of *St. Christopher's*; yet the *English* and *French* had not been without Skirmishes there upon their particular Quarrels, but they never made any Attempt to dispossess each other till the last War, which followed the *Revolution* in *England*; for King *Charles* and King *James*, in their Treaties with *Lewis* the XIVth, agreed, that in Case of a Rupture in *Europe*, the Subjects of both Kings, in the *West-Indies*, should be Neutral, that they might not be involved in Wars, to which they did not in the least contribute in the Cause of them, and that their Trade might not be interrupted, which would be very fatal to their growing Settlements: But the *French*, who were never famous for observing their Treaties, broke this; and before any Declaration of War was made in *England* or *France*, they entered the *English* Pale, and destroyed it with Fire and Sword, forcing the Inhabitants to fly to the Forts for Safety. It is true, the Animosities between the two Nations were grown to a great Height; and it is said, the *Irish* Papists, and others of the Popish Faction in *St. Christopher's*, instigated the *French* to break the Peace there, before it was broken in *Europe*.

In King *William's* Declaration of War against the *French* King, the Invasion of the *Charibbee-Islands* by the *French*, is mentioned as one of the Reasons of it.

When they had reduced the *English* to great Straights, the latter applied to the Government of *Barbados* for Succours; but before those Succours arrived, the *English* surrendered the Forts, and their Part of the Island of *St. Christopher's* to the Enemy, on the 29th of *July*, 1689. and could obtain no better Conditions, than to be sent to the adjacent Island of *Newis*.

We

We must now leave the *French* in Possession of the whole Isle, and the *English* Inhabitants of it dwelling in other Places. This proved a terrible Loss to the Merchants of *London*, and other Parts of *England*, trading to the *Leeward-Islands*; for the Factors at *Nevis* took great Part of their Merchandize, their Negroes especially, to the Planters of *St. Christopher's*; and this made their Debtors incapable of paying them. Some dishonest Factors took hold of this Opportunity to balance their Accounts with their Principals; and a Merchant of *Nevis*, who owed his Correspondent 10000 *l.* paid off the greatest Part of it with Debts at *St. Christopher's*; for many Persons being ruined in this deplorable Calamity, it was a Temptation to an unfair Correspondent to sink his good Debts with the bad; and the Author is but too well convinced, that there's a great deal of Truth in this Conjecture.

Eight Months after the *French* were sole Masters of *St. Christopher's*, there happened an Earthquake here, which was felt in the other Islands. The Earth opened nine Foot in many Places, and buried solid Timber, Sugar-Mills, &c. It threw down the Jesuits College, and all other Stone-Buildings.

The *French* had two Men of War here; and having equipped 15 small Vessels, they put 4 or 500 Men aboard, and went down to *Stacia*, out of which Island they drove the *Dutch*.

We have mentioned Sir *Timothy Thornhill's* being at *Antego*, and his going thence to *Nevis*, to wait for the Arrival of Commodore *Wright*, with the regular Troops expected from *England*. It is said in our Account of *Nevis*, that the Forces rendezvoused there; and all that remains for us to say here, is, what they did when they arrived at *St. Christopher's*.

The Captain General, *Christopher Codrington*, Esq; commanded in this Expedition in Person, and sailed from *Nevis*, with the Land Forces, on *Thursday* the 19th of *June*, 1690; and the same Evening the Fleet came to an Anchor before the Island of *St. Christopher's*, in *Frigat-Bay*. In the Night, eight Frigats weighed, and fell down three Leagues to leeward, to amuse and harass the Enemy; and the next Morning they returned. That Day the *English* ply'd their great Guns from some of the Frigats, which lay nearest in with the Shore, upon the *French* in their Trenches, and received some Shot in Exchange from a Battery of five Guns they had there, but without any Damage on the Side of the *English*. At Night a Council of War was held  
aboard

aboard the Commodore, at which assisted the General and Field Officers, and the chief Commanders of the Men of War.

According to the Resolutions by them taken, Major General *Thornhill*, with 400 of his own Regiment, and a Detachment of 150, out of the Regiments of *Nevis*, *Antego*, and *Montserrat*, landed the next Morning between two and three of the Clock, with the Forelorn, at the little *Salt-Pits*, about a League to the Windward of *Frigat-Bay*. The Field-Mark were Matches about their Left Arms. The Enemy made no Opposition, having left that Place unguarded by Reason of its Situation, it lying at the Foot of a Hill, which is almost inaccessible, and over which they thought it impossible for Men to march. The *English* mounted this steep Ascent, by a Path frequented by none but wild Goats, and in some Places so near a Perpendicular, that they were forced to use their Hands as well as their Feet, in climbing up. About break of Day they gained the Top, where they received a Volley of about seven or eight Shot, from some Scouts placed there, who immediately upon their firing retired. Two Officers were wounded by those Shot, and one of them died of his Wounds soon after. Sir *Timothy Thornhill* left one Company to secure the Pass upon the Hill, and led his Men down a third Part of it, before they were discovered by the *French*, who then fired briskly upon the *English* from their Trenches, wounded several Men, and among others Major General *Thornhill* himself, who was shot through the Small of his Left-Leg, which obliged him to stay the Binding of it up: But his Men, *Creoleans* most of them, ran resolutely down upon the Enemy, and flanked them in their Trenches; at the same Time that the Duke of *Bolton's* Regiment, and the *Marines*, landed at *Frigat-Bay*. In which Action Colonel *Kegwin* received a mortal Wound, of which he soon after died.

Colonel *Holt*, who commanded the Duke of *Bolton's* Regiment, and acted here as Lieutenant General, charged the Enemy so bravely, that he forced them to quit their Post in Disorder, and leave the *English* Masters of the Field. Fourteen *French* and *English* were killed in this Dispute.

Sir *Timothy Thornhill* and the wounded Men being sent on Board the Ships, and the Forces all landed, were drawn up into four Battalions. Colonel *Holt*, who led the Van, was ordered with his Regiment to take the Road adjoining to the Sea. Lieutenant Colonel *John Thomas*, at the Head of the *Barbados* Regiment, marched thro' the Country; and Col. *Williams* with the *Antego* Regiment, marched at a Distance, as a Reserve to that Body. The other four Regiments kept their Posts, and waited for farther Orders. After



After an Hour's March, Colonel *Holt* came up with a small Party of the Enemy, and routed them. The Companies of *French* which ran from *Frigat-Bay*, joining with the rest of their Forces, they all advanced against the *English*, and having the Advantage of the Ground, and three to one in Number, they charged the *Barbados* Regiment. After a sharp Dispute of half an Hour, the *French* had almost surrounded the *English*; but Colonel *Williams* coming up with the Reserve, and attacking them vigorously, and unexpectedly, the *Barbadians* were so encouraged, that they pressed resolutely on, and beat the Enemy out of the Field in Confusion, one part flying to the Mountains, and the rest betaking themselves to the Fort, which formerly belonged to the *English*. The four Regiments at *Frigat-Bay* were upon this ordered to march up, and Colonel *Holt's* Regiment also joined Colonel *Thomas*. After which the whole Army was drawn up into one Body, and the Soldiers were permitted to drink by Companies, at the adjacent Wells and Cisterns.

While the Army was thus refreshing, the Cocks-wain of the Commodore came with Advice to the Captain General, that the Men of War having fallen down before the Town and Fort of *Basse-Terre*, the *French*, after firing two or three Rounds, struck their Flag, set the Town on Fire, and quitted it, but by the Diligence of the Seamen, who came ashore from the Frigats, it was extinguished.

Upon which General *Codrington* marched immediately to *Basse-Terre*, designing to quarter the Army there that Night; but the Enemy having left Store of Wine, and other Liquors behind them, and he fearing the Disorders it might breed among the Soldiers, altered his Resolutions, and only halted there, placing his own Company of Guards, commanded by Colonel *Byam*, in the Mass-house. He then ordered the Army to march to the Jesuits Convent, lying about a Mile above the Town; where they were drawn up again, and Orders were given to lie by their Arms all Night.

Guards were set, and Parties sent out to drive in Cattle. The *English* found Store of Flower, Bread, &c. in the Convent. The Night proved wet, and it rained without Intermission till Morning; but the Officers generously shared the Weather with the Soldiers, scarce any, except the general Officers, going into the Convent for Shelter.

The next Morning the Army marched down to the Town, the Commissary General having secured the Liquors in a convenient Store-house: The Soldiers had free Liberty

to plunder the Town, and the Commissary of each Regiment distributed also Wine and Brandy among them. The Fort here was mounted with 16 Guns, which the Enemy had nailed and spiked; but the *English* cleared them again.

In the Afternoon Major *Gunthorp* was sent with 150 Men out of the *Antego* Regiment, to gain and secure a Pass, which was thought to be possessed by the Enemy. It lay in the Way to the *English* Fort, and the *French* quitted it before Major *Gunthorp* came up.

The next Day the *English* continued in the Town; and in the Evening, the Country all round it was in Flames, being fired by the *English* Negroes, who came from the Mountains; where they had lain since their Masters the *English* were beaten off the Island.

The Day following General *Codrington*, with the whole Army, marched towards the Fort, and that Night encamped about three Miles from it, having the like ill Fortune of rainy Weather. The same Day the Men of War weighed from *Basse-Terre*, and fell down to *Old-Road*; and the Wheel-barrow, Shovels, Pick-Axes, &c. were brought ashore.

On *Thursday* Morning, the 20th of *June*, the *English* marched within a Mile of the Fort, and encamped under Covert of a high Hill; a Detachment out of Colonel *Earl's* Regiment being sent, under the Command of Captain *William Butler*, to secure the Top of it.

The next Day the Commodore's two Chafe-Guns, and six Pounders, were brought ashore, in order to be drawn up to the Top of the Hill; and the Marine Regiment, under the Command of Colonel *Kirby*, Captain of the *Success* Man of War, was employed to cut and clear a Path for the drawing them up; which was done in two Days time, a Platform laid, and the Guns mounted on it. Baskets of Earth were thrown up, for a Covering from the Enemy's Shot, it lying open to the Fort. On which they began to play on the 30th of *June*, the very first Shot doing Execution. The Frigats also weighed from *Old-Road*, stood down to the Fort, and battered it; the whole Army at the same Time marching into a deep and wide Ditch, between the Hill and the Fort, within Musket Shot of it.

In the Afternoon the Frigats stood up again to *Old-Road*; but the Guns from the Hill kept playing incessantly till Night: At which Time the *English* began their Entrenchments, running (from the Ditch where they lay encamped) a Trench, with a Half-Moon at the End, capable of holding 400 Men.

On the 1st of *July*, one of the *Nevis* Regiments, and part of the *Antego* Regiment, was sent under the Command of Colonel *Charles Pym*, to take a small Fort of the Enemy's about three Miles distant from the Camp; which they surprized, and made 50 Men Prisoners.

In the Evening, Lieutenant General *Holt* having given Orders to the Out-guards that were placed towards the Fort, to fire, without challenging any one who should come that Way: Himself afterwards riding by them in the Dusk, to view the Works, was shot into the Body by one *Gibbons*, an *Irishman*, who was one of the Soldiers upon Duty. He returned to the Camp, and languished long of the Wound, with little Hopes of Recovery. *Gibbons* was tried by a Court-Marshal, but after a full Hearing, acquitted.

The Guns on the Hill proving so serviceable, on the 2d of *July* four more, of a larger Size, were drawn up; but one of them splitting at the first Firing, and the rest being incommodiously planted, they were no more made use of. The same Day four Companies of the Enemy marched out of the Fort, and drew up before the Gate; but in a Quarter of an Hour they marched in again.

The *English* having finished their Half-Moon, ran another Trench about a Quarter of a Mile below it, able to contain a like Number of Men. And at a like Distance below that, they began another, wide enough to draw the Carriages of the great Guns through.

The four following Days they continued quiet in their Trenches, and at Night ran on their Works. The *French* fired Day and Night upon them with great Guns and small Arms, but did them little Damage: Whereas the Guns on the Hill extremely galled the Enemy, leaving no Corner of the Fort unsearched. Some Hundreds of *French* being out in the Mountains, headed by one Monsieur *Pinelle*, Parties were daily sent abroad, commanded by the Officers in their Turns, to scour them out. And the Major General, Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, being returned, went himself, on the 7th of *July*, at the Head of 200 Men, on the same Design; but could not meet with any Enemy to engage him, the *French* lurking sometimes in one Place, and sometimes in another. However he took some Prisoners, many Negroes, and store of Cattle.

After Sir *Timothy Thornhill's* Return to the Camp, a Proclamation was made by beat of Drum, in several Places of the Island, by the Command of the General, that all who would come in, in three Days Time, should receive his Protection, to secure their Persons from the Outrages of the Soldiers.



Soldiers. Several Families surrendered themselves; of whom many were permitted to return to their Houses, and keep some small Stock, till farther Orders. Monsieur *Pinelle* also sent in a Flag of Truce from the Mountains, to acquaint General *Codrington*, that he could not come in without Leave from the Governor. However he assured him, he would remain quiet, and give free Passage to any of the *English* he should meet with.

The Army continued in their Trenches the 10th and 11th of the same Month, having run them within Pistol Shot of the Fort. They had a Half-Moon over against the Gate, on which they planted several Colours, two 18 Pounders, and four 12 Pounders; but before they were mounted, on *Saturday* the 12th of *July*, the Drums beat a Parley in the Fort, and four Persons marched out with a Flag of Truce. They were met in the Pasture, between the *English* Trenches and the Fort, by Major *Legard*, and by him conducted to General *Codrington*.

After some Treaty Hostages were given on both Sides: A *French* Major continued with the *English*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Not* was sent to the *French*. Captain *Hamilton* went also with him, as an Interpreter. Notwithstanding the Treaty, General *Codrington* continued in his Works, joining his Trench to the Enemy's Trench, through which they used to come from the Fort to the Well. Out-Guards were placed under the Walls, and at the Gates of the Fort: And in the Evening the *English* mounted their Guns on the Battery. About 12 a Cloek in the Night, there was a Canoo let over the Fort-Walls, (it being situate by the Sea-side) which ran aboard a Sloop that came close in with the Shore, under Covert of the dark Night. The *English* let fly a whole Volley upon them, which made them hasten away.

Captain *Hamilton* came to the Centry, at the Fort-Gate, and ordered him to acquaint Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, that there was a Ship seen off. Upon which Mr. *Spencer*, his Secretary was dispatched away to *Old-Road*, to give Commodore *Wright* Notice of it; but in the Interim, a Brigantine was sent in Pursuit of the Sloop.

The Commodore immediately ordered two Frigats to weigh, and put out in Search of the said Ship, a Sloop; which they did: And the next Day they returned, without seeing any Vessel.

All the while the *English* were attacking the *French* at Land, there were two Men of War that cruized about to take any *French* Ships that might arrive there, either by Design or Chance; but they met with none.

On the 14th of *July*, the Fort was surrendered to General *Codrington*, upon the same Articles that the *English* had, when they delivered up the Fort to the *French*.

After the Enemy marched out, the *English* Flag was put up, the King's and Queen's Health were drank, the great Guns thrice fired, and three Volleys made by the whole Army.

The Fort was quadrangular, consisting of four Flankers, with three Curtains between each. On each Flanker were mounted five Guns. The Walls were of Stone, about 20 Foot high, surrounded with a deep Ditch, 12 Foot wide, over which was a narrow wooden Bridge. In the Middle of the Fort were two Mounts, thrown up for Batteries. There was also a Well, but upon firing the Guns, the Water presently dried away. There was store of Provisions, Liquors, and Powder; but they wanted Shot.

The *English* had about 100 Men killed and wounded, in re-taking this Island; which in general is very strong, there being several small Fortifications and Breast-Works all round, except where it is naturally fortified with Hills and Shoals.

The Inhabitants were about 1800 Men, besides Women, Children, and Negroes, who were all, (except the Negroes, who were to be divided as Plunder) transported to the Island of *Hispaniola*; only some particular Persons had the Favour granted them, to be carried up to *Martinico*.

After a few Days Refreshment, Sir *Timothy Thornhill* embarked with his own Regiment in the Sloops, and the *Marines* on board the Frigats, and set sail for the Island of *St. Eustace*.

The same Day, the 20th of *July*, he came before the Island, and sent Captain *Hamilton* ashore, with a Flag of Truce, to summon the Governor and Inhabitants to surrender: But the Governor returned Answer, That he would defend the Place to the utmost.

The next Morning the Frigats began to batter the Fort; and the Major General landed with his Men, at the same Time under a high Cliff, which they ascended. They had not marched far, after they got up, before they perceived some *Dutch* Colours in the Woods. Upon which a Party was sent to discover them; who returned with an Account, that it was Colonel *Scorer*, (the Governor of the Island for the *Dutch*, when the *French* took it) with a 100 Men under his Command; who came from *Saba*, and landed there three Days before; but not having Strength enough to take the Fort, (into which the Inhabitants were fled) he designed to get what Plunder he could, and so go off again. He refused to join with Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, because he was first

first landed, and so accordingly he went off the next Day. The Major General proceeded in his March towards the Fort, and encamped within Musket-shot of it, under the Rising of a small Hill.

The next Day the *Marine* Regiment landed, and the Shovels, Pick-axes, &c. being brought ashore, the *English* began their Entrenchments, running their Trench along by the Fort, within Musket-shot of it. After five Days Siege, the Governor sent out a Flag of Truce, with Articles; but he was so high in his Demands, that Sir *Timothy* refused them, and returned for Answer, That if he did not descend to more reasonable Terms within three Days, he would give him and his Men no Quarter. Within the prescribed Time, another Flag of Truce came out of the Fort, and the Governor surrendered it upon Quarter for Life, and to march out with their Baggage. The Fort was mounted with 16 great Guns, was surrounded with double Rows of Stakes, the Intervals filled with Earth, and without that strong Pallisadoes. On the one Side of which was a deep Ditch, and over it a very narrow Bridge, leading to the Gate, admitting but one at a Time. The besieged were about 60 Men, (the Women and Children being sent off some Time before.) They had a Well for Water, about 20 Barrels of Flower, some Salt-fish and Pork, and a small Quantity of Ammunition. They behaved themselves very bravely during the Siege, especially the Governor, who was very active in firing the great Guns. Sir *Timothy Thornhill* had but eight Men killed and wounded in taking this Island, where he left one Company, under the Command of Lieutenant *John Mackarthur*, and then returned to St. *Christopher's*, with the whole Fleet, carrying the Inhabitants with him Prisoners, and from thence they were transported to *Hispaniola*. Lieutenant *Pilkington* was afterwards sent down with a Company of the Duke of *Bolton's* Regiment, to relieve Mr. *Mackarthur*.

The Inhabitants of the Island of St. *Bartholomew's*, who were brought up Prisoners from thence to *Nevis*, being sent down to St. *Christopher's*, before that Island was retaken, there met with their Wives and Families; and after that Island was recovered by the *English*, were desirous to live under an *English* Government. Upon which General *Codrington* gave them Liberty to return to their Island, transported them thither, and granted a Commission to one Captain *Le Grand*, a former Inhabitant among them, to be their Governor, and to keep and defend the Island in the



Name of their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, under which Government it continued several Years.

The *English* thus far went on successfully, and great Talk there was that they would drive the *French* quite out of the *Charibbee-Islands*.

The next Expedition was to be against *Guardaloup*. General *Codrington* ordered the Forces to be mustered in *October*, and be in a Readiness to embark. Commodore *Wright* was reinforced with six stout Merchant Men, fitted out for Men of War at *Barbados*, and more Men were sent from that Island, under Colonel *Boteler* and Colonel *Salter*. The Troops rendezvoused at *St. Christopher's*, where Lieutenant Colonel *Not* was left with a Garrison, to secure the Inhabitants as well against the *French* and their Negroes, who had fled to the Mountains, as against any Enemy that might invade the Island. This Precaution was very necessary; for the *French* and their Slaves in the Mountains often descended into the Valleys, and in one Descent killed 15 Soldiers out of one Company of Foot, that was left there.

Captain *Wright* was accused of being very remiss in his Duty; and that through Jealousy of General *Codrington*, or Fear of the *French*, he was the Ruin of the Expedition to *Guardaloup*. He took no Care to scour the *Charibbean* Seas of *French* Privateers, which almost surrounded *Barbados*; and what he did at *Guardaloup*, is not worth mentioning, though he had a good Fleet, well man'd and equip'd. *He and General Codrington* (as a Man of Honour wrote to his Friend) *deserted* *Guardaloup*, *without any Reason, only their Jealousies, and Fear of the French Fleet, when we had three times the Number of Men that the French had. They left their Mortar Piece behind them. The French at the same Time deserted it also, concluding we were going to attack Martinico; so that any body might for a Time have possessed the Island.*

We have spoken of this Enterprize in the History of *Barbados*, so we shall say no more of it here. The *English* continued Masters of all *St. Christopher's*, and the *French* despaired of recovering their Part, but by a *Peace*.

On the 23d of *March*, 1694. Commodore *Wilmot* arrived here, with the Fleet and Land-Forces designed for *Jamaica*, and from thence he proceeded on his intended Voyage.

On the 23d of *January*, 1696. the Addresses and Associations of the Chief Governor, Deputy Governors, Councils, Assemblies, Officers Civil and Military, and all the principal Inhabitants of his Majesty's Leeward *Charibbee-Islands*, which had been sent over by Colonel *Christopher Codrington*,

*Codrington*, Chief Governor of these Islands, were presented to King *William*, by the Commissioners for the Affairs of the said Islands.

In 1697. Colonel *Collingwood* arrived at the *Leeward-Islands* with his Regiment; and himself, and Part of his Soldiers were quartered in *St. Christopher's*, where the Colonel's Lady and Family also settled. The Climate did not agree with them, nor much with the Soldiers. Mrs. *Collingwood* and her Children died in the following Year; at which Time Colonel *Codrington*, Son of General *Codrington*, was in Possession of the Government of the *Leeward-Islands*, his Father being dead.

On the 13th of *January*, that Part of *St. Christopher's*, which had been taken from the *French* in the War, was restored to them, in Pursuance of the Treaty of *Reswick*, but they did not enjoy it long; for in *June*, 1702. Colonel *Codrington* having received Advice of the Declaration of the present War with *France*, attacked the *French* Part of *St. Christopher's*, and after firing but one Volley of Shot, their Fort was surrendered to him.

In the History of *Antego* we have given an Account of Colonel *Codrington's* Expedition against *Guardaloup*, and the the *French* Islands, of which he took *St. Bartholomew's* and *St. Martin's*.

Some Time before the Surrender of the Fort by the *French*, an odd Accident happened in their Part of *St. Christopher's*. Monsieur *de Gennes*, the *French* Governor, had married the Widow of a Protestant Merchant of *Rochelle*, who had a Daughter of that Religion, whom he endeavoured all he could to pervert, and employed a Jesuit to deal with her to that End. The Priest, being convinced by the young Gentlewoman's Arguments or Beauty, went off with her to the *English* Settlement; and Monsieur *de Gennes* demanding them, some *English* Gentlemen took the Lady and the Jesuit in the Night, and conveyed them to *Nevis*, where the Priest professed the Protestant Religion, and married the young Gentlewoman.

In the Year 1704. Sir *William Matthews*, Brigadier General in her Majesty's Armies, was appointed to succeed Col. *Codrington* in the Government of the *Leeward-Islands*, and he sailed from *England* about the Beginning of *June*, with six Men of War, and 12 Transport Ships, having on board some Land Forces. Captain *Walker* being Commodore. The Ships Crews proved healthy, all but the *Burford* Man of War, where 200 Men died. Sir *William Matthews* himself died aboard the Commodore; and we hear no

more of these Islands, till Colonel *Daniel Park* was made Governor of them, in the Year 1705. The *French* landed here, before they made their fatal Descent on *Nevis*. Their Forces were embarked aboard five Men of War, and 20 Sloops. They attacked the Fort, and being repulsed, fell among the Plantations, some of which they burnt, and plundered the Inhabitants. The Governor of *Barbados* having Notice of it, sent down a Sloop to the Lieutenant Governor of *St. Christopher's*, to acquaint him, that there was a strong Squadron of *English* Men of War coming to his Assistance; in Hopes that upon this News the *French* would retire, which had the desired Effect: For as soon as the *French* heard of it, they immediately left the Island, taking with them 6 or 700 Negroes, which Monsieur *Ibberville* sold at *Vera Cruz*.

The Inhabitants of *St. Christopher's* solicited to have their Losses made up to them, as well as those of *Nevis*; and they suffered also in the late terrible Hurricane, but not so much as the latter did.

For Want of sufficient Information, I am obliged to be silent as to the Government of Col. *Johnson*, Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of the *Leeward-Islands*, and having spoken so largely in the Article of *Antego* of the Disturbances in the *Leeward-Islands*, under the Government of Col. *Park*, I shall only touch upon what particularly related to this Island, *Nevis* and *Montserrat*.

That Governor held a General Assembly at *St. Christopher's* in the Year 1710, the Representatives of the Councils and Assemblies of all the other *Leeward-Islands* which were then.

#### The General Council.

*Henry Burrel*, Esq;  
*Stephen Payne*, Esq;  
*James Bevan*, Esq;  
*John Norwood*, Esq;

*George Lyddell*, Esq;  
*George Milward*, Esq;  
*John Hamilton*, Esq;  
*William Byam*, Esq;

#### The General Assembly.

*Robert Cunningham*, Esq;  
 Speaker.  
*Clement Croke*, Esq;  
*Jasper Verchell*, Esq;  
*Anthony Ravell*, Esq;  
*William White*, Esq;  
*Edward Parsons*, Esq;  
*William Barzey*, Esq;

*Anthony Fox*, Esq;  
*Samuel Watkins*, Esq;  
*John Painter*, Esq;  
*John Duor*, Esq;  
*Richard Cockran*, Esq;  
*Daniel Mackennen*, Esq;  
*Richard Whillet*, Esq;



But the Difference that then immediately rose between General *Park* and the *General Assembly* about choosing a Clerk, hindered the Dispatch of any Business. Mr. *Park* had given a Commission to one *Caleb Rawleigh*, to be Clerk of the Assembly met at *Old Road*, in *March 1710*, and they resolved *Nem. Con.* That it is their Right and Privilege to appoint their own Clerk, and any Officer or Servant thereto belonging, which is so much in Reason, that all other Usages do not seem to justify the Governor's Obstinacy, in refusing to come to any Temperament with the Representatives met in a critical Juncture; for Fear of giving Way to them in a Punctilio of Prerogative, and he widened this Difference by another, his sending Messages to the Assembly by his *Provost Marshal's* Deputy; tho' it had been the constant Custom for a Member of the Council to bring Messages from the Governor and Council to the Assembly, which they now desired might be continued: But Col. *Park* refused this too, alledging that because the House of Lords in *England*, did not send a Peer with Messages to the Commons, but a Judge or Master in Chancery; therefore he made Use of the Deputy Marshal, an Officer of not much better Rank than that of a *Bumb-Baily* in *England*. The Council, who well knew that the Members of the Assembly were every whit as honourable as themselves, excepting only their Seat at their own Table, were not so stiff as General *Park*, and declared they were ready to carry Messages from the *General* to the *Assembly*.

The Assembly having chosen Mr. *Giles Cokes* to be their Clerk, the Governor threatened to send him to Jail if he durst act as such; and when they then pitched upon Mr. *Clement Crooke*, one of their Members, to take their Minutes, he gave them to understand, no *Assembly* Men could be admitted to do it according to the Practice in *England*, which he insisted upon strenuously to be his Rule of Government, himself as Sovereign, the Council as the House of Lords, the Assembly as the House of Commons. 'Tis plain, that the *Prerogative* was the delightful Part of the Constitution to which he adhered so inflexibly, because he is clothed with it by Commission; but he ought to have remembered they required him to proceed according to the Custom and Usage of the said Islands, and that the Assembly asserted the Usage and Customs to be what they claimed in the Choice of their Clerk. What he said in Answer to their Claim of Privilege, shews that he was not so much in Love with Assemblies as with the sovereign Power.

You will find, says he, even in Antego no Assemblies for several Years, and St. Christopher's was governed all the late War by a Governor and Council of Militia Officers, and the Fort of Brimstone-Hill was then built, Anguilla, Spanish Town, and Tortola have no Assemblies, and desire none. These three Islands are in the Government of the *Leeward-Islands*.

I leave it to the Reader to judge, whether such Insinuations were proper to come from the Mouth of an Officer, commissioned by a *Revolution* Government to govern a free People. Three or four Days after the above-mentioned Speech or Message, he prorogued the Assembly.

The Lieutenant Governor and Council of St. *Christopher's*, transmitted a Petition to *England* to clear themselves of the Death of Col. *Park*, and pray that their Privileges may not be retrenched. This was signed by

*Michael Lambert*, Esq; Lieutenant Governor.

*Henry Burrel*, Esq;  
*J. Panton*, Esq;  
*Francis Phipps*, Esq;

*J. Peteres*, Esq;  
*J. Bourycan*, Esq;  
*Joseph Elbridge*, Esq;

These Gentlemen offered their Petition to General *Hamilton*, who succeeded General *Park* in this Government, to join with them in it; but *Hamilton* disliking some harsh Expressions in the Assembly Men of *Antego*, who opposed General *Park*, refused to set his Hand to it, telling them it was a *Business that did not belong to him*.

This Island was in a terrible Consternation on the Appearance of the *French* Fleet on their Coast, after the Misfortune of *Montserrat* in 1712, but the Expulsion of the *French* out of this Island by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, by which the *French* Quarters of St. *Christopher's* were yielded to the *English*, abated very much their Fears of a *French* Neighbourhood.

'Tis very grating to a good *Englishman*, to have Occasion to speak of the Treaty of *Utrecht*. The 12th Article says, *The Island of St. Christopher's is to be possessed alone by the British Subjects*, who had before driven the *French* off of it, and we shall see presently what induced the *French* King to be so generous to *British* Subjects in this Particular.

Upon the Cession of these Lands and the Evacuation of the Island by the *French*, many Projects were offered to the Publick for the Disposal of those Lands for publick and private Use. And before the Parliament of *England* took this Affair into Consideration, and voted that the said Lands should

should be disposed of solely for the Use of the Publick, the Generals of the *Leeward-Islands* for the Time being, made Grants of the *French Lands*, for what Considerations they thought fit, and took them away again; sometimes after such as had Possession of them had been at great Expence to cultivate and plant. This is particularly laid to the Charge of General *Hamilton*, who dispossessed *John Thornton, Esq;* late Chief Justice of *Nevis*, of a Plantation of these *French Lands* by a forcible Entry; and did the same by Mr. *Christopher Stoddart*, of a Plantation adjoining to Mr. *Hare's* in *Basse-Terre*. Mr. *Stoddart* says in his Petition to one of the principal Secretary's of State, *General Hamilton sticks at nothing to gratify his tyrannical Humour and provide for his Creatures, tho' at the Expence of my Labour and Industry; and took such Methods to gain his corrupt Ends, as must fill all his Majesty's Subjects in his Government, with dismal Apprehensions of the Precariousness of their Properties, when they see a Chief Justice, Clement Crook, Esq; removed for not being treacherously complying with his Purpose in so unjustifiable a Proceeding, as the ejecting of me out of my just Possession, without any other Ground for it than the Pleasure of the said General, and another Judge Matthew Mills, Esq; put in his Place, on whom he could depend for the Execution of all his Commands.*

Mr. *French* the *Charibbee* Historian has no Restraint upon his Pen, when he compliments Col. *Park's* Friends, or censures their Opponents; what he says here of Mr. *Mills* is very injurious to the Reputation of one whose religious Education and honest Life I had perfect Knowledge of, and can hardly think the Air of the *Charibbees* can so change the Constitution of a Man's Mind as well as Body, as to corrupt the soundest in the Manner this Writer paints it. And that the Air is not so unhealthy to the Body as some say it is, the same Mr. *Mills* may prove, it being three and fifty Years ago that I myself went with him, when he was to embark at *Gravesend* for *Nevis*.

Ten thousand Acres of these *French Lands* are reckoned some of the best Ground in the Island, and 5000 other Acres of them of less Value. I know not what Sums have been raised by the Sale of them, but 80,000 *l.* of that Money was in Bank, and appropriated by Parliament for the Payment of a Dower to her Royal Highness the Princess of *Orange*. But let the Sale of them amount to what it will, if the *national Merchant* is right in his Argument, the Cession of the *French Part* of this Island to us, was among the false Steps taken by the Managers of the *Utrecht Treaty*, tho' they



boasted much of the great Advantage they had procured by it for *Great-Britain*. See his own Words.

Letters, p.  
29. & seq.

‘ Some will say, was not the *French Part* of the Island of *St. Christopher's* yielded up to *Great-Britain* by *France*, and is not the whole Island become our Property by the Treaty of *Utrecht*? Yes, yes, there lay the Game, the *French* knew it,——we did not. To explain what I mean, it is necessary to advance what I fear at first will look like a Paradox, *That even this very Cession of the French Part of St. Christopher's to us, was a Point that turned more in Favour of France than of Great-Britain, which I prove thus.*

‘ *France* has for very many Years had two Things in View; One, the fully peopling *Martinique*, *Guardaloup*, and the adjacent Islands in the *Charibbees*, and the possessing herself of *Hispaniola*, and peopling that Island also with great Numbers of Inhabitants: Secondly, to remove all her Subjects off from the smaller Islands, as *St. Martin's*, *St. Baribolomew's*, and *Santa Cruz*, and to settle them in the great Islands. But *St. Christopher's* being the first of her Settlements, she found it no easy Matter to remove her Inhabitants from thence. They would not leave their *old* Habitations and Neighbours for *new* ones, being too well fixed; notwithstanding all the Temptations and Encouragements that were offered them. The Cession therefore of the *French Part* of *St. Christopher's* exactly answered the Wishes and Designs of *France*, by furnishing the great Islands with such a Number of seasoned and experienced Planters, who have been of excellent Service to strengthen them, and instruct the raw *European* Supplies of Inhabitants in the making of Sugar, &c. Is it not as plain to be seen as the Sun, that at the Treaty of *Utrecht* we took the very Bait the *French* had proposed for us, and thereby also took off all the Odium from the *French Court*: For the *French* Subjects at *St. Christopher's* looked on the *English* as the sole Authors of all their Troubles, and the Cause of their Removal from their ancient Habitations. In short by this Treaty of *Utrecht*, we did more for the *French* than they could do for themselves. We contented ourselves with four or five small Islands for the Sake of a present Advantage, which the *French* did not think worth keeping?

In the Year 1715, the Government of *St. Christopher's* made a bold Attempt in raising the current Coin of the Island, contrary to the Proclamation and the Act of Parliament in Queen *Anne's* Reign, from 6 s. to 7 s. the *French* Crown, as by this Minute.

Coin raised  
by the Lieuten-  
ant Ge-  
neral.

At a Meeting of the Council the 23d of August, 1715;  
Present the Honourable the Lieutenant General, and eight  
Counsellors.

' The Council were of Opinion, that it would be of Benefit to this Island, to raise the Value of *French Crowns* to 7s. and so in Proportion for *Half Crowns* and *Quarter Crowns*, upon which the following Order was directed to be affixed in the several Towns of this Island.'

By the Honourable the Lieutenant General in Council.

' It is this Day ordered in Council that *French Crowns* pass current, and be taken in Payment after the Rate of 7s. a-piece, and all *French Half Crowns* and *Quarter Crowns* in Proportion to the aforesaid Rate, and of this all Persons are required to take due Notice.'

It appears by another Minute of Council the 15th of January 1715-6, that the Lieutenant General began to reflect on his late Transaction, and to be suspicious of the Penalty of it, which made him call his Council to his Assistance, to whom he proposed this Question, *whether the Order he had made against the Proclamation, the Act of Instrument, and his Queen's Instructions, was regular?* We shall see by their Answer how implicitly Colony Councils do for the most Part follow the Opinion or Directions of Governors. They ingeniously answered, *That French Crowns having been current several Years in the other Islands for 7 s. it could not be said he altered the Coin, but only followed the Practice of the other Islands;* equally weak and equivocal, for *Barbados* did not go contrary to the Statute directing the Currency of Coin in the Sugar-Islands; and if it had, no Practice could have warranted the plain Breach of the Law and the Governor's Instructions. However, the private Advantage made by him, his Counsellors and others, who had heaped up Money at 6s. the Crown, reconciled the raising it to 7s. both to his Conscience and Understanding.

This extraordinary Proceeding, so unlawful in itself, and so prejudicial to the Traders, was taken Notice of to the Governor in a Letter even from the Secretary, wherein he pressed him in very strong Terms to pursue the Act of the 6th of Queen *Anne* as to the Coin, but without the least Effect, or without being able to obtain one single Word in Answer. The Secretary, after entreating the Governor as to other Matters, writes.

*That your Excellency will be pleased to issue your Proclamation requiring Obedience to be paid to her late Majesty's Proclamation relating to the Coin; enforced by an Act of Parliament.*  
That

That myself, as well as others of his Majesty's Subjects, may not be any longer defrauded of the 6th Part of their Due, nor the royal Proclamation, nor the Act of Parliament, suffer any longer that Indignity they have hitherto been treated with in these Parts. The Secretary's Request being thus rejected by the Governor, and the Affair being of the last Importance to the Trade of the Island, he made a Voyage to *England* on Purpose, to set the Matter forth to his Majesty.

Governor *Matthews* coming to this Island called the Council and Assembly, and made the customary Speech, having in it nothing more remarkable than recommending the Instruction relating to the Salary, which they settled at 800 *l.* a Year Currency in Money, to be raised on Slaves at that Time about 17000, at 1 *s.* 9 *d.* per Head for the first Year, and 1 *s.* 2 *d.* for the Remainder of his Government.

When Mr. *Hart* and the Lord *Londonderry* were Governors here, there was a Duty of 3 *s.* per Hogshead laid on Sugar exported, to discharge the Addition made to their Salaries. But as that affected the Sugar-Factors in *England*, as well as the Planters here, the Factors opposed the passing of it at Home; 'Whereas did the Sugar Factors in *England* consult the Good of their Employer and of the Publick, to use the Words of a Planter of *St. Kit's*, as well as their own, they would oppose the raising of any such Salary Settlement at all, whether on the Sugar or the Slaves, or any Thing else here, but rather apply to the Government, to find out some Means for supporting the Governor, &c. But so far are these Gentlemen from shewing that Kindness to the Sugar Colonies or the Nation, that some of them have earnestly enough recommended it to their Friends here, to promote the making of such Settlements. (The *French*, our Rivals in the Sugar Trade are so sensible of this, that their Governors have almost all along had very liberal Appointments out of their King's Coffers, and none of them are suffered on any Pretence whatever, to draw any Profits from the People in these Parts.)

'Nay we seem, continues the Planter, to be so sensible of it ourselves, that one of the Instructions of our present Governor, expressly condemns the Grievance complained of, which Instruction was not made publick here till after the Bills of Settlement had passed through both Houses in the several Islands.' We are willing to insert this Instruction here, because we have before inserted another in *Antego* to the same Governor, which is not of the same Nature.

*Whereas several Inconveniencies have arisen to our Governors in the Plantations by Gifts and Presents made our Govern-*  
*ors*



nors by the Assemblies, ' It is our Will and Pleasure, that  
' neither you nor any other Governor or Commander in  
' Chief of our *Leeward-Islands* for the Time being respec-  
' tively, do give your or their Consent to the passing any  
' Law or Act, for any Gift or present to be made to you  
' or any of them by the Assembly or Assemblies of all or  
' any of our said Islands, and that neither you nor they do  
' receive any Gift or Present from any of the said Assemblies,  
' on any Account or in any Manner whatsoever, on Pain of  
' being recalled from that our Government.'

House Rent not exceeding 400*l.* per Ann. is excepted.

We should here finish the History of the *English Leeward-Islands*, because these are all that are within this Govern-  
ment: But there are two other small *Charibbee-Islands* be-  
longing to the *English*, which remain next to be spoken of;  
and as to their Situation, they may be as well called *Leeward-Islands* as the others, we mean *Barbuda* and *Anguilla*.

## Of B A R B U D A.

THIS Island, which is by some called *Barbouthos*, lies  
in 17 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude. It is about  
15 Miles long, lying North East from *Montserrat*.

The Land is low and fruitful, and the *English* began to  
plant it as early as *Nevis*, *Montserrat*, or any other of the  
*Leeward-Islands*, *St. Christopher's* excepted; for Sir *Thomas*  
*Warner* who first settled there, placed a small Colony in this  
Island, but the *Charibbeans* disturbed them so much, that  
they were often forced to desert it and their Plantations.  
There hardly passed a Year, but they made one or two In-  
cursions, and that generally in the Night, for they durst not  
attack them by Day: But the Damage the *English* sustained  
by them made them weary of dwelling in a Place where  
they were so much exposed to the Fury of the *Barbarians*,  
who diminishing daily in Number, and the *Europeans* in-  
creasing, the *English* again possessed themselves of *Barbuda*,  
and were 500 Inhabitants 60 Years ago. There are now 1000  
or 1200 Souls upon it.

The Proprietary is the Honourable *Christopher Codrington*,  
Esq; and he puts in a Governor here, having the same Pre-  
rogative as the other Lords Proprietaries in their several Juris-  
dictions in *America*.

This Island has bred great Store of Cattle, and the Inhabitants employ themselves mostly in that Sort of Husbandry, Corn and Provisions coming almost always to a good Market in the Sugar Islands.

There's Plenty of all Sorts of tame Cattle as in *Europe*, and the *English* live here much after the same Manner as they do in the Counties of *England*; only their Labour in the Field is not so hard as here, the Country being so much hotter. Col. *Park's* Attempt to dispossess the *Codrington's* of this Island, is spoken of in *Antego*. Next to it is,

## A N G U I L L A.

*Anguis Insula*, or *Snake Island*, so called from its Figure, being a long Tract of Earth, but narrow, winding almost about near *St. Martin's*: From whence it may easily be seen. It lies in 18 Degrees, 21 Minutes.

The Country is level and woody, the Soil fruitful, and the Tobacco that grew there formerly was reckoned very good in its kind. There's not a Mountain in it. Where it is broadest, there's a Pond, about which the *English* settled in the Year 1650. Their Business, like the Inhabitants of *Anguilla*, was to plant Corn, and breed tame Cattle; for which Purpose they brought Stock with them. They were poor, and continue so to this Day, being perhaps the laziest Creatures in the World. Some People have gone from *Barbads*, and the other *English Charibbee-Islands*, thither, and there they live like the first Race of Men, without Government or Religion, having no Minister nor Governor, no Magistrates, no Law, and no Property worth keeping, if a *French* Author is to be believed *L'Isle n'est pas estimee valoir la peine qu'on la garde, ny qu'on la cultive*. The Island is not thought worth the trouble of defending or cultivating it: In which perhaps the *Frenchman* is out; for the Soil being good, if an industrious People were in Possession of it, they would soon make it worth defending.

The way of the present Inhabitants is to take no Care for any Thing but Food and Rayment, which are both ordinary enough, though of the two their Food is best. They generally marry here, and are given in Marriage, after the good old Fashion. They have no Lawyers to put them to the

Expence

Expence of Jointures ; nor Priests, to pick Money out of their Pockets for Licences ; they trust to Honour, and it being difficult for any Man or Woman here to make their Condition better or worse by Change, there are seldom any Divorces : And if there is any Reason for them, the People have good Nature enough to put it up, every Man being his own Master, at least every Master of a Family. This is a sort of Primitive Sovereignty, where no Man's Power exceeded the Bounds of his Household.

One would think such a poor People as this should live quietly, and that no Enemy would pretend to invade them ; indeed it was worth no Nation's while, but the *Wild Irish*, we call them so, to distinguish them from the *English* of *Ireland* ; and these Wretches thinking it was impossible for any Men to be poorer than themselves, landed in the last War, and took away from the Inhabitants of *Anguilla* the little they had. In the Year 1689. the *French* put them ashore, and they not only robbed, but abused, and barbarously treated the *English*.

Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, who was then at *Antego*, hearing of it, sent Captain *Edward Tborn*, with 80 Men, to bring off the *English* that were on this Island, to prevent their being so insulted again.

Whether they removed or not, we have not learnt, but it is certain, there are now 150 Families upon it, and 8 or 900 Souls, who live poorly, and we might say miserably, if they were not contented ; and considering they desire no more, and that they want nothing necessary for Life, why are they not as happy as the Inhabitants of *Peru* and *Mexico* ?



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THE  
 HISTORY  
 OF  
 JAMAICA.

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C H A P. I.

Containing an Account of its Discovery, Settlement, the Conquest of it by the *English*; and all other Events to the present Times.

**T**HIS Island had the Honour to be discovered by *Christopher Columbus* himself, Discoverer of the *New World*, in his second Voyage from *Spain* to the *West-Indies*. He landed here in the Beginning of *May*, 1494, and found it the most beautiful and best peopled Place he had yet seen in the *new discovered World*. The Natives endeavoured to hinder his landing, but six or seven of them being wounded by the *Spanish* Cross-bows; they became peaceable, bartered their best Goods with him for Trifles, and a young *Indian* was so fond of going with him to *Spain*, that he could not be hindered by the Entreaties of his Relations; upon which *Columbus* took him aboard, and ordered that he should be civilly treated.

1494.

Columbus  
here.

1502.

In the Voyage *Columbus* made to the *New World* in 1502, he met with such bad Weather, and his Ships were so Worm eaten and Leaky, that he ran them ashore at this Island. He stranded them as close together as he could, that they might not budge, but lie steady in the Water, which they did almost



Marks.  
 r workes.  
 o workes.  
 walkes.



A New Map of the Island of  
**JAMAICA.**  
 By H. Moll Geographer.



most up to the Deck. He then built Sheds on the Poops and Forcastles for his Men to be in, keeping strict Watch to prevent their being attacked by the Natives. He suffered none of them to come on board, nor any of the *Spaniards* to go ashore, except such as were particularly appointed to encourage the Traffick with the *Indians*, who bartered Gold, Plate, Provisions, &c. for Bells, Beads, and other such Toys, having neither Money nor Materials to build a Ship out of the Wrecks he bought two large Canoos, in which he sent his Secretary and others to *Hispaniola*, about 20 Leagues distant, where the *Spaniards* had then a Settlement for another Ship and Provisions, but the *Spanish* Governor there, envying *Columbus's* superior Authority as General and Admiral in these Parts, hindered his Secretary's procuring a Ship to fetch him from *Jamaica* (the *English* Name of this Island, for *Columbus* called it *St. Jago*, and *James* not being *Spanish*, *Jamaica*, its augmentative, must be entirely *English*, agreeing with no other Language.) Here he remained several Months, and was reduced to great Streights, till at last his Men mutinied, and most of them deserted him; seized 10 Canoos which *Columbus* had bought of the Natives, and set out from the most Easterly Point of this Island, now *Point Negril*, for *Hispaniola*, but were forced back again, and roving up and down the Country, plundered the *Indians* for Subsistence. To put a Stop to their Ravages, *Columbus* ordered one of his Brothers with a Party of chosen Men to reduce the Mutineers to Obedience. Several of them were killed, and the rest submitted, after which one of the Persons whom *Columbus* had sent to *Hispaniola* returned to *Jamaica* with a Ship in which he and the *Spaniards* that remained here with him, removed to that Island, from whence he returned to *Spain*, and there died of Grief, chiefly for the ungrateful Treatment he met with from the Court of *Spain*, for which he had found out a *New World*, as he said himself in an Epitaph he directed to be put on his Tomb.

*A Castilia y a Leon  
Nuevo Mondo die Colon.*

He had in a former Voyage been seized by the *Spanish* Governor of *Hispaniola*, and sent to *Spain* in Chains, on a false Accusation; a fine Reward for that Service. He carried the Remembrance and Resentment of that vile Usage with him to his Grave, notwithstanding he came off with Credit in *Spain*, and was employed as before, for he ordered his Chains to be buried with him in his Grave.

The Explanation of the Marks.

- ⊞. Towns.
- ⊞. Churches.
- ⊞. Sugar workes.
- ⊞. Cotton workes.
- ⊞. Indico workes.
- ⊞. Cacao walkes.



A New Map of the Island of  
**JAMAICA.**

By H. Moll Geographer.



English Miles



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1509.

It was three Years after his Death, before any *Spanish* Colony was settled here. They flocked hither from *Europe*, and built three Cities about the Year 1509. As *Seville* on the North Coast; *Mellila* on the same Coast, and *Oristan* on the South Coast, towards the Western Part of the Island, 14 Leagues from *Seville*, *Delaet* writes *Mellila* was built by *Columbus* himself, but that is plainly erroneous; for *Columbus* needed not to have raised Sheds on the Poops and Forecastles of his wrecked Ships, if he had had a City to have housed his Men in, when he was the last Time in *Jamaica*. It is most likely his Son and his Brethren carried on the Settlement of the *Spaniards*, and built those Cities for them after his Death. His Son *Diego*, who wrote his Life, built the City of *La Vega*, which he called *St. Jago de la Vega*, and the Situation of it being more pleasant and healthful than that of the other Cities, so many of the Inhabitants of the later removed thither, that *Seville*, *Mellila* and *Oristan*, were left almost desolate, and *St. Jago* increased in Buildings and People, till there were counted in it 1700 Houses, two Churches, two Chapels and an Abbey: *Diego Columbus* was the first *European* Governor of this Island. He also had all, or the greatest Part of it in Property, and his Successors if not himself, Descendants from *Columbus*, were stiled *Dukes de la Vega*, but they exacted such high Rents from the Planters, that it was a great Discouragement to them; and hindered the Growth of this Colony, when the *Spaniards* were in Possession of the Island, which lies in 18 Degrees North Latitude, and is at an equal Distance, 20 Leagues from *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*, 50 Leagues in Length from *East* to *West*, and 20 or more in Breadth.

The *Spaniards* lived mostly at *La Vega*, and kept Slaves to plant there: After *Portugal* became subject to *Spain*, the *Portuguese*, a more industrious Nation than the *Spaniards*, would have improved the Culture and Commerce of *Jamaica*, but the *Spaniards* were not very forward in giving them Encouragement.

The *Spaniards* here minded no Sort of Manufacture or Trade, but lived lazily in Town upon what their Slaves brought them from their *Stanchas* or little Plantations in the Country. They sold small Quantities of Sugar, Tobacco and Chocolate, Hides, Pepper, Tallow and Cocoa Nuts, to such Masters of Ships as came hither; yet for the Possession of a Place which they would not be at the Pains to cultivate, they cut the Throats of 60,000 *Indians* Natives of this Island. They were not themselves 1500 Inhabitants and as many Slaves, when the *English* conquered it.

*Don Pedro de Squibello*, whom *Diego Columbus* had appointed his Lieutenant, was deeply concerned in the massacring the Natives, some of whom, as the Bishop of *Chiapa* writes, were roasted alive by his Countrymen the *Spaniards*, and others torn in Pieces by Dogs. The Barbarities those Mafacrers exercised on the innocent Inhabitants, as related even by a *Spaniard*, cannot be read without Horror.

In 1596, Sir *Anthony Shirly* who had been cruizing on the Continent of the *Spanish West-Indies*, landed at *Jamaica*, took *St. Jago*, plundered the Island, and then left it. And about the Year 1635, Col. *Jackson* with a Fleet of Ships from the *Leeward-Islands*, came hither, landed 500 Men at *Passage-Fort*, drove 2000 *Spaniards* from their Works, took *St. Jago* with the Loss of 40 Men, sacked the City, and divided the Spoil with his Soldiers. Then putting the Town to Ransom, he received a considerable Sum to save it from Burning, and retreated to his Ships, the Enemy not daring to disturb his Rear.

After which the *Spaniards* possessed the Island undisturbed, till *Cromwell*, by the Persuasions of Cardinal *Mazarine*, who politickly contrived it, to make Use of his Arms against the *Spaniards* then at War with the *French*, fitted out a Fleet for the Conquest of *Hispaniola*. 2000 Old Cavaliers, and as many of *Oliver's* standing Army, besides Volunteers and necessitated Persons embarked for this Expedition.

The Command of the Army was given to Col. *Venables*, and Admiral *Pen*, who were ordered to call at *Barbados* and the *Leeward-Islands*, to take in more Forces there; it not being doubted, but those Colonies would be willing to assist in an Enterprize, by which, in all Probability, they would receive most Profit.

Col. *Doyly*, Col. *Haynes*, Col. *Butler*, Col. *Raymund*, and other Officers of Note, accompanied the Generals *Venables* and *Pen*, who arrived at *Barbados* in the Year 1655. From whence two Men of War were sent to *St. Christopher's* and *Nevis* to raise Volunteers. They were supplied with several Necessaries at *Barbados*, where Hundreds of Volunteers joined them, and no less than 1300 at the *Leeward-Islands*.

On the 13th of *April* the Fleet made Land at *Hispaniola*, and discovered the Town of *St. Domingo*. The next Day, as it had been concluded at a Council of War, General *Venables* (who had uxoriously carried his Wife with him) landed 7000 Foot, a Troop of Horse, and 3 Days Provisions; but this Enterprize not having hitherto any Relation to the History of *Jamaica*, we shall content ourselves with a general Account of it; that our Forces were defeated, and their

Commander *Venables* forced ingloriously to retreat to his Ships, having lost the brave Col. *Haynes*, and a great many Men.

When the Troops were reimbarcked, a Council of War was held, and it was resolv'd to make a Descent on *Jamaica*, where they arriv'd the 3d of *May*. The Generals landing their Men, march'd directly to St. *Jago* the Capital of the Island, intending to storm the Place immediately; and to prevent the same Fate they met with at *Hispaniola* by the Cowardice of their Men, Proclamation was made, That he who saw his Fellow run, should shoot him.

The *Spaniards* had had no Information of the Defeat of the *English* at *Hispaniola*, and were in no Condition to oppose an Army of 10000 Men, and so many they were still: So they made Use of Policy more than Arms to save themselves and their Effects. And when General *Venables* advanced near the City, they desired to capitulate, which being granted, they spun out the Treaty as long as they could, that they might in the mean Time send away their Treasure into the Woods. To amuse the *English*, they furnished the Army with fresh Provisions, and presented Mrs. *Venables* with some of the choicest Fruits and Delicacies of the Island; which had a good Effect on her Husband, and put him in a good Humour till the *Spaniards* had done their Business: Otherwise his Patience might have been worn out before their best Moveables were safe in the Mountains and Coverts up in the Country; to which they fled themselves afterwards, and left the *English* a naked Town to possess, where they found fine Houses without Inhabitants or Goods; which was a terrible Disappointment to an Army who expected Plunder, and had been balked already.

Hickeringil  
of Jamaica.

They removed all they had, their Wives and Children to the Woods and Fortresses. From whence they sallied in Parties and surprized the *English*, of whom they cut off several Bands, before they could tell how to come at them. They came down upon *Venables's* Men in the Night, and attacked them when they were in no Manner of Expectation of an Enemy, and for Want of Knowledge of the Country, could not pursue them.

At last the *Spaniards* grew weary of their hard Quarters in the Mountains, which did not at all agree with their riotous Way of living at St. *Jago*; and despairing to be able to dislodge the *English*, who began also to find them out in their lurking Places, they retired to *Cuba*, leaving the *Molattoes* and *Negroes* in the Woods to harass the Enemy, and keep Possession of the Island till they returned.



The Vice-Roy of *Mexico* commanded them to return to *Jamaica*, and ordered the Governor of *Cuba* not to let them stay there, sending them Word, that he would supply them with Men and Ammunition to recover what they had lost. Accordingly they came back, and scattered themselves up and down in single Families, that they might be able to subsist the better, and prevent being discovered by the *English*. But this miserable Course of Life killed several of them, and there came no more than 500 Soldiers to their Assistance, who also refused to join with them, when they saw the weak Condition they were in, and retreated to the *North* of the Island, fortifying themselves in a Place called *St. Chereras*, waiting for a Reinforcement.

In the mean Time the *English* possessed themselves of all the South and South-East Parts of the Island: A Regiment was seated about *Port Morant*, to plant and settle there, and others in other Places; over whom Col. *Doyly* was left Governor with between 2 and 3000 Land-Forces, and about 20 Men of War, commanded by Vice-Admiral *Goodson*.

Heath.  
Chron.

Col. Doyly  
Governor.

*Venables* and *Pen* returned Home, and arrived in *England* in *September*, where they were both imprisoned for their scandalous Conduct in this Expedition; which would have been an irreparable Dishonour to the *English* Nation, had not the Island of *Jamaica*, which Chance more than Council bestowed upon them, made amends for their Loss at *Hispaniola*.

*Cromwell* bore this Misfortune with an heroick Temper, which he was always Master of; and to put the best Face upon the Matter, highly extolled the Advantage of this new Acquisition in the *West-Indies*, resolving to maintain the Footing he had got there; and not liking Col. *Doyly* so well as *Venables* had done, he commanded a Squadron of Men of War to be fitted out for *Jamaica*, whither he sent Major *Sedgewick*, to take upon him the Government in the Room of Col. *Doyly*.

With *Sedgewick* went Col. *Humfreys*, the Son of him who carried the Sword before President *Bradshaw* at the King's Trial, and 1000 fresh Men.

Col. *Doyly*, before the Arrival of these Troops, had discovered where the *Spaniards* had fortified themselves, and marched to attack them. Thirty Companies more of *Spaniards* were by this Time sent to reinforce the former, who had raised several strong Works for their Defence at *Rio Novo*, in *St. Mary's* Precinct, having received Cannon and Stores of Ammunition from *Cuba* and the *Continent*. However,

Col. *Doyly* in a few Days beat them out of their Entrenchments, and demolished their Fortification.

This great Loss, with others that happened much about the same Time at *Point Pedro*, where a Party of them had again seated themselves and were driven thence, made the *Spaniards* despair of ever recovering the Island; so they put their Wives, Children, and Treasure aboard a Ship, and abandoned it to the *English*.

In this Action at *Rio Novo*, the *English* regained the Reputation they had lost at *Hispaniola*. The *Spaniards* were twice their Number and strongly entrenched, yet Col. *Doyly* drove them to their Ships, and they never made any considerable Attempt against the new Comers afterwards.

Their *Negroes* finding their Masters were either knocked on the Head by the *English* or dead of Distempers, cut the Throat of the Governor who had been set over them, and chose one of their Comrades to command them.

Hick.

These lived a while in the Mountains by Game and Robbery, but finding they were not able to keep their Ground long, they sent to Col. *Doyly*, and offered to submit on Terms of Pardon; which being granted, their Captain came in with his Company, and laid down their Arms. Some *Molattoes* and *Spaniards* still stood out, most of whom Col. *Doyly* destroyed, by employing the Slaves to hunt them out of the Woods. The *Spaniards* instead of thinking of chastizing the revolted *Negroes*, desired some Assistance from them. To such a wretched Extremity of Fortune were they reduced.

The Slaves were so far from helping them, that to shew their Loyalty to their new Masters, they either murdered them themselves, or discovered the Places of their Retreat to the *English*, who in a Year's Time cleared the Island of them wholly, except 30 or 40 *Negroes* and *Molattoes*; who either out of Hopes of procuring their Liberty by it, or Love to their old Masters, or Hatred to their new, kept in the Mountains, and stayed there living by Robbery and Game.

They committed several Murders, and fearing they should be severely punished if taken, the greatest Part of them made their Escape to *Cuba* in *Cauka's*; since which there have been no Attempts against *Jamaica* by the *Spaniards* worth Remembrance.

The *Spanish Negroes* who remained in the Mountains were afterwards joined by the *English* rebellious *Negroes*, and from thence made frequent Descents into the Valleys; which forced the Government of *Jamaica* to build Forts, and  
keep

keep Guards, to defend the *English* against being surprized. Some of them, about 20 Years ago, came down upon the *English*, and murdered Mrs. *Coates* and her Family. She was the Wife of Judge *Coates*, who afterwards lived at *Barbados*; and it is said these Slaves or their Descendants, lurk in the Hills to this Day. To prevent their doing Mischief, several Laws have been made against the *Negroes* travelling without Passes.

We hope the Reader will not think this a Digression, since we did it only to follow the *Spaniards* and their Slaves, as far as we could.

The *English* seeing they were Masters of the Island, fell to Planting with equal Industry and Success, and they received constant Supplies of Men, Provisions and Necessaries from *England*.

When the *English* had no more foreign Enemies to deal with, they quarrelled amongst themselves, and the Soldiers fell into a dangerous Mutiny; for what my Author, Parson *Hickeringill* of *Essex*, who was a Captain in the Army in the *Hispaniola* Expedition and wrote of *Jamaica*, does not let us know. The chief of the Mutineers was Col. *Raymund*, who had debauched almost all the Soldiers, being a Man in high Esteem among them. He drew Lieutenant Colonel *Tyson* into the Conspiracy, which it is likely was to seize the Government themselves.

Col. *Doyly* discovering the Plot, had them both tried by a Court Marshal, who passed Sentence on them to be shot to Death. Col. *Raymund* died with a great deal of Resolution, but *Tyson* with Regret and Sorrow.

Major *Sedgewick* died a few Days after his Arrival, of a Distemper that then raged in the Island. Col. *Fortescue* followed him, and Col. *Humphreys* was forced to return to *England*.

*Cromwell*, who resolved to have a Governor that should be his Creature at *Jamaica*, sent Orders to Col. *Brayne* in *Scotland*, to ship off 1000 Men from *Port Patrick*, and sail for *Jamaica*, where he was to take upon him the Government; for *Oliver* did not at all like Col. *Doyly*, who was a Sort of an old Cavalier: Yet that Gentleman kept in his Place till after the King's Restoration, for Col. *Brayne* did not long survive his Arrival at *Jamaica*; and the Rump continued Col. *Doyly* in his Government after *Cromwell's* Death, and *Richard's* Abdication.

Col. Brayne  
Governor.

Col. Doyly  
Governor.

This Gentleman brought the Colony into Order, encouraged the People's Industry, and put the Soldiers upon Planting. Most of the first *English* Inhabitants of this Island



were military Men, and it was necessary it should be so, because lying so near the *Spaniards*, it was expected they would have been forced to have fought for what they had; but they were very quiet from any Invasion for above thirty Years. Some of them who did not care to turn their Hands to the Culture of the Earth, nor leave their Military Life, turned Privateers, and cruizing on the *Spaniards*, got many rich Prizes, which grew to such a Trade afterwards, that when *Spain* had given up *Jamaica*, and Peace was concluded between the two Nations, yet the *English* could not forbear Privateering; and thence rose the *Buccaneers*, so famous in the Reign of King *Charles II.* at *Jamaica*.

Lord Wind-  
for Governor.

Colonel *Doyly* was recalled upon the King's Restoration, and the Lord *Windfor* sent Governor thither. Several Gentlemen removed from the other Colonies thither, as Sir *Thomas Modiford* from *Barbados*, where he had got a vast Estate; but desirous to get more, with greater Ease and Pleasure than he could do at home; he removed to the new Settlement, where he was very serviceable to the young Planters, by his Instruction and Government, when the King advanced him to that honourable Office, which he did about the Year 1663. And in his Time the Settlement was encreased so much, that there were between 17 and 18000 Inhabitants.

Sir Tho.  
Modiford  
Governor.

As,	Families.	Inhabitants
1 <i>Port-Royal</i> Parish,	500	3500
2 <i>St. Katharine</i> ,	658	6270
3 <i>St. John</i> ,	83	996
4 <i>St. Andrew</i> ,	194	1552
5 <i>St. David</i> ,	80	960
6 <i>St. Thomas</i> ,	59	590
7 <i>Clarendon</i> ,	143	1430
8 <i>St. George</i> ,	} ————— 2000	
9 <i>St. Mary</i> ,		
10 <i>St. Anne</i> ,		
11 <i>St. James</i> ,		
12 <i>St. Elizabeth</i> ,		
		17298

After which there were several other Parishes added, and the Number of Inhabitants of those above-named were very much encreased.

This Governor set up a Salt-work in the Parish of *St. Katharine's*, planted *Coco-Groves*; and by his Example put the People upon Industry, and Improvements in Planting and Trade.

The Island began to abound in Money, which was brought thither by the *Buccaneers*, as the Pyrates in the *Spanish West-Indies* are called. And the Government of *Jamaica*, tho' they were far from encouraging any such wicked Courses, yet winked at them, in Consideration of the Treasures they brought thither, and squandered away there.

The first of these who was famous in *Jamaica*, was one *Bartholomew*, surnamed the *Portuguese*, who was accompanied by several *Englishmen*. This Man, in his last Expedition, was cast away, as he was making to *Port-Royal* with a Prize, on the Sands called *Jardines*. He was succeeded in the Command of the *Buccaneers* by a *Dutchman*, born at *Groninguen*, in the *United Provinces*; and, for having lived most part of his Time at *Brasil*, called *Brasiliano*.

When the *Portuguese* drove the *Dutch* out of *Brasil*, this Fellow came to *Jamaica*, where not being able to maintain himself according to the Extravagance of his Nature, he turned Pyrate. While he was a private Man he had got such a Reputation among his Companions, that a Company of Mutineers of them chose him for their Captain. In his first Voyage he took a great Ship, bound home with Plate, and other Treasure from *New Spain*, which he carried to *Jamaica*; and as soon as these *Buccaneers* landed, they fled to the Stews and Gaming-houses, to ease themselves of the Load which they had scraped together with so much Hazard. They have given 500 Pieces of Eight for a Favour from a Strumpet, who would have bestowed it on another for a Bottle of Ale. They would buy Wine by the Pipe, force all that came by to drink, and throw away as much as was drunk. By such Practices one of them spent 3000 Pieces of Eight in less than a Month.

*Brasiliano*, by such Ways, having reduced his Pocket to almost a solitary Pistole, put to Sea again, took a Ship bound from *New Spain* to *Maracaibo*; but in a second Voyage was taken, as he landed on the Coast of *Campeche*, carried before the Governor, and condemned to be hanged, together with all his Companions: However he got off so far by a Wile, that their Lives were spared, and they were sent to *Spain* to the Gallies; from whence, by another Wile, they made their Escape, and got again to *Jamaica*, where they returned to their old Trade.

*Lewis Scot*, a *Welshman*, plundered the Town of *Campeche*, *Mansfeld* took the Island of *St. Katharine's*, *John Davies* sacked *Nicaragua*, and returned with 50000 Pieces of Eight to *Jamaica*; and in his next Voyage took and plundered the Town of *St. Austin's*, in *Florida*, though there was a Gar-

rison of 200 Men in the Castle: But the most renowned of all the *Buccaneers*, was *Henry Morgan*, the Son of a *Welsh* Yeoman, of a good Estate; who not liking his Father's Employment, enter'd himself aboard a Vessel, bound for *Barbados*, where he was sold, and served his Time in that Isle. When his Time of Servitude expired, he came to *Jamaica*, and engaged himself with some Pyrates there; amongst whom he had such Success, that in three or four Voyages, he got a good Stock of Money before-hand, joined with others, bought a Ship, and went for *Campeche*, where he took several good Prizes. After this he was chosen by *Mansfeld*, an old Pyrate, to be his Lieutenant, and they sailed from *Port-Royal* with 15 Ships, manned with 500 stout Men, who attacked the Isle of *St. Katharine's*, made themselves Masters of it, and *Mansfeld* left one Monsieur *Simon* Governor of it, with 100 Men. *Mansfeld's* Design was upon *Panama*, but hearing the *Spaniards* were prepared to give him a warm Reception, he contented himself with the Conquest of *St. Katharine's*; which Island was so fruitful, so pleasant, and so conveniently situated for invading or roving on the *Spanish* Coasts in *America*, that he would fain have made a Settlement there; but *Sir Thomas Linch*, then Governor of *Jamaica*, *Sir Thomas Modiford's* Successor, durst not consent to it, it being too notorious a Breach of the Peace between the two Crowns of *England* and *Spain*. *Mansfeld* in Discontent retired to *Tortuga*, an Island in the Gulph of *Mexico*, about 15 Leagues from the Continent, where the Pyrates nested themselves, and used to refresh after their Expeditions.

In the mean Time, Monsieur *Simon*, for want of Supplies, was forced to surrender the Isle of *St. Katharine's* to the Governor of *Costa Ricca*; which he had scarce done, before a Ship arrived from *Jamaica* with Provisions, 14 Men and two Women, to begin a Plantation by their own Authority. *Mansfeld* died at *Tortuga*, and Captain *Morgan* became Chief of the *Buccaneers*.

In his first Voyage he took *Puerto Del Principe*; but one of his Men having killed a *Frenchman*, so disgusted all his Followers of that Nation, that they left him. Captain *Morgan* divided 50000 Pieces of Eight among his Companions, who hastened to *Jamaica* with the Purchase, to spend it on Women, and other Debaucheries.

In the next Expedition, he took *Puerto Velo*, one of the finest Cities in the Government of *Panama*. The Treasure they divided here amounted to 250000 Pieces of Eight, besides Cloth, Linnen, Silk, and other Merchandize; with which

Sir Tho.  
Linch,  
Governor.

1669.



which the *Buccaneers* sailed chearfully to *Port-Royal*, and scattered it about after their usual Rate: By this Means Money grew plenty, and Returns easy to *England*, where many hundred thousand of those Pieces of Eight have been imported.

When he undertook his next Enterprize, he had no less than 15 Ships, and 900 Men with him. He landed at the Port of *Occa*, near *Cape de Lobos*, but met no Booty. He also made an unsuccessful Attempt on *Hispaniola*; and being at a Loss whither to go, one of his Followers, who had served *Lolonnois*, a famous *Buccancer*, whom not spending his Money at *Jamaica*, we have omitted speaking of, though he was a mighty Man among the Pyrates, advised him to fall upon *Maracaibo* in *Terra Firma*, which *Lolonnois* had before plundered. *Morgan* attacked and took the Town, sacked both that and *Gibraltar*, and destroyed three *Spanish* Men of War who lay off the Harbour, to intercept his Retreat. This Booty also amounted to 250000 Pieces of Eight, besides rich Merchandize and Slaves, which were disposed of at *Jamaica*, and the Money spent in a convenient Time.

These Successes so encreased his Fame, that when he rendezvoused the next Year at *Tortuga*, he had 2000 desperate Fellows, and 37 Ships at his Service. His first Attempt was upon *St. Katharine's* Island, of which he again made himself Master. He detached Captain *Brodely* to take the Castle of *Chagre*, which facilitated his Design on *Panama*, and secured his Retreat. *Brodely* having taken that Castle, a Garrison of 500 Men was left in it; and Captain *Morgan* with the rest, about 1400 effective Soldiers, advanced towards *Panama*, defeated 500 Horse, and 1000 Foot, sent to oppose him, assaulted the City, and took it, after a Dispute of three Hours. When he was Master of the Town, he set it on Fire, without consulting his Soldiers, or letting them know who did it, for what Reason no body can tell. The Houses most of them were built with Cedar, very magnificently and richly furnished. There were 7000 Houses in the City, besides 200 Ware-houses.

Captain *Morgan* stayed here four or five Months, sending out Parties to scour the Country, and bring in Prisoners and Plunder.

On the 24th of *February*, 1671. he left the Town, or rather its Ruins, loading 175 Beasts of Carriage, with Silver, Gold, and other precious Spoils, and carrying away with him 600 Prisoners. He took and plundered the Town of *Cruz*, on the River *Chagre*, where Captain *Morgan* obliged the Prisoners to ransom themselves, threatening

threatning to sell them for Slaves, if they did not; and when he had raised as much Money as he could, he divided it among his Followers; but the Dividend not coming to above 200 Pieces of Eight a Man, they believed he had been too hard for them; and *Morgan* fearing a Mutiny, taking with him three or four Ships, wherein were Men he could trust, left them at the Castle of *Chagre*, which he demolished, nor durst the Pyrates venture to fall upon him, as some propos'd, to be revenged on him for his Treachery. It is believed that he had not played them fair; and it is no wonder to find a Pirate guilty of unfair Play. The Treasure he brought to *Jamaica* now was valued at near 400000 Peices of Eight.

After this Enterprize, Captain *Morgan* gave over the *Buccaneer* Trade: He had a Project to fortify the Island of *St. Katharine's*, to settle it with *Buccaneers*, make it a Harbour for Pyrates, and himself to be their Prince; but before he could bring his Project to bear, a Man of War arriv'd from *England* with a new Governor, *John Lord Vaughan*, and Orders from the King and Council for the late Governor, *Sir Thomas Lynch*, to appear at Court, and answer to such Articles as were presented against him by the *Spanish* Ambassador, for maintaining Pyrates in those Parts, to the great Loss of the King of *Spain's* Subjects.

The new Governor sent to all the Coasts of *Jamaica*, to acquaint all Sea-faring Men, that his Majesty intended to observe the Peace between himself and the Catholick King religiously, and commanded his Subjects not to commit any Acts of Hostility on the *Spaniards*; however some of them ventured to land on the Isle of *Cuba*, committing all manner of Cruelty and Rapine, for which, as fast as they could be taken, they were hanged at *Jamaica*; where *Sir Henry Morgan*, for so we must now call him, the King having conferred the Honour of Knighthood on him for his Bravery, was made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, *Robert Byndlofs* and *William Beeston*, Esq; being joined in Commission with him. The Character of this Man shines brightly as to his Valour, and certainly his taking of *Panama* is an Action that is hardly to be parallel'd; but whether his Honesty was equal to his Courage, and the Scandal of Piracy which he brought on the *English*, be what we ought to value ourselves upon, is not so easily decided, as I find it done by *Sir Dalby Thomas*, who, speaking of *Sir Henry Morgan*, and his Misfortunes, afterwards says, *He was as great an Honour to our Nation, and Terror to the Spaniards, as ever was born in it.*

John Lord  
Vaughan  
Governor.

Hist. Account  
of the West-  
Indies.

‘ Notwithstanding he had done nothing but by Commif-  
 ‘ fion from the Governor and Council of *Jamaica*, and had  
 ‘ received their formal and publick Thanks for the Action,  
 ‘ he was, upon a Letter from the Secretary of State, sent  
 ‘ into *England* a Prifoner, and without being charged with  
 ‘ any Crime, or ever brought to a Hearing, was kept here  
 ‘ three Years, at his own great Expence, not only to the  
 ‘ wafing of fome Thousands he was then worth, but to the  
 ‘ Hindrance of his Planting, and Improvement of his For-  
 ‘ tune by his Induftry, towards which none in *Jamaica* was  
 ‘ in a fairer Way: So he wafed the remaining part of his  
 ‘ Life, oppreffed by a Court Faction, and a lingering Con-  
 ‘ fumption, brought upon him by his Troubles here, and  
 ‘ the Coldnefs of the Climate. This happened feveral Years  
 ‘ afterwards, during the Government of the Lord *Vaughan*.’

One of the great Difficulties that happened, was the arbitrary Proceedings of a new Company, calling themfelves the *Royal African Company of England*. The King granted them a Charter, bearing Date the 26th of *September*, 1672. to trade to *Guinea*, *Binny*, *Angola*, and *South Barbary*, exclusive of all others. The Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and other Perfons of the firft Quality, being of the Company; who, by Virtue of this Charter, pretended to monopolize the Trade, and make Prize of all Ships that came from any of thofe Parts of *Africa*, with Negroes, or other Merchandize, without their Licence.

The Duke of *York* entered fo far into the Intereft of this Corporation, as to threaten Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, Governor of *Barbados*, to turn him out of his Place, for but feeming to give Countenance to *Interlopers*; a Name they gave thofe Merchants, who, contrary to that unjuft Monopoly, traded to *Africa*.

Several Ships were taken by them from the Owners forcibly, the Men of War having Orders to feize all private Traders; and they took from one Merchant, Sir *John Bawdon*, at Times, to the Value of above 10000 *l*. They were fo fevere, that they feized Ships, whether they had a Right to do fo by their Charter or not; and Merchants were afraid to try their Causes, for fear of being thought to oppofe the King’s Prerogative, a Bug-bear Word in that Reign.

Their Agents, in the Lord *Vaughan*’s Government, detained the *St. George*, a Ship belonging to the above-mentioned *Bawdon*, and configned to *Samuel Bernard*, Efq; one of the prefent Council of *Jamaica*; but that worthy Merchant asserting his Right before Sir *Thomas Modiford*, then Chief Juftice, was too hard for the Company’s Agents, and  
 put



put them to near 1000 l. Expence to defend themselves for their Rapine.

It would be endless to give an Account of all the wicked Practices of these Agents in *Jamaica*; if we had had a perfect History of them transmitted to us. Their Tyranny was one of the greatest Grievances to Trade that ever it was oppressed with, and threatned to ruin all the Sugar Plantations, had not the Parliament in *England* regulated the Company, and laid the Trade of *Africa*, in a great Measure open.

About this Time, Mr. *Cranfield*, Mr. *Dukenfield*, and and Mr. *Brent*, Commissioners for removing the *English* Colony from *Surinam*, according to a Treaty concluded between King *Charles* and the States-General, arrived at *Jamaica* from that Plantation, with the *English*, Men, Women, Children, and Negroes, to the Number of 1200 Persons, whom the Governour, the Lord *Vaughan*, received very graciously, according to Instructions he had from Court, and provided Land in *St. Elizabeth's* Precinct, as much to one as to another, for them to plant. The Addition of so many Hands was a great Service to *Jamaica*, and the Goodness of the Soil, beyond that of *Surinam*, made the Planters amends for leaving their old Habitations.

Charles,  
Earl of  
Carlisle,  
Governour.

To the Lord *Vaughan* succeeded the Right Honourable *Charles*, Earl of *Carlisle*, who arrived at *Jamaica* in the Year 1678. The Lord *Vaughan* removing to *England*, the People of this Island were very free with his Lordship's Character, and it is to be hoped more free than just; for they did not stick to charge him with selling his own Servants; a Story equally false and absurd, which should not have been mentioned, but to clear that noble Lord from the Aspersions which the Malice of his Enemies laid upon him. It may perhaps be true, that he made hast to grow as rich as his Government would let him; and when Governours are of that Opinion, the Inhabitants are generally Sufferers by it.

During the Lord *Carlisle's* Government, the People of this Island were alarmed with groundless Fears of an Invasion from the *French*, the Count *D'Estree* being in those Parts, with a Squadron of *French* Men of War; but the Apprehensions of the *English* here were founded on Reports of Plots and Massacres in *England*, the Popish Plot being then lately discovered.

Sir Hen.  
Morgan,  
Deputy Governour.

The Country not agreeing very well with the Earl of *Carlisle*, he returned to *England*, in a Merchant Ship, and arrived at *Plymouth* in September, 1680. having left Sir

Howe

*Henry Morgan* Deputy Governor, for he was not yet fallen under the Displeasure of the Court.

Sir *Henry* being informed that *Jacob Everfon*, a Dutchman, (a most notorious Pyrate) rid then in *Cow-Bay* with a Sloop, and a *Barqua Longa*, having about 100 Men with him, he presently ordered a Sloop, that was an excellent Sailer, and very fit for the Service, to be manned with 50 Men, besides Officers, and set Centinels to hinder any Boats or Men from going off, to give the Pyrates Advice. The Sloop was ready, and sailed in an Hour's Time. On the 1st of *February* she came before *Cow-Bay*, where the Pyrate rid, and as she stood in without Colours, and with most of her Men in the Hold, several of the Pyrate's Men that were ashore, returned aboard their Sloop and Bark, which were to Windward of the Governor's Sloop. As soon as she was within Shot of the Pyrates, the Commander in Chief ordered the King's Colours to be hoisted, and laid them aboard. The Pyrates at first fired a few Small Arms, but did the Soldiers little Damage; and when they saw them enter with Resolution and Authority, many of the Pyrates leaped into their Canoes, which overset, and they were drowned. Their Fellows made some Resistance after they were boarded, but in the End the Governor's Men mastered them and the Sloop. In the mean time, the Bark riding to leeward, cut, and got under Sail, though not without visible Damage, 3 or 4 of her Men, who were mending a Top-Sail, disordered by a Shot from the Governor's Sloop, being seen to fall over-board. The Sloop chased her, but to no Purpose, she being a better Sailer.

The Captain was killed in the Engagement, but his Men who were almost all *English*, Sir *Henry Morgan* sent to the Governor of *Carthagena*, by Captain *Haywood*, that they might receive due Punishment for the Pyracies they had committed on the *Spaniards*.

About the Year 1682, Sir *Thomas Linch* returned to *Jamaica*, with a new Commission to be Governor again, a Person who was eminently loyal.

Sir Tho.  
Linch, Gs-  
vernor.

In those Times, when the *Presbyterian Plot* was most talked of in *England*, News of the Discovery of it was with all possible Speed conveyed to the *West-Indies*; and Sir *Thomas* having Notice of it, he communicated it to the Assembly then sitting, who immediately came in a full Body to the Governor and Council, to desire a Day might be set apart to give Thanks to *Almighty God* for so great and signal a Deliverance. Sir *Thomas* invited the Council and Assembly that Night to Supper, and treated them again on the

Thankf-

Thanksgiving-Day. But what shewed the Loyalty of this Assembly much more, was their continuing his Majesty's Revenue 21 Years longer in this Island.

The *Ruby* Man of War about this Time, cruised several Months to the Windward to defend those Parts from Pyrates, whose chief Captain *Van Horn* lost one of his Ships, which was taken by the *Spanish* Fleet, but most of the Men escaped:

The Assembly before-mentioned passed several good Laws which are printed at large and well abridged, in a Treatise often spoken of in this History of the Plantations.

Besides the *Ruby*, the *Guernsey* Man of War cruised also to Windward, for those Seas were full of Pyrates, who pretended to have *French* Commissions; and when they met with any *Jamaica* Men were very civil, suffering them to pass and repass untouched.

The Governor to wipe off the Scandal thrown upon him formerly of encouraging Pyrates, was now very zealous against them, and built a Galley with 54 Oars, which was launched with great Solemnity the 12th of *June*, and was of great Use in securing the Coast.

The *Buccaneers* however continued their Pyracies on the *Spaniards*: They were Crews of all Nations, *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*. In Sir *Thomas Lynch's* Time, one *Laurens* and one *Michael Tankers* headed them, and the *Spaniards* at *Carthagena* having Notice that they cruised off their Coasts, the Governor there sent out 3 Men of War, one of 40, one of 36, and another of 20 Guns to take them; and they were all three taken by the Pyrates, who killed 400 *Spaniards*, with the Loss of 14 Men in *December*, 1683.

There happened nothing farther remarkable in Sir *Thomas Lynch's* Government, which he held about 3 Years, and was succeeded by Col. *Hender Molefworth*, a Man of great Worth and Honour, whom King *William* afterwards created a Baronet. Col. *Molefworth* was Governor when News came hither of the Death of King *Charles*, and King *James* the II'd's Accession to the Throne. He resided at *St. Jago de la Vega*, or *Spanish Town*, and performed the Proclamation of the King with all possible Solemnity, himself appearing at the Head of the Militia before the King's House; about which several great Guns were planted, and fired on this Occasion. From thence he went to *Port Royal*, and before the King's House there drew up his own Regiment, and at the Head of them made the like Proclamation; which he afterwards did for *K. William*, with as loud and much more unaffected Joy.

The Governor and Council transmitted a very loyal congratulatory Address to King *James*: And this must be said for



for the Gentlemen of the Plantations, they have been as forward on such Occasions, as various as the Humours of them have been, as the People of *England*.

In the same Year 1689, the Pyrates in the *South Seas* were in very great Distress; for having landed there at the Instigation of the *Indians*, the latter deserted them, and their Return Home by Land was by that Means cut off, and that Company perished by Want or the Enemy. Another, commanded by Monsieur *Grammont* took *Campeche*, where they found nothing but *Indian Corn*. *Grammont* took a Sloop belonging to *Jamaica*, and forced the Men to serve him; but the *English* taking the Advantage of some Disorder among the Pyrates, got away in the Night.

The *French King* hearing of this Pyrate's Robberies, sent strict Orders to all his Governors in *America*, to recall the Commissions they had granted them, and forbid them to commit any more Pyracies on the *Spaniards*, or any other Nation; in which they had been till then encouraged.

In the Year 1687, a Post-Office was erected in *Jamaica*, and Mr. *James Wale* made Post-Master; and the same Year the King appointed his Grace *Christopher Duke of Albemarle* Governor of this Island, and he sailed from *Spit-head* in the *Assistance* Man of War, the 12th of *September*, his Lady the *Dutchess* being on Board.

*Christopher Duke of Albemarle Governor.*

They arrived at *Barbados* in *November*, and at *Jamaica* in *January* following, and were received with great Pomp. It was said this Lord was sent hither as to a Sort of Banishment, for his Zeal against Popery: But that seems to be a very favourable Report, for the Duke of *Albemarle* was no such Zealot in Religion, to make the Court uneasy on that Account, nor a Man of such Interest in *England*, that the Government should entertain any Jealousies of him.

The Truth is, he had lately got a great Sum of Money by Sir *William Phips's* fishing for Silver, and he had formed several Projects for fishing for more, which he intended to put in Execution, and thought if he was at *Jamaica*, he might forward it by his Presence. He had also contracted so many Debts, that the Silver Sir *William Phips* brought him Home, was not sufficient to clear them, and his Government he thought would help to discharge them.

These and other Considerations prevailed upon him to accept it; but being a Man of Pleasure and intemperate in his Drinking, it was expected the Country would not agree with that Excess, and so it proved.

On *Sunday* the 19th of *February* 1687, there was an *Earthquake* in *Jamaica*. It came by Shocks; there was three

three of them, with a little Pause between. It lasted about a Minute's Time in all, and was accompanied with a small Noise. It was generally felt all over the Island. Some Houses were cracked, and very near ruined; others being uncovered of their Tiles; very few escaped some Injury, and the People were every where in a great Consternation. The Ships in the Harbour of *Port Royal* felt it, and one that was *Eastward* of the Island coming hither from *Europe*, met with, as he said, a *Hurricane* at the same Time. One riding on Horseback was not sensible of it. A Gentleman being at that Time abroad in his Plantation, saw the Ground rise like the Sea, in a Wave, as the Earthquake past along, and then it went *Northward*.

The *Spaniards* who inhabited this Island and those neighbouring, built their Houses very low, and they consisted only of Ground-Rooms, their Walls being made of Posts, which were as much buried under Ground as they stood above, on Purpose to avoid the Danger that attended other Ways of Building, from Earthquakes: And Dr. *Sloan* writes, *I have seen in the Mountains afar off bare Spots, which the Inhabitants told me were the Effects of Earthquakes throwing down Part of the Hills, which continued bare and steep.*

The terrible Earthquake that happened 4 or 5 Years afterwards, makes this to be the less remarkable.

While the Duke of *Albemarle* was in *Jamaica*, King *James* granted a Commission to Sir *Robert Holmes* to suppress Pyrates in *America*; and Sir *Robert* procured a Proclamation to be published for the more effectual reducing and suppressing Pyrates and Privateers in *America*. He also appointed *Stephen Lynch*, Esq; Consul in *Flanders*, to be his Agent a *Jamaica*, whither he carried the before-mentioned Proclamation and sent it to the *Spanish* Parts, as well on the *North Sea*, as to *Panama* on the *South Sea*, being furnished with all Necessaries and Passports from the Crown of *Spain*.

The Duke did not live long in his Government, and his Death is supposed to be hastened as much by the Alteration of his Wine, as by that of the Climate; for coming to drink *Madeira* Wine, which is many Degrees hotter than *French* Wine, and not abating of the Quantity, it soon threw him into a Distemper that carried him to his Grave.

An eminent Merchant of *London* now living, being offered a Policy of Insurance on the Duke's Life to subscribe at a good *Premio* he refused it, and gave that for a Reason before the Duke embarked, his drinking *Madeira* Wine with the same Excess as he had done *Claret*, which we have given, for the shortning his Arrival in *Jamaica*.

Col. Hender Molefworth was chosen Governor again on the Duke of *Albemarle's* Death. The Duke's Body was embalmed and brought to *England*, in the same Ship in which the Dutchess, the present Dutchess of *Montague*, returned.

Col. Hender Molefworth Governor.

There was an Agreement made between the *English* and *Spaniards*, for a Trade in *Negroes* between *Jamaica* and the *Spanish West-Indies*. This Treaty was managed by *Don Santiago del Castillo* in *London*, and he was appointed by the King of *Spain* to be Commissary-General at *Jamaica*, for supplying the *Spanish Dominions* in the *West-Indies* with Slaves.

King *William III.* who then reigned in *England*, conferred the Honour of Knighthood on the *Don*, better known by the Name of *Sir James de Castillo*, and he resided several Years in that Island. His Majesty gave the Government of it to the Earl of *Inchiqueen*, who embarked in *May* 1690, and arrived there in due Time.

The Earl of Inchiqueen Governor.

On the 29th of *July*, the *Negroes* belonging to *Mr. Sutton's* Plantation in the Mountains, being about 400, broke out into Rebellion, and having forced the House, and killed the Man who looked to it, seized upon 50 Fuzees, Blunderbuffes, and other Arms, and a great Quantity of Powder and Shot, four small Field-Pieces, and other Provisions, and marching to the next Plantation killed the Overseer, and would have engaged the *Negroes* there to have joined with them, but they hid themselves in the Woods. Then they returned back, and prepared to defend themselves in *Mr. Sutton's* great House.

The Alarm was immediately given to the adjacent Quarters, and 50 Horse and Foot marched against them. In their March they were joined by other Parties, who making all together a good Body of Men, attacked the *Negroes* the next Day; the latter took to the Canes, firing them as they went, but a Party of *White Men* falling on their Rear routed them, and pursued them several Miles. Many of the *Blacks* were killed, and 200 of them threw down their Arms, and submitted: The rest were afterwards either killed or taken, and the Ringleaders of this Rebellion hanged as they deserved.

In 1691, the Lord *Inchiqueen* sent the *Swan* and *Guernsey* Men of War, with the *Quaker Ketch* and a hired Merchant-Man, to endeavour to destroy what *French Ships* they could find on the Coasts of *Hispaniola*, from the Isle of *Ash* to *Porto Point*, as likewise their Settlement on Shore.

*Mr. Obrian* commanded in chief in this Expedition, in which were employed 900 Soldiers; and tho' their Success



did not answer the Peoples Expectation, yet they took and destroyed several *French Ships*; and landing on the Coasts did the Enemy some Damage hardly enough to quit Coast.

The most terrible Calamity that ever befell this Island or perhaps any other, was the dreadful Earthquake which happened the 7th of *June 1692*, a most amazing and tremendous Judgment of the Almighty: For without presuming to enter into a natural Description of such wonderful *Phenomena* of Nature, our Religion requires us in all these Cases, to look up to the Omnipotent, the great Judge of the Hearts of Men, as well as the strict Observer of their Ways, and to read a severe Lesson of Repentance to ourselves, from his Proceeding with others in so extraordinary a Manner.

It began between 11 and 12 a Clock at Noon, shook down and drowned 9 Tenths of *Port Royal* in two Minutes Time, and all by the Wharfs-side in less than one, very few escaped there.

Phil. Trans. Vol. II. p. 411.  
There is something very remarkable written by a Gentleman from thence soon after, in *Lowthorp's Abridgment*. *I lost all my People and Goods, my Wife, and two Men, Mrs. B. and her Daughter. One white Maid escaped who gave me an Account, that her Mistress was in her Closet 2 Pair of Stairs high, and she was sent into the Garret where was Mrs. B. and her Daughter when she felt the Earthquake, and bid her take up her Child and run down; but turning about, met the Water at the Top of the Garret-stairs, for the House sunk downright, and is now near 30 Foot under Water. My Son and I went that Morning to Liguania, the Earthquake took us in the Midway between that and Port-Royal, where we were near being overwhelmed by a swift rolling Sea, six Foot above the Surface, without any Wind. Being forced back to Liguania, we found all the Houses even with the Ground, not a Place to put our Heads in but in Negroes Huts. The Earth continues to shake (June 20th) 5 or 6 Times in 24 Hours, and often trembling, great Part of the Mountains fell down, and falls down daily.*

All the Wharfs at *Port Royal* sunk down at once, and several Merchants were drowned with their Families and Effects, among whom was an intimate Friend of the Historian's, *Mr. Joseph Heminge*. There were soon several Fathoms of Water where this Street stood, and all that in which was the Church was so overflowed, that the Water stood up as high as the upper Rooms of the Houses that remained. The Earth when it opened swallowed up People, and they rose in other Streets; some in the Middle of the Harbour, and yet were saved, tho' at the same Time about 2000 *Whites* and *Blacks* perished in this Town. At the North above 1000 Acres

Acres of Land sunk, and 13 People with it. All the Houses were thrown down over the Island, and the surviving Inhabitants were forced to dwell in Huts. The two great Mountains at the Entrance into 16 *Mile Walk* fell and met, and so stopped up the River, that it was dry from that Place to the *Ferry* for a whole Day; by which Means vast Quantities of Fish were taken up, to the great Relief of the Distressed.

At *Yellows* a great Mountain split and fell into the level Land, covered several Settlements, and destroyed 19 white People. One of the Persons whose Name was *Hopkins*, had his Plantation removed half a Mile from the Place where it formerly stood. The Water of all Wells from one Fathom to six Fathom, flew out at the Top with the violent Motion of the Earth.

Another Account of this deplorable Judgment gives us a lively and lamentable Idea of it. The Writer's own Words will be most satisfactory, as we find them in a Letter in the above-named Treatise. *Between 11 and 12, we felt the Tavern where I then was shake, and saw the Bricks begin to rise in the Floor: At the same Time we heard a Voice in the Streets cry, An Earthquake, and immediately we ran out of the House, where we saw all People with lifted up Hands begging God's Assistance. We continued running up the Street, while on either Side of us we saw the Houses some swallowed up, others thrown on Heaps; the Sand in the Street rising like the Waves of the Sea, lifting up all Persons that stood upon it, and immediately dropping down into Pits. At the same Time a Flood of Water broke in, and rolled these poor Souls over and over, some catching hold of Beams and Rafter's of Houses: Others were found in the Sand that appeared when the Water was drained away, with their Legs and Arms out. Sixteen or eighteen of us who beheld this dismal Sight, stood on a small Piece of Ground, which Thanks be to God did not sink. As soon as the violent Shake was over, every Man was desirous to know if any Part of his Family was left alive: I endeavoured to go towards my House upon the Ruins of the Houses that were floating upon the Water, but could not. At length I got a Canoe, and rowed up the great Sea-side towards my House, where I saw several Men and Women floating upon the Wreck out at Sea, and as many of them as I could I took into the Boat, and still rowed on till I came where I thought my House had stood, but could hear of neither my Wife nor Family. Next Morning I went from one Ship to another, till at last it pleased God I met with my Wife and two of my Negroes. She told me when she felt the House shake, she ran out and called all the House to do the same. She was no sooner out but the Sand lifted up, and her Negro*

Ibid. 412.

Woman grasping about her, they both dropt into the Earth together, when at the very Instant the Water came in, rolled them over and over, till at length they caught hold of a Beam; where they hung till a Boat came from a Spanish Vessel and took them up.

The Houses from the *Jews-street* to the *Breast-Work* were shaken down, except 8 or 10 which remained, from the *Balcony* upwards above the Water.

As soon as the violent Earthquake was over, the Watermen and Sailors did not stick to plunder those Houses; and in the Time of the Plunder, one or two of them fell upon their Heads by a second Earthquake, where they were lost.

When as the first and great Shake was over, the Minister desired all People to join with him in Prayer, and among them were several *Jews*, who kneeled and answered as they did, and it was observed they were in this Extremity heard to call upon Jesus Christ.

Several Ships and Sloops were over-set and lost in the Harbour. Among the rest a Man of War, the *Swan* Frigate that lay by the Wharf to careen. The violent Motion of the Sea and sinking of the Wharf, forced her over the Tops of many Houses, and passing by that where a Person called my Lord *Pike* lived, Part of it fell upon her and beat in her Round-house; she did not over-set, but helped some Hundreds in saving their Lives.

A great and hideous Noise was heard in the Mountains, insomuch that it frightened many *Negroes* who had run away from their Masters, and been several Months absent, and made them come Home. The Water that issued from the *Salt-Pan* Hills forced its Passage from 20 or 30 Places, some more forcibly than others; for in 8 or 10 Places it came out with so much Violence, that had so many Sluices been drawn up at once, they could not have run with greater Force, and most of them 6 or 7 Yards high from the Foot of the Hill; 3 or 4 of the least were near 10 or 12 Yards high. The *Salt-Pans* were quite overflowed. The Mountains between *Spanish-Town* and *Sixteen Mile Walk*, as the Way lies along the River, are almost perpendicular about the Mid-Way. These two Mountains joined together, which stopped the Passage of the Water, and forced it to seek another, that was a great Way in and out among the Woods and *Savana's*.

'Twas 8 or 9 Days before the People had any Relief from it: The People concluding it was sunk like *Port-Royal*, thought of removing to some other Part of the Country.



The Mountains along the River were so thrown on Heaps, that all People were forced to go by *Guanaboa* to *Sixteen Mile Walk*. The Weather was much hotter after the Earthquake than before, and such an innumerable Quantity of *Musket-toes*, that the like was never seen since the Island was inhabited. A great Part of the Mountains at *Yellows* falling down, drove all the Trees before it, and wholly overthrew and buried a Plantation at the Foot of them. The Sand in *Port-Royal* cracking and opening in several Places where People stood, they sunk into it, and the Water boiled out of the Sand, with which many People were covered.

The Houses that stood were so shattered, that few of them were thought fit or safe to live in, and most of them remained empty a Year afterwards.

Those Streets that were next the Water-side were the best in the Town, full of large Warehouses, stately Buildings, and commodious Wharfs; close to which Ships of 700 Tuns might lie and deliver their Lading. Here the principal Merchants lived, and now alas! is 6, 7, and 8 Fathom Water.

The Part that was left standing, was Part of the End of that Neck of Land which runs into the Sea and makes this Harbour; at the Extremity of which stands the Fort not shook down, but much shattered by the Earthquake. 'Twas afterwards a perfect Island.

The whole Neck of Land from the Fort to the Pallisadoes or other End of *Port-Royal*, towards the Land, which is above a Quarter of a Mile, being quite discontinued and lost in the Earthquake, and is now also, with all the Houses which stood very thick upon it, quite under Water. This Neck was at first nothing but Sands, which by the People's driving down Timber, Wharfing, &c. were by little and little gained in Time out of the Sea, which now has at once recovered all again. On this sandy Neck of Land did the Inhabitants great heavy Brick Houses stand; whose Weight on such a light Foundation contributed much to their Downfall, for the Ground gave Way as far as the Houses stood only, and no farther.

The Shake was so violent, that it threw People down on their Knees, and sometimes on their Faces as they ran along the Streets to provide for their Safety; and it was a very difficult Matter for them to keep on their Legs.

One whole Street, a great many Houses of which stood after the Earthquake, was twice as broad [then as before; and in several Places the Ground would crack, and open and shut quick and fast.

Major *Kelly* of this Island, reported he saw 2 or 300 of these Openings at one Time; in some of which many People were absorpt, some the Earth caught by the Middle and squeezed to Death, the Heads of others only appeared above Ground; some were swallowed quite down and cast up again with great Quantities of Water, while others went down and were never more seen. These were the smaller Openings, the larger swallowed up great Houses, and out of some of them issued whole Rivers, spouting to a vast Height in the Air, accompanied with ill Stenches and offensive Smells. The Sky, which before was clear and blew, became in a Minute's Time dull and reddish, compared to a red hot Oven. Prodigious Noises were made by the Fall of the Mountains, and terrible Rumbings were heard under Ground.

While Nature was labouring with these Convulsions, the People ran up and down pale and trembling with Horror like so many Ghosts, thinking the Dissolution of the whole Frame of the World was at Hand.

The Shake was stronger in the Country than in the Town, where it left more Houses standing than in all the rest of the Island. People could not stand on their Legs in other Places, but fell down on their Faces, and spread out their Arms and Legs to prevent a greater Mischief by falling by the Earthquake. It left not a House standing at *Passage-Fort*, but one at *Liguania*, and none at *St. Jago*, except a few low Houses built by the wary *Spaniards*. In several Places of the Country, the Earth gaped prodigiously. On the North Side, the Planters Houses with the greatest Part of their Plantations were swallowed, Houses, People, Trees, and all in one Gap, instead of which appeared a Lake of 1000 Acres over: Afterwards it dried up, and there remains not the least Appearance of House, Tree, or any Thing else that was there before.

In *Clarendon Precinct*, there were great Gapings and Spoutings of Water 12 Miles from the Sea. Many Marks of these Gapings remain to this Day. In the Mountains were the most violent *Shakes* of all, and it is a general received Opinion, that the nearer the Mountains the greater the *Shake*. The *Blue Mountains* were the greatest Sufferers, and for two Months together so long the Shake lasted, they bellowed out hideous loud Noises and Echoings. Part of a Mountain not far from *Yellows*, after having made several Leaps, overwhelmed a whole Family and great Part of a Plantation lying a Mile off; and a large high Mountain not far from *Port Morant*, is quite swallowed up: In the Place where

where it stood, there is now a vast Lake 4 or 5 Leagues over.

Some were of Opinion that the Mountains sunk a little; certain it is, the Beauty of them is quite changed: For whereas they used to look always Green, above half of the Prospect now lies bare; and how can that be otherwise, when they were so rent and torn, and such prodigious Quantities of Trees rooted up and driven into the Sea by the Earthquake, on which several hundred thousand Tun have been computed to float sometimes?

Some think this whole Island is sunk a little; others, that *Port-Royal* sunk a Foot, and several Wells in *Legany* do not require so long a Rope to draw Water out of them now, as before the Earthquake by 2 or 3 Foot.

The Water in the Harbour of *Port-Royal* was suddenly raised with such a strange Emotion, that it swelled as in a Storm; huge Waves appeared on a sudden, rolling with such a Force that they drove most Ships from their Anchors, breaking their Cables in an Instant.

Capt. *Phips* and another Gentleman happening to be at *Legany* by the Sea-side at the Time of the Earthquake, the Sea retired so from the Land, that the Bottom appeared dry for 2 or 300 Yards; in which they saw several Fish lie, and the Gentleman who was with him ran and took up some, yet in a Minute or two's Time the Sea returned again, and overflowed Part of the Shore. At *Yall-House* the Sea retired above a Mile. It is thought near 3000 People perished in all Parts of the Island.

After the *great Shake*, those that escaped got on board the Ships in the Harbour, at least as many as could; where some of them continued above two Months, the Shakes being all that Time so violent and thick, that they were afraid to venture ashore. Others removed to *Kingston*, where from the first clearing of the Ground, and from bad Accommodations, the Huts built with Boughs, and not sufficient to keep out Rain, which in a great and unusual manner followed the Earthquake, lying wet, and wanting Medicines, and all Conveniences, they died miserably. Indeed there was a general Sickness, supposed to proceed from the noxious Vapours, belched from the many Openings of the Earth all over the Island, insomuch that few escaped being Sick, and it is thought it swept away 3000 Souls, the greatest Part from *Kingston* only, which is not even now a very healthy Place. Besides, the great Number of dead Bodies floating from one Side of the Harbour to the other, as the Sea and Land Breezes drove them, sometimes a 100 or 200



in a Heap, may be thought to add something to the Unhealthfulness of this Island. Half the People who escaped at *Port-Royal*, died at *Kingston*; where were 500 Graves dug in a Month's Time, and two or three buried in a Grave.

The Assembly appointed every 7th Day of *June* to be observed as a Day of Fasting or Humiliation, unless it falls on a *Sunday*, and then the Day after, in Remembrance of this dreadful Earthquake.

The Loss the Merchants suffered, both in *Jamaica* and *England*, was much more than is pretended to be lost by the Inhabitants of the *Leeward-Islands*, yet they never solicited for any Help; it is true they did not suffer by an Enemy: However the Assembly considered several of them, particularly Mr. *Benjamin Way*, Mr. *Joseph Sergeant*, Mr. *William Hutchinson*, Mr. *Francis Hall*, and Mr. *Edmund Edlyne*, who owing Customs for great Quantities of Wine, which were destroyed in the Earthquake, were by an Act indemnified from Payment of what Sums were due on that Account.

Nor did this Calamity come alone, for the *French* about the same Time landed 300 Men on the North-Side of the Island: Upon which the *Guernsey* Man of War, and several Sloops, were sent against them, and repelled the Enemy, burnt their Ships, and took or destroyed all their Men, both by Sea and Land, except 18, who escaped in a Sloop.

There was a strong Report in *London*, some Time after News came of the first great Shake in *Jamaica*, that there had happened a second, by which the greatest Part of the Island, and most of the Inhabitants were said to be destroyed, and all who had Interests there were in a terrible Consternation; but the next Letters thence proved that Report to be false and groundless.

Sir William  
Beeston  
Governor.

The Lord *Inchiqueen* dying in this Island, his Majesty, on News of it, was pleased to appoint Colonel *William Beeston* Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief of it, in *October*, 1692. He also conferred on the new Governor the Honour of Knighthood.

Sir *William* embarked aboard the *Falcon* Frigate, and arrived in *Jamaica* the 9th of *March*, 1692, where he set about reforming several Abuses crept into the Government there during the Lord *Inchiqueen's* Administration.

In *November*, 1693, the *Mordaunt* Man of War, Convoys to a Fleet of Merchant Men, homeward bound from *Jamaica*, was cast away on the Rocks, near the Island of *Cuba*, and was lost, but all the Men were saved.

This Year the Assembly appointed Agents to solicit their Affairs in *England*, who were, Mr. *Gilbert Heathcot*, Mr. *Bartholomew Gracedieu*, and Mr. *John Tutt*, of *London*, Merchants; and 450*l.* was ordered to be raised, and remitted to them, for their soliciting the publick Affairs of *Jamaica*. Commissioners were also appointed in the Island for the Management of that Agency, who were,

<p><i>Samuel Bernard,</i>  <i>Nicholas Law,</i>  <i>James Bradshaw,</i>  <i>William Hutchinson,</i>  <i>Thomas Clark,</i>  <i>James Banister,</i>  <i>Modisford Freeman,</i></p>	}	Esquires.
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In the following Year, the Governor, Sir *William Beeston*, had Advice that four *French* Men of War had taken the *Falcon* Frigate before-mentioned, and carried her to *Petit Guaves*, where the Enemy were making Preparations, in order to some Attempt upon this Island: For being encouraged by several disaffected Persons to invade it, they had resolved to put their Design in Execution, having received an additional Strength, by the Arrival of three Men of War from *France*, carrying about 50 Guns each; of which Design Sir *William Beeston* had the first certain Advice from Captain *Elliot*, who being a Prisoner at *Petit Guaves*, made his Escape from thence, and arrived at *Port-Royal* the last Day of *May*, 1694. with two Persons besides, in a Canoe which could carry no more.

On this Notice, the Governor, Sir *William Beeston*, assembled the Council, and such Resolutions were taken, as were judged most proper for putting themselves in a Posture to receive them. It was ordered, That the principal Forces of the Island should be posted about *Port-Royal*.

On the 17th of *June*, the *French* Fleet came in Sight, consisting of the three Men of War before-mentioned, several Privateers, Sloops, and other small Vessels; in all about 20 Sail, commanded by Monsieur *Du Casse*, the *French* Governor in *Hispaniola*. Eight of them stay'd about *Port Morant*; and 12 Sail anchored in *Cow-Bay*, seven Leagues to Windward of *Port-Royal*, where they landed their Men, and plundered and burnt all before them for several Miles Eastward, killed the Cattle, drove several Flocks of Sheep into Houses, and then fired them, committing the most inhuman Barbarities. They tortured some of the Prisoners

soners they took, murdered others in cold Blood, after two Days Quarter, caused the *Negroes* to abuse several Women and dug up the Bodies of the Dead; for such are the *French* when they are Masters. They designed to have done the like in other Parts of the Island, and during their Stay at Port *Morant*, sent five or six Vessels to the North Side, where they landed at St. *Mary's* and St. *George's*; but upon the Appearance of some Forces that were sent thither, they withdrew, and returned to their Fleet.

On the 21<sup>st</sup>, the Wind blowing very hard, Monsieur *Rollon*, in the Admiral Ship, riding in deep Water, his *Anchors came home*, and he was driven off, with another in his Company, and could not get up again with the Fleet, but bore away to *Blackfield-Bay*, towards the West End of this Island, where he landed 60 Men. Upon which Major *Andress*, who was left there to take Care of those Parts, fell upon them, killed several of them, and the rest ran away to their Ship in haste, that they left their Provisions behind them. As soon as they could get up their Anchors, they sailed away.

The Enemy having done what Mischief they could at Port *Morant*, their whole Fleet sailed from thence the 16<sup>th</sup> of *July*. The 17<sup>th</sup> in the Morning, some of them came in Sight of *Port-Royal*, and in the Afternoon they went all to an Anchor again in *Cow-Bay*; and to amuse the *English*, landed their Men very fast, and made Fires along the Bay; but in the Night they all returned to their Ships, re-imbarked, and on the 18<sup>th</sup> they were seen from *Port-Royal*, standing to the Westward; from whence it was concluded they designed for *Carlisle-Bay* in *Vere*; and to prevent their doing the same Damage they had done at Port *Morant*, two Troops of Horse were immediately ordered that Way, together with the Regiment of St. *Catharine's*, Part of the Regiment of *Clarendon* that were in Town; and Part of the Regiment of St. *Elizabeth*, which lay in the Way. The *French* anchored in *Carlisle-Bay* that Afternoon, and the next Morning landed 14 or 1500 Men, who attacked a Breast-work that was defended by 200 *English*. A great Fire was made for a considerable Time on both Sides; but the latter finding the Work could not be maintained, at last retired, and repassed the River, after having killed many of the Enemy. In this Action, Colonel *Clayburne*, Lieutenant Colonel *Smart*, Captain *Vassal*, and Lieutenant *Dawkins* were killed; and Captain *Dawkins*, Captain *Fisher*, and some other Officers wounded. In the mean Time, four or five Companies of Foot, and some Horse, advanced against the



the *French*. The *English*, though they had marched 30 Miles the Night before, and were very much fatigued, charged the Enemy with such Gallantry, that they not only put a Stop to their Pursuit of the *English*, who had quitted the Breast-work, but made them retreat. Here many of the *French* were killed, as also some *English*; and Captain *Bakestead*, and other Officers were wounded.

The 20th and 21st, there passed some Skirmishes between small Parties. The 22d the Enemy came to a Brick House belonging to Mr. *Hubbard*, and attacked it. There were 25 Men in it, who killed and wounded several of the *French*; among whom were some Officers of Note. Major *Lloyd* hearing of the Dispute, marched with some Horse and Foot to the Relief of Mr. *Hubbard's* Men, and came in Time enough to help them to beat off the Enemy, who resolved to try their Fortune again the next Day against the same Place, with a stronger Party and Cannon. Upon Notice of which, Major *Lloyd* put 50 Men into Mr. *Hubbard's* House, and laid the rest of the *English* in Ambuscade, expecting the *French* would, as they gave out, renew the Assault: But the Enemy changed their Resolution; and finding they had lost many of their Men, and several of their best Officers, and that they could make no further Advance into the Country, they went all on board again the Night following; and the 24th their whole Fleet set Sail. Monsieur *Du Cassé*, with two or three Ships more, made the best of his Way home, and 17 Sail went into Port *Morant* to Wood and Water, which they did with all the Speed they could. On the 28th they put ashore most of the Prisoners they had taken, and sailed homewards.

The *French*, according to the Report of the Prisoners who returned from them, lost above 350 Men, in their several Engagements with the *English*, besides many who died of Sickness; so that their whole Loss was computed to be 700 Men while they were in this Island. On the Side of the *English* 100 of all Sorts, *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Negroes* were killed and wounded.

Captain *Elliot*, who gave the Governor Notice of the intended Expedition of the *French*, had a Medal and Chain of 100 Pounds Value given him, by Command of King *William*, and 500 Pounds in Money, and 50 Pounds to each of the Men who escaped with him, as Rewards of their good Service. His Majesty was further pleased to order, that Captain *Elliot* should be recommended to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for an Employment in the Navy.

The Council and Assembly sent over an Address, which was presented to the King; most gratefully acknowledging his Majesty's Royal Care of them, in ordering a speedy Relief and Assistance to be sent thither, for the Defence and Security of their Persons and Estates against a cruel and barbarous Enemy; who in their late Attempt upon that Island, had no other Advantage over them, but what was owing to the Inequality of their Numbers, and not to the Valour of their Men, which chiefly shewed itself, in burning deserted Plantations, murdering Prisoners in cold Blood, and offering Indignity to Women.

The King ordered a Body of Forces, under the Command of Colonel Lillington, for Jamaica; who arrived in the Year 1694. with about 1200 Men. The Governor having received so strong a Reinforcement, resolved to be revenged of the French for their Barbarity in the late Invasion; the Swan Frigate was dispatched away to Hispaniola, with an Agent, to concert Measures with the Spaniards for attacking the French in that Island; and Captain Wilmot, Commodore of a Squadron of Men of War then at Jamaica, sailed for St. Domingo, with Colonel Lillington and the Land-Forces aboard. When they came there, it was agreed, that the Governor of St. Domingo should march with the Spaniards to Manchancel-Bay, on the North-side of Hispaniola, where the Ships were to meet him. Captain Wilmot sailed accordingly to Cape Francis; and Colonel Lillington landed his Men within three Leagues of the Cape, and Captain Wilmot with his Men of War went within Gun-shot of the Fort. The 18th the English going near the Shore, the Enemy fired both great and small Shot upon them, which was answered by the Ships; and it was resolved, that as soon as the Land-Forces could march to one Side of the Town, the Seamen should assault it on the other, while the Ships battered the Fort.

Captain Wilmot went that Evening with several Boats, to find a convenient Landing-place; and going close into a Bay, a Party of Men lay under Cover, and fired very thick on the English, but without killing a Man.

The next Evening he went with a greater Strength; which the Enemy perceiving, and believing he was going to land, they blew up the Fort, burnt the Town, and went off in the Night, leaving behind them at the Fort-Batteries and Breast-Work above 40 Pieces of Cannon.

The English entered the Town next Day, and found a good Booty there. After this they resolved to attack Port Paix, where Captain Wilmot staid several Days, to expect the

the coming up of the Land-Forcés, the *English* and *Spanish* Forces marching thither by Land. Before they came up, Captain *Wilmot*, with a Party of Seamen, landed about five Miles to the Eastward of *Port Paix*; where he received some little Opposition by an Ambuscade; but quickly forced the Enemy to retire, and burnt and destroyed the Plantations as far as the Fort, whither the *French* fled, and then the Seamen returned a Ship-board.

On the 15th, Captain *Wilmot* understanding the Land-Forces were come near *Port Paix*, he landed again with 400 Seamen. The four following Days were spent chiefly in putting the Cannon and Mortars ashore,

The 21st the Men of War sailed to the Westward of the Castle, and landed some more Guns. The 22d the *English* raised a Battery on a rising Ground, and play'd it the same Evening. The next Day they began another Battery, which they finished by the 27th. Both of them very much annoy'd the Enemy, and made a great Breach in the Castle.

The 3d of *July*, at Night, Colonel *Lillington* and Captain *Wilmot* were informed, that the *French* designed to leave the Castle, as they did accordingly, marching out to the Number of 310, besides 200 armed *Negroes*, and 150 without Arms. But the *English* and *Spaniards* being ready to receive them, killed many; among whom were most of their commanding Officers, took several Prisoners, and then made themselves Masters of the Castle, which it was thought fit to demolish; but they brought off the Artillery, Provisions, and Stores. After this the *English* re embarked, and Captain *Wilmot* who directed his Course to *Jamaica*, where he arrived the 21st of *July*.

The Confederates thus ruined two of the *French* Settlements in *Hispaniola*, killed 350 Men, brought away 150 Prisoners, with 80 Pieces of Cannon, and a great deal of Booty, with inconsiderable Loss on their Side.

The Castle was situated at the Bottom of a Bay, upon a flat rocky Hill, very high, steep towards the Land, and sloping towards the Sea. It was built in the Form of a Square, with four Bastions. The Wall was Cannon-proof; on the Top of it were 12 small Pieces of Artillery, and this Fortrefs was of great Importance to the *French* at *Hispaniola*. Indeed *Jamaica* lies so convenient for annoying the Enemies of the Crown of *England*, in *Hispaniola* and the Continent, that we wonder the *English* have made no more Advantage of its Situation. It is certainly their own Fault, if the *French* at least are suffered to possess any Thing in *America*, where the *English* are near ten Times as numerous as their Enemies.

About



About this Time the Assembly pass an Act, appointing Commissioners to give Freedom to such *Negro-Slaves*, as could prove they had done any remarkable Service against the *French*; which Commissioners were,

*Rich. Lloyd*, Esq;  
*Fran. Rose*, Esq;  
*James Banister*, Esq;

*Tho. Bindlos*, Esq;  
*John Walters*, Esq;

Their Power was general; but those that follow, were only Commissioners for the Parishes of *Kingston*, *St. Andrew's*, *St. David's*, and *St. Thomas's*, to the *Windward*, viz.

*Nicholas Laws*, Esq;  
*Edward Stanton*, Esq;  
*Modiford Freeman*, Esq;

*Josias Heathcot*, Esq;  
*James Bradshaw*, Esq;

This Year the Island of *Jamaica* hired, victualled, and manned two Sloops of War; and raised 200 Men, to reduce the rebellious *Negroes*; for which Services 4303 *l.* was levy'd on the *English*, and 750 *l.* on the *Jews*; which was assessed, collected, and paid by some of their own Nation, as,

*Mr. Solomon Arary*.  
*Mr. Jacob de Leon*,  
*Mr. Moses Toiro*,  
*Mr. Jac. Mendez Guterias*.

*Mr. Jacob Henriquez*,  
*Mr. Jacob Rodriguez de Leon*,  
*Mr. Moses Jesurun Cardoso*, &c.

The Receivers of this Money were also appointed by the same Act to be,

*Col. Charles Knights*,  
*Col. Tho. Clark*,  
*Capt. Lancelot Talbot*,  
*Capt. Robert Wardlow*,

*Wil. Hutchinson*, Esq;  
*Capt. Josiah Heathcot*,  
And,  
*Capt. Tho. Clark*.

The Treasurers, or Pay-Masters, were Colonel *Charles Knights*, and *Josiah Heathcot*, Esq;

And the Commissioners who were to receive the Monies; and manage this Affair, were to employ Captain *William Dodington*, to provide Victuals, Arms, and Ammunition, for the Sloops.

Garrisons were put into *Fort William* and *Port Morant*, who were under the Command of *Col. Edward Stanton*.

In the Year 1696. Monsieur *Pointi*, with a *French Squadron*, made a Feint on *Jamaica*, in his Way to *Carthagena*, but understanding the Strength of the Place, bore off to Sea. The Inhabitants, as soon as they saw his Ships, took Arms, and kept strict Guards; being in so good a Posture of Defence, that they rather wished he would attack them, than pass them by. The *French* had indeed got 2000 *Buccaneers* together at *Petit Guaves*, with a Design either to attack the *Spaniards* in *Hispaniola*, or the *English* in *Jamaica*; but the Storm fell on the *Spaniards*.

Admiral *Nevill* was then in those Parts, in search of Monsieur *Pointi*; and the *Monmouth*, one of *Nevill's* Squadron, took a *French Privateer*, that had just put the Governour of *Petit Guaves* ashore.

Admiral *Nevill* arrived at *Jamaica* the 16th of *May*, 1697. and sailed again the 25th, having staid there for a Wind. Two or three Days after he discovered *Pointi's* Squadron returning from *Carthagena*, and chased them a Day and a Night; but the *French* out sailing him, got away, except a rich Ship, formerly taken from the *Spaniards*, being Vice-Admiral of the *Burlovento Fleet*, which the Princess *Anne* and the *Hollandia* brought to *Jamaica*, having on board, besides Plate, 800 Barrels of Powder, and 100 *Negroes*. The Ship and Cargo were computed to be worth 200000 Pounds *Sterling*.

Admiral *Nevill* sailed to the Coasts of *Hispaniola*, to look after the *Galleons*. He landed some Men on the Island, made himself Master of *Petit Guaves*, plundered and burnt it to the Ground. He also took seven *French Privateers*.

The Admiral died in *August*. Commodore *Mees*, Capt. *Lytcot*, Capt. *Holmes*, Capt. *Bellwood*, Capt. *Dyer*, Capt. *Stadley*, and Capt. *Foster* died also in this Voyage. They were all Commanders of Men of War, and the Seamen were swept away by the Sickness which raged in the Fleet.

The Squadron was, after the Death of Admiral *Nevill* and Commodore *Mees*, commanded by Capt. *Dilks*, who stopped in his Way home at *Virginia*, where the Seamen recovered their Health.

The *French* soon repaired their Losses this Year by the *English*; for in the next we find they talked of invading *Jamaica*. They had 14 Men of War at *Petit Guaves*, some of which were 70 Gun Ships.

Sir *William Beeslon* sent Capt. *Moses* thither in a Sloop; to fetch off a Man, or more, to get Information of their Designs; which he performed very well, landing with four five Men,

Men, who took one *Grumbles* out of a House, as he was at Dinner, and brought him away.

*Grumbles* was a Native of *Jamaica*, where he lived till a few Years before, when he ran away to the *French* at *Hispaniola*, where he was the chief Man that instigated the Enemy to invade, plunder, and destroy the Island of *Jamaica* his Native Country.

The *French* were enraged at the Loss of so useful a Man, and if he was hanged, threatened to do the same by Capt. *Price* Commander of a *London* Ship, which they had taken, and kept the Captain Prisoner at *Petit Guaves*. *Grumbles* said the *French* designed for the *Havana*; but the timely Notice the *Spaniards* had of their Preparations broke all their Measures.

In 1698, the Assembly pass an Act for fortifying *Port-Royal*: Upon which the Governor removed thither from *Spanish-Town* to see that Work begun.

The *Scots* now settled at *Darien*, and fortified *Golden-Island* at the Bottom of the Gulph, where the Isthmus between that and the *South-Seas* is so narrow, that a few Men might defend it against Multitudes, and deny all Passage that Way to the *Indies*: But King *William* being in a strict Alliance with the King of *Spain* at that Time, this Settlement of the *Scots* was an open Breach of it, and he could not suffer his *English* Subjects to be assisting to the new Colony, without whose Assistance it was impossible for the *Scots* to effect their Design. Orders were sent to the Governor of *Jamaica* and other Governors in the *West-Indies*, not to let them be supplied from thence; so for Want of Provision the *Scots* were forced to abandon their Settlement: For which Loss Satisfaction has been since made them, upon the Conclusion of the late happy Union between the two Nations.

In the Year 1699, Admiral *Bembow* arrived at *Jamaica* with a Squadron of Men of War, the Seamen were infected with a mortal Distemper, which carried off great Numbers of them, as also of the Officers.

The *South Sea Castle* Capt. *Stepney*, and the *Biddesford* Capt. *Searl*, two Men of War were cast away, Anno 1700, near *Hispaniola*, and 30 Barrels of Powder blew up in *Fort-Charles* in *Port-Royal*, at saluting a *Scots* Ship.

Major Gen.  
Selwyn  
Governor.

Sir *William Beeston* dying in the Year 1700, Major General *Selwyn* was made Governor of *Jamaica* in April 1701, at which Time the Island was in a very flourishing Condition, Admiral *Bembow's* Squadron healthy.

This Commander was very vigilant and brave in the Discharge of his Trust, and had Cruizers always about the Island for



for the Security of Trade; it being expected, that the War between *England* and *France*, which had ceased about 4 Years, would break out again, on the *French King's* seizing the *Spanish* Dominions in *Europe* and *America*.

Major General *Selwyn* arrived at *Port-Royal* in 1701, but died soon after his Arrival, and *Peter Beckford, Esq;* was chosen Lieutenant Governor by the Council; who receiving Advice of the Death of King *William* the III<sup>d</sup> of glorious Memory, ordered all the great Guns to be fired at a Minute's Distance, at *St. Jago* or *Spanish-Town, Port-Royal* and *Kingston*, the 23<sup>d</sup> of *June* 1702, from Sun-set to 12 at Night; the same was done by Vice-Admiral *Bembow*, and the Men of War under his Command.

*Peter Beckford, Esq;*  
Lieutenant-Governor.

The next Day our present Gracious Sovereign Queen *Anne* was, with all possible Solemnity, proclaimed in *Spanish-Town* the Capital of the Island; the Lieutenant Governor, the Council, and most of the Gentlemen of the Place being present and the several Companies of Soldiers and Militia under Arms: All the great Guns in the Town were thrice discharged, and were answered by as many Volleys of small Shot: All the Forts in the Island fired all their Guns thrice, and the Vice-Admiral, the Men of War, and all the Ships in the Port did the like. The Lieutenant Governor gave the Council and principal Gentry a noble Entertainment at Dinner, and the Joy for her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, was as great as their Sorrow for the Death of their late Sovereign.

As soon as Admiral *Bembow* had Notice of the War breaking out again between *England* and *France*, that he might with the greater Advantage infest the Enemy, he detached some of the Ships under his Command, and sailed himself with the rest of his Squadron to insult the *French*, and their new Confederates the *Spaniards*, and intercept the Ships sent to the *West-Indies* under Monsieur *Du Cassé*. Some of these Frigats took between the two Capes of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, a very rich Ship designed for *France*, mounted with 20 Guns and 190 Men, which they sent to *Jamaica*.

The Admiral and his Officers by their long stay in this Island, were so well accustomed to the Climate, that they were all in a good State of Health. The *Bristol* Man of War took the *Gloriana* a *Spanish* Man of War, and sent her into *Port-Royal*. She was bound for *St. Domingo*, to carry a new Governor from thence to *Carthagera*.

The Admiral with 7 Men of War cruizing off *Leogane* and *Petit Guaves*, put the *French* and *Spaniards* in a terrible Consternation. He drove a *French* Man of War of 40

Guns ashore, and the Enemy blew her up, to prevent her falling into his Hands. He with his Boats set fire to two great Merchant Ships, and took two more, with a Brigantine and a Sloop; which the *Colchester* brought into *Port-Royal* the 14th of *August*, 1702. After which he sailed in search of *Du Cassé*.

The Council and Assembly of *Jamaica* having transmitted a very loyal Address to her Majesty in *England*, it was presented by Sir *Gilbert Heathcôt*, and Sir *Bartholomew Gracedieu*, two eminent *Jamaica* Merchants.

In *October* this Year the Queen was pleased to appoint the Right Honourable the Earl of *Peterborough*, who has since made himself so famous by his Conquests in *Spain*, to be Governor of *Jamaica*, and gave him larger Powers than the Duke of *Albemarle* had. His Lordship being declared Captain General and Admiral of all her Majesty's Settlements in the *West-Indies*, Mr. *Graydon* was ordered with a Squadron to convoy the Lord *Peterborough*, and the Forces he was to take with him thither: And all People concerned in the Plantations were extremely pleased to see this Commission in so good Hands. Why this Lord did not go is a Question we cannot answer: And it is therefore enough for us to observe only, that Mr. *Graydon* went with the Men of War, and some Transports; and that the Voyage proved unfortunate both to him and the Kingdom. In the mean Time, Admiral *Bembow* hearing Commodore *Whestone*, with several Ships, was abroad, failed to join him; but understanding Monsieur *Du Cassé* was expected at *Leogane*, he went thither in search of him. In his Passage he took a *French* Sloop, and forced a *French* Man of War of 50 Guns to run her self ashore at *Leogane*, where she blew up; he sunk another of the Enemy's Ships of 16 Guns, took one of 30, another of 16, and a third of six.

He afterwards went to *Petit Guaves*, and Cape *Donna Maria*; where he received Advice that Monsieur *Du Cassé* was sailed for *Carthagena*, and set Sail after him the 10th of *August*, towards the Coast of *St. Martha*, with the *Breda*, Captain *Fog*, of 70 Guns, on board which he was himself; the *Defiance*, Col. *Richard Kirby* Commander, of 64 Guns; the *Windsor*, Captain *John Constable*, of sixty Guns; the *Greenwich*, Captain *Cooper Wade*, of 54 Guns; the *Ruby*, Capt. *George Walton*, of 48 Guns; the *Pendennis*, Capt. *Thomas Hudson*, of 48 Guns; and the *Falmouth*, Capt. *Samuel Vincent*, of 48 Guns.

On the 15th, he came in Sight of Monsieur *Du Cassé*, who had with him four stout Ships, from 66 to 70 Guns, one great

great *Dutch* built Ship, of 30 or 40 Guns, and one small Ship, full of Soldiers, with a Sloop, and three other small Vessels. The Admiral immediately made a Signal for an Engagement, and attacked the Enemy very bravely, maintaining the Fight five Days. If the other Ships of his Squadron had seconded him, he would certainly have taken or destroyed all the *French*, but four of his Ships did not assist him. The *Ruby* was disabled on the 21st, and sent to *Port-Royal*, and the whole Burthen lay upon the Admiral and the *Falmouth*; who however took a Prize, being an *English* Vessel, which the *French* had formerly taken. The *Breda* so disabled *Du Cassé's* second Ship, that she was towed away, and very much shattered the rest of his Squadron. The Admiral, on the 24th, had his Leg broken by a Chain-shot, which yet did not discourage him from continuing the Fight; but not being able to prevail with his Captains to concur with him in his Design, he was obliged to give it over, and so *Du Cassé* got into *Porto Bello*. He ordered the Offenders to be taken into Hold; and when he arrived at *Jamaica*, granted a Commission to Rear-Admiral *Whetstone*, who was then there, and other Officers, to try them. A Court Martial was held, and *Arnold Brown*, Esq; Judge Advocate, officiated in his Place on this Occasion. Col. *Kirby* and Capt. *Wade*, were, for Cowardice and Breach of Orders, condemned to be shot to Death, but the Execution was respited till her Majesty's Pleasure should be known. Capt. *Constable* being cleared of Cowardice, was for Breach of Orders cashiered from her Majesty's Service, and condemned to Imprisonment, during her Royal Pleasure. Capt. *Hudson* died before his Trial.

This Sentence was certainly very just; for during the whole Course of the Wars between *England* and *France*, never did two *Englishmen* bring such Dishonour upon their Country, as *Kirby* and *Wade*, through their Cowardice and Treachery. Besides the great Profit that they hindered the Nation of receiving, by the Destruction of *Du Cassé*, and his Squadron, which perhaps would have prevented the *French* in all their Designs on the *West-Indies*, and forwarded the Reduction of the *Spanish* Dominions there: But this fair Opportunity was lost; and without the Gift of Prophecy we can foresee, we shall not soon have such another.

The Admiral lived till the 4th of *November*, and then died of the Wound he received in the Engagement with *Du Cassé*. Captain *Whetstone* took on him the Command of the Squadron of Men of War, which was then at *Port-Royal*.



The Merchants there fitted out a great Number of Privateers, and nine or ten of them attacked a Place called *Toulou*, on the Continent, about 10 Leagues from *Carthagena*, which they took, plundered and burnt. From thence they sailed to *Caledonia*, went up the River *Darien*, and persuaded the *Indians* to be their Guides; who in twelve Days carried them to the Gold Mines at *Santa Cruz de Cana*, near *Santa Maria*.

The 9th Day of their March, they fell in with an Out-Guard of ten Men, which the *Spaniards* had posted at some Distance from the Place; of whom they took nine, but the other escaping, gave Notice at the Mines of their Approach. Upon which the richest of the Inhabitants retired from thence, with their Money and Jewels. However the *English*, to the Number of 400 Men, being come up, took the Fort, and possessed themselves of the Mine; where there remained about 70 *Negroes*, whom they set to work, and continued there 21 Days, in which Time they got about 80 Pound Weight of Gold Dust. They also found several Parcels of Plate, which the *Spaniards* had buried when they left that Place. The *English*, at their Departure, burnt all the Town, except the Church, and returned to their Sloops, carrying away the *Negroes* with them.

Some went farther up the River, having a Design upon another Gold Mine, called *Chocoo*; and two of the Privateers, commanded by Captain *Plowman* and Captain *Gandy*, sailed towards *Cuba*, landed near *Trinidado*; and with 100 Men took the Town, burnt part of it, and brought off a very considerable Booty.

Col. Tho.  
Handasyde,  
Governor.

This Year Colonel *Thomas Handasyde* was appointed Lieutenant Governor of *Jamaica*; and Captain *Whetstone* having refitted his Ships, sailed with 12 Men of War to look out the Enemy. But before we can give an Account of this Expedition, we must take Notice of the dreadful Judgment which fell upon the rich and beautiful City of *Port-Royal*, for it then deserved that Name, and which so far buried it, that it is now no where to be seen, but in a Heap of Ruins.

On the 9th of *January*, 170<sup>o</sup>. between 11 and 12 in the Morning, a Fire happened through Carelesness in this Town, which before Night consumed it, without leaving a House standing. The Place being situated on a small Neck of Land, surrounded by the Sea, and taken up wholly with Houses, and the Streets and Lanes narrow, admitted not of that Help which might have been otherwise given; and the People could not save so much of their Goods as they might have done in a more open Place: However the two Royal  
Forts

Forts and Magazines did not receive any Damage, nor any of the Ships at Anchor, except one Brigantine and a Sloop, which were burnt. Most of the Merchants saved their Money and Books of Account, and some of them considerable Quantities of Merchandize, through the Assistance of Boats from the Men of War. The Governor, on this sad Occasion, summoned the Assembly to meet at *Kingston*, recommended to them the Case of the poor Inhabitants, and acquainted them, that by the Advice of the Council he had made some Disbursements for that End; several Barrels of Beef, Flower, and fresh Provisions having been sent to them. Upon this Information, the Assembly unanimously resolved, That they would reimburse the Treasury, what had been or should be expended for the Relief and Support of the distressed People, and prayed the Governor and Council to continue their Care of them. They also, with the Concurrence of the Lieutenant Governor, took such farther Resolutions, as were necessary for the Safety and Welfare of the Island in this Exigency. They voted, That *Port-Royal* should not be rebuilt; but that the People should remove to *Kingston*, where Streets were laid out, and soon built and inhabited.

News of Vice-Admiral *Bembow's* Death coming to *England*, Vice-Admiral *Graydon* was ordered to *Jamaica*, to take on him the Command of the Squadron there. Before he arrived, Capt. *Whetstone* returned to that Island, having been out from the 14th of *February*, to the 9th of *April* following, *A. D.* 1703. He cruised about five Weeks on both Sides of *Hispaniola*, in hopes of meeting with a considerable Fleet of Merchant Ships; which, as he had been informed, was expected in those Parts, under a Convoy from *France*: But not being able to get any Account of them, he failed to *Petit Guaves* and *Leogane*, in the Gulph of *Hispaniola*; and for the better preventing any Ships escaping out of that Bay, he divided his Squadron, and sent Captain *Vincent*, who had so bravely seconded Admiral *Bembow* in his Battle with *Du Cassé*, with one half to the Southward, and himself steered with the rest to the Northward. As he had conjectured, three *French* Privateers, upon the Appearance of Capt. *Vincent*, and the Ships with him, stood away immediately to the Northward, and so came in the Commodore's View, who chased one of 12 and another of 14 Guns ashore, where they were burnt, and the third of ten Guns was taken. In the mean Time, Captain *Vincent* with his Boats rowed in the Night undiscovered into the *Cul*, where there lay four Ships, of which the biggest was former-

ly taken from the *English*, and was called the *Selwin*. She had her full Cargo, and was richly laden, but all her Sails were ashore. Captain *Vincent* burnt one, sunk another, and towed out a third, which was a *Confort* of the Privateers; the fourth was boarded by one of the Boat's Crews, but by Accident blew up. This alarmed the Enemy at Land, and put them into a terrible Consternation to see their Ships burning on both Sides of their Bay. The Squadron looked into *Porto Paix*, on the North-side, but found no Ships there. These four Privateers were all the *French* had at *Hispaniola*, and were designed to sail with 500 Men to the North-side of *Jamaica*, to make a Descent, and plunder and destroy the Country. The *English* brought away 120 Prisoners, and the *French* suffered a considerable Loss in their Ships and Goods.

On the 5th of *June*, 1703. Vice-Admiral *Graydon* arrived at *Jamaica*, having on board 2000 Land Soldiers, whose chief Commander was *Ventris Colombine*, Esq; Brigadier General of Foot, who died on Ship-board, when the Ships were in Sight of the Island. Indeed there had been a great Mortality in the Fleet, and the Disagreement between the two Climates of *England* and the *West-Indies* is such, that it is very discouraging to send Soldiers thither; where they have no Enemy to fear so much as the very Air they breathe. This cannot be said of *seasoned* Men; but no Pretences to the contrary will prevail against a Truth confirmed by so many sad Experiences.

*Kirby* and *Wade*, the two cowardly Captains above-mentioned, being this Year sent home Prisoners, under Sentence of Death, found a Warrant lodged for their Execution, as soon as they came to *Plymouth*, and they were accordingly shot a Ship-board: A just Example to all those Traitors, who take Commissions only to fill their Pockets, and feed their Debaucheries, and have no Consideration for the Service of their Queen and Country.

On *Shrove-Tuesday*, as the People were at Church at *Kingston*, they felt a *Shake* of an Earthquake, which was small, and did no Damage.

The Men of War here, in 14 Days Time, *A. D.* 1704. took three *French* Privateers, 120 Prisoners, and retook a Sloop of *Jamaica*; so that these Seas were almost entirely cleared of the Enemies Rovers. This Island was then very healthy; and the Merchants traded enough with the *Spaniards*, to fill it with Money. It is to be wished they may have Encouragement in that Trade, and the best Encouragement is to secure it.



On the 7th of *May*, Captain *Whetstone* (now Rear-Admiral) arrived at *Jamaica*, with six Men of War and 12 Merchant Ships from *England*. He took a Brigantine and a Sloop in his Passage. His Men were healthy, and so continued.

On the 6th of *June* he sailed to cruize, and took off *Carthagena* a *French* Ship of 46 Guns, after a very resolute Defence made by the Captain. One of the *Jamaica* Privateers took another *French* Ship of 24 Guns.

Rear-Admiral *Whetstone* stay'd in these Parts till *September*, 1706. when he left Captain *Kerr* Commander in Chief of the Squadron which remained there.

Before he sailed for *England*, the Cruizers of *Jamaica* brought in there eight Prizes. One of them a *French* Merchant Ship, very richly laden, commanded by one *Cordier*, and taken by the *Experiment* Man of War, a Privateer of *Jamaica* being in Company. A *Dutch* Caper afterwards took a *Spanish* Advice-Boat of 14 Guns, bound for *St. Domingo*, and another of 22 Guns, bound for the *Havana*. Which shews us how advantageously this Island is situated to annoy the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, if proper Methods of doing it were pursued, and due Encouragement given to such as would undertake it.

The Behaviour of several Captains of Men of War in these Parts has been very infamous, and the Nation has suffered much by it.

In *Jan.* 170<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub>. before the Arrival of Captain *Kerr*, her Majesty's Ships the *Bristol* and *Folkston* met with ten Sail of Merchant Men bound from *Petit Guaves* to *France*, under Convoy of two *French* Men of War, one of 24, and another of 30 Guns; out of which Captain *Ander-son*, Commodore of the *English*, took six *French* Merchant Men, laden with Sugar, *Cacao*, *Cocheneal*, and *Indigo*, and brought them to *Jamaica*; where, when he arrived Admiral *Whetstone* held a Court of Admiralty, and Captain *Ander-son* and the other Officers were condemned to lose their Commissions, for not engaging the two *French* Men of War.

The Merchants of *Jamaica* having been extremely abused by Capt. *Kerr*, and through his Negligence or Avarice, lost several Sloops bound thither from the *Spanish West-Indies* with Plate, they resolved to apply to the Parliament for Redress; accordingly they employed Mr. *Thomas Wood* to be their Agent in *England* on this Occasion, and he has with great Industry and Prudence prosecuted the Matter, so that Justice has been done the Merchants on the Offenders, and the chief of them had his Commission taken from him, without

Hopes of ever being employed in her Majesty's Service more.

I do not think it will be expected, that in the History of the *British Empire in America*, I should enter into the various Causes of Differences between the Governors and Assemblies, Councils and Assemblies, publick and private Persons, farther than the general Good or Evil is concerned in them. We find the Governor Col. *Handasyde* and the Assembly in ill Terms or ill Temper in the Year 1611, insomuch that the Governor dissolved the Assembly, as a *Jamaica Man* writes, under a sham Pretence, at the Instigation of *Richard Rigby*, Esq; Provost Marshal General and others of a Cabal with him: And how happy the Inhabitants here were in the Disposition of their Employments in the Case of this Man, will appear by his being at this Time, or soon after, a Member of the Council, Provost Marshal General, and thus he is, by his Deputy Marshal, Executioner both in civil and criminal Cases, Secretary of the Island, by Deputation from Mr. *Barber* the Patentee, Clerk of Inrollments of all Deeds, Conveyances, Letters, Patents, &c. The executive Power of so many important Offices being in one Hand, it is easy to conceive if it was not an honourable Person, the Inhabitants would be exposed to much Tyranny and Oppression, and if he was a Man of Honour and Integrity, he would not accept of so many and so inconsistent Trusts; to prevent which a Bill past the Assembly, but was not ratified in *England*. However when it was again past with some Modifications, it was confirmed at Home, a Term used in the Sugar Colonies for *England*, which the Planters always think of as their Home; which shews their natural Affection to our Country. I wish our Affection for them bore any Proportion to it.

1711.  
Lord Archibald Hamilton Governor.

In July 1711, the new Governor Lord *Archibald Hamilton* arrived at *Jamaica*, and put off the Meeting of the Assembly for some Time. It was suspected that he was influenced therein by the Suggestion of the above-mentioned *Rigby*, *William Broderick*, Esq; Attorney General, and Dr. *John Stewart*; I know not whether he was a graduate Physician or a Surgeon, or Apothecary only, it being very common in the Sugar Islands for such Kind of Professors to erect themselves into Doctors, and as Doctors some have acquired very considerable Estates. But at this Time *Jamaica* was happy in the Advice of a Physician of the most Note in his Profession, Dr. *Thomas Hoy*, Professor of Physick in the University of *Oxford*, who lived here many Years and kept his Professorship at *Oxford* by Favour of that University, who admitted of his holding it by a Deputy, or rather by Proxy. The Attorney General *Broderick* came hither from *Montserrat*,

*Montserrat*, and we have been told that his leaving that Island was not voluntary. Be that as it will, he was in the special Grace here at this Time, and this Attorney, *Rigby* and *Stewart* were called the *Triumvirate*, to denote the Superiority of their Power, which some pretend was the same with that of the Governor, whose Removal afterwards seems to warrant such an Opinion, as well as the Characters of this *Triumvirate*.

Notwithstanding the Endearments between the new Ministers in *England* and those of *France*, and the Attachment this Governor's Brother Duke *Hamilton* had to the Pretender's Interest, the Inhabitants of *Jamaica* were in dreadful Apprehensions of being attacked by the *French*. Just about the Time that the Duke of *Ormond* declared a Suspension of Arms between the *English* and *French* in *Flanders*, *Coffart* with a Squadron of *French* Men of War plundered *Montserrat*, and it was feared at *Jamaica* he was coming to do the same there. An Embargo was laid on all Shipping, and the *London* Fleet detained in the Harbour; into which the Ships were hawled as close as could be to the Shore, and all Dispositions made for Defence, but no *Coffart* came, to the no little Joy of the Inhabitants, which lasted not long; for they were thrown into a more terrible Consternation, by a furious *Hurricane* of Lightning, Wind and Rain without Thunder. The Wind then at North shifted to the South. It began on the 28th of *August* 1712, about eight at Night, and continued till two in the Morning, during which fourteen Ships belonging to this Island were lost, together with several belonging to *London* and *Bristol*. The Ships of War and all other Ships and Sloops received much Damage, as well at *Kingston* as *Port-Royal*; many Houses and Warehouses were blown down, and very few escaped being shattered in Pieces, and the violent Rains ruined or damaged Abundance of Goods. The Trees were mostly blown up by the Roots, the Sugar Works destroyed or much damaged, the Canes and Negroes Provisions generally blown away. Four hundred of the Ships Crews at *Port-Royal* and *Kingston* were drowned, and several Persons were killed by the Fall of Houses, &c.

1712-

On *Monday* the 1st of *September* following, the martial Law was proclaimed, and all the Inhabitants were in Arms to be ready for Defence, if the Enemy should take Advantage of the Distress they were in to invade the Island. On the 18th of *September* there was another violent Tempest, which lasted from 8 a Clock at Night till next Day at Noon. The *Defiance*, *Salisbury* and *Centurion* Men of War escaped the Storm, being cruising off *St. Martha* and *Cartbagena*.  
The



The Governors of *Jamaica* sent the *Spy Sloop* to get Intelligence of the *French*, and at her Return News was brought that they had suffered in the Storm, and had quitted this Coast. As great as was this Storm, that which happened here 10 Years after was much greater.

Labour and Industry are so painful, Idleness and Ease so pleasant to most Men, that it is no Wonder so many throw themselves out of all Means of subsisting themselves by honest careful Business, and follow Courtiers and Ministers for Offices. This Infatuation has carried Thousands out of *England* to *Ireland* and the *West-Indies*, flattering themselves and very often being flattered with vain Hopes of Preferment from the new appointed Governors, as if they were sent to their Governments only to fill up Vacancies; but the Disappointment they generally meet with, is a good Lesson to others to beware of running into the like Misfortune.

There came with this Governor to *Jamaica*, *David St. Clare*, Esq; Son of the Lord *St. Clare* of *Scotland*, *Robert Paterfon*, Esq; Brother of Sir *Hugh Paterfon*, *Richard Denham*, Esq; Brother of Sir *Thomas Denham*, Mr. *Robert Douglas*, recommended by his Grace the Duke of *Roxburgh*, Mr. *Elliot* a young Gentleman, Heir to an Estate, recommended by Sir *Gilbert Elliot* of *Stobbs*, Dr. *St. Clair*, Son of Sir *Robert St. Clair*, Physician to the Governor at his landing, Lieutenant *John Mehews*, who was recommended by the Duke and Dutchess of *Ormond*, and I marvel it was not more successful; Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* late Sheriff of *Cork*. The Fate of these Gentlemen and Mr. *Mackenzie* Secretary to the Governor, is too biographical for our compendious History, but may be seen at large in a *Letter from a Gentleman in Jamaica to his Friend at London*, printed in the Year 1714, which is written with so much Freedom, that one would think it was never intended for the Press; and if the Facts are true, I should have much wondered the Government of this Island was not put into other Hands, had not the Government of *England* been then in the Hands of Persons, who fell afterwards under Attainders and Impeachments.

The most extraordinary Instance of Oppression and Injustice that ever I met with under *West-India* Governors, who have not spared giving such Sort of Instances, is that of *Escheats*; a Law Term for seizing the Lands and Tenements of the Owners, under Pretence that they had no Right to them, and consequently they were fallen to the Crown. Accordingly several Plantations cultivated and stocked by particular Persons at their great Charge, upon  
Titles

Titles of former Purchasers and Grantees, which Titles being set aside, as the rapacious Tools of Government knew how to do, they took the said Lands and Tenements so escheated to their own Use tho' in other Names, and kept them or sold them as they saw fit, but generally sold them to prevent Clamour, and divide the Guilt and Blame of it with others. The Letter above-mentioned charges *Rigby* as the chief Engine in this Work, and what a terrible Thing it is to conceive, that an honest industrious Family, who have laid out their whole Substance upon a Plantation greater or smaller, and brought it into a Condition of subsisting and sometimes enriching them, shall all at once be dispossessed of it, and reduced to Want and Beggary, to gratify the Avarice of Men in Power. Their Way was to get a Jury to appraise the Estate in Question at a small Price, and returning that small Price as the *Escheat* Fee, they sell it or assign it, or take out the Grant in other Names, and have it disposed of for their own Use.

*Ruinous Escheats.*

In the Parish of *Clarendon* was a Plantation, that belonged to one *Kupuy* a naturalized *Dutchman*, that produced 120 Hogsheads of Sugar yearly, and was farmed at 300 *l.* a Year by Trustees in Behalf of his Grand-daughter and Heir, a *Minor*, who dying soon after her Succession, the Estate was immediately escheated, and tho' it was rented at 300 *l.* a Year, and had 120 Negroes in it worth 25 *l.* a Head, amounting to 3000 *l.* and the 120 Hogsheads of Sugar, valued in the Country at 2 *l.* a Hogshead gross Amount, and had besides very valuable Appurtenances; yet the Jury the Provost Marshal summoned and swore, gave in the Valuation upon Oath at but 1436 *l.*

The Renter of this Plantation Mr. *Swymmer*, a Name well known in the City of *Bristol*, at 300 *l.* a Year, got a very good Estate out of it in a few Years, and this Estate, which at a moderate Computation may be reckoned to have been worth 6 or 7000 *l.* was by that sworn Jury rated at less than a Quarter Part of its real Value to the Crown, by these Officers of the Crown, then in the highest Trust at *Jamaica*, but this is a Trifle to what they accomplished at the Expence of their Oaths and Consciences in other Cases.

A Plantation belonging to *Nathaniel Herring*, Esq; of *Westmoreland* Parish of 540 Acres, was sworn by the Provost Marshal's Jury to be worth but 1 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* to the Crown. However, Mr. *Herring* who had before bought it and paid for it, was forced to pay for an Escheat Patent 300 *l.* besides Composition Money to the *Triumvirate* aforesaid, and Fees to the Provost Marshal *Rigby* and the Attorney General, of whom

whom I was told such Things by his own Son, that I can easily give Credit to whatever is said of him in the *Jamaica Letter*, where are these Expressions with which I shall drop this invidious Subject. *The Mal-Practices of Mr. R—by, his Confederates, Abettors and Tools, have been so grossly fraudulent and oppressive, to the manifest Prejudice both of the Queen and the Subject, that in the escheating of Estates, whether justly escheatable or not, the private Composition given to the G——rs, besides what these escheat Parties have got themselves, has oftener than once amounted to near 300 Times as much as the pretended trifling Value, tho' upon Oath of such Estates brought to the Queen's Account.*

The *Jamaica Letter* would furnish one with Multiplicity of like amazing Instances of Oppression in these *Escheaters*, chief Ministers at that Time in this Island; but as I believe the Author was injured and consequently angry, the Stile is not always decent enough for an impartial Reader. What he says, which carries a Face of Truth, renders the Change of Government in this Colony 2 or 3 Years after less surprizing, and the more agreeable to those that wish it well.

The Assembly was so sensible of the Grievances of this Administration, that they past three Acts, which would have gone very far towards redressing them. *An Act to prevent any one Person holding two or more Offices and Posts in this Island.* This referred particularly to Mr. Rigby's being at once Secretary of State, Provost Marshal General, &c. *An Act for regulating exorbitant Fees.* *An Act for quieting Men's Possessions, and preventing vexatious Suits at Law.* The Reason and Necessity of these good Laws are so obvious, that it would be impertinent to offer Arguments to support them. The *Provost Marshal*, who was concerned chiefly in the Act against exorbitant Fees, as well as that of holding Offices, took one effectual Method to put a Stop to the passing them in *England*; for as Secretary, it was his Business to take Care of transmitting an authentick Copy of all Acts of Assembly, that were sent Home for Ratification, and what made such Copy authentick, was the affixing the Broad Seal of the Island to it, which that sagacious Minister depending on his own Weight and Influence in the Government of *Jamaica*, artfully omitted, and the Copy of these Acts being transmitted without a Broad Seal, could not consequently receive the necessary Ratifications in *England*. The Act for quieting Possessions, related to the *Escheats* before-mentioned.

The *Jamaica Men* complaining very much of the Disadvantage the Colony has often in prosecuting Suits in Chancery, where the Governor as Chancellor decides Causes,

tho'

Mr Rigby's  
bold At-  
tempt.



tho' he knows no more of Law than of Gospel, instancing particularly in the former Governor Col. *Handside*, whose Education he says, was generally confined to Pike and Musket, and it need not be much wondered at, if he understood, without Inspiration, little more of the Office of a Lord Chancellor, and the deciding of abstruse and knotty Law Cases, than he did of what he commonly by Mistake called the Creed of St. Ignatius, meaning that of St. Athanasius, to which he said, he could not be easily reconciled; which Opinions do not seem to disqualify him to judge of Right and Wrong, whatever the Letter would insinuate by it.

It would be an Injury to the Colonies, if we sunk what is told us of the little Care that has been taken, to supply the Courts of Justice with able and experienced Judges. The Letter Writer vouches for the Truth of his Assertions; let it go in his own Words.

' Our present Chief Justice and Chief Judge of the Grand Court, that is the Courts of *Queen's-Bench*, *Common-Pleas*, and *Exchequer* in one, was likewise bred at Sea from a Boy upwards, and happening to get the Command of a Frigate, had the good or bad Luck, I can't tell which, to lose her on a Rock in Sight of *Port-Royal*, without any Strefs of Weather, so that thinking it not convenient to return Home, he settled here and became first a Planter and then a Judge.

' The next Judge was a Soldier in one of the Regiments of Foot Guards, and his Captain trusting him to pay his Company's *Subsistence* Money, he borrowed a Week's Pay of the said Company, drew his own Pass, and made the best of his Way to *Jamaica*; some say he sold himself to the Master of the Ship that brought him. However, be that as it will, he married a Planter's Widow, and is now the first of the six Assistant Judges of the *Grand-Court*. All the rest of the Assistant Judges are likewise Planters, of indifferent Estates and have no Salaries;' insinuating that they make their Market of the Judgments they give. The Author confirms this with other more shocking Instances and Particulars, but I shall not transplant them into my History, since he has not thought fit to warrant them, by setting his Name to his Information, and I should not have given so much of his Letter a Place in it, had I not known the like Grievances to have been complained of in our other Colonies, and particularly the Characters of the Persons he speaks of by other very authentick Information. I write this History for Use and not for Amusement, and my chief Aim in all Events I relate, and all Reflections I make

on them, is to mark, as *Bouys* do in the Water, the Rocks and Shelves where the *Steersmen* of these Colonies have often wrecked the Ships of their Government. And having justly from so many notorious Facts, received an ill Impression of the Management of the Plantation Affairs, I endeavour to shew the ruinous Effects of such Management, that it may be amended and improved for the future.

Col. *Peter Haywood*, a Gentleman of a large Interest in this Island, a Member of the Council and Chief Justice, was removed from his Places by the Governor, as were also Mr. *Chaplin* and Mr. *Blair*, two other Members of the Council. After the Removal of Mr. *Haywood*, I find *Thomas Bernard*, Esq; Chief Justice, I suppose the Son of *James Bernard*, Esq; before-mentioned, a very worthy Merchant. Mr. *Chaplin* whom I just mentioned, was Chairman of the Committee of Assembly, to whom was referred the Consideration of the Money advanced for the Subsistence of Col. *Handaside's* Regiment, and the two independent Companies of Foot then there. That Committee reported, *that it had been raised without Law, or the publick Faith given for it, and consequently was not precedented, and the House voted the said Money to be no publick Debt.* If the House proceeded regularly therein, and only asserted their Right to raise Money, I see no Reason for turning Mr. *Chaplin* out of the Council for asserting the Liberty of his Country. For tho' I have seen more than one solemn Opinion given, that Members of the Council should be displaced to make Governors only; yet I have looked upon it always as the Effect of the Dependance, such as gave that Opinion, had on those to whom it was given. It was very freely owned, that Mr. *Chaplin* and Mr. *Blair's* Crime, for which they were turned out of Council, was for asserting that *the Parliament, the Assembly, had the sole Right of framing Money Bills, and had a Power to adjourn themselves.* I question whether any of the Gentlemen concerned in the *outing* of Mr. *Chaplin* and Mr. *Blair*; will venture to say in *England*, that the Parliament has no such Powers.

The proclaiming of the *Utrecht* Peace here, or rather the declaring a Suspension of Arms between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, hindered not Robberies and violent Depredations, which probably were committed by Particulars for their private Gains, without any Warrant from the Governments of either Nation. The *English* were charged with landing at *Hispaniola* and carrying off *Negroes*, Indigo and other Goods to a great *Value*; but upon Complaint of the *Spanish* Governor of *St. Domingo*, the Governor and Council of *Jamaica*,

*maica*, finding good Cause so to do, ordered full Satisfaction to be made to the *Spanish* Sufferers, which the *English* could not procure for their Losses by the *Spaniards*, from the *Spanish* Governors of *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*. The Damages the *English* sustained by the Robberies of the *Spaniards*, amounted to above 200,000 Pieces of Eight in little more than a Year after the *Utrecht* Peace, by which *Spain* through the Favour of *England* only obtained so many Advantages, that she became in a Condition to reward her Benefactors with Pilgrage and Spoil, and to defend her Usurpations and Piracies by Arms.

About this Time the *Flotilla* from *New Spain* was shipwrecked on the Coast of *Florida* and the *Bahama-Islands* and several Sloops, went to fish on the Wrecks from *Jamaica* and other Places. There were Hostilities committed on the *Spaniards* after the Satisfaction given them. Lord *Archibald Hamilton* saying in his Vindication, ‘*Jonathan Barnes* who commanded the *Snow Tyger*, who made ‘an Affidavit against his Lordship, was the first who committed Hostilities upon the *Cuba* Shore.’

But inconsiderable were those Excursions of the *English*, compared with the daily Piracies and Acts of Hostilities committed by the *Spaniards* on the *English* after the above Calculations of 200,000 Pieces of Eight Damage. I cannot forbear taking Notice of the great Regard one ought to have not to give Credit to one Party in the Colonies complaining against another, without carrying an even Hand between both. The Opposers of Lord *Archibald Hamilton* made loud and successful Complaints against him, for granting Commissions which had been abused; but when he was recalled, and these Complainers had less Power in their own Hands, See what his Lordship says in his Vindication, as it was written to his Lordship from *Jamaica*. *The Agents are going, and do not stick to say that the same Lord Hamilton is removed for nothing but to cover the Piracies. So many of their Friends being concerned in Jennings’s, and robbing the Ships in Port-Royal Harbour: May not this shew us a little into what sort of Hands Opposition and Clamour generally falls. The Letter from Jamaica is crammed with bitter Complaints of the like Acts of Oppression with these before-mentioned; but I do not find one of them formed into an Article against his Lordship. The main of the Charge consisting of what relates to his granting Commissions to some Commanders of Ships, equipped as was alledged for the procuring these Commissions to secure the Trade of the Island, upon the Return of all the Men of War to Eng-*

*land,*



land, or to other Stations, which was not only done at the Petition of the Merchants and Owners of Ships, but was in itself a most well advised and necessary Proceeding. If any of these Commanders abused such Commissions, they only were blameable and accountable; and if they or any other Commanders of Ships fished on the Wreck beforementioned, did not Sir *William Phips*, by an ample Commission from King *James II.* fish for and bring away near 400000 Pieces of Eight from the Wreck, in or near the same Place? and I cannot think that the fishing for Silver wrecked in the Sea five Years or 100 Years after it was so lost, alters the Case; the Property of the Money fished up now on the Coast of *Florida* having no more a particular Owner than that brought home by *Phips* had, against which not a Word was said, and what the Council of *Jamaica* says on this Head is very satisfactory.

1715.

9th of *February*, Present.His Excellency Lord *Archibald Hamilton*, Capt. General.*Peter Haywood*, Esq;*Thomas Rose*, Esq;*John Stewart*, Esq;*John Peck*, Esq;*Valentine Mander*, Esq;*Richard Rigby*, Esq;*Thomas Bernard*, Esq;*John Archibald*, Esq;*John Sadler*, Esq;Dr. *Samuel Page*, Clerk  
of the Council.

‘ As to such Part of the *Flota* Ships wrecked on the Coast of  
 ‘ *Florida*, as remained in the Possession of the Subjects of his  
 ‘ most Catholick Majesty, of which it is pretended they were  
 ‘ *dispossessed*,’ this is in Answer to a Memorial of Captain *Juan*  
 ‘ *de la Vallee*, Deputy of the *Spanish* Council of Commerce, sent  
 ‘ by the Governor of the *Havana* to demand Satisfaction, for  
 ‘ that fished Money, &c. ‘ It is the Opinion of his Excel-  
 ‘ lency and the Council, that the Dispossessors are Robbers  
 ‘ and ought to be punished; but concerning such Part of  
 ‘ the said *Flota*’s if any, lying *derelict* the Subjects of his  
 ‘ Catholick Majesty were not drove and forced out of Posses-  
 ‘ sion, but it belonged to the first Occupant.’

This is so plain, that the Claim both in Matter and Ex-  
 pression, shews only the Weakness of the *Don*’s Judgment,  
 and the Impertinence of this Deputy’s Errand.

On the Acceptance of the *Assiento* Contract by the *South-*  
*Sea* Company lately established in *England*, they obliged  
 themselves to sell to the *Spaniards* yearly, 4000 Negroes

at — a Head. The Factors they employed here, were Messieurs *Morris* and *Pratter* Merchants at *Kingston*. In the Interval between *February* 1715-6, and *June* 1716, happened the Removals in the Council before-mentioned. I find an Order of the 9th of *June* 1716. Present,

1716.

*William Broderick*, Esq;  
*Richard Rigby*, Esq;  
*John Stewart*, Esq;

*Francis Rose*, Esq;  
*John Peeke*, Esq;  
*Thomas Bernard*, Esq;

A plain Indication from what has been said before, that the Majority of this Council was not difficult to be procured, if the Government here wanted Opinions to support it in any Case whatsoever.

On King *George* the Ist's happy Accession to the Throne, as soon as Notice of it arrived at *Jamaica*, his Majesty was proclaimed with the usual Solemnity and Acclamation. And it must be said to the Honour of all Governors, Councils and Assemblies in our Sugar Colonies, that they have upon all such Occasions behaved with exemplary Zeal, as well on the Accession of *James* II. as of *William* III. The Governors who influence all such Things, knowing very well how much it behoves them to be well with those that can put them in and put them out. The *Utrecht* Peace was introduced here with equal Joy, tho' the People of *Jamaica* were as sensible as any, how the *English* Interest in the *West-Indies* was mortally wounded by it, leaving the *Spaniards* and their Confederates the *French*, in a Condition to assert what Claims they pleased in these Countries and Seas; and to defend them by Arms.

The chief Gentlemen of *Jamaica* were Malecontents with the Administration here in the Queen's Time, but they had little Prospect of Success in their Attempts to relieve themselves, while the Ministry in *England* were so enamoured with the Name of the Governor *Hamilton*, on Account of the late Duke's great Merits in Abhorrence of Revolution Principles, and in a constant Attachment to the Interest of King *James* the II. and on the Protestant Succession's taking Effect at Home, the *Jamaica* Gentlemen resolved to make the true Use of that Blessing, and apply at Home for the Redress of their Grievances, and in Order to it, they raised among themselves above 1000 *l.* to defray the Charge of such an Application, the Management of which was entrusted to Mr. *Bendish*, who went to *England* and to their Correspondents at *London*. Mr. *Chaplin* and Mr. *Blair*, Mr. *Rigby*, Mr. *Thomas Beckford*, Col. *James*, who took the Subscriptions

for Money, and *Peter Haywood*, Esq; were at the Head of this Affair, and it seems to be a rash Proceeding at such a Juncture, to turn Mr. *Haywood* out of his Office of *Chief Justice*.

I observe in the Governor's Answer to the Articles against him, that what he did himself is said to be done by the King, as in this Instance of Mr. *Haywood* and the Counsellors the Governors turned out; the Words are, *Persons whom his Majesty thought fit before to displace*. As far as royal Stile is used in this and other Governments in Declarations and Law Processes, it is doubtless necessary; and so perhaps in the State Papers of Colony Governments, but to say the King thought fit to turn out Persons whom he never heard of, and whom he put in again as soon as he had due Information of them, seems to me to have more of Form than Substance. I observe, that the Governor, in his Vindication, supports himself chiefly by the Majority of *the Council*: Counsellors of his own making or recommending were without Doubt ready to fall in with whatever he required of them, and this is no Plea against his being accountable for what he did by the Advice and Warrant of such Counsellors.

Peter Hay-  
wood, Esq;  
Governor.

On the Removal of the Lord *Hamilton* from the Government of *Jamaica*, *Peter Haywood*, Esq; was made Governor and Commander in Chief of the Island, and a new Council was also named, of which were two of the displaced Members as is before related, Mr. *Chaplin* and Mr. *Blair*, and three leading Members of the Assembly, Mr. *Rigby*, Mr. *Bennett*, and Mr. *Thomas Beckford*, a Name of great Account and Esteem in this Island, and when we find the *Beckfords* and such Men as these standing up in Behalf of their Country, against such a Man as the Attorney General, who was enriching himself by such Oppression, it must give us a very ill Opinion of those that countenanced the Oppressor. The Author of the new History of *Jamaica*, tells us Col. *Peter Beckford* had 20 Plantations, above 1200 Slaves, and a Million and half in Bank Stock, &c. which doubtless is looking on his Fortune thro' a magnifying Glass; but if the Quarter Part of it were true, all the Governors that are sent from *England* to *Jamaica*, the Peers excepted, could not together have made a Capital equal to Mr. *Beckford's*. Dominion is founded in Property as Philosophers pretend, and it is with a very ill Grace that Colony Governors give themselves an Air of Empire over such Men. The Lord *Archibald Hamilton* was taken into Custody at *Jamaica*. I do not wonder it was carried in Council by one Vote only, as his Lordship observes, considering the Characters



acters of some of the Members that still remained in it, tho' considering also that Sir *Nicholas Lawes* was at that Time actually the commissioned Governor and Captain General of this Island, I do not see any Thing extraordinary in the Commitment of the late Governor, under the heavy Charge exhibited against him: Heavy in the Sound of it, *encouraging Piracy*, but the very contrary as to the Substance, the granting Commissions to Commanders of Ships on Purpose to secure the Trade against Pirates.

Dr. *Samuel Page*, Clerk of the Council, was very busy in the Prosecution of Lord *Hamilton*, and his Lordship was so sensible of it, that he refused to sign his Ticket for shipping himself for *England* on that Occasion; there is something remarkable at this Time with Respect to *Doctorship*. The Governor's Party had Dr. *Stewart* at their Head. The Country Party's chief Manager was Dr. *Samuel Page*; Dr. *Stewart* was a Member of the Council, Dr. *Page* Clerk of the Council, but Lord *Hamilton* says, so little qualified for it, that the Members of the Council were forced to take the Minutes of it themselves, and neither of them was more a graduate Doctor of Physick, than the Chief Justice, a Master of a Ship, and the Assistant Judge, a Foot Soldier before-mentioned, were Barristers at Law. This I hope will put the *Jamaicans* on their Guard against admitting such Sort of Persons into so useful and important Employments for the future.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* was sent Prisoner to *England*, bailed when he came there, and was so fully cleared of the Charge relating to his Difference with the Assembly about their Right as to Money Bills, that the Board of Trade took it on themselves, by saying in their Report of that Matter and others, that they had recommended to him to take Care, *that the Council should not be denied any Right of amending Money Bills*. If by adding 40 or 50000 *l.* to be raised on the Subject, or the easing some Persons in the levying it more than others, contrary to the Sense of the Assembly, that is there the Sense of the Nation, is to amend a Bill, let every *English* Man versed in Parliamentary Rights judge. I do not take the Minutes inserted by his Lordship on this Occasion to be the strongest Part of his Vindication, but I do think if the *Jamaica* People had nothing but the *Sea Commissions* to complain of against him, his Lordship had very hard Measure from them, and there is nothing on which they insist so much in their Complaint, as these Commissions.

In July 1717, his Majesty was pleased to appoint *Nicholas Lawes*, Esq; Governor of *Jamaica*, and to confer on him the Honour of Knighthood. The People here could not

1717.  
Sir Nicholas  
Lawes G.  
vernot.

but with great Satisfaction hear their Government was given to a *Planter* of this Island, whose Interest was the same with theirs. True it is

The Interest of the King and Country is in Effect the same, and consequently the true Interest of every Colony Governor and the Colony he governs is in Effect the same, when the Governors are of the Country, as every King is, or is supposed to be. But most of the Governors sent to the Plantations from *England*, to govern Places where they have not a Foot of Land, and go thither with Intention to use their utmost Skill and Industry, to raise Fortunes out of the Inhabitants of the Island or Province they govern; such are apt to think their Interest is quite different from that of the Inhabitants, and that their Interest is to get as large Appointments as they can, and it is certainly the People's to keep their Money in their Pockets as much as they can. From which different Interests and Views are perpetually rising Differences between Governors and Assemblies, Jarrings and Jealousies, that are a perpetual Hinderance to the Prosperity and Peace of the Country; as for those Governors, that like the Duke of *Portland* at *Jamaica*, the Lord *How* at *Barbados*, spend out of their *European* Stock to become popular in *America*, they ought no more to be sent to *West-India* Governments than the greedy and the griping, for their Profusion and Gaiety soon infect the Planters, naturally subject to such Contagion; and many of them, in Imitation of their Governors, run into Pleasures and Expence, very inconsistent with the necessary Oeconomy and Industry of a Planter's Life.

About the Time of Sir *Nicholas Lawes's* Arrival, there were three Men of War on this Station, the *Diamond*, the *Adventure* and the *Ludlow Castle*, 40 Gun Ships, and it is to be hoped there will never be fewer, except in Cases of Cruize on the neighbouring Coasts and Continent.

Among the many Pirates that now infested the *American* Seas, none made himself more terrible than *Edward Teach* of *Jamaica*, commonly called *Blackbeard*. He was born in this Island, where his Mother was living at *Spanish-Town* within these two Years, and his Brother was then Captain in the Train of Artillery: *Blackbeard*, a Monster of Cruelty, was attacked by an *English* Lieutenant of a Man of War on the Coast of *Virginia*; he took a Glass of Wine, and drank *Damnation* to them that gave or asked Quarter. He was killed and his Head cut off, and stuck upon a Pole on that Coast.

1718.

In 1718, *John Knight*, Esq; was made Secretary of this Island. This often is granted by Patent, and the Deputy here when the Principal is in *England* makes it worth 1000 *l.* per Ann. the Principal in *England* farming it sometimes for 6, 7 or 800 *l.* a Year. As such Principal Secretary has no Manner of Relation to the Interest in *Jamaica* but what his Farm gives him, it seems very reasonable that *Jamaica* should have no Manner of Relation to him. There are so many Hazards and so much Expencc in Plantation Business, that it is Pity a Penny that is raised by it should be diverted from the Planters Use, for the Commodity of such as are in another World.

A new History of *Jamaica* having been published at the Time I was writing this, whose Author arrogates to himself a Privilege of chastising all Writers that touched upon this History before, as imperfect and incorrect, I hoped to have had great Helps from his Works, where my Memory fell short, and should very thankfully have received his Rebuke, had he not been himself so very defective and incorrect; when I had Recourse to his Labour for some Assistance in *Sir Nicholas Lawes's* Government, I found only 6 or 7 Lines relating to the Hurricane, which we shall give an Account of in its Place, and of which the most remarkable Thing he says is, the Assembly appointed the 28th of *August* a Day of solemn Fasting and Humiliation to be observed for ever. Three Years before this Hurricane happened, War had been declared between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*. On Notification of it to the Governor here, he summoned an Assembly, to whom he recommended to take Order for the Execution of *martial Law*, and to take into Consideration the military State of the Island. He informed them he had taken Care to repair the Fortifications of *Port-Royal*, and added, *I think the Rock Line and the decayed Port of Carlisle-Bay, worth your immediate Consideration. I have addressed to the Minister at Home, for an Engineer to be sent upon the Establishment, to oversee the Works and direct where to raise new ones.*

This Governor, *Sir Nicholas Lawes*, had besides the Publick so large a private Interest in this Island, that it was not likely he would omit any Occasion of shewing his Zeal for its Security and Welfare; and the *Spaniards* from *Cuba* and the Continent having committed many Depredations on the *English*, he sent Captain *Chamberlain*, Commander of the *Snow Happy*, to *Trinidado* in *Cuba*, to demand Satisfaction of the *Alcades* or commanding Officers of that Town, which they call a City. Commodore *Vernon*, Commander in chief of all his Majesty's Ships in the *West-Indies*, in a Letter to the



said *Alcades*, sent by Mr. *Joseph Lawes*, Lieutenant of the *Snow Happy*, made the like Demand of Satisfaction. The Governor and Lieutenant's Letters will set this Matter in the best Light.

Gentlemen,

Governor  
Lawes's  
Letter to the  
Alcades of  
Trinidado.

' The frequent Depredations, Robberies, and other Acts of Violence, which are daily committed on the King my Royal Master's Subjects, by *Bandittis*, who pretend to have a Commission from you, and in Reality are sheltered by you, is the Occasion of my sending the Bearer, Capt. *Chamberlain*, Commander of his Majesty's *Snow Happy*, to demand Satisfaction for the Robberies your People have committed on the King's Subjects of this Island, by those Traitors *Nicholas Brown*, and *Christopher Winter*, to whom you have given Protection. These Proceedings are not only a Breach of the Law of Nations, but must appear to the World of a very extraordinary Nature, when considered that the Subjects of a Prince in Amity with another, should encourage such vile Practices. I have had long Patience, and declined using any violent Measures to obtain Satisfaction, hoping the Cessation of Arms so happily concluded between our Sovereigns, would have put a Stop to these Disorders; but I find the Port of *Trinidado* a Receptacle for Villains of all Nations.

' I therefore assure you in the King my Master's Name, if I meet with any of your Rogues upon the Coasts of this Island, they shall be hanged without Mercy. I demand of you to make ample Satisfaction to Captain *Chamberlain* for all the *Negroes* which the said *Brown* and *Winter* have taken from these Islands, since the Suspension of Arms, and that you will deliver up to the Bearer such *Englishmen* as are detained at *Trinidado*, and that you forbear granting Commissions to, or suffer any such notorious Villains to be equipped from your Port, otherwise those I can meet with shall be treated as Pirates.'

Mr. *Joseph Lawes*'s Letter was as follows

Gentlemen,

Lieutenant  
Lawes's  
Letter.

' I am sent by Commodore *Vernon*, Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Ships in the *West-Indies*, to demand, in the King our Master's Name, all the Vessels with their effects, &c. and also the *Negroes* taken from *Jamaica* since the Suspension of Arms; likewise all *Englishmen* now detained or otherwise remaining in your Port of *Trinidado*,  
' particular-

‘ particularly *Nicholas Browne* and *Christopher Winter*, both of them being Traitors, Pirates and common Enemies to all Nations. And the said Commodore hath ordered me to acquaint you, that he is surprized that the Subjects of a Prince in Amity with another should give Countenance to such notorious Villains.’

*Off of the River of Trinadado, Feb. 8. 1720.*

Answer of the *Alcades of Trinadado*:

‘ *Capt. Lawes*,

‘ In answer to yours, this serves to acquaint you, that <sup>The Alcade</sup> neither in this City nor Port are there any *Negroes* or <sup>of Trinadado's Answer.</sup> Vessels which have been taken at your Island of *Jamaica*, nor on that Coast, since the Cessation of Arms; and what Vessels have been taken since that Time have been for trading in an *unlawful Commerce* on this Coast; and as for these *English* Fugitives you mention, they are here as the other Subjects of our Lord the King, being brought voluntarily to our holy Catholick Church, and have received the Water of *Baptism*; but if they should prove Rogues, and should not comply with their Duty in which they are bound at present, then they shall be chastised according to the Ordinance of our King. And we beg you will weigh Anchor as soon as possible, and leave this Port and its Coast, because on no Account you shall be suffered to trade, or any Thing else, for we are resolved not to admit thereof.’

Lieutenant *Lawes* answered this insolent Letter, in the Stile and Sentiments of a good *Englishman*.

‘ *Gentlemen*,

‘ Your refusing to deliver up the Subjects of the King my Master is somewhat surprizing, it being in a Time of Peace, and the detaining of them consequently against the Law of Nations, notwithstanding your trifling Pretence, for which you have no Foundation, but to forge an Excuse to prevent my making any Inquiry into the Truth of the Facts I have alledged in my former. I must tell you my Resolutions are to stay on the Coast till I have made Reprisals, and should I meet any Vessels belonging to your Port, shall not treat them as the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain*, but as Pirates, finding it a Part of your Religion in this Place to protect such Villains.

To this one of the *Alcades* answered.

Captain *Lawes*,

‘ You may assure yourself I will never be wanting in the  
 ‘ Duty of my Post; the Prisoners that are here are not in  
 ‘ the Prison, but only kept here to be sent to the Governor  
 ‘ of the *Havana*. If you, as you say, command at Sea,  
 ‘ I command ashore. If you treat the *Spaniards* you meet  
 ‘ as Pirates, I will do the same by every one of your People  
 ‘ I can take up. I will not be wanting in good Manners  
 ‘ if you will do the same. I can likewise act the Soldier  
 ‘ if any Occasion should offer that Way, for I have very  
 ‘ good People here for that Purpose. If you pretend any  
 ‘ Thing else, you may execute it on this Coast;’ by this will  
 be seen the Obstinacy and Rodomantado Spirit of the  
*American Spaniards*, and their Opinion of and Disposition  
 towards the *English* 20 Years ago; as also the Conduct of  
 the *English* towards the *Spaniards*, who were then com-  
 plaining of illicit Trade on the Part of the *English*; but  
 it is to be noted that the *Spaniards* in *America* were always  
 so desirous of that Trade, that they ran as great a Risk to  
 have it, as the *English* did to bring it to them, and taught  
 the *English* how to manage it.

The *Spaniards* having refused to deliver up *Brown* and  
*Winter*, the Governor of *Jamaica* issued a Proclamation  
 against them. The Beginning of it I insert to shew the  
 Stile of such Pieces there which run in the King’s Name.

*Whereas several Treasons, Piracies and Robberies have been  
 lately committed on the High Seas, adjoining to our said Island of  
 Jamaica, by the Subjects of Great-Britain, and particularly  
 by Nicholas Brown, and Christopher Winter, late of our  
 said Island Mariners; and though we have used such Methods  
 as we thought most effectual for the taking and suppressing of  
 the said Traitors, Pirates and Robbers, yet we having such  
 Acts of Villainy in the utmost Abhorrence, and for the greater  
 Encouragement of such Persons of our Subjects as shall be  
 active in the apprehending the said Nicholas Brown, and  
 Christopher Winter, so as that they or either of them may be  
 brought to Justice, we have thought fit, by and with the  
 Advice of our Council of our said Island, to promise that if  
 any Person shall discover, or seize, or cause or procure to be  
 discovered, he shall have the Reward following; for the said  
 Nicholas Brown 500 l. of current Money of Jamaica, and  
 for the said Christopher Winter 500 l. of like Money, to  
 be paid by the Receiver-General.*



Four Days after the Date of this Proclamation, Sir Nicholas Laws the Governor made the following Speech to the Assembly, which shews the Temper of both the Governor and the governed in some Measure, and will let the Reader into a better Light than a barren Journal of Facts, and give him an Idea of the want of a thorough Union of Sentiments and Intentions of both at this Time.

*Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,*

‘ I had sent for you sooner after the late Prorogation of your own begetting, but that I find by Experience you are all *too wise* for me to think of talking you into any Thing I would have you do, though never so apparently your Interest. And I wish you were all so prudent and discreet, as not to be talked out of what you ought to do in Justice to your Country and Duty to his Majesty; and that by false Reasoning and mistaken Politicks. I am at Length convinced that there are some who would be glad to continue the old Breaches, or to see or make Divisions amongst us, and it is not to be wondered that those who obstinately refuse to serve the King and Country, will be active in doing Mischiefs; but I would have these Gentlemen remember, by whose Tenure they hold their Lands, and know under whose Influence and Protection they enjoy at least their well Being. But you Patriots, such as I hope you will appear to be, know how to govern yourselves on such Occasions, and Wisdom will ever be justified by her Children.’

*Gentlemen and Brother Planters,*

‘ Let it suffice that I can say for myself, that I have been known to your Fathers, and am not unacquainted with most of you, and that my Interest and my Posterity stands upon the same Foundation with yours, and therefore I can have no Designs or Views, otherwise than what I must be equally concerned with you in the Event. I have done all Things in my Power to settle the present and future Peace and Prosperity of this Island; and I wish you had all joined with me in the same Measures. I may be allowed to say what your own Journals will say to my Honour, *that I have pointed out to you* many more Particulars for the Publick Welfare, Security, and Advantages of the Country, than ever any of my Predecessors did.

‘ And now I challenge your whole Body to propose to, or lay before me any Thing that you in your Wisdom can desire or devise for your own Good, or the real Interest of this Island, consistent with my Duty and his Majesty’s just Prerogative,

‘ Prerogative, to grant, which I will not heartily concur with  
 ‘ you in. I hope for all our Sakes you will readily fall  
 ‘ into your Duty in the ordinary and usual Way agreeable to  
 ‘ our happy Constitution, otherwise it may be easily fore-  
 ‘ seen, without the Spirit of Prophecy, that his Majesty’s  
 ‘ wife and able Ministers will rightly counsel and inform  
 ‘ him, how and by what Ways and Means he may make his  
 ‘ Government easy here, and his People truly happy under it,  
 ‘ and I know we are all in Love with *English Laws*.’

‘ But were I capable, or might be thought worthy of ad-  
 ‘ vising you, it should be not to contend with the King and  
 ‘ Ministry, or kick against the Pricks, but to prefer Obedience  
 ‘ before Sacrifice, which I am confident would be most  
 ‘ acceptable to his most Sacred Majesty, and in Conse-  
 ‘ quence make us the happiest Subjects in all his Do-  
 ‘ minions.’

After this the Assembly was adjourned: The Behaviour of  
 this Representative to the Governor at this Time was not  
 well relished by him as appears by his Speech, and this Go-  
 vernor being, as he styles himself, a *Brother Planter*, it may  
 be well conjectured that the Occasion of whatever Difer-  
 ference there was then between them, was more their Fault  
 than his. The Interest Sir *Nicholas Lawes* had in the Island  
 was probably ten Times more valuable than his Government  
 could be rated at; and as he was a wise experienced Man,  
 it is not to be supposed he would act contrary to the *Jamaica*  
 Interest to ingratiate himself with the Ministry in *England*.

Dreadful  
 Hurricane  
 1722.

The dreadful Earthquake which laid in Ruins so great a  
 Part of the Buildings in this Island 30 Years before, has been  
 amply related, and a Hurricane almost as dreadful and ruinous  
 as that happened here *Tuesday* the 28th of *August*, 1722.  
 It began at *Kingston* at Eight in the Morning, and continued  
 till Ten at Night. The Heigth of it was from Eleven at  
 Noon till One, during which Time it rained very hard, and  
 the Wind often shifted. Near one half of the Houses were  
 thrown down or shattered to such a Degree, that they were  
 irreparable, and few or none escaped without some Damage.  
*Port-Royal* was once more a Heap of Rubbish, but the Peo-  
 ple had so much Time and Convenience to escape, that  
 not above four or five Persons lost their Lives. The Wharfs  
 were all destroyed, and most of the Sugar and other Com-  
 modities that were there were washed away. The most me-  
 lancholy Account came from the Shipping. Of 26 Top-sail  
 Vessels and 10 Sloops then in the Harbour, no more than  
 10 were to be seen after the Hurricane, and of these ten  
 but five or six were repairable. At *Liguania* most of the  
 Sugar

Sugar Works and Houses were blown down, and a Plantation entirely destroyed by an Inundation of the Sea and Sand. Great was the Damage done at St. *David's*, *Wag-water*, St. *Mary's*, and St. *Thomas's* in the East. The Hurricane began in these Parts the Night before about Seven o'Clock, and lasted till Eight the next Morning, at what Time it began at *Port-Royal* and St. *Jago de la Vega* where the King's House and the Secretary's Office were much damaged, but very few Persons were hurt in this Calamity. It was remarkable that those Houses which had been built by the *Spaniards* 80 or 90 Years before received very little Damage, which gave Reason to believe that the *Spaniards*, having been accustomed to such Tempests, had provided against them better than the *English* had done, by the Manner and Materials of their Building. The Houses and People at *Old Harbour* were almost all destroyed, and those at *Sixteen Mile Walk* suffered very much, as did also those at St. *Thomas* in the *Vale*. The Inhabitants had some Prognostick of it before they felt its Fury. The Weather being very unsettled, the Wind often shifting, and more than both these a prodigious uncommon Swell of the Sea, which threw them into a terrible Consternation, it throwing up the Day before several hundred Tons of Stones and large Pieces of Rocks over the Wall of the East End of *Port-Royal*, though at the same Time there was very little if any Wind. The Town was overflowed with Water the Night before, occasioned by the driving of the forementioned Swell. The Wind was at North East when the Hurricane began, and there was a very hard Rain. The Water was 5 Feet deep all over the Town by eleven a Clock; about three in the Afternoon the Wind abated by Degrees, and the Water fell away. The Town appeared afterwards almost in as frightful a Condition as after the *Earthquake*, the Streets being covered with Ruins of Houses, Wrecks of Boats and Vessels, and great Numbers of dead Bodies, for *Port-Royal* did not fare so well as *Kingston*. The Inhabitants, fond of the advantageous Situation of that Spot of Ground for shipping and unshipping their Merchandize, did not take sufficient Notice of the Warnings given them by the Sea, which, as if it looked on the Building of a Town there as an Incroachment on its Element, had often in this terrible Manner reclaimed its own, that Town having no better Foundation for the most Part than what Art had contrived on the sandy Shore. The Inhabitants who were preserved, were reduced to great Extremity for Want of fresh Water and Provisions, their Stores being destroyed in the Hurricane, and many must have perished



rished by that Want. had they not been supplied by the Men of War that rode out the Storm. *Fort-Charles* suffered very much, several of the Guns were dismounted and some washed into the Sea. The *Church* and the Row of Houses to the East of the Town were so washed away, that there remained very little Appearance of a Building. Above half of *Port-Royal* was destroyed, and near 400 Persons lost their Lives. The Magistrates were very diligent in burying the dead Bodies, and for the Comfort of the living, prevented the Sale of Provisions at higher Rates than before the Hurricane. Three Men of War, the *Falkland* Captain *Harris*, the *Swallow* Captain *Ogle*, the *Weymouth* Captain *Lawes*, and the Sloop *Happy* before-mentioned, lost all their Masts; the Duke of *York* of *London* Captain *Sanders* was cast away near *Green Bay*, the Master and all the Men except three were drowned.

The *Christabella* of *Bristol* Captain *Griffin* drove ashore, broke her Back, the Men and Part of the Cargo saved. The King *William* of *Bristol* Captain *Raddish* stranded, the Men saved. The *Kingston* Captain *Masters*, in the Service of the *South Sea* Company with 200 Slaves aboard foundered, the Master and most of the Men and Negroes drowned. The *Frederick* of *Bristol* Captain *Good* stranded, the Men saved. The *Onslow*, and another of the Prizes taken by Capt. *Ogle* from the Pirates on the Coast of *Guinea* were lost; the other Prize called the *Ranger* rid out the Storm after cutting away her Masts; 14 Sloops most of them belonging to *Jamaica*, were lost.

The Hurricane was as violent in *St. Anne's* Parish and that Part of the Island, as about *Kingston* and *Port-Royal*, that Part of the Town situate on the Shore excepted. The *Frost* Frigate of *London* Captain *Kingston* drove ashore and was lost, the Men saved.

The Parishes of *St. Mary's* and *St. Thomas's* in the *East* received the least Damage, *Port-Royal* the most. Some were of Opinion, that the Hurricane 10 Years before was as violent as this, but it does not appear so by the Relations of both transmitted to *England*. The Men of War lost all their Boats, but recovered their Anchors, and were brought to proper Births and again moored. The three King's Ships *Lancaster*, *Adventure*, and *Mermaid*, Part of the Squadron under Commodore *Harris*, were then at Sea; the naval Storehouse being blown down, Capt. *Harris* sent some of the Men of War's Crew to clear away the Rubbish and assist the Inhabitants.

In this Time of Extremity of general Affright and Confusion, Pilferers were busy at *Port-Royal* and elsewhere to embezzle the Goods of the Sufferers, and make their Markets of the publick Calamity. The Governor issued a Proclamation, commanding the *Provost Marshal* to seize all such embezzled Wares and Goods, in Order to their being restored to the right Owners. It was on this Occasion that he summoned the Assembly, which ordered a Day of Fast and Humiliation, as had been done for the Earthquake the 7th of *July* yearly. He also joined with the Council in an Address to the King, which I insert as the most authentick Account of this deplorable Accident. — They say, ‘ We beg  
 ‘ Leave humbly to represent to your Majesty, the deplorable  
 ‘ Circumstances we are reduced to by a dreadful Storm, which  
 ‘ happened on the 28th of *August* last. The Violence of it  
 ‘ is inexpressible. It has thrown down and shattered all our  
 ‘ Houses to such a Degree, that for some Time we were  
 ‘ exposed to the Extremity of the Weather; it has blown  
 ‘ down Part of your Majesty’s Fortifications, dismounted  
 ‘ the Guns, destroyed the Carriages, and damaged most of  
 ‘ the Powder in the Magazines and the *Fire Arms*, and the  
 ‘ Calamity has been so general, and the Loss sustained so  
 ‘ great throughout the Island, that the poor Inhabitants are  
 ‘ utterly unable to put themselves into a Posture of Defence  
 ‘ without some Aid, &c. We humbly beseech your Majesty  
 ‘ to send us such Aids of Guns, Fire Arms, Carriages and  
 ‘ Ammunition, and such a Number of Ships of War, as  
 ‘ your Majesty in your Wisdom shall think necessary, &c.’

Sept. 13, 1722.

Nicholas Lawes.

Joseph Maxwell, Clerk of the Council.

Upon this humble Application, his Majesty ordered 12 Men of War to be put in Commission for the *West-Indies*, and all Necessaries to be shipped for the Supply of this and the other Colonies.

The Beginning of *May*, Captain *Chandler* Commander of the *Launceston* Man of War, cruizing on the *Spanish* Pirates, for so the *Jamaicans* called the *Guarda Costas*, took one of them with 58 *Spaniards* aboard, who had a little before taken a *Snow* belonging to this Island six Leagues off of *Hispaniola*.

Sir *Nicholas Lawes* the Governor, assisted by the Council and the Commanders of the King’s Navy Ships in *Jamaica*, held a Council of War to try these Pirates. The Attorney General

Guard de  
Costa Men  
hanged.

General Mr. Kelly, and Mr. Norris, Register of the Court of Admiralty, proceeded against them, and no fewer than 43 of these Pirates or *Guarda Costa* Men were convicted of Piracy and Robbery, condemned and hanged. The *Launceston*, the *Adventure*, and the *Mermaid*, all King's Ships, were at Sea when the Hurricane happened, and it was well for them or they would have run the Extremity of Danger had they not perished in the Storm.

Notwithstanding Sir *Nicholas Lawes* was their Countryman as well as their Governor, the most busy Men in and out of the Assembly, by their unreasonable Opposition, made him very uneasy in his Government, as appears by his last Speech to the Assembly.

The rebellious Negroes had nested so long in the Mountains, that they were become powerful and formidable, they had raised a Fortification in the *Blue Mountains* called *Nauny*, of so difficult Access, that a few could defend it against Thousands. They often broke down into the low Country and came once so near *Spanish-Town*, that the Inhabitants were in a mortal Fright; several Parties had been sent against them in their Fastnesses without Success. It was therefore thought adviseable to hire some *Muschetoes*, an Indian Nation on the Continent between *Traxillo* and the *Honduras*. They submitted themselves to *England* when the Duke of *Albemarle* was Governor of *Jamaica*. They were never conquered by the *Spaniards*, but still retain their natural and original Liberty. If their Country was worth the having, no Doubt the *Spaniards* would long ago have been their Masters. What Right they have to *Honduras* and the Logwood there seems by this Submission of the *Muschetoes* to be transferred to the *English*. But this Submission is in Truth without Subjection, and they are still governed by Kings and Captains of their own, who prefer the Protection of the *English* to any other *European* Power.

Muscheto  
Indians de-  
pend on Ja-  
maica.

Of the Mus-  
cheto Indi-  
ans.

Capt. *Vring*, who was some Time among them, gives this Account of them. These *Muscheto* Indians inhabit a marshy Country on a sandy Bay, beyond *Cape Gracia de Dios*, not far from the Bay of *Campeachy*. They live under a Kind of monarchical Government, but tho' the whole Natives do not consist of above 1000 fighting Men, yet they have several petty Kings under their chief King. They were driven to their Marshes by the *Spaniards*, and the *Indians* who submitted to them; they have frequently Wars with those *Indians*, which are mostly hasty Irruptions, wherein they surprize and carry off Men, Women and Children, and sell them at *Jamaica*, or keep them for their own Uses. Some of



these Women Slaves have been so kindly treated by their *English* Masters, that they have brought them Children in Return for their Kindness to them. There lived among them 20 Years ago, ten or twenty *English* Men who had *Muscheto* Wives; among whom was *Luke Haughton*, a Drougar Man of *Jamaica*, his Business to carry Sugars in a Kind of *Hoy* from the River, and Sea Coast to the shipping Place. These *Englishmen* live exactly after the Manner of the *Indians* by fishing and hunting, and some casual Traffick with the *Logwood* Cutters for Liquors and *Ozinbrigs*. The *Logwood* Cutters at both the Bays of *Honduras* and *Campeachy*, living the same Manner of Life, I shall content myself with an Account of those in the Bay of *Honduras* in the Sequel.

The *Muscheto* *Indians* had a considerable Victory over the *Spanish* *Indians* about 30 Years ago, and cut off a great Number of them, but gave a *Negro* who was with them his Life, purely on Account of his speaking *English*, which shews the good Will they bear our Nation. The *Jamaicans* had a Project of inviting them to live in their Island, and assigning them certain Lands for their Subsistence, with the Liberties of *Englishmen*; but the *Muschetoes* would not quit their *Morasses*, nor their Manners every whit as filthy, though they swarm with *Sockeys* or Priests who are Conjurers, and live more lazily and get more plentifully than other People, which a cunning *Morooner*, so the *English* are called that live among them, observing, he turned *Sockey* or Priest, and soon became in great Vogue among them. About the Year 1720, pursuant to the Act of Assembly, 200 of them were invited to *Jamaica* to their Assistance against the rebellious *Negroes*. Sloops were sent to transport them, and being arrived in that Island, they were formed into Companies under their own Officers, and were paid 40 s. a Month with Shoes. They staid in the Island several Months, and did very good Service, for which they were well rewarded, and returned to their Marshes well pleased. When they were out in Search of the runaway *Negroes* with white Men for their Guides, one of the *Jamaicans* shot a wild Hog, which much displeased the *Muschetoes*, who said, 'That was not the Way to surprize the *Negroes*, for if there were any within hearing of the Gun, they would immediately fly, and they should not be able to take any of them, and if they wanted any Provisions they would kill some with their Lances or Bows and Arrows which made no Noise.' They are exquisite Hunters and Fishers, and no People are so expert at striking Fish as they are, insomuch that they look upon it as the greatest ill Luck if they miss a Fish when they have a fair  
Stroke

Stroke at it; and in such Case they are wont to rally him who mist by saying, *Brother your Hand is crooked, somebody has lain with your Wife.* Few of the *Jamaica* Sloops go to Sea without one of these *Muschetto* Men, to whom they give good Wages and treat them in the friendliest Manner, the Commanders make them their Companions, and call them *Brother.* The Governor of the Island has a particular Article in his Instructions to shew Kindness to them, and assure them of his Protection. As often as a new Governor comes, their King or some of their Chiefs go up to compliment him on his Accession to the Government, and he kindly entertains them and sends them away with Presents.

We see by a Speech made by Sir *Nicholas Lawes*, that this Governor's being a *Jamaica* Man and a Planter, did not suppress the Spirit of Opposition, nor reconcile the Assembly to his Administration, so far as to prevent those Differences and Discontents which Subordination is apt to create in the Minds of the proud and envious. But I do not understand that the Discontents occasioned the Removal of Sir *Nicholas Lawes* from the Government, which was given to the Duke of *Portland*, a Nobleman of fine Accomplishments, both of Person and Mind.

The Assembly here were in as ill Temper with their Neighbour of St. *Dorothy's* Parish, which they excluded from the Right of electing Members, but my Information reaches not so far as the Cause of the Offence that was taken.

Duke of  
Portland  
Governor,  
Col. Dubour-  
gay Lieute-  
nant Govern-  
or.

When his Majesty appointed the Duke of *Portland* Governor of *Jamaica*, Col. *Dubourgay* was made Lieutenant Governor, to be Assistant to his Grace in the Discharge of so weighty a Trust. The Duke and Dutchess of *Portland* made some short Stay at the Island of *Barbados*, where they were magnificently received and entertained, and arrived here with their Family and Retinue the 22d of *December*, 1722. Their Graces were received here also with all imaginable Pomp and Splendor; the Character of this Lord having endeared him to the Inhabitants, by the Report of him before his Arrival, it being the Reverse of that of *Christopher Monk* Duke of *Albemarle*, who excepting his Title had nothing noble in his Composition to gain him either Affection or Esteem. The Assembly voted his Grace a double Salary to what any of their Governors had before, no less than 5000*l.* a Year, which tho' the Duke of *Portland* might merit by his good Qualities, yet they could not afford to give without burthening themselves too much. What follows are the Words of one on the Spot.

Never did a Governor recommend himself more, or kept such a handsom Court; he was remarkably civil, of easy Access and affable to all. The Island grudged no Expence to oblige him, and if any Fault could be at all found with his Government it is only this, that the Planters, who could not well afford such extraordinary Expences, spent too profusely, by endeavouring to imitate the Duke.

With the Duke of Portland came Col. Dubourgay just mentioned, and in the first Speech his Grace made to the Assembly, he was pleased to recommend him to them in these Words. *I am farther to signify to you, Gentlemen, that his Majesty has been pleased to appoint Col. Charles Dubourgay, a Person of great Merit and Honour, to be your Lieutenant Governor. His long and earnest Services in War, and his sincere Attachment to his Majesty, have prepared his Way to this particular Mark of the royal Favour, and I am commanded to let you know, that it is expected from you that you receive him with the Honour due to his Commission, and provide him the Support which his Credentials will acquaint you with.* The Arrival of this Gentleman seemed to be unacceptable to the Colony. His Grace their Governor made a very long Speech, but the Assembly returned a short Answer, however they doubled the Governor's Salary as is before observed, and gave Col. Charles Dubourgay 1000*l.* to defray his Charges, and the Colonel returned to *England* in the same Ship that brought the Duke and him to *Jamaica*, the *Kingston* Man of War. It was said in a Letter from *Jamaica* that came by the *Kingston*, 'The Assembly thought such an extraordinary Magistrate unnecessary, especially during their Governor's Residence with them, and were apprehensive of the Consequences of admitting new erected Officers, in which they guarded well against future Inconveniences of the like Nature.' It is somewhat extraordinary that the Agents of *Jamaica*, who had handsom Salaries to have an Eye on what concerned her Interest, and those other Gentlemen to whose Care the Affairs of the Colonies are particularly committed, did not find Means to have this Novelty prevented, by representing it to his Majesty in its just Light, which no Doubt would have prevented the Duke of *Portland's* putting that ungracious Paragraph in his Speech, and Col. Dubourgay's carrying thither so unnecessary and disagreeable a Commission.

On the Duke's Arrival here, Edmund Kelly, Esq; and James Haywood, Esq; Members for the Parish of *St. Dorothy*, presented a very dutiful Address from the Freeholders there, congratulating and complimenting his Grace on his entering upon the Government. His Grace's Answer to it was very

*St. Dorothy's Address.*



Duke of  
Portland's  
Answer.

engaging. ‘Gentlemen, I thank you for the hearty Expressions of Affection to me and my Family contained in this Address. I am sorry to perceive by some Part of it, that there is not that Harmony between you, the Assembly and your Parish, which I could wish. I will endeavour to make myself acquainted with the real Cause of it. You may promise yourselves that my Interposition in Order to reconcile you, and my Readiness to do what I can to contribute to your Ease and Satisfaction, shall not be wanting.’

The King of the *Muschetoes* coming to pay his Duty to his Grace the Governor of *Jamaica* soon after his Arrival, I must add a few Words more of their History. They are implacable Enemies to the *Spaniards*, and by sudden Excursions and Surprize do them as much Mischief as they can; they term the murdering them *hiding* them, and kill them when they fall in their Way. They are not much afraid of the *Little Breeches*, so they call the *Spaniards*, their Country being surrounded by inaccessible Mountains and Morasses. By their Commerce with the *English* they have learnt a little of their Language; they are an inoffensive People in their Carriage to all but *Little Breeches*; never forfeit their Word, a very great Reproach to the *English*, who have nowhere that Character. They have but one Wife, and have the highest Veneration for the Ceremony of Marriage. They adore the Sun, and truly the *Sun* has a much better Claim to Adoration, than the Stocks and Stones in *Papish* Idolatry. When any of them die they put them into a Mat, and place them strait with their Faces to the *East*. The King, says the *Jamaican* Historian, has his Commission from the Governor of *Jamaica*, and therefore at every new Governor's Arrival, they come over to know his Pleasure. During their Stay they are maintained at the publick Charge and clothed in a very rich Dress. When they depart they have a few trifling Presents made them, with which they are extremely well satisfied.

Advantage  
to be made of  
the *Muschetoes*.

The same Historian tells us, ‘great Advantage might be made of the friendly Disposition of this People in Case of a War with *Spain*, and it is not to be doubted but in Case of a Rupture, the Government will improve so fair an Opportunity of advancing the Interest of the *British* Nation’ — as these *Muschetoes* border on *Honduras*, and have probably a Right to the Growth of Logwood, and besides, are possessed of a Country little known to or frequented by *Europeans*. If this Account of them written in *Jamaica* is true, the Advantage that might be made of their friendly Disposition to the *English* is so obvious, that it is amazing one hears of no Steps taken to procure it. The

The King of the *Muschetoes* was received by his Grace the Duke of *Portland*, with that Courtesy which was natural to him, and with more Ceremony than seemed to be due to a Monarch, who held his Sovereignty by his Commission, as the *Jamaica* Historian says. He invited his *Muschetto* Majesty to dine with him, and that Writer informs us, *The poor King knew not which Way to go up Stairs, but jumped up Step by Step*, which doubtless is rather Raillery than History. *The King used such indecent Expressions, that the Dutchess was obliged to remove from Table. However, he was dismissed very civilly, and went Home to his Subjects proud of his Entertainment.*

The Assembly past a Bill in their Session after the Duke of *Portland's* Arrival, for making their *Laws perpetual*; I have not learnt what were his Grace's Reasons for objecting to it, but I observe he was confirmed in them by that Opinion of the Ministry in *England*. For in his Speech of the 1st of *October, 1723*. his Grace tells them *the same Objections have been made at home, and they are thought to be of that Weight that it would be deceiving you, should I give you the least Room to expect that that Bill can receive his Majesty's Approbation.* If Liberty, Property, and the very Lives of the People who past that Law, were interested in the Perpetuity of their *Laws*, it is reasonable to think they were the best Judges of the good or ill Consequences of such a Law; and if the Royal Approbation was denied it by any Representations of Persons entire Strangers to this Country and Constitution; it may well happen that the Assembly and People of *Jamaica* made a better Judgment of their own Affairs, than those who were not at all concerned in them.

1723

Having Occasion to speak here of the Alteration in the Currency of the Coin contrary to Queen *Anne's* Proclamation to regulate it in all the Sugar Islands, it is proper to particularize the Value of the Silver Species as they were to pass by that Proclamation, confirmed by the Act of the 6th of that Queen.

	l.	s.	d.
<i>Seville Pieces of Eight Old Plate, to pass for</i>	00	06	00
<i>Ditto, New Plate</i>	00	04	09½
<i>Mexico Pieces of Eight</i>	00	06	00
<i>Pillar Pieces of Eight</i>	00	06	00
<i>Peru Picces of Eight</i>	00	05	10½
<i>Cross Dollars</i>	00	05	10½
<i>Ducatoons of Flanders</i>	00	07	00
<i>Louis of France, Silver Louis</i>	00	06	00

	l.	s.	d.
<i>Crusados of Portugal</i>	00	03	09½
<i>Rix Dollars of the Empire</i>	00	06	00
<i>Three Guilder Pieces of Holland</i>	00	06	10¾

Notwithstanding a positive Law to ascertain the Value of Money as here mentioned, the People of *Jamaica* raised their Money by agreeing to tender and receive it at 6 s. and 3 d. the Piece of Eight. Several Merchants sent home a Representation against it, and the Government was so far from giving the least Countenance to the least Disregard of this Law; that the Lord *Carteret*, then Secretary of State, wrote to the Duke of *Portland* by his Majesty's Command, in a Letter dated 22 *October*, 1722. wherein his Lordship tells his Grace, 'That the Articles of Complaint, in the Representation, deserve his Grace's most serious Consideration, and the King directs his Grace to use his utmost Care to see proper Remedies applied. That the Trade and Credit of the Island will be lost if the Valuation of the Coin be not rectified. *It is*, adds his Lordship, a bold Attempt, that those who advised have undertaken it, being expressly contrary to the Act of the 6th of Queen *Anne* and your 47th Instruction, which I am commanded to repeat to you, should be strictly obeyed.'

The Duke of *Portland* restored the Currency to the Tenure of the Act, which was never infringed in the Island of *Barbados*, either by Act of Assembly or common Practice of Merchants.

*Roads.* That the Inhabitants of *Jamaica* made good Use of their Water-Carriage as well by River as by Sea, to convey the Growth of the Island to the Shipping, may be imagined by the little Care they took of their Land Carriage; for if their Roads were impracticable for Horsemen and Footmen; they must much more be so for Carts and Carriages of Burthen. His Grace takes Notice of this in his Speech.

'There is another Neglect not unequal to this, the uncultivated Lands, I mean that of the Roads in general, and particularly those by which a Communication should be always kept open between the great Towns. One would think the Inconveniencies which their impassable State bring upon the Inhabitants daily, should be a sufficient Motive to repair them; but the Danger which the Publick are from thence exposed to in the Case of any unexpected Alarm, which does render it very difficult, if not always impracticable, for the Forces of the Island to join for its Defence, will accuse and condemn you should any unhappy Consequences



quences result from it. Will it be of any Avail to plead, that the Parishes to which these Roads belong were obliged to keep them in a good Condition? The late dreadful Hurricane has made the Expence too great for the Parishes, &c.

In the Law for Highways and Roads, I meet with some few Passages that will give a little Insight into the Parish Geography of this Island. 'The Path or Road now used from the Orange River Plantations in the Parish of St. Mary's, into the Plantation late of Andrew Holloway at Wagwater, and so into the Parish of St. Andrew's, shall be a publick Road or King's Highway, between the two Parishes of St. Mary's and St. Andrew's. The Path or Road from Annotta River Bay, to the Parish of St. George's leading towards St. Andrew's, shall by its nearest Course fall into the Path coming from the said Orange Plantation, this to be the Highway between the Parishes of St. George's and St. Andrew's. The Surveyors of St. Mary's Parish to mend the Road from the Orange River, to the Field at the Foot of the Hill at Little Tom's River; and St. George's Parish to clear the Road from Annotta Bay to the said Place: The Parish of St. Andrew's to clear the Ford and Road from thence to Holloway's Plantation.'

Having taken this Passage out of the Laws of Jamaica, as it helps to describe the Country, I shall refer to the Laws themselves for other Matters, and only mention the Endowments to Ministers by it. Minister's  
Income.

Port Royal to pay to the Minister,	250 l. per Annum.
St. Catharine's _____	300
St. Thomas's _____	200
St. Andrew's _____	200
St. John's. _____	200

All the other Parishes 150 l. per Ann: very moderate Allowances considering the Dearness of all Necessaries, but then Perquisites are very considerable, and it is amazing that in a Place where there was such a flaming Zeal in several Assemblies for maintaining all Rites of the Church of England in Matter of Worship, there has been such an unaccountable Carelessness in the Mission of their Ministry, who for the most Part have been very unworthy of the Character they went with; of which I have had so much Knowledge with Respect to this and other Colonies, that I very often regret the fruitless Pains and Expence such well designing Persons have been at, to propagate the Gos-

pel in these Parts. This pious Work has been carried on many Years, (and how the Case stands in *Jamaica*, and such has been the Case ever since it was reckoned Part of an *English* Diocese) see by the Account the Author of the *New History of Jamaica* gives of it, p. 303. 'The Clergy here are of a Character so vile, that I do not care to mention it; for, except a few, they are generally the most finished of all Debauchees. Messieurs *Gulpin*, *Johnston*, and *May*, are indeed Men, whose unblemished Lives dignify the Character they bear. They generally preach either in their own Churches, or to a few in some private Houses every Sunday, but for others their Church Doors are seldom opened.'

His Grace the Duke of *Portland* continued in this Government to his Death, about four Years reckoning from the Date of his Commission, and about three Years and a half, reckoning from the Day of his Arrival to that of his Death. His Administration was the most easy to the Governor and Governed, that had been yet known in this Island, where Admiral *Hosier* arrived with a Squadron of Men of War, to secure the *British* Commerce in these Seas, and demand Satisfaction of the *Spaniards* for the frequent Insults and Losses the *English* had suffered by them in their Navigation and Trade, particularly their detaining the *South Sea* Company's large Ship the *Royal George* at *Porto-Bello*. As soon as the Admiral came before the Place, the Governor sent to know what he wanted; he answered the *Royal George*, which was immediately discharged; but the Admiral still lying off the Place, the Governor sent again, desiring him to be gone, who answered, *he should stay till farther Orders*, and ordered a Man of War to lie within Reach of the Guns at *Porto-Bello*. There was at that Time 24 Millions of Pieces of Eight, ready in that Place to be shipped aboard the Galleons for *Spain*, which was removed up into the Country on the Appearance of the *English* Men of War. It is well known, that that Treasure was intended to have enabled the *Spaniards* to answer their Stipulations for large Subsidies to several Powers of *Europe*, for raising a new War, particularly against *England*, and the interrupting the Conveyance of so much Treasure, as also 16 Millions of Pieces of Eight, in the whole near 40 Millions, then shipped and to be shipped aboard the Galleons and *Flota*, none of which came to *Spain* in Time to answer that Occasion, was the only Cause of preventing that War, which probably would soon have extended into a general one by Sea and by Land. That Service was surely owing to the stationing the *British* Squadron at the *Bastimentos* off

off of *Porto-Bello*; a sickly Station it is true, and so is the Situation of *Porto-Bello*; insomuch that the *Spaniards* who trade there, reside in it only in the *Fair Time*, about six Weeks once in two or three Years, according as the *Galleons* arrive with Goods from *Old Spain*. This Fair happens always in the most unhealthy Seasons, but Traders do not then avoid the Place because it is sickly; and if the *Spaniards* think fit to bring their Treasure there, the *English* will never forbear seeking it in Time of War, because the Air is not so wholesom as were to be wished. Extremity of Air and Change of Air will always affect Constitutions, but I never met with an Instance that a Nation at War with another, suffered an Enemy to gather Strength in a Country, because the Air of it was incommodious. If it is so for the one, it is for the other, and War on both Sides must alike stand all Chances. The *Spaniards* do not think their being seasoned in *America* is a Protection to them, for those Merchants who come hither to trade and do carry on the chief Trade, stay no longer than the Fair lasts, and when it is over hasten back to *Lima*, *Panama*, and other Places.

His Grace the Duke of *Portland* was taken ill of a Fever the 29th of *June*, which carried him off the 4th of *July* 1726. A Paragraph of a Letter from *Jamaica* on that Occasion will best shew the Sense of the Inhabitants under so great a Loss: 'A melancholy and universal Misfortune has befallen us here, which has thrown us into the utmost Grief and Confusion. My Lord Duke of *Portland* is dead! This may be remote and unaffecting to you at a Distance of almost half the Globe, but it is impossible for us who lived under his mild Government, and participated of the Gentleness of his Nature, the Complacency of his Temper, the Refinement of his Manners, the Generosity of his Living, the Tranquillity, Lenity and Equity of his delightful Administration, not to be forcibly touched and grievously afflicted, &c.' All the Gentlemen of *Jamaica* went into deep Mourning, and three Members of the Council, by Order of the Board, waited upon her Grace the Dutchess of *Portland* with the following Message,

Death of  
the Duke of  
Portland.  
1726.

May it please your Grace,

We are directed by the honourable the President and Council to wait upon your Grace, to condole with you upon the late unhappy Occasion, and to assure your Grace, that as we have a very sensible Share in the Loss, so likewise in the Affliction.

The Council  
address the  
Dutchess.

The Council, may it please your Grace, will do every Thing in their Power that may contribute to your Ease. They are informed



formed of your Grace's Intentions of quitting speedily this Island, and as there is no Ship of War in Harbour to convoy your Grace through these Seas, they have resolved to fit out a Vessel for that Service; and where they can be farther useful to your Grace, they will readily embrace the Opportunity, and upon every Occasion endeavour to shew their Gratitude, and the Value and Regard they have for your Grace's Person and Character.

Her Grace expressed her Thanks in Terms suitable to the Civility, Respect, and Affection, to the Council's Address.

John Ayscough, Esq;  
Governor.

The Government of *Jamaica* devolved of Course on the President of the Council *John Ayscough*, Esq; a windward Planter of fair Character and Fortune. About 7 Weeks after the Duke of *Portland's* Death, the Dutchess Dowager with her three Daughters and the Corpse of her late Consort, sailed from *Jamaica*, August 21, on Board the *Effex*, Capt. *Henry Geering*, and met with very bad Weather, insomuch that the Ship lost her main and mizen Masts: However, she arrived off *Dover* the 14th of *October*, landed there, and the next Day came safe with her Grace's three Daughters to *London*, and two Days after received Compliments of Condolence from his Majesty, and their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princesses of *Wales*.

General  
Hunter Governor.

The President Mr. *Ayscough* held the Government till the Arrival of Major General *Hunter*, who had been Governor of *New-York* and *Virginia*, and was much better acquainted with the Affairs of the Continent Colonies, than those of the Sugar Islands. He laid an Embargo on all Shipping; which, says the *Jamaica* Historian, proved of infinite Disadvantage to the Island. No Doubt that Embargo was in the Governor's Instructions, and then the Blame lies on those by whose Advice it had a Place there, for this Gentleman was of himself well intentioned. Several necessary Laws were made for suppressing the rebellious Negroes, and as it was then feared that the Island abounded with *Papists* in Disguise, the Assembly pass an Act, obliging all, from sixteen to sixty, to abjure the Church of *Rome*. General *Hunter* was a very hearty Protestant, of Revolution Principles, a great Enemy to Popery and Priestcraft; he promoted this Bill by his Party in the Assembly, where too many warmly opposed it, by which Heats were fomented, but the Governor's Party prevailed. He died in the Year 1734, and the Government again devolved on *John Ayscough*, Esq; in which Year a Reinforcement of six independent Companies were sent to *Jamaica* to act against the Negro Rebels. The Rebellion

of Negroes was now become so formidable, that it required the whole Strength of the Island to reduce them.

The Exercise of *civil Law* was suspended, and the *martial Law* took Place, several Parties of Militia and regular Forces were sent against those Rebels. Capt. *Stoddart* with one of them attacked their Town *Nauny* in the *Blue Mountains*. He had carried with him three small Field Pieces, and made his Approaches with great Caution and without the least Noise, he reached the Foot of the Mountain a little before Night, and when it was dark scaled the narrow Passage, and with very great Difficulty got up his Field Pieces, and mounted them on an Eminence, from whence he played on the *Negro Town* with Musket-Ball, which killed and wounded a great Number of the Rebels who offered to make Defence. In fine, he obtained a complete Victory here, the Negroes took to Flight. He slew many more of their Number in the Rout, demolished their Town, destroyed their Provisions, and did them more Hurt than had been done them in 20 Years before, with little or no Loss of his Party.

The Rebels were also hard pressed in other Parts of the Island. They presumed at *Bagnels* to attack a large Party A Skirmish with the Negro Rebels. commanded by Col. *Edward Charlton*, and Capt. *Ivy*, whose Men had not kept enough to close Order, of which the Rebels having quick Intelligence, they laid an Ambuscade to intercept them as they straggled, and when the Officers were at Dinner, and few of the Party near, they rushed out and attacked the Hut where they were. Several Pieces were discharged which killed a few, but the firing had this good Effect, that it alarmed those of the Party that were nearest, who immediately took to their Arms, and came up in Time to save the Lives of their Officers. The Negroes fled, but the Pursuit by the *English* was very faint, and the latter lost Sight of the Runaways. The *English* not knowing whither they ran, the Plantations nearest the Mountain were terribly alarmed, and tho' *Spanish Town* was above 30 Miles from thence, yet News came about one a Clock in the Morning, that the Negroes had escaped Col. *Charlton's* and Capt. *Ivy's* Party and were coming that Way. Mr. *Ayscough* the President immediately ordered the Trumpets to sound and the Drums to beat, and before six a fresh Party of Foot, with a Troop of Horse, were ready to support the former under the Command of more experienced Officers. In two Days they came up to a Place, where by the Fires which remained unextinguished, they knew the Negroes had lodged the Night before, and having followed the Track got Sight of them soon after. Capt. *Edmunds* disposed of his Men for  
an

an Engagement, but the Rebels had not Courage to venture a Battle, they dispersed and fled several Ways, however, a good many were killed and more taken, which so disheartened them and broke their Strength, that they never appeared in any considerable Body afterwards.

About this Time Port *Antonio* on the North Side of *Jamaica* was ordered to be fortified, and Store-houses erected there for the Use of the Ships of War. A little Island lies so near it, that a Man of War's Yards touch the Branches of the Trees, on the two Sides of the Harbour's Mouth, which when entered is very safe, and capacious enough to receive a considerable Fleet. Admiral *Stewart*, who commanded a Squadron then there, saw this Work in good Forwardness, and it will be of infinite Advantage to the *British* Commerce in those Parts, if it can be perfected and maintained; but the Air is unhealthy, tho' to clear it the Admiral had ordered the Trees in *Navy* Island to be burnt. The Design was good and well prosecuted, but there was no guarding against the Malignity of the Air; however, there is a Company of Soldiers at this Time in Garrison, Part of which was under Capt. *Newton* in the *Porto-Bello* Expedition, and they would fain have been in that of *Chagre*, but the *Jamaicans* absolutely refused to let them go, alledging that as they paid them Subsistence Money, they should remain there for the Defence of the Island. Not far from this Place, a small Town was lately begun to be built called *Tichfield*, from a Manor in *Hampshire* belonging to the Dutchess of *Portland*.

It is well known that the Heat of the Sugar Colony Climates, has an Influence on the Spirits of the People, which are soon enflamed, and therefore great Caution should be used in Company to keep every Thing calm and cool; but the Heat is general, and consequently when it begins to kindle, there are more ready to catch than to extinguish. This happened in the Case of Mr. *Stevens* a Merchant at *Kingston*, and Mr. *Vale* a Barrister at Law. Mr. *Stevens* having spoken offensively to or of Mr. *Vale*, some Gentlemen were so weak and indeed so wicked, as to incense them, and blow the heated Fewel into a Flame. Mr. *Vale* meeting Mr. *Stevens* one Morning at the Coffee-house, beat him with a small Stick; the Standers by let them grapple in Wrath, and Mr. *Stevens* falling with his Head upon a Stone fractured his Skull and he died soon after. 'Tis certain *Vale* knew nothing of a Stone nor intended a Fracture, but intending Harm to *Stevens*, the Law interpreted it Murder: *Vale* was tried, and tho' he pleaded his own Cause with great Reason and Vivacity, and tho' the Jury was shut up two Days before they

agreed



agreed on a Verdict, yet in the End they brought in *Vale* guilty, and he was condemned to be hanged; and tho' the Case does not appear to have more aggravating Circumstances than are here mentioned, *Vale*, despairing of Mercy, cut his Throat the Night before the Day appointed for his Execution.

Soon after the President died, *John Gregory*, Esq; John Gregory, Esq; Governor. who had been Chief Justice succeeded him in the Government, in which he continued till the Arrival of *Henry Cunningham*, Esq; whom his Majesty had appointed Governor Henry Cunningham, Esq; Governor. of *Jamaica*, a Gentleman of great Parts and Worth, of a sound Judgment and happy Temper. He had great Knowledge of the *British* Constitution, and was zealous in the Support of it in and out of Parliament, of which he had almost always been a Member ever since the *Union*. See what the *Jamaica* Historian writes of him, 'Tho' Governour, he never lost the Affability of a private Gentleman. Never was one more beloved or caressed with more Justice, he knew the Blessings of Liberty, and had he lived, would have redressed many Grievances under which the Poor laboured. It was his Fault to begin too soon to cure the Insolence of the Planters, and a Difference with one of the most considerable of them hastened his Death.' The Author does not explain whether it was to accommodate or prosecute this Difference; but other Accounts say, His Death The Governour was at an Entertainment with some of the principal Persons of the Place, and that there was such an Abundance of good Wine as well as good Humour, that Mr. *Cunningham* soon felt the Effects of it in a violent Fever in a few Days, if not Hours, about six Weeks after his Arrival.

Upon his Death, *John Gregory*, Esq; President of the Council, resumed the Government, and about that Time died *James Hay*, Esq; Chief Justice, of a Character so different from that of the Chief Justice spoken of in Lord *Hamilton's* Time, that whatever Impurities the Judgment Seat might then be defiled with, this Gentleman's Conduct cleared it of all Blemish. The Author says, 'tho' he resided upwards of 20 Years in so wicked a Place, he was never known to give into any of its Debaucheries, an Oath he was never heard to swear, nor ever neglected his Family Devotion.'

The same Author introduces the Government of *Edward Trelawney*, Esq; with some Reflections on the Misbehaviour Edward Trelawney, Esq; Governor. of the *Spaniards* toward the *English* in *America*, of which reiterated Accounts had come from thence by almost all Shipping, and which could not but end in a Rupture. The

*Jamaica* Author writes, 'The War between *Great-Britain* and *Spain* was an Event long wished for by all good *Britons*, and particularly by the People of this Island, who wanted nothing more than to be left at Liberty to revenge the Cruelties and Depredations they have so long suffered from the insulting *Spaniards*, thro' the great Lenity and Forbearance of the Gentlemen at the Helm of Affairs in *Great-Britain*, who at length appear roused out of the Lethargy their Enemies attributed to them, to avenge the Insults offered, not only to the Subjects of the Crown of *Great-Britain*, by an Enemy not considerable enough to appear in Sight of the *Flag* they have long defied.'

1733.

Upon Mr. *Trelawney's* Arrival, he was honourably received by the Council and Gentlemen of the Island. The Assembly allowed him the same Salary which any of their former Governors had, except the Duke of *Portland*, which doubtless will never be brought into Precedent. The first Act of his Administration was to put the Island into a better Posture of Defence, than it had been for some Years before. He ordered the several Forts to be viewed, and took effectual Care that such Repairs as were necessary should be instantly set about: He appointed Officers of Experience and Resolution to command the *Militia*, by whom they were better trained in Arms than ever they had been before; and it is to be noted, that the Colony *Militia*, whether *Creolians* or *Europeans*, are better exercised and regulated than our *English* Train Bands ever were since *Cromwell's* Time. Governor *Trelawney's* next Care was to reduce the rebellious Negroes, who for 50 Years past had put the Colony to a great Expence, as well of Blood as Treasure, and tho' the Rebels were frequently very much distressed, yet they found Means to maintain themselves in their almost inaccessible Fastnesses.

The Island was in Arms nine Months together in 1735, and 1736 to guard against them, but yet they little prevailed towards clearing the Country, and none would cultivate Land nor settle near the Place where they nested, and those Lands that had been cultivated and settled were deserted; which Lands were some of the most fertile in the Island, but being now overgrown with Woods and Shrubs were a Shelter for the Runaways. The Governor taking into Consideration the Damage, Distress and Terror occasioned by them, and the ill Success of all Attempts hitherto to reduce them by Force, he resolved to put milder Methods in Practice, and by Offers of Pardon and Security he brought them to such reasonable Temper, that they laid down their Arms, and all to a Man chearfully submitted. By the Articles of  
Surrender

Rebellious  
Negroes sub-  
mis.

Surrender they are allowed a Chief to govern them, but he is to do nothing without the Consent of the Governor of the Island, and several *white Men* live among them to observe their Actions.

As soon as the Governor of *Jamaica* was authorised from Home to grant Letters of *Marque* and *Reprisal*, for Satisfaction of the Injuries done the *English* by the *Spaniards*, he issued out such Letters, and immediately the Merchants and Planters fitted out many Privateers, which brought several good Prizes to this Island; one of the Privateers landed a few Men on *Cuba*, took a Town and plundered it, before the Arrival of Admiral *Vernon*, September 1739, with six Men of War; who with these six Men of War only has done more Execution on the Enemy, than has hitherto been done by all other *British* Squadrons. These indeed are the Seas and Coasts most proper to turn the Superiority of the *British* maritime Power to the most Advantage to our Trade and Navigation, and why so little has been effected with it in all our late Ruptures with *Spain* and *France*, none can so well answer as those that were entrusted with the Care of the Plantations, which I hope will never be committed to such as have not been long and well acquainted with them and their Affairs.

The taking and destroying *Porto-Bello*, one of the Bulwarks of the *Spanish West-Indies*, was an Action of so great Glory and Advantage to the *British* Nation, that the Name of *Vernon* is now as terrible to the *Spaniards* in *New Spain*, as ever that of *Blake* was in *Old*. What the Consequences of that glorious Action might have been, had his Strength enabled him to improve it, let Connoisseurs determine.

The Town of *Porto-Bello* is not so large as might be expected, from the great Resort of People to trade to it in and out of *Fair* Time, tho' the latter is inconsiderable in Comparison of the former, and only to take off the Gleanings of the Fair. The Unhealthiness of the Air has been and always will be, a Hinderance to the Increase of this Town, in Building and Inhabitants. It consists of about 500 Houses, it has two Churches, a Treasury, a Custom-house and Exchange. The Fair is here every two or three Years, and lasts about six Weeks, according as the *Galleons* happen to arrive from *Carthagena*, where they always first dispose of Part of their Cargo of *European* Goods, which are for the Trade of *Mexico* and other Cities in that Part of *America*. From *Carthagena* they come hither, and dispose of the rest of their Cargoes. Here they are met by the Merchants from the great Cities of *Lima* and *Panama*, Capitals of *Peru*, which



which have the Trade of the *South Sea*, which is plainly to be seen on a Mountain not far from *Panama* between *Chagre* and that City. In *Fair Time* Warehouse Room can scarce be got for the Chests of Money brought from these Cities, for the King's Account and the Merchants; some of the Inhabitants have made 10,000 Dollars in the Time of the *Fair* for the Use of their Houses: It lies on the *North Side* of the Isthmus of *Darien*, a Name I always read and mention with Grief, when I reflect on the infinite Damage the *British* Nation sustained, in neglecting the fair Opportunity that was once offered them, to possess and maintain that *Isthmus* against all maritime or *American* Power that could oppose them; and I refer to the *Connoisseurs* again to determine, what an Encrease of Trade, Riches and Power, such a Situation would have become to the *British* Empire. Whatever political Reasons might have been started in *Europe* against it, are very easily refuted were this a Place for it. *Panama* is but 54 Miles from *Porto-Bello*, which has a commodious Harbour with good Anchorage for Ships, it is narrow at the Mouth and spreads wider within, at the Bottom of it is the Town, bending about the Shore like a Halfmoon. It is long and narrow, having two principal Streets besides Lanes, which go across with a small *Parade* about the Middle of it; the Houses are handfom, the Town lies open to the Country, and at the East End of it in the *Panama* Road, there is a long Stable for the King's Mules which bring his Treasure from the Capitals. The direct Road to *Panama* would be to the *South*, but the Hills there hinder it: The East Side is low and swampy, which much contributes to the Unhealthiness of the Air, and the *Bastimentos* where our *English* Squadrons are wont to be when they block up this Harbour, being so near as almost within Gun-shot, must needs participate plentifully of these noxious Vapours, which the fervent Sun-beams continually exhale from the swampy and slimy Shore, for the Sea at low Water leaves it bare a great Way from the Houses. The Slime is filthy and stinking, and in all Parts of the World as well as in *America*, where are such Slimes, Stinks and Heats, there can be no Health: Only I say in Case of a War, the *English* have as good a Chance to stand it there as have the *Spaniards* who come from *Europe*, and those that do not, are in no Condition to defend their Coasts or their Country against *Europeans*, who are Masters at Sea.

'Tis pretty well known now in *England*, that this Town was defended by three Forts. The *Iron Fort* on the *North* Side of the Mouth of the Harbour with 100 Guns, *Gloria*

Castle on the South Side of the Harbour with 120 Guns, a Mile from the Iron Fort, and Fort Hieronymo with 20 Guns. Mr. *Trelawney* Governor of *Jamaica* was very forward and diligent in giving Admiral *Vernon* all the Assistance for his Enterprize that the Island could afford, in which the Inhabitants bore a proportionable Part. The Admiral shipped 200 Men only at that Island, which shews he could lay no Scheme for keeping if he should conquer it, nor for extending his Conquests at that Time. He sailed from *Port-Royal* Harbour the 5th of *November* 1739, with the following Ships.

The *Burford*, Admiral *Vernon*.

The *Hampton-Court*, Captain *Brown*:

The *Norwich*, Captain *Herbert*.

The *Worcester*, Captain *Main*.

The Princess *Louisa*, Captain *Waterhouse*.

The *Stafford*, Captain *Trevor*.

Two seventy Guns, three sixty Guns, one fifty Guns.

On the 10th of *November*, the *English* took a Sloop from *Carthage* bound for *Porto-Bello*, a happy Accident, for none of Admiral *Vernon's* Pilots were acquainted with the Coast Westward of *Chagre*. Near *Porto-Bello* they came in Sight of 4 Sail of *Spanish* Ships bound thither, but they got into Port, and alarmed the People before the *English* could come up with them. The *Spaniards* put on their best Airs, and none have better if *Rhodomontade* is good for any Thing, and hoisted a Flag of *Defiance*.

Captain *Brown* in the *Hampton-Court* was the first who began the Attack, which he continued with great Courage and Conduct. The Wind falling away, he was obliged to drop Anchor near the Fort, from whence the *Spaniards* fired very briskly, and he received their Fire with Firmness and but little Loss, at but about a Cable's Length Distance, and how briskly he returned it may be imagined, by his firing above 400 Shot against the Fort in a few Minutes Time. The *Norwich* came up next, and met with the like warm Reception, and returned the Fire of the *Spaniards* so well, that it gave a Check to their first Fury, insomuch that they made not one Fire to Captain *Herbert's* three. The *Worcester* Captain *Main* got up in less than half an Hour, and anchoring near the other two, did a great deal of Damage to the Fort, beating down the higher Part of it, and driving the *Spaniards* from their Guns. The Admiral's Ship came up soon after with the Blue Flag at her Foretopmast-Head, and the bloody Flag at the Mainmast-Head; the Admiral ordered the Anchor

Porto-Bello  
taken.

chor to be dropt within half a Cable's Length of the Castle, notwithstanding they had discharged but very few Guns for some Minutes before; yet as if their mighty Spirits highly disdained to see the *English* Flag waving as it were over their Walls, they welcomed it with a terrible Volley which did little Execution. One Shot struck away the Stern of the Barge, another broke a large Gun on the upper Deck, a third went thro' the Foretopmast, and the fourth thro' the Arning, within two Inches of the Mainmast, and beat down the Barricado of the Quarter Deck very near the Admiral's Person, killing three Men and wounding five; but this brisk Fire was so briskly returned, that it abated of their Heat, and they did little or no Damage with it afterwards, contenting themselves with a few random Shot. The Fire of the small Arms soon commanded the Enemy's lower Battery and drove away the *Spaniards*, which gave the *English* the Opportunity of landing. As the Boats came near the Admiral's Ship, he called to them to go ashore directly under the Walls of the Fort, though there was no Breaches made, which threw the Enemy into such Consternation, that the Officers and Soldiers who had stood at the lower Battery fled to the upper, and put out a Flag of Capitulation, which the Admiral answered with a like, but it was with the greatest Difficulty he could restrain his own and the *Stafford's* Men from firing. In the mean Time the Soldiers and Seamen that were landed, climbed the Walls of the lower Battery in this Manner. One Man set himself close under an *Embossier*, while another climbed upon his Shoulders and entered under the Mouth of a great Gun; all the Boats Crews were in the Platform in three Minutes after their landing, they immediately struck the *Spanish* Flag of Defiance, and hoisted the Flag of *England*; some *Spanish* Officers and Soldiers shut themselves up in a strong Lodgment, but Lieutenant *Broderick* of *Jamaica*, firing a Gun or two through the Door, they opened it and yielded themselves Prisoners, five Officers and thirty five Soldiers all that were left of 300, the rest being killed or wounded. Thus was the *Iron-Fort* taken by five *English* Men of War only, and the *Spaniards*, who were once a warlike Nation, must be sunk into the most dastardly Spirit, to abandon so easily the Defence of a Fort, which their Assailants would have defended a long Time against all the naval Power of *Spain*. Let the *English* Reader be surpris'd at this glorious Action of his Countrymen, but call to Mind the Bravery and Fortune of the bold and adventurous *Morgan* 60 or 70 Years before that, who marched but with 1200 Men from *Chagre* to *Panama*, attacked and took that great



City, then as big as *Bristol* and kept it several Months, and with a Recruit of as many such Men more, would doubtless have driven the *Spaniards* into the *South Sea*, or mastered all their Mines. There are *Britons* still who have as good Hearts and as good Hands, and as good Heads too, if they had as good Encouragement.

*Gloria-Castle* and *Fort Hieronymo*, continued firing after the *Iron Fort* had given it over, but most of their Shot fell short or flew over the Rigging. The Admiral tried some of his lower Tire against these Forts, and that Tire being new Guns answered beyond Expectation, carrying over *Gloria-Castle* into the Town, none of the Shot falling short, and one of them went thro' the Governor's House, and others thro' several Houses in the Town. The next Morning the Admiral went aboard the *Hampton-Court*, to consult with Captain *Brown* and the other Captains, about warping the Ships up the next Night in Order to attack *Gloria-Castle*, but was prevented by the Enemy's putting up a white *Flag*, and sending a Boat with a Flag of Truce to the Admiral, with the Governor's Adjutant and the Lieutenant of a Man of War, who brought Conditions signed on which they would surrender. Admiral *Vernon* digested these Conditions as he thought fit, and sent Captain *Newton*, who commanded the *Jamaica* Soldiers, with them to the Governor, who accepted of them, and the Forts and Towns were delivered to the *English* with all the Shipping in the Harbour. Dr. *Walsh* the *South Sea* Company's Factor at *Panama*, and other Servants of that Company detained by the *Spaniards*, were set at Liberty.

In *Gloria-Castle* were 120 Guns, 200 small Arms and Blunderbuffes, 200 Swords, 200 Barrels of Powder, 4 large Mortars, Thousands of Iron and Copper Balls.

In *Iron Fort* 100 Guns, of which 87 were Brass.

In the Harbour were 2 Men of War, 24 Guns each, one Snow of 14 Guns, 4 good Sloops, a Periagua and half Galley.

The Admiral broke the Trunions of all the Iron Guns, blasted all the Foundations, and burnt the Superstructures of all the Forts and Castles. The Damage to the *Spaniards* amounting to Millions, and it is next to impracticable to rebuild the like Fortification on the same Spot of Ground. This Advantage and Glory were gained to the *English* with the Loss of six Men only, three were killed on board the Admiral's Ship, and three on board Capt. *Main's*.

The War between *Great-Britain* and *Spain* was carried on in the *West-Indies* with good Success by the *English*, the

Privateers of the Sugar Islands and the Continent took so many Prizes, that they almost ruined the Trade of the *Spaniards* in the *American Seas*. None of their Plate Fleets durst venture out with them, and now and then a Runner or a single Ship brought a few Pieces of Eight to *Spain*, bearing a small Proportion with the many Millions that used to be the Lading of their *Flota's* and *Flotilla's*.

Carthage-  
na  
bombarded.

Vice Admiral *Vernon* did not stay long after his Return to *Jamaica*, before he put to Sea again with his Squadron to execute another great Design he had formed against the *Spaniards*. He sailed from *Port-Royal* Harbour the 25th of *February* 1739-40, and got Sight of the high Land of *Santa Martha* on the *Spanish Main* the 1st of *March*. He ordered Captain *Windham* in the *Greenwich* to ply up in the Night and lie to Windward of the Port, to intercept any Thing that might be coming in there the next Day, and then bore away with an easy Sail for *Carthage-na*. On the 3d at Noon he was joined by the *Falmouth*. Captain *Douglas* off *Point Canoa*, and that Evening anchored with the Squadron before *Carthage-na* in nine Fathom Water, in the open Bay called *Playa Grande*, and on the 6th he ordered in all the Bomb Ketches and the small Ships and Tenders for covering and assisting them, and continued bombarding till nine in the Morning. The Squadron received no Damage from the Town, but the Shells fell into the Town pretty successfully, particularly into the principal Church, the *Jesuit's College*, the *Custom-house*, and beat down several Houses between them, and a Shell that fell into the South Bastion, silenced a Battery of 10 Guns there for a long Time.

On the 9th he drew off his Bomb Ketches and small Craft, and weighed with his Squadron on the 10th in the Morning, and making the Signal for the Line of Battle, he coasted the Shore towards *Boca Chica*, they fir'd at him from the three small Castles without *Boca Chica*, but none of their Shot reached him, and having left the *Windsor* Captain *Berkley*, and the *Greenwich* Captain *Windham*, to cruize off the Port of *Carthage-na* for 20 Days, he made sail for *Porto-Bello* to repair there the Damages the small Craft had received, and on the 14th anchored with his Squadron in *Porto-Bello* Harbour, detaching his Cruizers from Time to Time to lie off *Chagre* to block up the Enemy; and having got his Ships watered put to Sea on the 22d with his Squadron, except the *Louisa* and *Falmouth*, which had not compleated their Watering, but had his Orders to hasten it and follow him. But an Accident in the Foretop-sail Yard of his Ship the *Strafford* retarding her Progress, he ordered Captain *Herbert*, in the *Norwich*,

to make all the Sail he could in before him, with the Bomb-Ketches and all the Fire Ships and Tenders under his Orders, and Capt. *Knowles*, as Engineer on Board the Bomb-Ketches, for placing them to play on the Castle and to cover them with his own Ship and the rest; Captain *Knowles* got to an Anchor by Three in the Afternoon, and began bombarding and cannonading that Evening, and by ten a Clock at Night he got also to an Anchor with his own Ship the *Strafford*, and the *Falmsuth*, and Princess *Louisa* that followed him the same Night, and continued bombarding and cannonading with three Ships, firing leisurely only from their lower Tire till Monday the 24th, when the *Spaniards* hung out a Flag of Truce from the Fort, and he answered it from his own Ship, and stopped all firing as soon as possible, and sent Captain *Knowles* on Shore, who soon returned with the Governor, to whom having granted Capitulation, he sent him ashore again with Captain *Knowles*, whom he appointed Governor of the Castle for his Majesty, and sent a Garrison along with him of five Lieutenants and 120 Men, and all the Boats of the Fleet to land them, and by 3 a Clock that Afternoon, Captain *Knowles* entered the Fort with his Garrison. The same Evening Captain *Knowles* sent and placed a Guard upon the Custom-house, on the opposite Side of the River *Chagre*, and Vice Admiral *Vernon* went on Shore himself by Day-break the next Morning to give all necessary Orders, and found the Custom-house full of Goods for the lading of the Galleons, such as Guayaquil, Cocoa, Jesuits-Bark and *Spanish* Wooll, and gave immediate Orders for their being shipped off; the Number of Serons and Bags of the before-mentioned Goods amounted to 4300, the two *Guarda Costa* Sloops in the River (all the *Guarda Costa's* left in those Parts) were sunk and destroyed. The Custom-house by the 28th was filled with combustible Matter of the neighbouring Huts, and set on Fire and burnt to the Ground. On the 29th in the Morning, the Brass Cannon, which were 11 Guns and 11 Patereroes, being embarked and a good Part of the Garrison, the Mines were sprung under the lower Bastion which entirely demolished it. Then two Mines were sprung to blow up some of the upper Parts of the Works, and afterwards all the inner Buildings of the Castle were set on Fire; and on the 30th Vice Admiral *Vernon* put to Sea to return to his Cruize off *Porto-Bello*.

'Tis well known that this Place was of great Importance to the *Spaniards*, and a Check to the Trade and Navigation of the *English* in those Parts. The River *Chagre* carries small Vessels within 15 Miles of *Panama*, so that the Goods



which they carry back are only carried by Land those 15 Miles to the Shore of the South Sea; from whence they go by Sea either to *Lima* or any other Port upon the Coast of *Peru* or *Chili*; and the Fortification Admiral *Vernon* destroyed, cut off the *English* from any Communication between the two Seas, by that River and the Passage from it to the South Sea.

## C H A P. II.

Containing an Account of the Precincts, Towns, Forts, Climate, Soil, Product, Commodities, Animals, Diseases, &c. at *Jamaica*.

**W**E have already spoken of the Situation of this Island, to which we think fit to add here, that it is 140 Leagues from *Carthagen*a to the South West, 160 Leagues from *Rio de la Hache* in the same Country; of an oval Figure, and according to the latest Surveys is 170 Miles long where it is longest, and 70 broad where it is broadest, which is about the Middle of the Island. Towards the two Ends it grows narrower by Degrees, till it terminates in two Points. It is said to contain about five Millions of Acres, of which one half are planted.

There's a Ridge of Hills which divides it into two Parts, running from Sea to Sea, and out of them flow Abundance of Rivers, that render the Soil very fruitful, and are a great Help to the Inhabitants.

It abounds in excellent Bays on the Southern Coasts; as *Port Royal*, *Port Morant*, *Old Harbour*, *Point Negril*, *Port St. Francis*, *Michael's Hole*, *Miccary Bay*, *Allegator Pond*, *Point Pedro*, *Parattee Bay*, *Luana Bay*, *Blewfield's Bay*, *Cabarita's Bay*, and many more, all very commodious for Shipping.

The Isle is now divided into 16 Parishes which lie thus, proceeding from *Point Morant* round the Island. The first is the

Parish of *St. David's*. In which is a little Town called *Free-Town*, and a Salt Work in *Yallah Bay*. *Port Morant* is in this Precinct, a safe and commodious Bay, where Ships ride secure from the Weather, and the Country about it is well planted. This Precinct sends two Members to the Assembly,

bly, and is fortified by a small Fort, where in War Time 12 Men are kept in Pay. Wood and fresh Water are plenty in this Parish. And next to it is the

Parish of *Port-Royal*; in which stands the Remains of one of the most beautiful and wealthy Towns in *America*, which gave its Name to the Parish. The Town of *Port-Royal* was formerly called *Cogua*; and when it was in Being, stood on that long Neck of Land which ran above 10 Miles into the Sea, but is so very narrow, that it is not a Bow-shot over in some Places.

On the very Point of this Neck the *English* chose to build their capital City, for it deserved the Name 15 Years ago. There were so many Houses upon the Neck then, that it looked like one City. The Reason of their building here, was for the Convenience of the Harbour; for the Shore is so bold and the Sea so deep, that Ships of the greatest Burthen laid their Broad-sides to the Merchants Wharfs, and loaded and unloaded with very little Trouble or Charge. This Point of Land makes the Harbour, which is as safe as any in *America* for Shipping, having the *Main Land* on the *North* and *East*, the Town on the *South*; so it is open only to the *South-West*.

A thousand Sail of Ships may ride here, and be secure from all Winds that blow. The Entrance into it is fortified by *Fort Charles*, the strongest Fort in the *English American* Dominions, with a Line of Battery of 60 Pieces of Cannon, a Garrison of Soldiers maintained by the Crown in constant Pay. The Harbour is about three Leagues broad, and so deep, that it is able to receive the largest Fleet of the greatest Ships in the World.

The great River on which *St. Jago* or *Spanish-Town* stands, runs into the Sea in this Bay. Here the Ships generally take in their Wood and fresh Water. The Convenience of Anchorage and Depth of Water, by which Means a Ship of 1000 Tuns may put Plank ashore here, made this the chief Port and Town of the Island for drawing Merchants hither. They were soon followed by Shop-keepers, Vintners and other Trades, insomuch that when the dreadful Calamity of the Earthquake happened, there were 2000 handsom Houses in the City; the Rents of which were as dear as those in *London*. It raised a whole Regiment of Militia, and yet, excepting the Convenience of the Harbour, the Situation of it is neither good nor commodious, there being no Wood nor fresh Water, Stone, nor Grass on the *Neck*. The Soil is a hot dry Sand, and the Resort of Merchants, Mariners and others for Traffick thither, rendered it always like a Fair, which made every Thing extremely dear there. There

was a very large Church with a Minister, who had an Allowance of 250 *l.* a Year by Act of the Assembly, to which this Parish sends three Members.

This Town, as has been said, was destroyed by an Earthquake in the Year 1692, and ten Years after, when it was rebuilt by a Fire. Upon which the Assembly voted that it should not be built again, but that the Inhabitants should remove to *Kingston* in *St. Andrew's* Parish, which was made a Town and Parish of itself. They also prohibited any Market for the future at *Port Royal*, but the Convenience that invited the People to build there first, will it is probable in Time tempt them to rebuild, and make them forget the terrible Judgments which seem to forbid any future dwelling on a Place that Heaven dooms to Destruction. Next to it is

*St. Andrew's* Parish; in which stood the Town of *Kingston* on the Harbour of *Port Royal*, but now that Place is made a Parish of itself. This Precinct sends two Representatives to the Assembly, and allows the Minister 100 *l.* a Year.

Parish of *Kingston*, to which, by an Act of the Assembly in the Year 1695, the Quarter Sessions for the Peace and Court of Common Pleas were removed. The Secretary, Receiver General and Naval Officer, were obliged to keep their Offices there; and it had the Privilege of sending three Representatives to the Assembly. It is much encreased since *Port Royal* was burnt, and is now a large Town of 7 or 800 Houses. It lies on the Harbour of *Port Royal*, the Parish is bounded by it to the South West, and North by the Lands of the late Sir *William Beeston*, and continued from a Calabash on the North East Corner by a strait Line to the Foot of the long Mountain, and from thence till it meets with the Bounds of the Parish of *Port Royal*.

*St. Katherine's* Parish, in which is the little Town of *Passage Fort*, situated at the Mouth of the River that runs up to *St. Jago* six Miles from that Town, and as many from *Port Royal*. There are about 200 Houses in the Town, which was built chiefly for the Entertainment of Passengers from *Port Royal* to *St. Jago*. There's a Fort mounted with 10 or 12 Guns for the Security of that River. 'Twas called *Passage*, from Passage-Boats coming always thither to land such as went from one Town to the other. This Precinct sends three Representatives to the Assembly, and allows the Minister 100 *l.* a Year. There's a River in this Parish called *Black River*, over which is a Bridge. Six Miles up in the Country is the Parish of



St. *John's*, one of the most pleasant, fruitful, and best inhabited Spots of Ground in *Jamaica*, as one may imagine by the Names of three Plantations contiguous to one another, *Spring Vale*, *Golden Vale*, and *Spring Garden*. It sends two Representatives to the Assembly, and allows the Minister 100*l.* a Year; but is most famous for being in the Neighbourhood of

*Spanish Town*, or St. *Jago*; the Capital of the Island when the *Spaniards* were Masters, as it is also at present. Before the *English* burnt it when they conquered it, it contained above 2000 Houses, had 16 Churches and Chapels; but after they had exercised their Fury upon it, there were left only the Remains of two Churches and about 5 or 600 Houses, some of which were very pleasant and habitable.

'Twas founded by *Christopher Columbus*, who called it *St. Jago de la Vega*, as we have hinted before; and he reciprocally received the Title of *Duke de la Vega* from this City.

There is a *Savana* or Plain which faces the Town, where Thousands of Sheep, Goats, Calves and Horses grazed, when the *Spaniards* owned it. The Back-side of the Town is washed by a fair but unnavigable River, which falls into the Sea at *Passage Fort*. 'Tis a fine large Stream, and runs by the Sides of the Town, serving all the People for drinking and other Uses. The *Spaniards* called it *Rio Cobre*, or the *Copper River*, from its running over that Mineral. This Town or rather City, is 12 Miles from *Port Royal*, and the *English* like it so well, that they have made it the Capital of the Island. The Governor and his Successors at first chose it for the Place of their Residence, the principal Courts of Judicature are kept here. The chief Officers are obliged to attend here, where the Seat of the Government is; and by this Means and the Fate of *Port Royal*, this City is so much enlarged, that there are now 2000 Houses in it, as there were before the *English* conquered it.

'Tis a very pleasant City, and the Inhabitants live in a great deal of Pomp and Luxury. The *Savana* before the Town is the Place of Rendezvous every Evening for the People of Fashion, as the *Park* is at *London*, and the *Cours* at *Paris*.

The Night Guard here consists of Horse as well as Foot, three Troopers and a Corporal, and six Foot Soldiers and a Corporal. It sends three Representatives to the Assembly. The supreme Court of Judicature is kept here. Capt. *Vring* writes, that this Town and the greater Towns are very dirty in wet, and dusty in dry Weather, not being paved. Next to it is

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St. *Dorothy's Parish*; in which is *Old Harbour*, about four or five Leagues to the leeward of St. *Jago*. 'Tis a good Road and a little Gulph, which may as conveniently serve *Spanish Town* as *Port Royal*. Four or 500 tall Ships may ride there, without Danger of falling foul upon one another. This Precinct sends two Representatives to the Assembly, and allows the Minister 80*l.* per *Ann.* as do all the following Parishes bordering on St. *Dorothy's*. On the same Shore is

*Vere Parish*; in which is a small Place called *Carlisle* of 10 or 20 Houses, and *Maccary Bay*, very safe for Shipping. It also sends two Representatives to the Assembly. Next to it is

St. *Elizabeth's Parish*, which sends two Representatives to the Assembly, and is the last Parish on the Southern Coasts of the Island. In the Bay into which *Blewfeld's* River runs not far from the Shore, was the Town of *Oristan*, which the *Spaniards* built when they first settled upon this Island.

There are Abundance of Rocks off this Coast, and some Isles among the Shoals; as *Seruavilla*, *Quitefvena*, and *Serrana*. 'Tis said *Augustino Pedro Serrana* was cast away here, and himself only saved; that he lived three Years in this Island by himself, that then there was another Seaman thrown ashore, who was the only Man of all his Company that was saved, and that these two lived four Years more before they were taken off. There are several Plantations to the Westward as far as *Point Negril*, which is the Lands End of *Jamaica*, it is a good Harbour, and Ships are sheltered there from the Weather. It lies convenient in Case of a Rupture with *Spain*, for our Men of War to wait there for the *Spaniards* passing to or from the *Havana*; and it was there that Admiral *Bembow* waited for *Du Cassé*, when *Kirby* and his other Captains deserted him.

A little farther to the North West stood the City of *Seville*, situated on the Northern Coast near the Sea. 'Twas the second Town built by the *Spaniards*. There was formerly a Collegiate Church there, the Head of which was honoured with the Title of an Abbot. *Peter Martyr*, who wrote the *Decades of the West-Indies*, was Abbot of this Monastery.

Eleven Leagues farther Eastward was the City of *Mellila*, the first the *Spaniards* built. Here *Columbus* suffered Shipwreck, in his Return from *Veragua* in *Mexico*. The City stood in

St. *James's Parish*; which sends two Members to the Assembly. This Precinct is but thinly inhabited, as is also the next to it,

St *Anne's*: It sends two Representatives to the Assembly. The same does

Claren

Clarendon; an Inland Precinct, better peopled and planted. St. Mary's is next to St. Anne's, and sends also two Members to the Assembly. To Rio Novo in this Parish, the Spaniards retreated when the English had driven them from the South Coast of the Island. Bordering on this Precinct is

St. Thomas in the Vale, which is pretty well planted, and sends two Representatives to the Assembly. Next to this is

St. George's Parish; which sends two Members to the Assembly: As does

St. Thomas, in the North East Part of the Island. On the Northern Coast is Port Francis, by some called Port Antonio, one of the best Ports in Jamaica. 'Tis close and well covered, and has but one Fault, which is the Entrance into it is not very easy; the Channel being straitened by a little Island that lies at the Mouth of the Port. 'Tis called Lynch Island, but belonged to the Earl of Carlisle of the Family of the Howards, who was once Governor of Jamaica.

There are several good Harbours on the Northern as well as on the Southern Shore; as Cold Harbour, Rio Novo, Montega Bay, Orange Bay: But the South Parts being best peopled are most frequented; and there is nothing more in any of these Northern Precincts worth the Reader's Curiosity, unless we entered into the Natural History of the Country, which the learned Dr. Sloan has published, after he had been several Years about it.

The Difference in the Riches of these Counties or Parishes, will be seen by their Valuation, in a Tax of 450 l. laid upon the whole Country for their Agents in England.

	l.	s.	d.
Port Royal, ——— ——— ———	49	10	10
St. Andrew's, ——— ——— ———	52	17	5
St. Katherine's, ——— ——— ———	56	16	3
St. Dorothy, ——— ——— ———	25	3	1
Vere, ——— ——— ———	47	1	8
Clarendon, ——— ——— ———	42	1	8
St. Elizabeth, ——— ——— ———	51	6	8
St. Thomas in the N. E. ——— ———	27	10	0
St. David's, ——— ——— ———	16	11	0
St. Thomas in the Vale, ——— ———	29	9	0
St. John, ——— ——— ———	15	8	3
St. George, ——— ——— ———	3	15	6
St. Mary's, ——— ——— ———	11	13	7
St. Anne's ——— ——— ———	7	2	6
St. James's, ——— ——— ———	2	16	8
Kingston, ——— ——— ———	19	5	0

The



The Soil of *Jamaica* is good and fruitful every where, especially in the Northern Parts, where the Mould is blackish, and in many Places mixed with Potters-Earth; in others, as towards the South East, the Soil is reddish and sandy. Take it all together it is extremely fertile, and very well answers the Industry of the Planter. The Plants and Trees are always blooming, and always green of one Sort or another; and every Month there resembles our *April* and *May*.

There is Abundance of *Savanas* or Lands of *Indian Corn*. These *Savanas* are found up and down even among the Mountains, particularly Northward and Southward; where there are great Numbers of wild Beasts, tho' not so many as when the *English* came first there.

The *Indians* used to sow Maze in those *Savanas*, and the *Spaniards* bred their Cattle which they brought from *Spain*; as Horses, Cows, Hogs and Asses, which multiplied to such a Degree, that not many Years ago Herds of wild Cattle were found in the Woods, as also wild Horses.

The *English* killed vast Quantities of Oxen and Cows when they were Masters of the Island, yet there were an incredible Number still left in the Woods, whither the *Spaniards* drove them from the Conquerors.

The *Savanas* are now the most barren Parts of the Island, which proceeds from their not being at all cultivated: However there grows such Plenty of Grass, that the Inhabitants have been forced to burn it.

As *Jamaica* is the most Northerly of all the *Charibbee-Islands*, the Climate is more temperate, and there is no Country between the *Tropicks* where the Heat is more moderate and less troublesome. The Air is always cooled by the Eastern Breczes, frequent Rains, and nightly Dews, which before the terrible Revolution in the Course of Nature by the Earthquake made the Place very healthy, and all Things look smiling and pleasant there in all Seasons.

The Eastern and Western Parts of the Island are more subject to rainy and windy Weather, than the Northern and Southern; and the thick Forests there render them not so agreeable as the Southward and Northward, which is a more open Country, and less subject to Wind and Rain. The Air in the mountainous Parts is cooler, and frosty Mornings have been often known upon the Hills.

Before the dreadful Hurricane, which overwhelmed so many Hundreds of its Inhabitants in 1692, this Island was not troubled with Tempests like the other *Sugar Islands*, neither were their Ships driven ashore in their Harbours, nor their Houses blown down over their Heads, as at *Barbados* and

and the *Leeward Islands*, but they can now no more boast of that Advantage over their Neighbours.

The Weather used to be more various and uncertain than in the *Charibbee Islands*. The Months of *May* and *November* are wet Months, and *Winter* is known from *Summer* only by Rain and Thunder, which are then more violent than at other Times of the Year. The Easterly Breezes begin to blow about nine a Clock in the Morning, and grow stronger as the Sun rises, by which Means People may travel or work in the Field all Hours of the Day.

The Nights and Days are almost of an equal Length all the Year long, and there's hardly any Difference to be perceived. The Tides seldom rise above a Foot high. Storms are very rare, and few or no Ships were ever cast away on these Coasts. But there being a curious Account of the Weather, Soil, Water, Diet, and other Things relating to *Jamaica*, communicated to the *Royal Society* by *Dr. Stubbs*, who made these Observations, I shall for the Satisfaction of the Reader give him an Abstract of it.

The Wind at Night blows off the Island of *Jamaica* every Way at once, so that no Ship can any where come in by Night, nor go out but early in the Morning, before the Sea Breeze comes on. As the Sun declines the Clouds gather and *shape* according to the Mountains; so that old Seamen will tell you each Island towards the Evening, by the *Shape* of the Cloud over it.

Lowth.  
Abridg.  
Phil. Transf.  
Vol. III. p.  
548. & seq.

As there are certain Trees that attract the Rains, so as the Woods are destroyed, the Rains are also destroyed or at least abated. At *Port Morant* the Eastermost Part of the Island, there's little of Land Breeze, because the Mountain is remote from thence, and the Breeze coming thence, spends its Force along the Land thither.

In the Harbour of *Jamaica* there grow many Rocks, shaped like Bucks and Stags Horns. There grow also several Sea Plants, whose Roots are stony. At the *Point* in *Jamaica* where *Port Royal* stood, scarce fall 40 Showers a Year. From the *Point* towards *Port Morant*, and so along to *Liguanee* six Miles from *Port Royal*, there's scarce an Afternoon for eight or nine Months together, beginning from *April*, in which it rains not. At *Spanish-Town* it rains but three Months in a Year, and then not much. At the *Point*, wherever one digs five or six Foot, Water will appear, which ebbs and flows as the Tide; not salt but brackish, unwholesom for Men but wholesom for Hogs.

Passengers when they first come to *Jamaica*, sweat continually in great Drops for three Quarters of a Year, and

then

then it ceases; yet they are not more dry than in *England*, neither does all that sweating make them faintish. If any one is dry, his Thirst is best quenched by a little Brandy. Most Animals drink little or nothing there. The hottest Time of the Day is about Eight in the Morning, when there is no Breeze.

In *Magotti Savana* in the midst of the Island, between St. *Mary's* and St. *John's* Precincts, whenever it rains, the Rain as it settles on the Seams of any Garment, turns in half an Hour to Maggots, yet that Plain is healthy to dwell in: Tho' Water is found every where five or six Foot deep at the *Point*, yet there rises no Steam into the Air from the Sands; for Men often lie all Night and sleep on them, without receiving any Hurt.

The Sea Breeze comes not into *Jamaica* till eight or nine in the Morning, and commonly ceases about four or five in the Evening. But sometimes the Sea Breeze blows in the Winter Months 14 Days and Nights together; and then no Clouds gather but Dews fall. But if a North Wind blows, which sometimes in the Winter Months lasts as long, then no Dews fall nor Clouds gather. The Clouds begin to gather at two or three of the Clock in the Afternoon at the Mountains; the rest of the Sky being clear till Sun-set.

As for the Product of the Island, it is much the same with *Barbados*. We shall take Notice in what it differs, as we proceed in our Discourse on this Subject.

The Sugar of *Jamaica* is brighter and of a finer Grain than the common *Barbados* Muscovado, and sells in *England* for five or six Shillings in the Hundred more, being fit for Grocers, whereas the *Barbados* unpurged Sugars must generally pass thro' the Refiners Hands first. So long ago as the Year 1670, there were 70 Mills in *Jamaica*, which made about 2000000 Pound of Sugar; but that Quantity is increased to ten Times as much since.

At *Jamaica*, the Sugar cures faster in 10 Days than in six Months at *Barbados*; and this happens on those Places, where it rains for many Months together. Rains are sudden here, and make no previous Alterations in the Air before they fall, nor do they leave it moist afterwards.

There is more Cocoa comes from thence than from all our Colonies. But it is now no longer a Commodity to be regarded in our Plantations, tho' at first it was the principal Invitation to the peopling *Jamaica*. For those Walks the *Spaniards* left behind them there when we conquered it, produced such prodigious Profit with little Trouble, that Sir *Thomas Modiford* and several others, set up their Rests to grow



grow wealthy by it, and fell to planting much of it, which the *Spanish* Slaves who remained in the Island, always foretold would never thrive, and so it happened; for tho' it promised fair, and throve finely five or six Years, yet still at that Age, when so long Hopes and Care had been wasted about it, it withered and died away by some unaccountable Cause, tho' they impute it to a black Worm or Grub, which they find clinging to its Root.

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

The Manner of planting it is in Order like our Cherry Gardens. They place a Plantain by every Tree, and when it is grown up, it resembles a Cherry Tree. It delights in Shade, and for that Reason has the Plantain set by it. The Cocoa Walks are kept clear from Grass by Hoing and Weeding. The Trees begin to bear at three, four, or five Years old; and did they not almost always die before, would come to Perfection at 15 Years Growth, and last till 30; which renders them the most profitable Trees in the World, one Acre of them having cleared above 200*l.* in a Year: But the old Trees planted by the *Spaniards* being gone by Age, and few new thriving as the *Spanish* Negroes foretold, little or none now is produced, worthy the Care and Pains in planting and expecting it. Those Slaves ascribe its not coming to Perfection to a superstitious Cause, many religious Rites being performed at its planting by the *Spaniards*, which their Slaves were not permitted to see: But it is probable that wary Nation, as they removed the Art of making *Cocheneal* and curing *Venelloes* into their Inland Provinces, which were the Commodities of the Islands in the *Indians* Time, and forbade the opening any Mines in them, for Fear some maritime Nation might be tempted to conquer them; so in transplanting the Cocoa from the *Caraccas* and *Quatamela* on the Continent, they might conceal wilfully some Secret in its Planting from their Slaves.

Cocoa grows on the Trees in Bags or Cods of greenish, red or yellow Colours, every Cod having in it three, four or five Kernels, about the Bigness and Shape of small Chestnuts; which are separated from each other by a very pleasant refreshing white Substance, about the Consistence of the Pulp of a roasted Apple, moderately sharp and sweet, from which its Nuts are taken when ripe, and by drying cured.

The Body of a Cocoa Tree is commonly about four Inches Diameter, five Foot in Height, and above 12 from the Ground to the Top of the Tree. These Trees are very different one from another, for some shoot up in two or three Bodies, others in one. Their Leaves are many of them dead, and most discoloured, unless on very young Trees. A bearing

*Lowth. Vol. II. p. 662.*

ing Tree generally yields from two to eight Pound of Nuts a Year, and each Cod contains from 20 to 30 Nuts.

The Manner of Curing them is to cut them down when ripe, and to lay them to sweat three or four Days in the Cods; which is done by laying them on Heaps. After this the Cods are cut, the Nuts taken out and put into a Trough, covered with Plantain Leaves; where they sweat again about 16 or 20 Days. The Nuts that are in each Cod are knit together by certain Fibres, and have a white Kind of Pulp about them, very agreeable to the Palate, as has been hinted before. By the Turning and Sweating their little Strings are broken, and the Pulp is imbibed and mingled with the Substance of the Nut. After this they are put to dry three or four Weeks in the Sun, and then they become of a reddish dark Colour, The Cods grow only out of the Body or great Limbs and Boughs, at the same Place there are Blossoms and young and ripe Fruit.

The greatest Crop at most of the Cocoa Walks in *Jamaica*, is in *December* or *January*; but at one of *Col. Modiford's* Walks they bear most in *May*, yet it is not above five Miles from those Walks that bear in *December* always; but those that bear then have some Fruit in *May*, as the others have in *December*. 'Tis planted first in the Night, always under Shade. Some set them under *Cassave*, others under Plantane Trees, and some in their Woods. The *Spaniards* used a certain large shady Plant, called by them *Madre di Cocoa*, the Mother of Cocoa. The *English* use the others only. It must always be sheltered from the North East Winds.

The People at *Jamaica* seldom transplant it, only where it falls, as it does often in open, poor and dry Lands; for this Tree requires to have a flat, moist, low Soil, which makes them to be planted commonly by Rivers and between Mountains. 'Tis an Observation, that it is ill living where there are good Cocoa Walks. In a Year's Time the Plant becomes four Foot high, and has a Leaf six Times as big as an old Tree, which as the Plant grows bigger falls off, and a lesser comes in its Place. The Trees are almost always planted at two Foot Distance, and sometimes at three Years old where the Ground is good and the Plant prosperous, it begins to bear a little, and then they cut down all or some of the Shade. The Fruit encreases till the 10th or 12th Year, when the Tree is supposed to be in its Prime. The Root generally shoots out *Suckers*, that supply the Place of the old Stock when dead or cut down, unless any ill Quality of the Ground or Air kill both.

Cocoa was originally of these *Indies* and wild. Towards *Maracajo* are several Spots of it in the Mountains, and it is said the *Portuguese* have lately discovered whole Woods of it up the River *Maranon*. The Cocoa passes for Money in *New Spain* and the Silver Countries.

The following Account is a Calculation of the Charge and Profit of a Cocoa Walk, as it was drawn up by Sir *Thomas Modiford*, Bart. who had the best in *Jamaica*.

	l.
For the Patent of 500 Acres of Land, when the Country was first conquered,	} 10
For three Men and three Women Negroes, at 20 l. a Head,	} 120
Four White Servants, their Passage and Maintenance, at 20 l. a Head,	} 80
20 Hatchets, 20 Pick-Axes, and 20 Spades,	5
The Maintenance of six Negroes six Months, till Provisions can be raised for them,	} 18
For an Overseer, 40 s. a Month.	24
	257

These Men must begin to work the first Day of *March*, and build themselves Huts, plant Potatoes, Corn and Plantains, and when the Plantation is ready to receive them, there must be bought five Negro Men and five Negro Women more at 20 l. a Head, 200 l. And at the latter End of *March* the Planter must plant his Cocoa, either in the Nut or Seed, between Rows of Plantains of six-Foot high. Twenty one Acres will be proper to be planted every Year, and by the first of *June* in the following Year, the Walk will be full of Cocoas; which in four Years Time will bear Fruit, and in the fifth be fit to gather. Every Acre will produce 1000 Weight yearly, which was then worth 4 l. a Hundred in the Island. Thus every 21 Acres will every Year produce to the Value of 840 l. Sterling.

The Charges of Gathering and Housing the Fruit is inconsiderable, a few Bags, and some other odd Things, which in all amount to 43 l. 10 s. So that the whole Expence is but 500 l. and the Charge lessens every Year, but the Profit encreases according to the Number of Acres planted. 'Tis to be observed that this Calculation was made when the Place was first settled, but it will serve to give the Reader some Idea of the Advantage of such a Walk at this Time, for in most Things it holds the same. Land and Negroes are dearer, but



but the latter is a temporary Scarcity, and the former not hard to be come at, for enough may be had in the Northern Precincts on easy Terms.

Ibid.

As to Indigo, there is more produced in *Jamaica* than in any other Colony, by Reason of the great Quantity of *Savanna* Land; for it thrives best in light sandy Ground, as such those *Savannas* or great Plains are. The Seed from whence it is raised is yellow and round, something less than a Fitch or Tare. The Ground is made light by Hoing, then Trenches are dug like those our Gardners prepare for Pease, in which the Seed is put about *March*. It grows ripe in 8 Week's Time, and in fresh broken Ground will spire up to about three Foot high, but in others to no more than 18 Inches. The Stalk is full of Leaves of a deep green Colour, and will from its first sowing yield nine Crops in one Year. When it is ripe it is cut, and steeped in proportionable Fats 24 Hours, then it must be cleared from the first Water, and put into proper Cisterns; where when it has been carefully beaten, it is permitted to settle about 18 Hours. In these Cisterns are several Taps, which let the clear Water run out, and the thick is put into Linnen Bags of about three Foot long and half a Foot wide, made commonly of Ozenbrigs, which being hung up all the liquid Part drips away. When it will drip no longer, it is put into Wooden Boxes three Foot long, 14 Inches wide, and one and a half deep. These Boxes must be placed in the Sun till it grows too hot, and then taken in till the extreme Heat is over. This must be done continually till it is sufficiently dried.

In Land that proves proper for Indigo, the Labour of one Hand in a Year's Time, will produce between 80 and 100 Weight, which may amount from 12 to 15 *l.* to the Planter, if no Accident happen, for Indigo as well as other Commodities in those Parts is subject to many. The most common are Blasting and Worms, by which it is frequently destroyed.

*Pimento* is another natural Production of *Jamaica*, from whence it is called *Jamaica Pepper*, alluding to its Figure and the chief Place of its Growth. The Trees that bear it are generally very tall and spreading.

Lowth. Vol. II. p. 663.

Its Trunk is as thick as one's Thigh, as Dr. *Sloan* who lived in *Jamaica* informs us. It rises strait above thirty Foot high, is covered with an extraordinary smooth Skin of a grey Colour; it is branched out on every Hand, having the End of its Twigs set with Leaves of several Sizes, the largest being four or five Inches long, and two or three broad in the Middle where it is broadest, and whence it decreases to both Extremes, ending in a Point smooth, thin, shining,

shining, without any Incisures, of a deep green Colour, and standing on *Inch long Foot-stalks*; when bruised very odoriferous, and in all Things like the Leaves of a Bay Tree. The Ends of the Twigs are branched into Bunches of Flowers, each Foot-stalk sustaining a Flower bending back; within which Bend are many *Stamina* of a pale green Colour. To these follows a Bunch of crowned Berries, the Crown being made up of four small Leaves, which are bigger when ripe than Juniper Berries; at first when small, greenish, but when they are ripe black, smooth, and shining, containing in a moist green Aromatick Pulp, two large Seeds separated by a Membrane, each of which is a Hemisphere, and both joined make a spherical Seed. It grows on all the hilly Part of the Island of *Jamaica*, but chiefly on the North Side; and wherever these Trees grow they are generally left standing, when other Trees are felled: And they are sometimes planted where they never grew, because of the great Profit from the cured Fruit exported yearly in great Quantities into *Europe*.

How this Planting can be reconciled to what Sir *Dalby* Hist. Acc. of the Rise and Gr. with of the West-India Colonies. writes of the cutting down these Trees, let the Knight and the Doctor adjust between them.

The Knight says, the Trouble of Gathering would make it incredibly dear, had not the People of *Jamaica* found out an easier Method of coming at it. The Trees that are left grow generally in Mountains and Woods, which are not taken up for Planting, but remain in the Queen's Hands; and the Inhabitants go with their Slaves into the Woods where it is plenty, and cutting down the Trees pick it off from the Branches.

Thus no *Pimento* comes into *Europe* twice from one Tree, and it happening to miss for two or three Years together, what it produces at present must be counted an accidental Benefit to the Planters, rather than any Thing to be relied on as a national Advantage or constant Encouragement. The same may be said of *Lignum Vitæ*, *Guaiacum*, of *Red-Wood*, and several other Sort of Trees which come from thence, for the more comes the less remains: And the Time required for the growing of these Woods, in the Room of such as are cut down, is in human Reason so many Hundreds of Years, that the proposing to plant them would be rather Madness than Foresight.

The *Jamaica* Pepper-Tree according to Dr. *Sloan*, flows in *June*, *July* and *August*; but sooner or later according to their Situation and different Season for Rains, and after

Lowth Vol. II. p. 663.

ter it flowers, the Fruit soon ripens: But it is to be observed, that in cleared open Grounds it is sooner ripe than in thick Woods. There's no great Difficulty in the curing or preserving this Fruit for Use. 'Tis for the most Part done by the Negroes. They climb the Trees and pull off the Twigs with the unripe green Fruit, and afterwards carefully separate the Fruit from the Twigs and Leaves; which done, they expose them to the Sun from the rising to the setting for many Days, spreading them thin on Cloths, turning them now and then, and carefully avoiding the Dews which are there very great. By this Means they become a little wrinkled, and from a green change to a brown Colour, when they are fit for the Market, being of different Sizes, but commonly of the Bigness of Black-Pepper, something like in Smell and Taste to Cloves, Juniper-Berries, Cinnamon and Pepper; or rather having a peculiar mixt Smell, somewhat akin to all of them; from whence it is called *All-Spice*.

The more fragrant and smaller they are, they are accounted the better. 'Tis deservedly reckoned (adds the Doctor) *the best and most temperate, mild and innocent of common Spices, and fit to come into greater Use, and to gain more Ground than it has, of the East-India Commodities of this Kind; almost all of which it far surpasses, by promoting the Digestion of Meat, attenuating tough Humours, moderately heating and strengthening the Stomach, expelling Wind, and doing those friendly Offices to the Bowels, which we expect from Spices.*

The *Wild Cinnamon Tree*, commonly, tho' falsely called *Cortex Winteranus*, grows in this Island. Its Trunk is about the Bigness of that of the *Pimento Tree*, and rises 20 or 30 Foot high, having many Branches and Twigs hanging downwards making a very comely Top. The Bark consists of two Parts, one outward and another inward. The outward Bark is as thin as a milled 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, making it rough, of an Aromatick Taste. The inward Bark is much thicker than Cinnamon, being as thick as a milled Crown Piece, smooth, of a whiter Colour than the outward, of a much more biting and Aromatick Taste, something like that of Cloves, and not glutinous like Cinnamon, but dry and crumbling between the Teeth. The Leaves come out near the Ends of the Twigs without any Order, standing on *Inch long Foot-stalks*, each of them two Inches in Length, and one in Breadth near the End, where broadest, and roundish, being narrow at the Beginning; from  
whence



whence it augments in Breadth to near its End, of a yellowish green Colour, shining and smooth, without any Incifures about its Edges, and somewhat resembling the Leaves of Bay. The Ends of the Twigs are branched into Bunches of Flowers, standing something like Umbels, each of which has a *Foot-stalk*; on the Top of which is a Calix made up of some little Leaves, in which stand five scarlet or purple *Potala*, within which is a large *Stylis*; to these follow so many *Caly-calated* Berries of the Bigness of a large Pea, roundish, green, and containing within a mucilaginous, pale, green, thin Pulp, four black shining Seeds of an irregular Figure.

All the Parts of this Tree, when fresh, are very hot, aromattick and biting to the Taste, something like Cloves; which is so troublesom, as sometimes to need the Remedy of fair Water. It grows in the *Savana* Woods very frequently on each Side of the Road, between *Passage-Fort* and the Town of *St. Jago de la Vega*, The Bark of the Tree is what is chiefly in Use, both in the *English* Plantations between the *Tropicks* in the *West-Indies* and in *Europe*, and is without any Difficulty cured, by only cutting off the Bark, and letting it dry in the Shade. The more ordinary Sort of People use it in the *West-Indies* instead of all other Spices, being thought very good to consume the *immoderate Humidity of the Stomach*, to help *Digestion*, and expel *Wind*, &c. Rum loses its loathsom Smell if mixed with this Bark.

The true *Cortex Winteranus*, for which the Druggists sell this wild Cinnamon, was brought by Capt. *Winter*, who accompanied Sir *Francis Drake* in his Voyage round the World from the Streights of *Magellan*.

The so famed Tree called a *Cabbage-Tree*, is (says Dr. *Ibid. Vol. Stubbs*) nothing else than a Palm-Tree, and all that is eaten in the Cabbage, is what sprouted out that Year, and so is tender. If eaten raw, it is as good as any new Almonds, and if boiled, excels the best Cabbage, when that Top is cut off the Tree dies. The Timber will never rot, and when it is dried, grows so hard that one cannot drive a Nail into it.

There's a Tree in *Jamaica* called the *Bastard Cedar*, whose Wood is so porous (tho' none would guess so upon View) that being turned into Cups, Wine and Brandy will soak through at the Bottom in a short Time.

There's a Tree called *Whitewood*, of which if Ships are built, they will never breed any Worm. The *Soap Tree* grows at the *Spanish Town*, with Berries as big as Musket-Bullets; which of themselves, without any mixt Ingredient whatsoever, washes better than Cattle-Soap, but they rot the Linen in Time.

The Juice of *Cassavi* is rank Poison, all Hogs and Poultry that drink it swell and die presently. If the Root be roasted it is no Poison, but only occasions Torsions in the Belly.

The *Palma* yields a prodigious Quantity of Oil, and it might easily be made a staple Commodity. 'Tis the only Remedy of *Indians* and *Negroes* for the Head-ach.

The *Manchinel Tree* is a Wood of an excellent Grain, equalling the *Jamaica Wood*, but large to four Foot Diameter. The *Spaniards* turn it into Beds, and the *English* usually floor their Rooms with it in *Jamaica*.

The *Manchinel Apple* is one of the beautifullest Fruits in the World to the Eye, one of the agreeablest to the Smell, and of the pleasantest to the Taste (being thence by many called the *Eye Apple*) but if eaten certain Death. The Wood of it yet green, if rub'd against the Hand, will fetch off the Skin or raise Blisters, and if any Drops of Rain falling from this Tree light upon one's Hand, or other naked Part of the Body, it will also have the same Effect.

There's Plenty of Cotton and Ginger in *Jamaica*, and it is finer than that of the *Charibbee-Islands*. The Tobacco that was planted there was better than at *Barbados*, but there's so little it deserves not the Name of a Commodity.

Very good tan'd Leather is made there. The Tanners have three Barks to tan with, *Mangrove*, *Olive Bark*, and another. They tan better than in *England*, and in six Weeks the Leather is ready to work into Shoes. There's Abundance of Dyers Woods, as Fustick, Redwood, Logwood, and others, with several Sorts of Sweet-Woods.

'Tis not doubted but that there are Copper Mines in the Island, and the *Spaniards* say, the Bells of the great Church of *St. Jago* were made of *Jamaica Metal*. 'Tis supposed there may be Silver Mines in it as well as at *Cuba*, and on the *Continent*: And there is a Place in the Mountains of *Port Royal* or *Caguag*, where it is reported, the *Spaniards* dug Silver, but the *English* have not been so happy as to find it. The *Spaniards* also found *Ambergrease* on the Coast, but the *English* have not often had that good Fortune: Yet some Years ago an ignorant Fellow found 180 Pound of *Ambergrease* dashed on the Shore, at a Place called *Ambergrease Point*, where the *Spaniards* came usually once a Year to look for it. This vast Quantity was divided into two Parts, supposed by rolling and tumbling in the Sea. Some say it is produced from a Creature, as Honey and Silk; and Mr. *Tredway* who viewed this Piece writes, he saw in sundry Places of this Body, the Beak, Wings, and Part of the Body of the Creature, which he preserved for some Time. He was also told

told by a Man that he had seen the Creature alive, and believed they swarmed as Bees on the Sea-shore or in the Sea. Others say it is the Excrement of the Whale, and others that <sup>Ibid.</sup> it issues out of the Root of a Tree.

Abundance of Salt might be made in *Jamaica*, for they have three great Ponds; however they make only enough for their own Use. 100000 Bushels were made thirty Years ago in a Year, and Capt. Noye, who was the Undertaker, said he could make 500000 Quarters if he could sell it. Salt-Petre is found here, and their Long-Pepper is in great Esteem in the *West-Indies*.

The Island abounds in Drugs and medicinal Herbs, as *Guaiacum*, *China*, *Salseparella*, *Cassia*, *Tamarins*, *Venilloes*, many Sorts of *Misseltoe*; as also in salutary Gums and Roots. But for these Things we must refer the Curious to Dr. Sloan's Natural History.

The Plant of which *Cocheneal* is made grows in *Jamaica*, and yet the Inhabitants for want of Knowledge how to cure it make no Advantage of it; besides the East Wind blasts it, so that it never comes to Maturity.

'Twill not be improper to give an Account of this excellent Dye, *Cocheneal*. 'Tis generally believed that it comes out of a Fruit called the *Prickled Pear*, bearing a Leaf of a slimy Nature, and a Fruit Blood-red and full of Seeds, which give a Dye almost like to *Brafiletto Wood*, that will perish in a few Days by the Fire. But the Insect engendered of this Fruit or Leaves gives a permanent Tincture, as every one knows.

An old Spaniard in *Jamaica*, who lived many Years in <sup>Ibid. Vol. II. p. 784.</sup> that Part of the *West-Indies*, where great Quantities of *Cocheneal* is made, affirmed, that this Insect is the very same which we call the *Lady Bird* or *Cow Lady*. It appears he says at first like a small Blister or little Knob, on the Leaves of the Shrub on which they breed; which afterwards by the Heat of the Sun becomes a *live Insect* or *small Grub*. These *Grubs* in Process of Time grow to Flies, and being come to full Maturity, which must be found out by Experience in collecting them at several Seasons, are killed by making a great Smother of some combustible Matter, to Windward of the Shrubs on which the Insects are feeding (having before spread some Cloths under the Plants) by which all the Insects being smothered and killed, by shaking the Plants will tumble down upon the Cloths, and thus are gathered in great Quantities with little Trouble; then they are wiped off the same Cloths in some bare sandy Place or Stone-Pavement, and exposed to the Heat of the Sun till they are dry, and their Bodies



dies shriveled up; which being rubbed gently between one's Hands will crumble into Grains, and the Wings separate from them which must be garbled out. Others, it is said, expose them to the Sun in broad and shallow Copper-Basons, in which the Reflection of the Sun dries them sooner.

The *Prickled Pear*, or *Indian Fig*, is easily propagated, by putting a single Leaf above half it's Depth into the Ground, which seldom fails to take Root. Others say they may be raised from the Seed, which is something like a Fig, arising out of certain Flowers that grow out of the Tops of the uppermost Leaves; which Fruit is full of a red Pulp, that when ripe stains the Hands of those that wash it like Mulberries, with a purple Colour: On which, or the Blossoms, the Insects feed, and perhaps that causes the rich Tincture they bear within their Bowels.

There are few Colonies in *America* who have such Store of Cattle as there is at *Jamaica*. Horses are so cheap, that a good one is sold for 8 or 10*l*. The Oxen and Cows are large, and till the *English* came, who minded Planting more than Grazing, there were great Quantities of them; but now they cannot boast of their Stock, and are supplied with Flesh from the other Colonies as well as the *Leeward Islands*.

Asses and Mules are cheaper at *Jamaica* than any where else in the *English* Dominions in *America*. Their Sheep are generally large and fat, the Flesh is good, but the Wooll worth nothing. 'Tis long and full of Hairs. There's Abundance of Goats and Hogs, and the Flesh of the latter is as pleasant as that of *Barbados* Pork.

Their Bays, Roads and Rivers, are full of excellent Fish of all Kinds, *European* and *American*. The *Tortoise* is the chief, because it is the most advantageous on Account of its Shell. They abound on the Coasts about 20 or 30 Leagues to the left of *Port Negril*, near the Isles of *Camaros*. There come several Vessels in a Year from the *Charibbee-Islands* to take them, for the Flesh of them is esteemed the best and wholesomest Food in the *Indies*.

Lowth. Vol. III. p. 553, 557, 559. The *Tortoises* float asleep in a calm Day a long Time, in-  
 somuch that the Seamen row gently to them, and either strike them with Irons, or ensnare their Legs with a Rope and Running-Net, and so take them. If their Blood be heated they die, for to maintain Life, it must not be hotter than the Element they live in. They bite much more of the submarine Grass than they swallow, by which Means the Sea is sometimes covered with the Grass, where they feed at the Bottom. Once in about half an Hour they come up, fetch one Breath like a Sigh, and then sink down again. When

they are out of the Water, they breath somewhat oftner. If they are hurt on Shore as they lie on their Backs, the Tears will trickle from their Eyes.

They may be kept out of the Water twenty Days and more, yet they will be so fat as to be fitting Meat, provided about half a Pint of salt Water is given them every Day. The Fat that's about their Guts is yellow, tho' that of their Bodies be green. The Head being cut off dies instantly, and if the Heart is taken out, the Motion continues not long, but any Quantity of the Flesh will move if pricked, and also of itself many Hours after it is cut into Quarters; and the very Joints of the Bones of the Shoulders and Legs have their Motions, even tho' you prick only the Fat of them. But if you place these Parts of the *Tortoise* in the Sun, they presently die, as the Legs do in a Manner as soon as they are cut off.

*The Blood of the Tortoises* (says Dr. Stubbs in the same Col-<sup>Ibid. p. 549,</sup>lection) is colder than any Water I ever felt in Jamaica; yet <sup>550.</sup> is the Beating of their Heart as vigorous as that of any Animal, and their Arteries are as firm as any Creatures I know: Their Lungs lie in their Belly. Their Spleen is triangular, of a firm Flesh, and floridly red. Their Liver is of a dark green: They have a Sort of Teeth, with which they chew the Grass they eat in the submarine Meadows. All the *Tortoises* from the Charibbees to the Bay of Mexico repair in Summer to the Cayman Islands on this Coast, to lay their Eggs and to hatch there. They coot for fourteen Days together, then lay in one Night about three hundred Eggs with White and Yolk, but no Shells. Then they coot again and lay in the Sand, and so thrice; when the Male is reduced to a kind of Gelly within and blind, and is so carried Home by the Female. Their Fat is green, but not offensive to the Stomach, tho' it is in Broth or stewed. Urine looks of a yellowish green, and is oily after eating it.

There is no Sort of Fowl wanting here, wild or tame, and more Parrots than in any of the other Islands.

The Fruits, Flowers and Herbs are much the same with those of *Barbados*, various and excellent in their Kinds. The Fruit of the Trees in this Island of the same Kind, ripen not at one Time. There's a Hedge of Plumb-Trees of two Miles in the Road to *Spanish-Town*, of which some Trees have been observed to be in Flower, others with green, others with ripe Fruit, and others to have done bearing at the same Time.

Jasmins have been seen to blow before their Leaves, and also after their Leaves are fallen again. The *Sour-Sop*, a very pleasant Fruit, has a Flower with three Leaves. When these

open they give so great a Crack, that Persons often run from under the Tree, and think it to be tumbling down.

The Diseases of this Country before the Earthquake, were not so mortal to the *Europeans* as they have been since. Intemperance always was more fatal to the *English* than the Climate, and those Voyagers who were always drinking in the City of *Port-Royal*, might well cry out against the Heat of the Climate, the Fires from without being encreased by their Flames within. Temperance and Exercise would have gone a great Way towards keeping Men well there, before Diseases were brought thither out of *Europe*, and the Air became infected with the pestilential Vapours of the Earthquake. The Distempers to which Strangers are most subject, are the Dropsy, occasioned commonly by hard Drinking and Laziness, Agues and Fevers.

There's a Bird called a *Pelican*, but is a Kind of *Cormorant*. It has a fishy Taste, yet if the Flesh lies buried in the Ground two Hours it loses that Taste.

The Birds called by some *Fregats* are here termed *Men of War*, their Fat is good against Aches.

The *Fire-Flies* in *Jamaica* contract and expand their Light as they fly, and their Light continues some Days after they are dead. These Flies are a Kind of *Cantharides*, looking green in the Day-time, but glowing and shining in the Night, even when they are dead, as we have already observed. Our Author affirms, he applied them dead to a printed and written Paper in the dark and read it.

There are several troublesome Creatures and Insects here, as well as in the other Islands.

The *Wood Lice* eat Covers and Books, and some Sorts of Timber, but not all.

The *Ciron* or *Chego* is a terrible Plague to the *Blacks*, especially if they come among the nervous and membranous Parts, they are very painful and not to be pulled, lest the Surgeons Needles touch the Nerves. No *English* ever get them, but by going in Places frequented by the Negroes; they are incident mostly to such as are nasty about the Feet, and very seldom any else have them; they will spread by little and little over the whole Feet, eat off Toes, and over-run the whole Body of some idle *Blacks*; they are not felt to have got into the Body till a Week after: They breed in great Numbers, and shut themselves up in a Bag, which when the Negroes feel, there are certain skilful Men, who with little Pains take them out, having great Care to take out the Bag entirely, that none of the Brood which are like Nits may be left behind, for Fear of giving Rise to a new Generation.



We must take Notice that the *Swallows* in *Jamaica*, as hot as it is, depart in the Winter Months, and the wild Ducks and Teal come thither then.

The *Manchinella*, in Shape like a *Crawfish*, which is so common in the *Gharibbee-Islands*, is also frequently met with in *Jamaica*, as are *Adders* and *Guyanas*, but neither of them venomous.

The most terrible Creature is the *Alligator*, which commonly lies about their Rivers and Ponds. They live upon Flesh, after which they hunt greedily, but seldom get any Man's Flesh, because it is easy to avoid them; for they cannot stir but in a strait Line, which they do swiftly and forcibly, whereas they turn with Difficulty and very slowly. Some of them are 10 or 15, and some 20 Foot long, their Backs are all over scaly and impenetrable, and it is hard to wound them any where, except in the Eye or the Belly, they have four Feet or Fins, with which they either walk or swim. 'Tis observed, that like Fish they never make any Noise. Their Way of Hunting is thus: They lie on a River's Bank, and wait for Beasts that come to drink there, which they seize as soon as they are within their Reach and devour; they deceive them the more easily, because they resemble a long Piece of old dry Wood or something that's dead. The Mischief these Animals do, is recompenced by the Advantage of their Fat, of which an excellent Ointment is made good for any Pains or Aches in the Bones or Joints. They have Bags of Musk stronger and more odorous than that of the *East-Indies*, the Smell is so great and so searching, that it is easy by it to discover where they lie, and avoid them before a Man sees them; even the Cattle by a natural Instinct smell them, and run away from them. They breed like Toads, by Eggs which they lay in the Sand on the Rivers Banks; their Eggs are no larger than a Turkey's, they cover them and the Sun's-Beams hatch them: The Shell is as firm and like in Shape to a Turkey's, but not spotted. As soon as their Young come out of the Shell, they take immediately to the Water.

These *Alligators* are shaped like Lizzards being four-footed, they walk with their Belly at a Distance from the Ground like them. Those of full Growth have Teeth like a Mastiff, as has been before hinted. They may be mastered and killed by any one dextrous and skilled in the Way of doing it, which is thus: A Man must be armed with a good long Truncheon and attack them Side-ways, for if he does it Front-ways they will be too nimble for him, and by leaping upon him (which they can do the Length of their whole Body) spoil him; but if he lays his Club on them against their Shoulder and be-

hind their Fore-feet, they are easily lamed there and subdued.

Some Places in this Island are troubled with Gnats and stinging Flies: There's no avoiding such Inconveniencies in the *West-Indies*.

There are several other Particularities relating to *Jamaica* which are worth observing, and could not so well be couched under any particular Article.

Several Sorts of Beans grow in this Island, as the *Cacoons*, the *Horfe-Eye* Bean, so called from its Resemblance to the Eye of that Beast, by Means of a Welt almost surrounding it; the *Ash-coloured Nickar*, so termed from its being perfectly round and very like a Nickar, such as Boys used to play withal.

Iron and other Metals rust least in *Jamaica* in rainy Weather, as Dr. *Stubbs* in the Tract so often cited by us observes.

'Tis a Mistake that any Tobacco grows wild in *Jamaica* at least. The nitrous Tobacco, which grows upon Salt-Petre Ground there, will not come to so good a Colour, nor keep so long as other Tobacco; insomuch that the Merchants often lose all their Tobacco in the Voyage for *England* or *Ireland*, by its rotting all away. In some Ground that is full of Salt-Petre, the Tobacco that it bears flashes as its smokes. The Potatoes in the same Salt-Petre Ground are ripe two Months sooner than in any other Ground, but if they be not spent immediately they rot, the Salt-Petre fretting the outward Skin of the Root, which is thinner in that Sort of Ground, than in other Places.

Lowth Vol.  
II. p. 550,  
554.

The same Doctor says elsewhere, *I could never hear of any Hurricane about Jamaica*; but the dreadful Earthquakes that brought the Inhabitants so near an universal Ruin, are worse than the Tempests, which are so frequent in the *Charibbee-Islands*.

We must not omit remembering that there are hot Springs, and other mineral Waters in this Island, as we find by Information given the Royal Society by Sir *William Beeston*. The *Hot Spring* most talked of was discovered many Years ago, but the Distance and Trouble of getting to it, kept People from trying it till *March* 1695, when two Persons, the one very much *macerated* with the Belly-Ach, and another with the *French Disease* went to it, carried Cloths, built a Hut to keep them from the Rain and Sun, and both presently by Drinking and Bathing found such Ease, that in about ten Days they returned perfectly cured. It comes out of a Rock in a fresh Current, near to a fine Rivulet of good cool Water; but is so hot, that all affirm it soon boils Eggs, some say Crawfish, Chickens, and those that do not value their Credit much,

much,

much, add even a Turkey: However it is certain, that near where it comes forth, there is no enduring any Part of the Body but it takes off the Skin. It cures Ulcers, and contracted Nerves and Sinews in a few Days to a Miracle. Col. *Beckford*, who was given over by the Physicians for very acute Pains in his Bowels went to it, made use of it and recovered. Another for the Belly-Ach, and a third for the Venereal Disease made the same happy Experiment; which got the Waters such a Reputation, that many afterwards resorted to them. It was tried with Galls before Sir *William Beeston*, and they made the Water in 24 Hours look only like *Canary* or *Old Hock*. He says, *Out of Curiosity we tried the Water of our River at Spanish-Town with Galls, and in one Night it turned to a deep Green more inclining to Black.* Pag. 345.

Mr. *Robert Tredway* wrote from *Jamaica*: *We have lately discovered two hot Springs, one to Windward which seems sulphurous; the other to Leeward is very salt, but as I am told does not partake of Brimstone; and both are very much magnified for the Diseases of these Parts, the dry Belly-Ach, Pains of the Nerves and Yaws.*

Among other Rarities of this Country is one very remarkable, and that is the Plant called *Spirit Weed*; which when its Seed is ripe the Vessel containing it, touched by any Thing whatever if it is wet, instantly opens itself, and with a smart Noise throws its Seed several Ways to a considerable Distance.

Thus we have given the Reader an Account of the most curious Part of the Natural History of this Island, to enter into the Reasons is a Dissertation without our Bounds; and Dr. *Sloan* has in his Tract said enough to give entire Satisfaction to all, whose Curiosity shall carry them into such nice Discussions.

### C H A P. III.

Of the Inhabitants and Trade of *Jamaica*, and the Advantages *England* does and may receive from it.

*Jamaica* like *Barbados* has three Sorts of Inhabitants, Masters, Servants and Slaves; to whom may be added a fourth, which tho' they are uncertain, yet by their Resort thither are a good Strength to the Island, Privateers and Water-



Watermen always coasting about it, carrying Goods from one Place to another or cruizing for Prizes. The Privateers were at one Time the best Flower in the Garden of the *Jamaica* Trade, they brought some Millions of Pieces of Eight there, and made the Place so rich, that it out-stript all the Colonies in Wealth in a very few Years; even *Barbados* could only vie with it for Eldership, and having been longer planted.

The Masters of Families in *Jamaica*, Planters and Merchants, live with as much Pomp and Pleasure as any Gentlemen in the World; they keep their Coaches and six Horses, have their Train of Servants in Liveries running before and behind them, and for Magnificence and Luxury they have always got the start of the other Colonies: Whether it had not been better for them to have encouraged Industry and Frugality we shall not take upon us to determine; their natural Advantages above all the other Islands does not make it so necessary for them to be industrious, and the Riches that were brought them by their Trade with the *Spanish West-Indies*, put them in a Capacity of answering their Expences: And both together invited so many People to settle there, that 20 Years ago there were 60000 *English* Souls, and 100000 *Blacks* upon the Island. The War, Earthquake and Diseases since have hindered the Colony's encreasing; but still they are almost that Number, of which 15000 *Englishmen* are able to bear Arms, and the Militia consists of several Troops of Horse and seven Regiments of Foot, making 7000 Men.

The Way of living of both Masters, Slaves and Servants here, is like that of the *Barbados* People, and the Form of Government the same with theirs; but the Trade differs in some Things, as in most of their Dyer's Woods, which the Merchants of *Barbados* have not the Convenience of exporting. The Bay of *Campeche* has been very beneficial to those of *Jamaica*, for they are only at the Charge of cutting and carrying off the Wood, which comes generally to a good Market in *England*; but the *Spaniards* have done what they could to hinder that Trade, insomuch that the Wood-Cutters have been forced to have Guards, and fight for their Prize.

The Trade from *Jamaica* with the *Spaniards* consisted chiefly in Negroes, Stuffs and other *English* Manufactures. The *Spaniards* for several Years were not permitted to deal with the *English*, but after the Revolution a Treaty of Commerce was concluded between King *William* and King *Charles*, for their Dominions in *America*; and Sir *James de Castillo*, whom King *William* had knighted, resided at *Jamaica*

*maica* as Agent for the *Spaniards*, to buy Negroes for them and ship them for the Continent. The Advantages by this Traffick would have enriched our Nation had it lasted, and been carried on wisely and industriously; but the War with *France* and *Spain* has interrupted all the Commerce between *Jamaica* and the *Spanish West-Indies*, which the *English* cannot too much encourage.

The other Branches of the *Jamaica* Trade is the same with that of *Barbados*, and we must refer the Reader to our History of that Island on this Article.

Indigo and Piemento are the Commodities of this Country, and *Cocoa Nuts* are but a new Experiment at *Barbados*, or else the Commodities of that Place and *Jamaica* are all one, and we must enter upon needless Repetitions, if we pretended to give any particular Account of them. In the general, this Trade has the Advantage of that of *Barbados*, for it brings us in Bullion which is so much wanted at Home. *Jamaica* is placed in the Center of the *Spanish* Acquisitions in *America*, no Vessel can go to or come from the Continent or the Islands belonging to them, but they must necessarily come in Sight of *Jamaica*, or fall into the Hands of our Cruizers if we had enough Ships there, with brave and faithful Commanders to wait for them; and 12 or 15 light Frigats would be sufficient, which the Benefit it would bring to us by Prizes, or the Inconveniencies it would put our Enemies to, would more than answer.

Every Plate Fleet that comes from *Carthagena* puts into *Hispaniola*, from whence they cannot sail to the *Havana* in *Cuba*, without passing by one End or the other of *Jamaica*. The *Havana* is the Place of general Rendezvous for the *Flota*; and the Importance of their Junction there for their Security is easily to be imagined, which we could soon hinder, by being Masters of the Seas about *Jamaica*.

The Product of this Island is generally the best in its Kind of any in the *English* Plantations. Their Sugar, Ginger, Cotton and Indigo, are better than that of the *Charibbee-Islands*; and there is Ground enough to spare for the Inhabitants to furnish themselves with Provisions of their own raising, if they did not think it worth their while to cultivate the Commodities for an *European* Market. All the Provisions and Necessaries that are sent from *England* to the other Plantations are also sent to *Jamaica*; and there is constantly employed in this Trade between 2 and 300 Sail of stout Ships, and before the War there were many more.

The Laws of *Jamaica* are very well collected in the Abridgment of the *Plantation Laws*, and the Natural History of

of the Country is published by Dr. *Sloan*, Secretary to the *Royal Society*, who has an Interest in that Island, which with the History we have here faithfully related, will give the Curious a sufficient Idea of it. But we must here add something relating to the Country, Inhabitants, Trade, &c. as it differs now from our last Account of it.

*Jamaica*, according to the latest Observations and Surveys, lies in 17 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude, 18 Leagues from *Cuba*, 24 from *Hispaniola*, so that it is nearer those Islands than *England* to *Ireland*, except at the Extremities. No Vessel can go to or come from the Continent, but must necessarily sail within Sight of *Jamaica* or fall into the Hands of the *English*, which shews what Advantage it is, and may be to us in all Wars with *Spain*. 'Tis 160 Miles long, 55 broad, contains four Million of Acres, of which if one Million is patented, not 200000 Acres are planted. The Island is divided by a Ridge of Hills that run from Sea to Sea, and go by several Names in several Districts. In those Mountains rise several Rivers not navigable but for Canoes, in which Sugars are carried to the Sea-side and shipped in *Scooners* and *Sloops* for *Port-Royal* and *Kingston*, to be loaded there for *England*; two of these Rivers run under Ground as the *Mole* in *Surry*. *Rio Cobre* in *St. Thomas* in the *Vale*, and *Rio Pedro* in the same Parish; *Rio Cobre* runs under Ground nine Miles before it appears again; *Rio Pedro* runs two Miles thro' a Mountain; *Rio Pedro* is 12 Miles from *Spanish-Town*, *Rio Cobre* 22 Miles. It rises in the Mountains called *Monte Diabolo* near Mr. *Lord's* dwelling House. The whole Island is very well watered, but in some Places the Water is brackish, and there the Rain Water is preserved.

Rivers.

The *Jamaica* Historian tells us, not one Part in three of the Island is inhabited, which I fear is a very modest Account of its Settlement, for it contains four Millions of Acres, and if  $\frac{1}{3}$  or 1300000 Acres were inhabited, laid out and planted, and, as he says, one Acre has produced several Hogsheds of Sugar, the Number of the Inhabitants and the Quantity of the Product, would be more than ten Times as much as they really are now. Nor can we suppose that 100,000 Hogsheds of Sugars are made here yearly as he informs us; but as not a quarter Part of the Island is planted, and as Mr. *Ashley* in his Account of *Barbados* assures us, That and the *Leeward-Islands* can make twice the Quantity of Sugars they do now produce; it is strange that a late Writer upon Trade should make such grievous Complaints of our Want of Sugar Ground in our *American* Islands; that in *Jamaica* Millions of Acres cannot be said to be worn out, having



having never been broke up; if that in *Barbados* is pretty well worn, a Planter there assures us, the Soil can produce twice as much as it does had it Hands to work it, by which it appears that we need not purchase or conquer other Lands for the Sugar Growth, but supply by Industry and Oeconomy what is wanting for cultivating and manufacturing the Sugar Cane.

There are in *Jamaica* some large *Savanas*, where the *Indians* planted their *Maize* and the *Spaniards* breed their Cattle; it is to be hoped the *Jamaicans* know as well as they how to improve them, and they might have Plenty of Cattle here, if breeding Cattle was as much minded as it deserves to be, considering the many Months they have to feed, and how much fresh Provisions is for their own Health and their Servants.

As the planted Part of this Island is the nearest to the Sea, the Conveniency of its Navigation appears by the great Numbers of Bays all round it.

*Port Royal.*

*Port Morant.*

*Old Harbour.*

*Point Negril.*

*Port Antonio.*

*Michael's Hole.*

*Alligator Pond.*

*Point Pedro.*

*Parattee Bay.*

*Luana Bay.*

*Blewfield's Bay.*

*Cabaretta Bay.*

*Cold Harbour.*

*Rio Novo.*

*Montigo Bay.*

*Orange Bay.*

And many others.

*Bays.*

The Towns in this Island have little to be added to the former Account of them.

*Port-Royal*, which was the fairest and richest Sea Port Town *Port-Royal.* in *America*, is by the Accidents mentioned in this History reduced to a small Place, yet it still consists of three handsom Streets and several cross Lanes. It has a fine Church, an Hospital for disabled Seamen, and a Yard for the King's naval Stores and Ship Carpenters Work. It is guarded by one of the strongest Forts in the *West-Indies*, mounted with 100 Guns, and garrisoned by regular Troops; the Harbour is one of the best in the World, 1000 Sail of Ships may ride there and be secure from every Wind that can blow, always excepting a *Hurricane*. The *Receiver General*, the *naval Officer*, the *Secretary* or *Deputy Secretary* are still obliged to keep their Offices here as well as at *Spanish-Town*. No Building is to be here within 30 Feet of high Water Mark, nor farther Northward on the Harbour than *Major Back's* and *Capt. Suimmer's Houses*. *Port-Royal* is distant from *Spanish-Town* five Miles by Water and six more by Land. It is about

bout six Miles distant from *Kingston*, which was built after the great Earthquake had destroyed *Port-Royal*, by a Plan of Col. *Christian Lilly's*, who is now or was very lately chief Engineer of this Island, whither he came with Col. *Lillington* near 50 Years before, no Proof this that the Air is unwholesom. By Col. *Lilly's* Plan, this Town was to be a Mile long and half a Mile broad, laid out into little Squares by cross Streets, and wants not much of the Extent *Lilly* intended it; here the inferior Courts sit. The Receiver General, naval Officer, Secretary and Surveyor, are obliged to have and attend Offices here. Here reside the Merchants for the most Part since the Fall of *Port-Royal*, and here are most of the Sugars shipped off for *England*. It encreases daily, and now muster 10 Companies of Foot and two Troops of Horse, about 1100 Men; and supposing the Militia to be half of the Male Inhabitants of Age fit for Arms, this must now be a great Town of 1100 or 1200 Houses. It has one Church with a poor burying Place, which is in this Island a very important Appurtenance for Parish. The *Jews* have two Synagogues, and the *Quakers* a Meeting-house. It is bounded by *Port-Royal* Harbour to the *South West*, and to the *North* by Lands patented by Sir *William Beeston*, and continued to a *Calabash* Tree on the *North East* Corner, directly to the Foot of the *Long Mountain*, and from thence to the Bounds of the Parish of *Port-Royal*. 'Tis 18 Miles from thence to *Spanish-Town*, 12 Miles by Sea and six by Land; it chooses three Members for the *Assembly*.

St. Jago de  
la Vega.

*St. Jago de la Vega* or *Spanish-Town* is the Capital of *Jamaica*, and gave the Title of Duke to the Family of *Columbus* the Discoverer of the *New World*, and this Island in particular. It was a large City in the *Spaniards* Time consisting of 2000 Houses; it has not now above 7 or 800, but they are very good. The Governor resides here; here the *Assembly* hold their Session, as do also the grand Courts of Justice. It retains its *Spanish* Name *St. Jago de la Vega* in all publick Deeds, is situated in a fine pleasant Valley on the Banks of the *Rio Cobre*, being an inland Town; the Trade is not considerable, but several wealthy Merchants and Gentlemen have Houses here and live very gayly, as much like Men of Pleasure as Business; Coaches and Chariots are perpetually plying, and a great Number of Gentlemen's are seen every where. Here are frequent Balls and Assemblies, a Play-house and a Company of Players: The *Jamaica* Writer assures us, they are excellent *Actors*, which is more than can justly be said of the best Company now in *England*. The Governor's House faces the *Parade*, one Part of it consists of two Stories, it

was

was rebuilt by the Duke of *Portland*. It has a curious Garden towards the *West*, which is generally kept in excellent Repair, though here is a great Neglect of Garden Ground for the Culture, of which the *Jamaicans* seem to have no Taste; and indeed where there is an eternal Spring, a perpetual Bloom and perpetual Green, there seems to be little Need of Gardening. The Church is a handsom Edifice and has in it a very good *Organ*. Here is also a Chapel where divine Service is performed. The *Custom-house* is a small Square Building about 40 Feet each Way; here the Chief Justice, who is now or was lately the worthy *Ellis*, Esq; who has five assistant Judges, their Seats are raised almost 10 Feet from the Floor. The *Provost Marshal*, the most beneficial Office in the Island next the Governor's, has a Chair placed for him on the right Hand of the Judges, and opposite to them at a good Distance are seated the Lawyers. The Attorney General has a large Chair placed for him in the Middle. The Houses are generally low, of one Story, with 5, 6 and sometimes more Rooms, being usually lined and floored with *Mahogany*. Each has a Piazza ascended by Steps, which serves for a Screen against the Heat, and is commodious for taking the cool refreshing Air. A few Houses have two Stories, but that Way of Building is disapproved, as too much exposed to the Violence of *Earthquakes* and *Hurricanes*. The other Towns in this Island are inconsiderable; every rich well stocked Plantation is a Kind of little Town, and the Planters Business is very inconsistent with a Town Life, which occasions the Spread of People in all the Colonies except *New-England*, where their Trade is best carried on in Port and Market Towns.

Here are seen the Ruins of *Sevilla* and *Oristan*, two pretty Towns large Towns in the *Spaniards* Time; but the Ground where they and other *Spanish* Towns stood, does in several Places now produce the Sugar Cane.

At *Bagnal's* in the Parish of *St. Ann's* is begun a Town, but how it goes on we know not, and are doubtful of its Success.

*Free-Town* in the Parish of *St. David's*, is another small Place.

*Passage-Fort* in *St. Catharine's* Parish, consists of about 50 Houses, and is likely to encrease in Trade and consequently in Buildings, it being the only Place for taking Boat to *Port-Royal* or *Kingston*. Col. *Jackson* landed here with his Men from the *Leeward-Islands*, when he took *St. Jago* in 1635.



*Carlisle* in *Vere* Parish, is another inconsiderable Village; a Fort was erected here after the *French* Invasion in 1695, but it is already in Ruins.

*Tichfield* a small Town, so called from the Dutchess of *Portland's* Manor of *Tichfield* in *Hampshire*, is near Port *Antonio*, which has been spoken of before. The Fort there is very regular, and has always a *Captain's* Guard for its Defence.

The present Division of *Jamaica* is into 19 Parishes.

Parishes.

- |                            |                                    |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Kingston.</i>        | 11. <i>St. James's.</i>            |
| 2. <i>Port-Royal.</i>      | 12. <i>St. Anne's.</i>             |
| 3. <i>St. Catharine's.</i> | 13. <i>St. Mary's.</i>             |
| 4. <i>St. Dorothy's.</i>   | 14. <i>Portland.</i>               |
| 5. <i>Clarendon.</i>       | 15. <i>St. Thomas in the East.</i> |
| 6. <i>Vere.</i>            | 16. <i>St. David's.</i>            |
| 7. <i>St. Elizabeth.</i>   | 17. <i>St. Andrew's.</i>           |
| 8. <i>Hanover.</i>         | 18. <i>St. John's.</i>             |
| 9. <i>Westmoreland.</i>    | 19. <i>St. Thomas in the Vale.</i> |
| 10. <i>St. George's.</i>   |                                    |

*Spanish Town* Church and Chapel are not in the *Jamaica* Historian's List, probably because as it is the Capital of the Island, it should not be confounded with common Parishes; but as the chief Precinct, it should have been in the Catalogue. We read in the late History of *Jamaica*, that there is a *Custos* over the Parishes, as Col. *Blair* *Custos* of *Spanish-Town*, Col. *Campbel* of *St. Elizabeth's*, &c. the Nature of the Office may be conjectured, but it is not defined. The Churches in the Town are generally in Form of a Cross with a small *Cupola*, the Walls pretty high. In that of *St. Andrew's* is an *Organ*, the Churches in general are no better than small Houses, scarce distinguishable from others. The Author adds; *The Clergy trouble themselves little, and the Church Doors are seldom opened.* What Pity it is, especially considering how many thousand Pounds yearly the *Jamaicans* pay for their Churches and their Churchmen. This Complaint is general all over the Colonies, and I never met with one reasonable Word said in Excuse of it.

Page 29.

Little is to be added to our History of *Jamaica* concerning the Inhabitants and Trade. The *Jamaica* Historian computes the Number of white Men able to bear Arms at about 17000, and the Negroes at about 100000 Men, Women and Children, and the white Men able to bear Arms, being as he says 17000, the Number of the whole may be computed at between 50 and 60000, a small Computation considering how long this Island has been in *British* Hands, and

and how many Thousands have transported themselves and been transported thither since the Year 1656.

The Publick Revenues of the Island are reckoned 70000*l.* a Year. The Riches of particular Persons would be inconceivable, if one could give Credit to what the *Jamaica* Writer says of Mr. *Beckford* only, *Pag.* 267. *He is the richest Subject in Europe, he has twenty two Plantations in this Island, and upwards of 1200 Slaves, his Money in the Banks and at Mortgages is reckoned at a Million and a half.* As the Author makes Use of Words at Length and not of Figures, there can be no Mistake in the *summing*, if there is not a prodigious one in the Fact.

He assures us that 500 Sail of Ships are now employed here in the Sugar Trade, each Ship carrying 200 Hogsheads which swells the Produce to 100000 Hogsheads of Sugar yearly, which doubtless is another Excess in Computation, and must be reduced to less than half. The *Affiento* or Agreement for the *South Sea Company's* Negro Trade to the *Spanish West-Indies* being now suspended, and not likely to be long continued without such Suspension, is not enlarged on here: The Sale of 4000 Slaves yearly would be very profitable to the *British* Subjects, was there any Security for the Returns.

Among the other Products of this Island, must now be reckoned *Coffee*, of which good Quantities are already shipped yearly for *England*, and probably it may produce enough in Time to answer more than the *British* Consumption. It were to be wished that the Affairs at Home did not make it necessary to load every Product of our *American* Colonies with such high Duties, so ruinous to Industry and Commerce.

It may not in this Place be improper to say something of the Trade carried on by the *English* at *Jamaica*, with the *Spaniards* on the Continent, which is thus managed: The Merchant or Master of the Ship bound for this Voyage, being furnished with a proper Cargo of dry Goods and *Negroes*, commonly makes first for the Coast near the Harbour of *Porto-Bello*, and in War Time at the *Groût* within *Monkey-Key*, a very good Harbour within four Miles of the Town. From thence it was usual for the Merchant or Master of the Ship to send one who could speak *Spanish* as many of these Traders do, to the Town to give Notice of her Arrival to the Dealers, who appoint the Time and Place for the Slips Canoo to attend them. They come accordingly, and having purchased as many *Negroes* and as much dry Goods as they think fit, they return to the Town, fetch the Money, bring it aboard and take the Goods. Here such a Ship lies sometimes

times five or six Weeks trading with the *Spaniards*, for after the first Market is pretty well over, the Dealers who have soon Information of her being on the Coast, come from *Panama* over the Isthmus to trade, travelling like Peasants, with Mules bearing their Silver in Jars, and if any of the King's Officers meet them nothing appears but *Meal*, which they pretend to be carrying to *Porto-Bello*. But for the most Part they travel thro' Woods in Bye-Ways, for Fear of being discovered by those Officers. When they have bought what *Negroes* and Goods their Money will purchase, which they sell again up in the Country and get very well by it, the Goods are made up in little Packs fit for one Man to carry, and the *English* supply them with as much Provisions as will serve them Home cross the Isthmus to the *South Sea*, for they come far. An *English* Ship lying between *Chagre* and *Porto Novo*, a Signal was given her from the Castle of *Chagre*, and she anchored two Miles from it. The *Spaniards* came to her, and one Merchant bought 70 *Negroes* and a good Quantity of dry Goods, amounting to 3 or 4000 *l.* which was brought on Mules to the Water-side, Part Gold and Part Silver, from the *Grout*; the *English* Ship sailed to the *Brew* near *Carthagena*, where she lay to trade with the Merchants of that City, from which it is about eight Miles distant. The People of the Island *Brew* gave these Merchants Notice of her Arrival, and they came and traded as the others did at the *Grout*. This trading Ship in about two Months disposed of 150 *Negroes* and a good Cargo of dry Goods, by which probably the Proprietors cleared 2000 *l.* more than would have been got in any other Market; a plain Proof of the very great Advantage of this Trade between *Jamaica* and *New Spain*, of which we see the *Spaniards* are so fond, that they run as great Hazards in buying the Merchandize, as the *English* do in selling it to them.

Something has already been said of the Trade to the Bay of *Campeachy*, we must now add a Word or two of that to the Bay of *Honduras*.

Logwood  
cutting

This Bay has a very difficult Entrance, the Bar being two or three Miles broad, with only 11 Feet Water. As soon as a Ship is entered, Guns are fired to give the Logwood Cutters Notice of her Arrival, and they soon repair to her to truck Wood for strong Liquors, as Madeira Wine, Rum, Spirits, Ozinbrigs, Hats and Shoes, of which 40 Shillings the prime Cost, will buy a Ton of *Logwood*. The Sailors go 30 Miles up the River to fetch it out of the Lagunes or Creeks in Canoes: The Logwood Cutters having picked out a Spot of Ground well furnished with Trees, build Huts  
or



or rather Tents there of *Ozinbrigs*, which they find to keep out the Flies best, they being sadly pestered with many Sorts all over that *Coast* and *Country*. They cut down the Trees, bark them, log them, and make them fit for shipping. The *Guarda la Costa* Ships often disturb the Logwood Traders both in this Bay and that of *Campeachy*, but there are often so many of them, that the *Spaniards* content themselves with spying them and leave them as they found them. Such Ships run great Danger both in and out of the Harbour, when the *Guarda la Costa* is cruising. This Logwood Trade and that of *Campeachy* is so advantageous, and the *Spaniards* as we have seen have so little Right to those Bays by Conquest or Possession (as we have shewn in the History of the *Muschetoes*, who plainly are the natural Lords of the Soil, and are very desirous the *English* should have the Wood) that it is to be hoped the *Spaniards* by any future Treaty, shall not have any Pretence left to disturb them in it.

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THE  
 HISTORY  
 OF THE  
*Isle of Providence,*

CONTAINING

An Account of its Discovery, Settlement, Climate, Soil, and all Events relating to it, to the present Times.

**T**HIS Island is chief of those called the *Bahama-Islands*, and notwithstanding that Character is so inconsiderable in itself, that it had been well if it had never been discovered; for all the Advantage the Inhabitants can pretend it is to *England* or the other Colonies is, that it lies convenient for *Wrecks*; by which they mean to save such as are driven ashore there, and for Ships forced thither by Stress of Weather: And it being some Hundreds of Miles out of any Ship's regular Course, to or from any of our Colonies and *England*, it is certain we had never lost any Thing by it had it never been heard of.

The Island called *Providence* was discovered by Capt. *William Sayle*, who was afterwards Governor of *Carolina*. He was driven thither by a Storm, as he was on a Voyage to the *Continent*: From him it had the Name of *Sayle's Island*.

This Adventurer returning to *England* about the Year 1667, gave his Employers, the Proprietaries of *Carolina*, an  
 Account

Account of his Discovery, and they procured a Grant for this and all the *Bahama-Islands* to themselves, their Heirs, &c. The Extent of their Grant reaches from 22 to 27 Degrees N. L. All the Proprietaries of *Carolina* were not concerned in the Grant of *Providence*, but all the Proprietaries of *Providence* were interested in that of *Carolina*. They were six in Number, and continue so to this Day. Their Names and Titles were,

<i>George</i> , Duke of <i>Albemarle</i> .	<i>Anthony</i> , Lord <i>Ashley</i> .
<i>William</i> , Lord <i>Craven</i> .	And
<i>Sir George Carteret</i> .	<i>Sir Peter Colliton</i> .
<i>John</i> , Lord <i>Berkley</i> .	

Whose Heirs and Assignees enjoy it at this Time.

*Providence* Island lies in the Center of 4 or 500 Islands, some of them 160 Miles in Length; others no bigger than *Knolls* or little Rocks, rising above Water; so that one may imagine, it must be very dangerous for Ships to be forced among them in Tempests.

The most considerable Profit made by the Inhabitants of *Providence*, was by the Misfortune of poor Adventurers; either such as were shipwrecked, or such as in a Winter-Voyage for the *Continent* of *America*, were driven to the *Bahama-Islands*, and put into *Providence* for Provisions; which, after they had lain a long while beating off the Islands, they used to be in great Distress for Want of. 'Tis true, this Island had little or none but what came from *Carolina*, however, the Traders here kept Store-Houses to supply those that wanted, and they were a great Relief to the unfortunate Mariners of whom we are speaking.

As for Wrecks, the People of *Providence*, *Harbour-Island* and *Eleuthera*, dealt in them as it is said the good Men of *Suffex* do: All that came ashore was Prize, and if a Sailor had, by better Luck than the rest, got ashore as well as his Wreck, he was not sure of getting off again as well. This perhaps is Scandal, but it is most notorious, that the Inhabitants looked upon every Thing they could get out of a Cast-away Ship as their own, and were not at any Trouble to enquire after the Owners.

The Isle of *Providence* lies in 25 Degrees N. L. is 28 Miles long, and 11 Miles broad where it is broadest. It had the Name of *Providence* given it by Capt. *Sayle*, after he had been a second Time driven upon it, when he was bound for the *Continent*.



— *Chillingworth, Esq; Govern.* 1707. The first Governor that was sent thither by the Proprietaries, was ——— *Chillingworth, Esq;* The Time of his going there we cannot be certain in; it is probable it was about the Year 1672. Several People went from *England* and the other Colonies to settle there, and living a lewd licentious Sort of Life, they were impatient under Government. Mr. *Chillingworth* could not bring them to Reason: They assembled tumultuously, seized him, shipped him off for *Jamaica*, and lived every Man as he thought best for his Pleasure and Interest.

— *Clark, Esq; Govern.* 1707. The Proprietaries found they had an unruly Colony to deal with, and it was a very small Encouragement for any one to put himself into their Hands, after the Treatment Mr. *Chillingworth* met with from them: However, six or seven Years after he was sent away, the Lords Proprietaries made ——— *Clark, Esq;* Governor, whose Fate was worse still than his Predecessor's; for the *Spaniards* 30 Years ago, being jealous of every new Colony of the *English* towards the South, came upon them in the Isle of *Providence*, destroyed all their Stock, which they could not or would not carry off, and took the Governor away with them in Chains, having burnt the few Cottages that were upon the Place. The Inhabitants deserted it after this, and removed to other Colonies.

Mr. *Trot*, one of Governor *Clark's* Successors, informed the Writer of this Relation, that the *Spaniards* roasted Mr. *Clark* on a Spit after they had killed him; but perhaps that is said to encrease the Terror of the Story, and might do better in a *Poem* than a *History*. 'Tis certain they killed him, and that after this Invasion the Island was uninhabited till about the Time of the Revolution, when several Persons removed thither from *Europe* and the *Continent*; among whom was Mr. *Thomas Bulkley*, who has printed a large Account of his Sufferings there, during the arbitrary Government of one *Cadwallader Jones*, whom the Lord Proprietaries made Governor upon this second Settlement of *Providence* in the Year 1690. He arrived there the 19th of *June*, and was received by all the Inhabitants with the Respect due to his Quality: But says *Bulkley*, he soon discovered the *Weakness of his Judgment, the Wickedness of his Inclination, and his Disaffection to his Majesty's Person and Government*: For the Proprietaries of *Carolina* have not been unhappy in the Choice of their Governors in that Province only. My Author writes of this *Jones*, *That all his vile Practices were patiently born by the People, till they became so numerous and heinous as to be intolerable.*

*Cadwallader Jones*  
Governor.

Appeal to  
Caesar, p. 1.

Page 10 &  
seq.

The Inhabitants groaning under the Oppression of this Governor, lived in an abominable Slavery; and that the Reader may form an Idea of the Tyranny of Governors in Proprietary Governments, we shall report some of the most material Crimes this Person was guilty of; and it is Pity his History is not an Example of Terror, to all such as under his Character commit the same Outrages against Reason, Justice, and Virtue.

He endeavoured to erect and maintain in himself an absolute unlimited Power, to govern according to his Will and Pleasure. He assumed royal Prerogatives, and arrogantly used the royal Stile. He confer'd Honours, and invested the Persons so dignified by him, with the Privileges of the Peers of *England*. He pardoned capital Offenders, seized the publick Treasure, wasted and converted it to his own Use. He neglected the Defence of the Island, imbezzled the Stores of Powder, converted the Lords Proprietaries Royalties to his own Use, invited the Pirates to come to the Port. He refused to take the Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary* at his Entrance into his Office, when one of the Lords Proprietaries Deputies tendered them to him. In a Speech he made to the People he declared, *He would have a free Trade, and nothing to do with the King's damned Officers.* He intercepted Letters without Cause, put the most ignorant, indigent and vicious Persons into the greatest Offices of Honour, Power, and Trust. He highly caressed those Pirates that came to *Providence*. He arbitrarily imposed Fines on several Persons; he constituted himself Deputy to the Chief of the Lords Proprietaries, Treasurer, Provost-Marshal, and chief Secretary of the Province, and put his own Creatures into those Places under him. He commonly imprisoned Persons without Cause or Warrant. He denied to grant Writs of Procefs at Law, when desired against his Favourites, who were usually the *wildest of the People*. He refused to prosecute one of them, who had stolln 14 great Guns belonging to *New Providence*. He pardoned and discharged Pirates without Trial. He gave Commissions to Pirates without, and contrary to the Advice of the Council. *By Colour of one of these Commissions* (according to Mr. *Bulkley's* Narrative) *a Ship belonging to Bermudas, being in Pennsylvania River was piratically taken, and had been carried out to Sea, if some of the People of that Place had not gone out armed after the Pirates, and forcibly recovered the Vessel from them, they justifying their Villainy by their Commission and Instructions from the said Jones.*

He wilfully neglected to call a General Assembly, till six Months after the Time appointed by the Lords Proprietaries Instructions, and governed by Orders of a Juncto, which he imperiously commanded the Assembly to pass into Laws. While that Assembly was sitting, he directed his Son who was Captain of a Ship in the Port, to lay her so as to bring all her Guns to bear upon the House where the General Assembly was sitting. He abruptly dissolved them, while Matters of the greatest Importance to the Province were depending. He conspired with his Creatures and Pirates, to banish some of the most virtuous and useful Inhabitants, without lawful Cause or Trial. He said, it was high Treason to sign a Petition for the sitting of a General Assembly: In which one may see, how petty *Plebeian* Tyrants agree with the sovereign imperial ones, in their Dread of Parliaments.

These and many more flagitious Practices, are recorded by *Bulkley* against *Jones*; and the People being no longer able to bear with him, *Mr. Bulkley* who was then Deputy Secretary, exhibited a Charge of High Treason against him, upon which he was seized and imprisoned.

*Mr. Gilbert  
Ashley Pre-  
sident.*

The Government devolved upon the Council, and they declared *Mr. Gilbert Ashley* President, putting out a Proclamation, requiring all the Inhabitants of the *Bahama-Islands* to yield their ready Obedience to the said President. This Proclamation was dated the 24th of *January* 1692, and signed by two Deputies of the Lords Proprietaries, and five Assembly Men, who were also Counsellors; *viz.* by

Col. *Bowen Clawson*,  
*Thomas Comber*, Esq; } Deputies.

*Mr. Nicholas Spencer*,  
*Mr. Thomas Higginbotham*,  
*Mr. Israel Jones*,  
*Mr. John Ogle*,  
*Mr. George Dumarisque*, } Assembly-Men.

*Jones* being thus confined, himself and his Friends were alarmed, knowing the Inveteracy of the Accuser, and but too well the Guilt of the Accused. The Governor desired the Council to permit him to go to *Mr. Bulkley's* House, and try if he could prevail with him to withdraw his Accusation. He was permitted; and coming to him, promised to restore him to all the Offices he had taken from him, to make Reparation of the Damage he had done him, to govern according to his Directions, nor do any Thing of a publick Nature without his Advice.

After



After much Discourse, *Bulkley* replied, *He should have known in due Time, the Things that belonged to his own and the publick Peace and Prosperity, but now it was too late: That his Business was to make the best Preparation he could, to clear himself of the heavy Charge that lay against him; which if he could do, it would be for his Honour as well as Safety, and the Law would give him Advantage enough against his Accuser, who neither expected nor desired any Favour from him in such a Case.* *Bulkley* added, *he should incur Misprision of Treason, by complying with his Desires.* *Jones* answered, *Will you have my Heart's Blood?*

The Accusation against the late Governor was published, and Mr. *Bulkley* bound in 500*l.* Bond to prosecute him. But *Jones* resolved to save them that Trouble; and to use the Words of his Accuser, *some desperate Rogues, Pirates and others, gathered together an ignorant seditious Rabble, who on the 27th of February 1692, with Force of Arms rescued the Governor, proclaimed him again, and restored him to the Exercise of his despotick Power.*

Now it was *Bulkley's* turn to suffer. Whether guilty or not guilty, was not the Question? He was devoted to Persecution; and the same armed Rabble going to his House seized him, shut him up in a close dark Confinement, threatened him with the Torture, and forced him to deliver all the Books having any Relation to his Office of Deputy-Secretary.

The Leaders of this Rabble were,

*Daniel Jackson.*

*Thomas Wake.*

*Thomas Witter.*

*Martin Cock.*

*Robert Bolton.*

*Lancelot Lawson.*

*William Smith.*

*Charles Wainwright.*

*Samuel Coverley.*

*Samuel Dunscomb.*

*Richard Carpenter.*

*Josias Ap Owen.*

*Blackden Docden.*

And

*Nathaniel Shepherdson*, who was a Rebel to King *William*, having served his Enemies against his Subjects, and shared in the Booty the *French* took from the *English*; of which he was accused by two Witnesses, yet *Jones* permitted him to reside in *Providence*, to take a Man's Wife there, and live in open Adultery with her, if Mr. *Bulkley* may be credited. He was one of this Governor's Confidants, and a main Instrument of his Tyranny, as was also *Bartholomew Mercier*, a *Frenchman*; by whom *Bulkley* and his Wife were inhumanly used, infomuch

infomuch that the latter dying shortly after, declared solemnly on her Death-Bed before several Witnesses, and signed a Declaration to the same Purpose, that *Cadwallader Jones*, *Martin Cock*, *Bartholomew Mercier*, *Thomas Cumber*, *Robert Bolton* and others, were the Occasion of her Death.

*John Graves* arriving from *England* some Months after *Mr. Bulkley* had procured his Enlargement, upon delivering up his Books accused him of High Treason, for his Proceedings in the Accusation; and *Bulkley* was put in Irons aboard the Governor's Son's Ship, which was lately come from *Barbados*, tho' a pestilential Distemper was aboard.

This was not the worst of their Designs against *Mr. Bulkley*, they conspired to get him by Force aboard a Pirate's Ship, and the Pirate promised to make him away, by leaving him on some desolate Island or otherwise; which he having Notice of, hid in the Woods till the Pirate sailed.

*Martin Cock* also laid a Design to have him assassinated, which being discovered in Time was prevented. *Jones* then sent to *Harbour-Island* and *Eleuthera*, to see if he could pack a Jury to do *Bulkley's* Business; which he could not do, the latter being looked upon to be a Sort of Confessor in his Country's Cause.

*Bulkley* was kept Prisoner till the Arrival of *Nicholas Trott*, Esq; with a Commission from the Lords Proprietaries, to be Governor in the Place of *Cadwallader Jones*. *Mr. Trott* allowed *Mr. Bulkley* a fair Trial, and he was acquitted. After which he charged *Jones* again with High Treason.

What Reason the new Governor had to give his Predecessor Leave to go off the Island, without coming to a legal Trial, we know not: The Fact is true, and to us there seems so much just Cause of Complaint against him, that he ought to have been brought to condign Punishment, for abusing the Power put into his Hands.

*Bulkley* pretended to have lost 4000 *l.* by the Persecution of this Governor *Jones*: But that seems a little improbable, for an Estate of 4000 *l.* is a Thing that has hardly been heard of in the *Bahama-Islands*.

When he came to *England*, he applied to the King by the Earl of *Portland*, and was ordered to leave all his Papers with *Sir William Trumball*, Secretary of State. What Redress he found we know not, and what he deserved let the Reader judge.

By this Time the Town at *Providence* was grown so considerable, that it was honoured with the Name of *Nassau*; and before *Mr. Trott's* Government expired, there were 160 Houses: So that it was as big as the Cities of *St. James* and *St. Mary's*, in *Maryland* and *Virginia*.  
The

The Harbour of *Nassau* is formed by *Hog-Island*, which belongs to Mr. *Trott*. It runs along parallel to it five Miles in Length, lying East and West. At the Entrance of the Harbour is a Bar, over which no Ship of 500 Ton can pass; but within the Bar, the Navy Royal of *England* might safely ride.

In the Town of *Nassau* there was a Church in Mr. *Trott's* Time, and he began a Fort in the Middle of it, which with his House made a Square. This Fort was mounted with 28 Guns and some Demi-Culvers.

In the Year 1695, the *Winchester* Man of War coming from *Jamaica* in Company with other Ships, drove off and on between the *Bahama Shoals* and *Cape Florida*, and had the Misfortune to run ashore on the Rocks called the *Martiers*, lying to the Southward of that *Cape*.

There never was a Man of War at *Providence*, unless *Avery's* the Pirate's Ship may be reckoned one, for it carried 46 Guns, and coming at a Time when the Inhabitants were in an ill State of Defence, it was to no Purpose for them to stand out against him. But by the Character we have had of the People of *Providence*, we cannot think that Pirate who was very rich, was unwelcome to them.

Mr. *Trott* assured the Author, there were but 70 Men at that Time upon the Island both able and disable, and *Avery* had 100 as stout Men aboard as ever he saw. If so, no Resistance the Governor could make, could be supposed to be strong enough to prevent the Pirate's beating down the Town, and taking that by Force, which when he was received as a Friend he paid for, and gave very good Rates to.

Thus we see in what the Trade of this Place chiefly consisted, and who frequented it most. 'Twas very unfortunate that there should be only 70 Men upon the Island at that Time, when a little before and a little after there were 200 Men, which was the greatest Number that could ever be mustered in the *Bahama-Islands*: For besides *Providence*, there are Settlements on *Harbour-Island* and *Eleuthera*. *Harbour-island* is so called from the Goodness of the Harbour. 'Tis 20 Leagues from *Providence*, and has about 20 Houses upon it. *Eleuthera* is nearer, but has not so many Houses. Sometimes there are two or three Families on some of the other Islands.

The Inhabitants of these Islands, on Elections of Assembly-Men and other publick Occasions, go to *Nassau* in *Providence* to give their Votes. The Assembly consisted of 20 Members, chosen by the Inhabitants of all the Islands met together for that Purpose; for the Province not being divided  
into



into Precincts, they had no other Way of choosing their Representatives.

The Fort which Mr. *Trott* built, was such a Security in his Time to the *Island*, that tho' the *French* landed several Times, they could make nothing of their Descent; but the Governor was so hard put to it for Want of Men, that half the People was always upon the Guard at a Time, and Duty was so long and came about so fast, the Inhabitants were terribly fatigued. The *French* made several Attempts in this Governor's Time, but were unsuccessful in all of them.

Nicholas  
Webb, Esq;  
Governor.

Mr. *Trott* continued in his Government till the Year 1697, at which Time the Lords Proprietaries nominated *Nicholas Webb*, Esq; Governor of the *Babama-Islands*, and King *William* was pleased in Council to approve of their Nomination: By which we perceive his Majesty's Approbation was then thought necessary.

The Oaths appointed by the Acts of Trade and Navigation, &c. to be taken by the respective Governors of his Majesty's Plantations, were tendered to Mr. *Webb* at the Council Board, and having taken them, he had the Honour to kiss his Majesty's Hand.

There happened nothing memorable in this Governor's Time: The Peace in *Europe* prevented Wars in *America*; Wrecks and Pirates were the only Hope of *Providence*, there being no Product to trade with except *Braffetto* Wood and Salt. At *Xuma* in this *Island*, great Quantities of Salt were made, which the People exported to the *Continent* and other *Islands*.

*Carolina* being the nearest Colony to this, the People of *Providence* traded most thither. 'Tis about a Week's Sail to *Carolina*, and 10 Days Sail back, because of the strong Current in the Gulph of *Florida*. One would wonder why this Place should not produce Provisions sufficient for 1000 Souls, and more there never were there, since we have been told by a Gentleman who was Governor of *Providence*, that Pease came up in six Weeks Time, and *Indian* Corn in 12.

When this *Island* was in its most flourishing Condition, there were 3 or 400 Blacks upon it; and Mr. *Lightwood* attempted to set up a Sugar-Work, which he brought to some Perfection, the Soil being fertile but shallow. He built a Sugar-Mill, and others were preparing to follow his Example, when the *French* and *Spaniards* put an End to all their Projects.

Lowth. Vol.  
II. p. 845.

There have been Whales found dead on the Shore here, with a Sperm all over their Bodies; but my Author who had been upon the Place writes, he could never hear of any of that Sort that were killed by any, such is their Fierceness

and

and Swiftness. One such Whale is worth many Hundred Pounds. They are very strong, and in-laid with Sinews all over their Body, which may be drawn out 30 Fathom long.

The Fish at *Providence* are many of them poisonous, <sup>Ibid.</sup> bringing a great Pain on the Joints of those that eat them, which continues so for some short Time, and at last with two or three Days itching the Pain is rub'd off. Those of the same Species, Size, Shape, Colour, and Taste are one of them Poison, the other not in the least hurtful; and those that are, are only so to some of the Company. The Distemper never grows mortal to Men, Dogs and Cats are sometimes killed by it. In Men that have once had that Disease, upon the first eating of Fish tho' it be those that are wholesome, the poisonous Ferment in their Body is revived by it, and their Pain encreased.

Mr. *Richard Stafford*, whom we have mentioned in our Account of the *Bermudas-Islands* says, in some Observations of his communicated to the Royal Society. *Many rare Things might be discovered in New Providence, if the People were but encouraged. 'Tis stored with Variety of Fish and Fowl, and with divers Sorts of Trees and other Plants, whose Qualities are not yet known.*

*Ambergrease* has been found here, but in no great Quantities; and the Inhabitants were never in a very thriving Condition.

The Governors talked as big as if they had been Vice-Roys of *Peru*; they told every one they had Power of Life and Limb, and could not bear to be thought dependent on the Government of *Carolina*, tho' it looked something like it: For the Proprietaries used, when any Difference happened between the People of *Providence* and their Governor, to send Orders to the Governor of *Carolina* to inspect Matters, and order them as they should think most convenient.

Here were Courts of Justice of all Denominations, as in *Westminster-hall*, and the Inhabitants were so litigious, that not a Burough in *Cornwall* could compare with them; which is the more amazing, because they had not much to quarrel for or to spare for Law.

To Mr. *Web* succeeded *Elias Hasket*, Esq; in the Government of the *Bahama-Islands*, about the Year 1700. <sup>Elias Hasket, Esq; Governor.</sup> He found an unruly People, and they were the more so, for few Wrecks had happened lately, and the Pirates began to spend their Money elsewhere. Whatever was the Occasion, the Inhabitants were in a little Time so out of Humour with Mr. *Hasket*, that they seized him, put him in Irons and sent

Ellis Light-  
wood, Esq;  
Governor.

sent him away, taking upon them to choose a Governor for themselves; and that Choice fell on *Ellis Lightwood, Esq;* in whose Time the Settlements were destroyed: For in *July 1703*, the *Spaniards* and *French* from *Petit Guaves* landed, surprized the Fort, took the Governor Prisoner, plundered and stripped the *English*, burnt the Town of *Nassau* all but *Mr. Lightwood's* House, together with the Church, spoilt the Fort and nailed up the Guns. They carried off the Governor and about half the Blacks. The rest saved themselves in the Woods: But in *October* they came again, and picked up most of the Remainder of the Negroes.

*Mr. Lightwood* having procured his Liberty by Exchange or Ransom, came to *Carolina*, and going off thence in a Vessel on some Adventure was never since heard of.

The *English* Inhabitants of the *Babama's* after this second Invasion, thought it in vain to stay longer; so they removed some to *Carolina*, some to *Virginia*, and some to *New-England*.

—Birch,  
Esq; Gover-  
nor.

The Proprietaries however appointed ——— *Birch, Esq;* to go over Governor of *Providence*; who not hearing that the Inhabitants had deserted the Island went thither, but finding it a Desert, he did not give himself the Trouble to open his Commission. He tarried there two or three Months, and was all that while forced to sleep in the Woods. After which he came back, and left the Place uninhabited, as it remains at present: But it is expected, that as soon as the Government of the Island is settled, and Measures taken to defend it, the Wrecks and other Advantages will tempt People to venture upon a third Settlement.

There was a Project on Foot, warmly sollicitated by *John Graves*, one of *Bulkley's* Persecutors, to get the Nomination of the Governor out of the Hands of the Proprietaries. We shall see how it was effected.

The Proprietaries then were,

*William, Lord Craven*, Palatine of the Island of *Providence*, &c.

*Henry, Duke of Beaufort*.

*William, Lord Berkley*.

*John, Lord Carteret*.

The Honourable *Maurice Ashley, Esq;*

*Sir John Colliton*, Baronet.



This and the other *Bahama-Islands* were looked upon to be so necessary for the Security of our Trade in the *West-Indies*, that the Parliament of *England* have not thought it unworthy of their Care, as well to have it cleared of Pirates, as to defend it against both *Spaniards* and *French*, who find its Situation very convenient to annoy or befriend their Commerce. In *Queen Anne's War*, both *Spaniards* and *French* overrun and plundered the *Bahama-Islands* twice, upon which in *March 1714*, at a Time when the Administration in *England* was in the Hands of those who had not its Interest, especially as to Commerce, very much at Heart. Yet the House of Lords addressed her Majesty, that the Island of *Providence* might be put into a Posture of Defence. Their Lordships observing, *It would be of fatal Consequence, if the Bahama-Islands should fall into the Hands of an Enemy.* They therefore humbly pray her Majesty to take the said Islands into her own Hands, and give such Order for their Security as in her royal Wisdom she should think fit. But nothing was done, and for the future Guidance of such as have it in their Power to do good Offices for our *American Colonies*, it is not improper to remember, that their Lordships four Years after took Notice of that Neglect, in an Address to his late Majesty King *George*. *There were not any the least Means used in Compliance with that Advice for securing the Bahama-Islands, and that then the Pirates had a Lodgment with a Battery on Harbour-Island, and that the usual Retreat and general Receptacle for the Pirates are at Providence.* Hereupon his Majesty was pleased to give Directions for dislodging these Pirates, and make Settlements and a Fortification for its Security and Defence.

Pursuant to this Address, Capt. *Woods Rogers* was appointed Governor, the same Person which went with the Duke and Dutchess of *Bristol* to the *South Sea* and made a prosperous Voyage eight Years before. He sailed for *Providence* in *April 1718*, taking with him a naval Force for subduing the Pirates. In the mean Time Col. *Bennet* Governor of *Bermudas* sent a Sloop to that Island, requiring them to surrender themselves pursuant to the late Proclamation. The Pirates who were then on the Island very gladly accepted of the Mercy offered them thereby, and promised to surrender themselves as soon as they could get Passage to the *English Colonies*, adding they did not doubt but their Fellows, who were at Sea, would gladly do the same after their Example; accordingly Captain *Henry Jennings* and 15 others, immediately followed the Sloop to *Bermudas* and surrendered themselves, and Captain *Leslie* and Captain *Nichols* with a good Number of their Pi-

Captain  
Woods  
Rogers Ge-  
vernor.

rates, sent Word that they would also surrender. The above-mentioned Proclamation was brought hither by Capt. *Peers* in the *Phenix* Frigate, lately stationed at *New-York*. Besides the above, surrendered Capt. *Hornigold*, Capt. *Burges*, and in the whole as many of their Men as amounted to 114, which were followed by many more; however Piracy was not suppressed, nor did *Woodes Rogers* answer the Expectations of those that employed him, tho' at his Arrival here he seemed very zealous in the Service he was sent for. He arrived at *Nassau* in *Providence* in July 1718. *Vane* one of the Captains of the Pirates knowing what Errand he came upon, to reduce those Robbers by the Proclamation or by Force, caused a *French* Ship of 22 Guns which he had taken to be set on Fire, intending to make Use of her as a Fireship, to burn the *Rose* Frigate which came with *Woodes Rogers*; and indeed the *Rose* would have been in great Danger, had she not got off in Time by cutting her Cables. But *Vane's* bold and rash Attempt could not have secured him, for besides the *Rose* there were at Hand the *Milford* Man of War, and the ——— aboard which was the Governor; these were soon after seen standing in for the Harbour of *Nassau*, upon which *Vane* and about 50 of his Men made off in a Sloop. The Governor sent a Sloop with sufficient Force after them, but the Pirates got off, and the *Milford* and the ——— ran aground coming into the Harbour, which shews its Entrance to be very dangerous, or the Pilot very ignorant or careless; one of the King's Ships being under his Pilotage, and aboard the ——— a Navigator, who ten Years before had rounded the World, as did Sir *Francis Drake*.

The 27th of *July*, Mr. *Woodes Rogers* came ashore, took Possession of the Fort, and caused his Majesty's Commission to be read in Presence of the Officers, Soldiers and about 300 People, whom he found there at his Arrival, which had been almost daily exercised in Arms for their Defence, in Case of Attack by *Spaniards* or *French*. As for the Pirates, they were not in so great Fear of them, most of them having been themselves of the Fraternity who had surrendered and made their Peace with the Government. *Woodes Rogers* brought with him above 100 Soldiers, and this joint Force, which was and might easily have been still farther recruited, was sufficient to secure the *Bahama-Islands* against any Enterprizes of the *French* and *Spaniards*.

Mr. *Rogers* set himself to regulate the Government, and restore Order in it which had been neglected several Years past. Of the Adventurers who came with him, six were nominated to be of the Council, as were also six of the Inhabitants

habitants who had never been Pirates themselves, but one cannot conceive that in a Place where those Robbers were almost always Masters and always welcome, that any one of the Inhabitants had not rendered himself criminal in the Eye of the Law. These Counsellors are distinguished from the new Comers by the *Italick* Character.

The Governor and Council of the *Bahama-Islands* in the Year 1719.

Captain *Woodes Rogers*, Governor.

Counsellors.

<i>Mr. Robert Beauchamp.</i>	<i>Mr. Nathaniel Taylor.</i>
<i>Mr. William Fairfax.</i>	<i>Mr. Richard Thompson.</i>
<i>Mr. Wingate Gale.</i>	<i>Mr. Edward Holmes.</i>
<i>Mr. George Hooper.</i>	<i>Mr. Thomas Barnard.</i>
<i>Mr. Christopher Gale.</i>	<i>Mr. Thomas Spencer.</i>
<i>Mr. Thomas Walker.</i>	<i>Mr. Samuel Watkins.</i>

Judge of the Admiralty *Mr. William Fairfax.*

Captain of the Independent Company, *Capt. Woodes Rogers.*

Collector of the Customs, *Mr. John Graves.*

Secretary *Mr. Richard Beauchamp.*

Chief Justice and Register, *Mr. Christopher Gale.*

Provost Marshal, *Mr. William Watkins.*

Naval Officer, *Mr. George Hooper.*

These Officers had their Powers from *England* directly.

As soon as the Governor and Council had settled their Board, about 200 of those that had been Pirates surrendered themselves to them, had Certificates of their Surrender, and took the Oaths of Allegiance, as did voluntarily the greatest Part of the Inhabitants of *Providence*; where in a few Years after, were computed to be near 1500 Souls. Out of these are formed three Companies of Militia, under Officers of their own Island. These Companies take their Turn every Night in the Town Guard at *Nassau*, and the independent Company are always upon Duty in the Fort here, and another of eight Guns erected at the Eastermost Entrance into the Harbour. There is or was lately a Guard Ship in the Road well provided for Defence. If there is Deficiency in any of these Articles, every one of which is of the last Importance, the concerned will doubtless take



Care to have it amended. The Inhabitants did not only set their Negroes at Work upon the Repairs of Fort *Nassau* and the erecting the other at the Harbour Mouth, but worked also themselves upon the Forts and clearing the Ground within Gun-shot from Brushwood and Shrubs, as also palifading the said Forts which are or were in good Condition and very defensible. The Number of Houses are increased according to that of the Inhabitants, and are computed at near 300 in the Town of *Nassau*. There are here great Convenience for Building, as Stone, Lime and Timber in Plenty; neither would there be any Want of Bread, the Soil being very productive of Corn was it well cultivated, nor of fresh Provisions if the Inhabitants will by their Industry answer the Bounty of Nature.

At *Eleuthera-Island* are now about 60 Families. Here is a Company of Militia formed out of the Inhabitants, under Command of Mr. *Holmes* as Deputy Governor.

At *Harbour-Island* are about 70 Families and a like Company of Militia, under the Government of Mr. *Thompson*, both these Governors being at their Establishment Members of the Council of *Providence*. In each of these Islands is a small Fort of six or eight Guns.

As a Proof of the strong Propensity of the People of this Island, to make their Market by Piracy, we must add, that *Vane* the Pirate before-mentioned, after his Escape from *Providence*, took two good Prizes belonging to *Carolina*. A Merchant of *Nassau*, as he is called, having obtained Leave of the Governor to go a Turtling, went in a Sloop under that Pretence to trade with *Vane*, and accordingly traded with that Pirate; in quest of whom was sent from this Harbour Capt. *Hornigold* before-mentioned, who had been a Pirate himself: He found *Vane* too strong for him, but he met with and took the *Turtling* Sloop, and the Merchant's illicite Trade being plainly proved, he was sent in Chains to *England*.

We have mentioned that the Propriety of this and the *Bahama-Islands* was in the Proprietaries of *Carolina*, but by what legal Title they pretended to it, or what Reason they had to assert a Right, which their so little Care of the Islands was alone sufficient to have vacated, we know not. The Government of *England* had been at a very great Expence for the Security and Improvement of these Islands, and as the original Right seems to be there lodged, we suppose a Grant of them was issued to the Lord *Londonderry*, Brother in Law to Earl *Stanhope*, which was litigated by the Lord *Craven*, in Behalf of the Proprietaries of the *Carolina* Charter.

Charter. I must confess it is in me against the Grain, to treat of transforming the Right of the Liberty and Property of *Englishmen* from one to another without their Consent, and very often against it by Grants and Charters for the Profit of particular Persons, very far from deserving them by their publick Services.

In the Year 1715, one Capt. *Juan de la Valle* Deputy of the *Spanish* Commerce, being sent by the Governor of the *Havana* to *Jamaica* to demand the Money fished up out of the wreckt *Flota's* on the Coast of *Florida* and the *Bahama-Islands*, pretended in a Memorial he delivered to the Governor and Council of *Jamaica*, that these *Bahama-Islands* belonged to the King of *Spain* and were Part of his Dominions. The Governor and Council say in Answer, *We can no Ways admit that the Bahama-Islands are Part of the Dominions of the King of Spain, but look upon the same to be his Britannick Majesty's.* A very just Answer, but not spirited enough to correspond with the Insolence of the *Spaniards* Claims. The *Dutch* and *French* have the same Right to the *Bahama-Islands* as the *Spaniards*, having been often thrown ashore and wrecked upon these Islands. If the seizing and possessing Part of them for a certain Time give a Title, the *English* have a good one to the best Parts and Places in the *Spanish West-Indies*. The pretended Claim of the *Spaniards* to the Empire of *America*, is exactly in the Spirit and Stile of their Countryman Don *Quixot*: The brave *Vernon* is now teaching them more Moderation and Sobriety in this Article.

The Inhabitants of *Providence* did for several Years make good Advantages of the *Salt Pans* in the *Bahama-Islands*, but the Disturbances and Changes here put a Stop to that Work, which we hear is now revived to the great Benefit of our Colonies.

Mr. *Rogers* before-mentioned, returned to *England* some Time after to sollicit Recruits of all Kinds for this Colony, which as he told me himself he had great Hopes of obtaining. But whether it was he or his Successor Capt. *Fitzwilliams* that procured an independent Company to be sent thither we cannot tell. But certain it is such a Force was very necessary there, and indeed will always be so, considering the *Spaniards* and *French* look on the Possession of those Islands by the *English* with an envious Eye, not for the Beauty of the Country or the Fertility of the Soil, but for the Commodiousness of their Situation to annoy and distress them in their Navigation.

This independent Company of Soldiers continued there some Years, but having no Augmentation of Pay as in *Jamaica*, &c. they first murmured and then mutinied.

1736.  
Mutiny of  
the Soldiers.

On the 27th of *March* 1736, a little after eight at Night, several Soldiers of this Garrison (who it seems for some Time before, had been combining to rise and take the Fort, in Order to facilitate their Differtion) knocked down the Corporal and several Soldiers, who they imagined would not be of their Party, seized the Fort Gate, surprized the Centinels at their Posts and took Possession of the whole Garrison.

The Governor who was then in his own House drinking a Glass of Wine with two or three Gentlemen, being informed of this Mutiny by one of the Centinels who made his Escape over the Fort Wall, immediately snatched up a Sword, and ordered the Centinels that guarded his House in the Night to follow him, and ran down to the Fort, imagining that if he could by any Means get in with three or four People, his Presence would with the Loss of one or two, form a Party strong enough to overpower the Mutineers: But he no sooner approached the Fort Gate, and called out to one of the Serjeants who was just before him to endeavour to secure it, than half a Dozen Muskets were fired at him, whereupon he ordered those Soldiers he brought with him to return the Fire; which one of them had no sooner done, than a Volley was fired from the Bastions between which the Governor and the few People with him were, whereby the Serjeant before-mentioned just before him was shot through the Arm, and many Places through his Clothes, and the Centinel almost close at his left Hand received a mortal Wound whereof he soon died, and the Gentlemen who followed the Governor from his House, being but a little Way from him were much endangered, for by this Time the firing from all Parts of the Garrison became general, occasioned it is believed by the Governor's being overheard to order People to run to some Buildings in the Town for Ladders, in order to endeavour to get over the Fort Walls.

The first Battle being over, and the Mutineers having secured all the Arms and Ammunition in the Fort, they began to fire the great Guns at two or three Vessels in the Harbour, with Design to make them come down near the Fort, and also at the Governor's House. In the mean Time he was getting as many of the Inhabitants as he could together in order to invest the Fort, but finding he could not suddenly get a sufficient Number of them to perform that Service, he had Recourse to a Stratagem, which was as follows. The Governor having detached Mr. *Stewart*, his Surgeon, with a few



few Men to reinforce and command a small Number of the People of the Country who were gone to the Magazine, went about a Mile to the Eastward of the Town, where Capt. *Charles* of this Island had removed a Scooner of his out of Sight of the Fort, and on Board this Vessel the Governor put some Powder and Ball, brought on Purpose from the Magazine, and ordered about 35 chosen Men of the Island to be under the Command of Capt. *Walker* and Mr. *Sam. Lawford*, with Directions to get under Sail at a Moment's Warning; for by this Time the Governor had Notice that about 18 of the Mutineers had seized a small Sloop in the Harbour, and that a Party of them had broke open the common Jail and taken out a *French* Seaman (committed a Week before for endeavouring to carry off some Soldiers) to be their Pilot, and that they purposed farther to get the Governor into their Possession if possible. But finding themselves disappointed in this last Part of their Scheme, and having been repulsed at the Magazine which they went to blow up, they to the Number of 42 broke open the Provision Storehouse and a Place where there was some new Clothing (and having equipped themselves and the Sloop, and nailed up some of the Guns that pointed to the Harbour's Mouth) went on Board, and set sail about three a Clock the next Morning; at the same Instant Capt. *Walker* weighed, pursued and kept in Sight of them all Night, without being seen by them till Day Light, which was such a Surprize and bred such a Confusion among them, that they were soon taken without any Damage or Loss on either Side.

Upon this they were carried back, and the next Day every Man of them was convicted and sentenced to Death, 12 of the most notorious and the *French* Pilot were forthwith executed, the latter at the Mast Head of his own Vessel.

These poor Wretches declared upon their Death, that they intended to spill no more Blood than might happen in their own Defence, and that their View in attempting to take the Governor, was only to secure him and thereby their own Escape, and Mr. *Stewart*, as being one always active to execute the Governor's Commands on Emergencies of this Kind, their whole Design being only to get from a Place where the Pay is scarce sufficient to support human Nature, there being no additional Allowance for them here as in *Jamaica* and other Places.

THE  
 HISTORY  
 OF THE  
 BERMUDAS  
 OR  
 Summer-Islands.

CONTAINING

An Account of the Discovery, Settlement,  
 Growth, and present State of the Colony:  
 A Description of the Country, Climate, Soil,  
 Productions, &c.

**T**HE first Mention we find any where made of these Islands by *English* Authors, is in Captain *Lancaster's* Voyage for Discoveries in the *East-Indies* in 1593. The Captain sent one *Henry May* to *England* from *Hispaniola*, having obtained Passage for him aboard a *French* Ship, commanded by *Monsieur de Barbotiere*, who was driven ashore on the Island commonly called *Bermudas*; and this was the first of our Countrymen who had been upon it.

As to the first Inhabitants, it is very probable there were none before the *English*, the Place being so far from any Part of the Continent of *America*, that the *Indians* did not understand Navigation enough to reach it.

*Oviedas*

*Oviedas* writes, he was near *Bermudas*, and had Thoughts to have set some Hogs ashore for Encrease, but he was driven thence by Tempests, it being extremely subject to furious Rains, Lightning and Thunder.

The Name of *Bermudas* is said to be given them from *John Bermudas* a Spaniard, who discovered them in his Way to the *Spanish West-Indies*, several Years before Mr. *May* was cast ashore there; but we do not read that he landed upon any of them, tho' it is certain the *Spaniards* had been on Shore, not willingly but forced by Shipwreck: And indeed several Wrecks of Ships were found in the Water among the Rocks, which were easily known to be some *Spanish*, some *Dutch*, some *Portuguese*, and some *French*; and in the Year 1572, King *Philip* gave them to one *Ferd. Camelo*, who never took Possession.

Mr. *May* and his Company having a little refreshed themselves on the biggest of these Islands, which now goes by the Name of *St. George's*, when the Weather permitted got off their broken Ship, to see what they could save out of her, and with the Remains of that Vessel and the Cedar they felled in the Country, they built a new Ship; and after various Adventures, arrived at the several Ports of *Europe* to which they belonged.

This *May's* Relation of these Islands occasioned their being talked of, and Sir *George Sommers* and Sir *Thomas Gates* suffering the same Fate there in the Year 1609, revived the Discourse of them, yet no Body thought it worth their while to adventure thither, till after Sir *George's* second landing and breathing his last there.

We have spoken of Sir *George's* being shipwrecked on these Islands, where two Women that were delivered, the one of a Boy who was christened *Bermudas*, and the other of a Girl who was named *Bermuda*: We have related how he and his Companions got off in the History of *Virginia*, whither he was bound: We have also hinted how he was sent by the Lord *de la Ware* to fetch Provisions hence for the *Virginians*, *Bermudas* abounding in Hogs and Turtles. Sir *George* mist the Coast, and fell in with that of *Sagadahoc* in *Norembegua*, where he took in fresh Water and Provisions, and proceeded in Search of these pleasant and fruitful Islands: At last he found them, and being extremely harassed with the Fatigues of the Sea above what his great Age, upwards of threescore Years, could bear, he died as soon as he came ashore.

'Twas observable, that the Vessel he went in had not an Ounce of Iron about it, except one Bolt in her Keel, and all her Timber and Planks were of Cedar.

From



From him these Islands are called *Sommer's-Isles*, which our Mariners, very dextrous in corrupting Terms and Names of Places, call the *Summer-Islands*: A Name they very well deserve indeed, on Account of their Pleasantness and Fertility.

Sir *George* enjoined his Men to return to *Virginia* with black Hogs, for the Relief of that Colony; but they resolved otherwise after his Death, and storing their Cedar Ship with such Provisions as they had, they set sail for *England*, where they arrived at *White-Church* in *Dorsetshire* having Sir *George Sommers's* Corpse aboard, only the Heart and Bowels they left at *Bermudas*, where Capt. *Butler* 12 Years afterwards built a handsom Monument over them.

These Persons at their Return gave such an Account of the Country to the *Virginia* Company, that they thought it worth their while to establish a Correspondence between *England* and it; accordingly they sold these Islands to 120 Persons of the same Society, who obtained a Charter of King *James* and became the Proprietors of them.

We must not omit relating the following Part of this History, tho' it seems a little too romantick to be true; but since we find it reported as a Truth, we think fit to let the Reader know and judge of it for himself, without trusting to our Sentiments.

'Tis said, that when Sir *George Sommers* was first here, two of his Men stayed behind him; these having committed some Crime, for which they would have been put to Death if they had gone, fled into the Woods, and would not accompany him to *Virginia*. They were still here when Sir *George* returned, and had ever since his Departure supported themselves on the Productions of the Place, such as it naturally yielded; they had built them a Hut, and taken Possession of St. *George's* Island.

These two Men, whose Names were *Christopher Carter* and *Edward Waters*, stayed still behind Sir *George's* second Company, of whom they persuaded one *Edward Chard* to remain there with them; and now *Carter*, *Waters* and *Chard*, were sole Lords of the Country, but like the Kings of the World they soon fell out among themselves; *Chard* and *Waters* were coming to a pitched Battle, but *Carter*, tho' he hated them both, yet not liking to be left alone prevented it, by threatening to declare against the Man who struck the first Stroke: At last Necessity made them good Friends, and they joined together in making Discoveries; in one of which Expeditions they found the greatest Piece of Ambergrease among the Rocks, that ever was seen in one Lump; weighing 80 Pound,

Pound, besides other smaller Pieces. This Treasure made them almost mad. The Value of it turned their Heads, they grew giddy with the Thoughts of it, and that they might have an Opportunity to make Use of it, resolved on the most desperate Attempt that Men in Distraction could run upon, which was to build a Boat after the best Manner they could, and sail to *Virginia* or *Newfoundland*, according as Wind or Weather should present. But before they could put their extravagant Project in Execution, a Ship arrived from *England*; for Capt. *Matthew Sommers*, Sir *George's* Brother, had promised to come to them or send a Vessel to their Relief, or they had not stayed neither the first Time nor the last. The Ship they discovered standing in with the Shore was the *Plough*, which had 60 Persons aboard, sent by the *New Bermudas Company* to make a Settlement, over whom they placed one Mr. *Richard Moor* for Governor; who was an honest industrious Person. He pitched upon a Plain in *St. George's Island* to settle on, and there first built himself a House or rather Cabin, for the Building was only of *Palmeto* Leaves, yet he made it large enough for him, his Wife and Family; and the rest of the Adventurers following his Example, it became a Sort of a Town, which in Time grew to a considerable Bigness, and is now *St. George's Town*, one of the strongest and best built in all our *American Colonies*, for the Houses are of Cedar, and all the Forts of hewn Stone.

1612.  
Mr. Richard  
Moor, Governour.

Mr. *Moor* was a Man of ordinary Condition, being but a Carpenter. He was a good Architect and Engineer, and fitter in the Infancy of the Colony for the Post he was in, than an unexperienced Gentleman would have been. He spent the most Part of his Time in fortifying the Islands, and carried on the Work of the Plantation with all imaginable Zeal and Capacity. He drew out the Model of the Town as it stands at present. He trained the People in martial Exercises, built 9 or 10 Forts, and furnished them all with Ammunition. He also built a Church of Cedar, which being blown down by a Tempest, he raised another of *Palmeto* Leaves, in a Place better sheltered from the Weather.

In the first Year of his Government, another Ship arrived with a Recruit of Provisions and 30 Passengers. He by this Time had found out the Booty of *Ambergrease*, which *Carter, Waters* and *Chard* had concealed, and seized it as belonging to the Proprietors. He sent one third of it to the Company at *London* by the Ship that brought the Supply, and the rest by the next Opportunities that offered, in the same Proportion; which gave such Encouragement to the Adventurers,

turers, that they continued to supply them with Provisions, Stores, and more Company, till they were in a Condition to defend and support themselves by their own Strength and Plantations.

Mr. *Moor* made very good Returns Home in Ambergrease, Drugs, Cedar, Tobacco, and the Product of the Islands.

1614.

In the third Year of his Government the *Spaniards* shewed themselves on the Coast, with a Design to supplant them; but finding them better provided to receive them than they imagined they were, they bore away after the *English* had fired two Shot at them; tho' had they made an Attack then, they had probably ruined the Settlement, Powder falling so short that there was not a whole Barrel in *St. George's*, the Game having consumed that Part of their Stores.

'Twas also in the Time of this Governor that the famous *Rat Plague* began in *Bermudas*, which lasted five Years. They came thither in the Ships, and multiplied so prodigiously ashore, that such Numbers were hardly ever seen in the World. They had Nests in every Tree, and all the Ground was covered with them. They eat up the Fruits, and even the Trees that bore them. They devoured the Corn within Doors and without, and neither Cats, Dogs, Traps, nor Poison, availed any Thing towards clearing the Country of them. They not only swarmed in *St. George's* Island, but in many of the other whither they swam over, and made the same Havock of every Thing that lay in their Way. At last they disappeared all on a sudden, and went as strangely as they came.

'Tis remarkable, that during this *Rat Plague* there were seen vast Numbers of Ravens in the Island, which had not been observed to be there before or since.

When the three Years of Mr. *Moor's* Government were expired, *Capt. Daniel Tucker* was sent over to succeed him.

*Capt. Daniel  
Tucker,  
Governor.*

This Gentleman much encouraged the improving of the Soil, the planting of Tobacco, and did all Things he could think of to promote the Good of the Colony, which he saw brought into a flourishing Condition before he left it.

The Houses that were built of *Palmeto* Leaves, were for the most Part taken down, and others of Stone raised in their Places, several Fruit Trees were planted, Fields and Woods cleared of Rubbish, and a regular Form of Government established. But the Severity of his Discipline was so grievous to some licentious Persons, that five of them executed as desperate a Design to escape him as *Waters* and his Companions had projected to get away from the Island. They knew the Governor would not give them Leave to go off, and



and therefore invented this Contrivance to effect it: Hearing Capt. *Tucker* had a great Desire to go a fishing out at Sea, but was afraid to do it, because several Fisher-Boats had been driven off by the Weather and the Men perished, they proposed to him to build a Boat of two or three Tuns for him with a Deck, and so fitted that she should live in all Weathers. The Governor consenting to it, they fell to building it in a private Place, pretending it was convenient for their getting Timber and launching the Boat. They finished it sooner than it was expected, and the Governor sent Hands to fetch it, intending to go in it aboard a Ship which he was then dispatching for *England*. When his Men came to the Place, neither the Boat nor the Builders were to be found. All that they could hear of them was, that the Boat being finished the Night before, those that built it went off to Sea in it to try how it would sail. At last they found by some Letters they left behind them, that they were gone for *England*. And the Story of their Adventure is told us in this Manner: They borrowed a Compass-Dial of a Neighbour on some Pretence or other, and went aboard the Ship bound for *England*, where they trucked with the Seamen such Things as they had on Board for Provisions. One of them at parting told the Mariners, that *tho' they were forbidden to go with them, yet they hoped to be in England before them*: At which the Master of the Ship laughed; and away these fearless Adventurers sailed, with fair Wind and Weather for one and twenty Days. They then met with a Storm which reduced them to Extremity for eight and forty Hours; and obliging them to bear up afore it, drove them a little out of their Course to the Westward; but the Wind coming fair again and continuing so ten Days, they went on chearfully. In that Time they met with a *French Privateer*, where they went aboard to beg some Relief; but instead of helping them, he plundered them of the little they had, took away even their Instrument of Navigation and turned them adrift. In this miserable Condition they sailed on, growing daily weaker and weaker. Their Provisions were almost spent, their Fire-Wood quite gone, not a Drop of fresh Water left, nor Food for above a Day, when at last in the very Hour they expected to perish, they made Land to their unspeakable Joy. This Land was *Ireland*, where they went ashore in the County of *Cork*, and were nobly entertained by the Earl of *Thomond*, to whom they related their Voyage which lasted 42 Days.

The Men were Mr. *James Barker*, a Gentleman; *Richard Sanders*, the Contriver of the Design; *William Goodwin* a Ship Carpenter, chief Builder of the Boat; *Thomas Barker* a Join-

a Joiner; and *Henry Puet* a Sailor, whose Enterprize was so daring, that it may well recommend their Names to Posterity.

1619.  
Capt. Butler  
Governor.

Capt. *Tucker* resigned his Government in the Year 1619, to Capt. *Butler*, who arrived there at that Time with four good Ships, in which he brought at least 500 Passengers, and there being as many *English* already on the Island, the Colony began to make a considerable Figure; and the more, because the *English* had not any so numerous in *America*, nor indeed any other except that at *Virginia*, and a small Settlement in *New-England*.

Capt. *Butler*, as has been hinted, raised a noble Monument over the Remains of Sir *George Sommers* that were left in the Island, depositing them in the Church at *St. George's Town*, with an Inscription in *English* Rhimes as barbarous as the Place he then governed.

He divided the Islands into Districts; and now the Government, by Governor, Council and Assembly was established, which before had been only by Governor and Council. The Laws of the Country were also settled as near as the Circumstances and Conveniencies of the Place would admit, to the Laws of *England*, as is done in all the Colonies in *America*.

Mr. Bernard  
Governor.  
1622.

When the three Years of Capt. *Butler's* Government were out, the Proprietors sent over one Mr. *Bernard* to supply his Place.

Mr. Harrison  
President.

M. Delaet  
calls him  
Woodhouse.

The Country did not agree with this Gentleman, as it had done with his Predecessors; for in less than six Weeks after his Arrival he died, and the Council made Choice of Mr. *Harrison* to preside till the Arrival of a new Governor or fresh Orders from *England*.

The Settlement was so well peopled, that in this Gentleman's Presidency there were reckoned three thousand *English*; and their Affairs went on prosperously then, having no less than 10 Forts and 50 Pieces of Cannon mounted.

We have had so little Acquaintance with, and Information of these Islands, that we cannot pretend to continue the Succession of the Governors, nor give a large History of the Events that happened under their Government. 'Tis true there have not been many, and had our Information been the best that is to be procured, we know enough of the *Bermudas-Islands* to be very well satisfied, that much could not be said of them.

The most considerable Person that ever visited these Islands, was *Edmund Waller*, Esq; a Proprietor of them, one of the most gallant Men, and one of the finest Wits in the Courts of King *Charles* the Ist and King *Charles* the IId; and

and one of those to whom Mr. *Dryden* confessed he owed the Harmony of his Numbers.

This Gentleman being a Man of Fortune as well as Wit, was chosen a Member of the *Long Parliament*; and at first fell in with the Party against the King, tho' he afterwards entered into the Conspiracy against the Parliament, for which Mr. *Chaloner* and Mr. *Tompkins* were executed; but Mr. *Waller* got off for a Fine of 10000 *l.* and Banishment. After which he went to the *Bermudas-Islands*, where he stayed some Time, and from thence to *France*. When *Oliver* prevailed, Mr. *Waller* returned to *England*.

By his being in this Country, *Bermudas* has the Glory to be sung by one of the most harmonious Poets that ever beautified the *English* Tongue; and that is an Honour to which none of the other Islands, or any Part of the *American* Continent can pretend.

The Inhabitants of this Island were never any great Traders. They contented themselves with what they could raise out of the Earth for their Subsistence, and found enough for Nourishment and Pleasure.

The Healthiness of the Air invited several Persons from other Places, and by this Means it was computed that about 20 or 30 Years ago, there were 8 or 10000 Souls of *English* Extraction. Whether that Number has diminished since we cannot tell; but we are inclined to believe it is rather less than more.

The Government in King *William's* Reign, sent over a very loyal Address; as also the *Association*, signed by the Governor, Council, Assembly, and principal Inhabitants, which Sir *William Trumball*, then Secretary of State, presented to his Majesty *Feb. 15, 1696*.

The King, two Years afterwards, was pleased to appoint *Samuel Day*, Esq; to be Governor of these Islands; who embarked aboard the *Maidstone* Man of War in *May*, and arrived in *July* at *St. George's*. He either was recalled or died in his Government in two Years Time, for in 1700, Capt. *Bennet* was made Governor of his Majesty's *Bermudas* or *Summer-Islands*: Of which we can say little more, except what relates to the Geographical or Natural Account of them; and we therefore proceed to it, hoping it will make some Amends for what we fall short of in the History.

We come now to the Geographical Description of these Islands, and the other Parts of our Account of them.

There are such a vast Number of them, that most of them yet want a Name, and indeed are so small, they are not worth it. Some Writers say there are 300 of them,



others 400, and others 500; but not to stand to determine what is transmitted to us with so much Uncertainty, we shall only venture to be positive in that they are above 400, because the major Part of the Writers who make any Mention of them agree in that Point.

From Spain  
1000  
Leagues,  
from Lon-  
don 1100,  
from Roa-  
noke 500.  
Del.

They lie some Hundreds of Leagues from any Land; the nearest Part of the *Continent*, which is *Cape Hattoras* in *Carolina*, being 300 Leagues from them, the Island of *Hispaniola* 400, *Madeira* 1000, and *England* 1600; their Latitude is between 32 and 33 Degrees N. L.

The Eighth Part of them are not inhabited; and all but *St. George's*, *St. David's*, and *Cooper's Isles*, have only a few Houses scattered up and down. They all together make the Figure of a *Crescent*, and are within the Circuit of six or seven Leagues at most. There are none of them of any considerable Bigness, yet some much bigger than others, as Time and the Sea continually washing upon them, have worn them away in different Proportions.

The Main or great Island of all is called *St. George's*, and is about 16 Miles in Length from E. N. E. to W. S. W. 'Tis not a League over in the broadest Place, but is fortified by Nature all around, the Rocks every Way extending themselves a great Way into the Sea. To which natural Strength, especially towards the Eastward where it is most exposed, the Inhabitants have added that of Forts, Batteries, Parapets and Lines; the Cannon of the Forts and Batteries being so disposed, as to command the several Channels and Inlets into the Sea.

There are no more than two Places where Shipping may safely come in, and it is not easy for a Man to find those Places out. The Rocks lie so thick in such a Manner, and some so undiscovered, that without a good Pilot from the Shore, a Vessel of 10 Tuns would not find the Way into those Harbours; which being once known, the biggest Ships in the World may enter. These two Havens are so fortified, that if an Enemy should light of them, he might easily be kept out.

The Rocks in most Places appear at low Water. It ebbs and flows there not above five Foot; the very Shore itself is for the most Part a Rock, and it is impossible to find out an Island better guarded by Rocks than this; indeed they are all of them so invironed with them, that they seem to threaten all Ships who venture on that Coast with present Destruction; and so many have been shipwrecked upon them, that the *Spaniards* gave them the Name of *Los Diabolos*, the Devil's Islands; this Place having been fatal to them and all Nations.

The

The Town of St. George's stands at the Bottom of the Haven of the same Name, which has no less than six or seven Forts and Batteries; as *Kings Castle*, *Charles Fort*, *Pembrook Fort*, *Cavendish Fort*, *Davyes Fort*, *Warwick Fort*, and *Sandy's Fort*, mounted with above 70 Pieces of Cannon; and they are so disposed, that they can be all brought to bear upon any Ship before she can make her Entrance.

In this Town there is a fair Church with a fine Library, for which the Inhabitants are indebted to Dr. *Thomas Bray*, the Patron of the *American Learning*. There are near a Thousand Houses in it; it is very handsomly built, and has a State-House for the Meeting of the Governor, Council and Assembly.

Besides the Town and Division of St. George's, there are eight Tribes, *Hamilton Tribe*, *Smith's Tribe*, *Devonshire Tribe*, *Pembrook Tribe*, *Paget's Tribe*, *Warwick Tribe*, *Southampton Tribe*, and *Sandy's Tribe*; of which *Devonshire* in the North, and *Southampton* in the South are Parishes, have each a Church and a particular Library. In the whole Island there are Plantations of Oranges, Mulberries, and other Productions of the Country, which render it a very beautiful Prospect.

There is a Haven in *Southampton Tribe* or District, which is also called *Southampton*, and other Harbours; as the *Great Sound*, *Harrington's Inlet* in *Hamilton Tribe*, *Paget's Port* in *Paget's Tribe*, and others.

There are no Parish-Churches in any of the lesser Islands; and all of the Inhabitants are ranged under one or the other of the eight Tribes.

As to the Climate; it was for fourscore Years reckoned one of the healthiest Countries in the World; and the sickly used to remove thither from the *Sugar Islands* in *America*, as they do from the Northern Parts of *France* to *Montpellier* for the Air. But within this 20 Years there have been dreadful Hurricanes, which have had such an ill Effect on the Air, that the *Bermudas-Islands* have had their Share of Sickness as well as the *Antilles* and the *Charibbees*. However the Face of the Heavens, the Serenity and Beauty are still the same. The Weather is generally fine and pleasant, and the Air temperate and calm.

Here is a Sort of perpetual Spring, and tho' the Trees throw off their old Leaves, there are new ones always coming out at the same Time. The Birds breed all the Year round, or at least in most Months, and the Country is alike fruitful and charming, yet not so much more charming and

Hæ Insulæ  
nec Cœli,  
nec Soli bo-  
nitate cum  
illa (Anglia)  
ullo modo  
sunt compa-  
randæ. Del.

fruitful than England, as to tempt People who can live here, to transport themselves thither.

'Tis true, the Thunders and Lightnings are here very dreadful, Rocks having been split asunder by the latter. The Storms come with every new Moon, and it is particularly observed, that if a Circle is seen about the Moon, a prodigious Tempest certainly follows. These Circles are larger there than any where else, and the Storms are more terrible. The N. and N. W. Winds are most predominant, and when they blow turn Summer into Winter. The Rains are not frequent but violent, and the Sky is then darkened in a frightful Manner. Seldom any Snow is to be seen there. The Soil of the Isle of St. George's and the other Islands, are of several Colours and Tempers; the Brown is the best; the Whitish which is like Sand, the next to it; and the Red, which resembles Clay the worst. Two or three Foot under the Mould lies a solid white Body, which the Inhabitants call the *Rock*, tho' with very little Reason, for it is as soft as Chaulk and porous like a Pumice-Stone. Those Pores contain Abundance of Water, and as much a Rock as it is, the Trees fasten their Roots in it, and draw their nourishing Sap from it. Clay is often found under it, and the hardest Kind of this Rock is met with under the red Mould; in this there's little or no Water, and it lies in the Ground in Quarries, like thick Slates one upon another.

There's rarely any fresh Water in these Islands, what they have comes through the Pores of the Slate or Rock; in which there are as many salt Particles as in that which comes from the Sea after it has soaked through the Sand. These two Sorts of Water are all they have, except Rain Water caught in Cisterns. Both of the other Sorts are a little brackish.

The *English* have dug several Wells within four or five Paces of the Sea, that held a Correspondence with the Sea, and ebb'd and flow'd as that did; yet the Water was as fresh as that which was drawn up farther within Land.

The Soil is very fruitful and yields two Crops a Year, for what they sow in *March* they gather in *July*; and what they sow in *August*, in *December*; and the chief Product of the Country is Maize or *Indian* Corn, the common Grain of *America*; which is the main Support of the People.

Their Fields yield Abundance of other Plants; as Tobacco, not a very good Sort, and consequently of no great Advantage to them. They have most Kinds of other Plants, which are peculiar to the *West-Indies*, and such as are brought from *Europe*, and are cultivated there, thrive to Perfection. They also



also have the *Poison Weed*, which is like *English Ivy*, and the Touch of it causes a Pain and Tumour for the present, but it goes off again as the *Red Reed*, the Juice of whose Root is a forcible Vomit. The *Sea Feather* grows upon the Rocks at the Bottom of the Sea, like a Vine Leaf but broader, with Veins of a palish Red. Excepting the *Poisonous Weeds*, there's no venomous Thing in these Islands, neither among Animals nor Vegetables, and if any venomous Beast is brought thither it will not live. Some Lizards were seen before the Wild Cats, bred in the Time of the Rat Plague, destroyed them. But these Lizzards had no Poison in them; neither have their Spiders any, tho' they are of a large Size, of which we shall have Occasion to speak more in this Chapter. We have run over their Fields and must now visit their Forests, where we first find the Glory of *Libanus* of old.

The Cedar is a finer Tree than any of the Sort in the other Parts of *America*. 'Tis harder and more durable, will bear the Extremities of wet and dry Weather as well as Oak, is found to be an extraordinary Timber for Shipping, and they build the best Sloops, Brigantines, and such like Vessels at *Bermudas*, of all the *West-Indies* either for Service or Sailing.

These Trees *Palmetos*, *Pepper Trees*, bearing a Fruit like our *Barberries*, *Laurel*, *Olive Trees*, *Mulberry Trees*, and many others, for which the *English* knew no Names, were the natural Growth of the Island.

Their *Palm Tree* is a Sort of wild Palm, resembling the true *Indian Palm* in all Things but the Fruit, which is black and round like a *Damsin*. 'Twas observed, that Abundance of Silk Worms lodged in their Leaves, and there being also great Plenty of *Mulberry Trees*, the Silk Manufacture might have been improved more than it is, had the Inhabitants known their Interest or pursued it better.

There are great Variety of odoriferous Woods, some black, some of a yellow, and some of a red Colour. The Berries of these Trees have the styptick Quality of a *Sloe*, and are much used by the *English* to cure the Flux, which they frequently get by eating the luscious Palm Berries too greedily.

Their other Fruits are *Dates*; their *Prickled Pear* like an *English Katharine* in Shape and Size, full of Juice like a *Mulberry*: It grows upon the Rocks. And near the Sea-side is found a Kind of *Woodbind*, bearing a Fruit resembling a Bean, and another Shrub like a Bramble, whose Fruit is a hard tough Berry in a hard Shell.

The most famous Fruit, and one of the most delicious in the *Universe* is their Orange, much larger than any that grow elsewhere of such a Fragrancy both in Taste and Smell,

that it may compare with the richest Fruit in the World.

Lowth.  
Phil. Transf.  
Vol. II. p.  
784.

There grows a Berry in *Bermudas* called the *Summer-Island Redwood*, which Berry is as red as the *Prickle Pear*, giving much the like Tincture. Out of which Berry come first Worms; which afterwards turn into Flies, somewhat bigger than the *Cochineal Fly*, feeding on the same Berry. In which it is said, there has been found a Colour nothing inferior to that of the *Cochineal Fly*, and a medicinal Virtue much exceeding it.

As for the Animals in these Islands there were none but Hogs, Insects and Birds, when Sir *George Sommers* was shipwrecked there. He found out that there were some Hogs in the Island, by sending out two or three of his own to feed, and when they rambled Home a huge wild Boar followed them, and being killed was found to be excellent Meat.

The Hogs they killed afterwards were all black, and from thence it is concluded that the *Spaniards* had left them there to breed, because they were of the same Kind with those they carried to the *Continent of America*.

Some have fancied the Islands derived their Name from thence, *Bermudas* signifying in the old *Castillian* Dialect a *Black Hog*. Waving that as a foolish Imagination, it is certain the Island was stored with them, and that the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* used to leave some on uninhabited Islands in their Way to the *West-Indies*, that in Case they were driven ashore there, or were forced to put in, they might be sure to to meet with fresh Provisions. They now fat them at *Bermudas* with Palm and Cedar Berries, but their Number is very much decreased.

These Islands abound in more and greater Variety of Fowl than any in *America*. There are Hawks of all Sorts, Herons, Bitterns, Offpreys, Cormorants, Baldcoots, Moor-Hens, Swans, Teal, Snipe, Duck and Widgeon.

Bats and Owls are also very common here, with Multitudes of small Birds, as Woodpeckers, Sparrows, &c.

The *English* at their first coming, found a Sort of Fowl here called *Cohows*, which bred in the Holes of the Rocks and in Burrows like a Coney, and were so numerous and gentle, that they were taken by Hand. They are now almost all destroyed, being very easy to be caught. 'Tis of the Bigness of a Sea-mew.

There are also the *Tropick Bird*, and the *Pemlico* seldom seen by Day, and the unwelcom Foreteller of a Storm.

Fish here is as Plenty as Fowl, of which there are so many Sorts, that Authors have not yet found out Names for them.

They

They have of the scaly and the shelly Kind, the Whale, the Sword-Fish and the Thresher; but particularly the Tortoise abounds to a Wonder, and is as good and great of the Sort as any in the World. Whale-Fishing has been attempted but without Success.

The Whales about *Bermudas* are to be found only in the Months of *February*, *March* and *April*. One *John Perinche* found one dead there driven upon an Island, and tho' ignorant in the Business, yet got a great Quantity of *Sperma Cæti* out of it. Ibid. p. 844.

Their Whales have not as much Oil as some others, what they have is at first like *Sperma Cæti*, but they clarify it by Fire.

The Reader will not be displeas'd with the following Account of the Whales at *Bermudas*, communicated by Mr. *Richard Stafford* to the Royal Society.

' We have in these Seas about *Bermudas* great Store of Whales, which in *March*, *April* and *May* may use our Coasts. I have myself killed many of them. Their Females have Abundance of Milk, which their young ones suck out of the Teats that grow by their Navel. They have no Teeth, but feed on Grass growing on the Rocks at the Bottom, during these three Months and at no other Season of the Year. When that is consumed and gone, the Whales go away also, those we kill are for Oil. But there have been *Sperma Cæti* Whales driven upon the Shore, which *Sperma* (as they call it) lies all over the Bodies of those Whales. These have divers Teeth, which may be about as big as a Man's Wrist.' Ibid. p. 847.

*Ambergrease* and *Sperma Cæti* have been found here in great Quantities, and Pearl; all which are almost as rare here now as elsewhere.

The Spider in these Islands is a beautiful Insect, looking as if it was adorned with Pearl and Gold. Its Web is in Colour and Substance a perfect raw Silk, and so strongly woven, that running from Tree to Tree like so many Snares, small Birds are sometimes caught in them, as Capt. *Smith* reports, whose Authority was very good in his Day.

Musketoës, Bugs, Ants and other Insects are here, and some of them very troublesome and mischievous.

We have little more to say of this Place, the Government of which resembles (as has been said) that of the other Colonies, by a Governor, Council and Assembly.

They have fewer By-Laws than any of our other Settlements, which we impute to the Smallness of their Trade: For this Colony produces no considerable Commodity, by



which the Inhabitants may be enriched; and their Commerce consists chiefly in Timber and Provisions, which they send to the other Parts of *America* that stand in Need of them, and some *Tobacco* imported to *England*.

Several Families retired thither formerly, on Account of their Religion or Health from *England*, and carried considerable Effects with them. There is a Sort of pedling Retail Trade between *England* and those Islands, by which neither the Inhabitants of the one Place or the other grow much the richer.

The Building of Ships and Sloops is the most advantageous Branch of their Traffick, and the People of *Bermudas* seem to content themselves with the Pleasure and Plenty of their Country, with a safe and quiet Retreat from the Troubles and Cares of the other Parts of the World, without any Ambition to enrich themselves; and if they had any such Desire, it is to be questioned whether they have any Opportunity of gratifying it.

Mr. *Norwood* and the before-mentioned Mr. *Stafford*, having given a farther Account of *Bermudas*, we shall communicate it to the Reader in their own Words.

Louth. Vol. III. p. 561. ' I never saw any Sand in the *Bermudas*, such as will grind  
 ' Glas or whet Knives, &c. as in *England*, but a Substance  
 ' like Sand tho' much softer. Neither have we any Pebble-  
 ' Stones or Flints. The Inhabitants here at *Bermudas* live  
 ' some to an hundred Years, and something upwards. Many  
 ' live till they are nigh an Hundred, but few above. And  
 ' when they die, Age and Weakness are the Cause, and not  
 ' any Disease that attends them. The general Distemper that  
 ' is yearly among us is a Cold, and that is most gotten in the  
 ' hottest Weather. The Air is here very sweet and pleasant.  
 ' Our Diet is but ordinary: The People are generally poor,  
 ' and I observe that poor People are most healthful.

' That *Weed* which we call *Poison Weed* grows like our  
 ' *Ivy*. I have seen a Man who was so poisoned with it, that  
 ' the Skin pealed off his Face, and yet the Man never touch-  
 ' ed it, only looked on as he passed by. But I have chewed  
 ' it in my Mouth and it did me no Harm: It is not hurtful  
 ' to all.

' Here are Spiders, that spin their Webs between Trees  
 ' standing seven or eight Fathom asunder, and they do their  
 ' Work by spirting their Web into the Air, where the Wind  
 ' carries it from Tree to Tree. This Web, when finished,  
 ' will snare a Bird as big as a Thrush.

' We cover our Houses with the Leaves, not the Bark of  
 ' a Tree, which is the *Palmeto*; without which Tree we  
 ' could

‘ could not live comfortably in this Island. The Leaves of  
 ‘ some of these Trees are eight or ten Foot long, and nigh  
 ‘ as broad.’

We shall conclude what we have to say on this Head with  
 Mr. *Waller's* Verses in Praise of these Islands, which are to  
 be found in the first *Canto* of his Poem, called,

The Battle of the *SUMMER-ISLANDS*.

**B**ERMUDAS wall'd with Rocks, who does not know  
 That happy Island where huge Lemons grow,  
 And Orange Trees, which golden Fruit do bear,  
 The Hesperian Gardens boast of none so fair;  
 Where shining Pearl, Coral, and many a Pound,  
 On the rich Shore, of Ambergrease is found?  
 The lofty Cedar which to Heaven aspires,  
 The Prince of Trees, is Fuel for their Fires.  
 The Smoak by which their loaded Spits do turn,  
 For Incense might on sacred Altars burn:  
 Their private Roofs an oderous Timber born,  
 Such as might Palaces for Kings adorn.  
 Their sweet Palmetos a new Bacchus yield,  
 With Leaves as ample as the broadest Shield;  
 Under the Shadow of whose friendly Boughs,  
 They sit carousing where their Liquor grows.

Figs there unplanted thro' the Field do grow,  
 Such as fierce Cato did the Romans shew;  
 With the rare Fruit inviting them to spoil  
 Carthage, the Mistress of so rich a Soil.

The naked Rocks are not unfruitful here,  
 But at some constant Seasons, every Year,  
 Their barren Tops with luscious Food abound,  
 And with the Eggs of various Fowl are crown'd.

Tobacco is the worst of Things, which they  
 To English Landlords as their Tribute pay.  
 Such is the Mould that the blest Tenant feeds  
 On precious Fruits, and pays his Rent in Weeds.  
 With candid Plantines and the juicy Pine,  
 On choicest Melons and sweet Grapes they dine,  
 And with Potatoes fat their wanton Swine.  
 Nature these Cates, with such a lavish Hand,  
 Pours out among them, that our coarser Land  
 Tastes of that Bounty, and does Cloth return;  
 Which not for Warmth, but Ornament is worn:  
 For the kind Spring, which but salutes us here,  
 Inhabits there, and courts them all the Year.

}  
 }

*Ripe Fruits and Blossoms on the same Trees live,  
 At once they promise what at once they give.  
 So sweet the Air, so moderate the Clime,  
 None sickly lives, or dies before his Time.  
 Heav'n sure has kept this Spot of Earth uncurs'd,  
 To shew how all Things were created first.  
 The tardy Plants in our cold Orchards plac'd,  
 Reserve their Fruits for the next Ages Taste:  
 There a small Grain, in some few Months, will be  
 A firm, a lofty and a spacious Tree.  
 The Palma Christi, and the fair Papah,  
 Now but a Seed (preventing Nature's Law)  
 In half the Circle of the hasty Year,  
 Project a Shade, and lovely Fruits do wear.  
 The Rocks so high about this Island rise,  
 That well they may the num'rous Turks despise, &c.*

The critical Reader will consider these Verses were written 90 Years ago, and must excuse what there is in them that tastes of Antiquity, for what there is that may teach the Moderns. They are not Mr. Waller's best Verses, neither are they his worst; be they what they will, they serve to give those that read them a very lively Idea of the Country we are treating of, and that is all we propose by inserting them.

The Government of these Islands is, as has been said, like the rest, by Governor, Council and Assembly. The Names of the former we have procured, but could not learn those of the latter.

Governor ——— Bennet, Esq;

Richard Penniston, Esq;

John Toker, Esq;

Anthony White, Esq;

Thomas Harford, Esq;

Michael Burroughs, Esq;

St. George Tucker, Esq;

Benjamin Hinson, Esq;

Patrick Downing, Esq;

Capt. Brooks.

Capt. Fenner,

Col. Trimmingham,

} Counsellors.

Our Materials for the continuing the History of this Province are very inconsiderable, we having learn'd nothing remarkable since our former Impression. The State of it in every



every Article is much the same, except that the Inhabitants by the Use of Cedar in Ship Building have so lessened that Product, that there are not near the Number of Ships built here as there were 20 or 30 Years ago.

For some Time they had a pretty good Vent for their Straw, of which they made very fine Hats, and do still make the neatest in the World, but the Fashion has now taken another Turn in *England*.

This Island had some Years ago an independent Company of Soldiers, which being removed to the *Bahama-Islands*, the Negroes here grew mutinous, and being much more numerous than the white Men the latter were thrown into a great Consternation, increased by the Death of Numbers of them who were poisoned by the Slaves, several of which were convicted at the Assizes here 1730 and executed.

THE  
I N D E X  
T O  
Both V O L U M E S.

## A.

- A**CCOMACK County, in *Virginia*, described, Vol. I. Page 413.  
*Albany*, Town of, Vol. I. 372. Congress there, 253.  
*Albany River*, in *Hudson's-Bay*, Vol. I. 560.  
*Albemarle, George* Duke of, first Palatine of *Carolina*, Vol. I. 462.  
*Albemarle, Christopher* Duke of, made Governor of *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 319.  
*Albemarle* County, in *Carolina*, described, Vol. I. 508.  
*Alexander*, King of the *Wauponaags* in *New-England*, his Revolt, Vol. I. 106. and Death, *ib*.  
*Aligator*, a Description of it, Vol. II. 409.  
*Alliluja*, a Word used in the *Indian* Songs, Vol. I. 37.  
*Albes Tree*, of *Barbados*, described, Vol. II. 115.  
*Ambergrease*, found at *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 404. At *Bermudas*, 453.  
*Amelia* Island, in *Georgia*, Vol. I. 537.  
*Amidas* and *Barlow*, first Adventurers to *Virginia*, Vol. I. 346.  
*Anguilla*, Why so call'd, Vol. II. 300. Situation, Climate, and Soil, *ib*. Settlement there, *ib*. Dislodg'd by the wild *Irish*, 301. *English* there, *ib*.  
*Annapolis*, in *Maryland*, describ'd, Vol. I. 338.  
*Ann-Arundel* County, in *Maryland*, describ'd, Vol. I. 337.  
*Anolis*, Description of it, Vol. II. 339.  
*Antego*, described, Vol. II. 191. The Story of Governor *Warner's* Son by an *Indian* Woman, 192. Remarkable Hurricane here, *ib*. Parishes, 193. Climate, Soil, Animals, 194, *et seq*. Trade, 197. Sir *Tim. Thornbill*, with Forces from *Barbados*, affists

- assists it, 199. General *Codrington* Governor, *ib.* Admiral *Bembow* and Col. *Collingswood* arrive there, 202. Sir *William Matthews* Governor, 203. Col. *Park* Governor, 204. Council, 205. Col. *Park* quarrels with the Inhabitants, 206. His troublesome and tragical Story, 207, *et seq.* Is kill'd, 219. *Walter Hamilton*, Esq; Governor, 220. *Walker Douglas*, Esq; Governor, 222. Mr. *Smith* tried for *Park's* Death, and cleared, *ib.* His Jury, 223. *W. Hamilton* again Governor, *ib.* Deficiency in the Law for Debts here, 224. *J. Hart*, Esq; Governor, 225. Lord *Londonderry* Governor, *ib.* *William Matthews*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* His Salary settled, 226. The Act about Coin broke in upon, *ib.*
- Apple-Prickle* describ'd, Vol. II. 109.
- Argal*, Sir *Samuel*, steals the *Indian Princess Pocahonta*, Vol. I. 365. Made Governor of *Virginia*, 367. His Expedition against the *French* and *Dutch*, 368.
- Aratomakaw*, a King of the *Carolina Indians*, his Bravery, Vol. I. 478.
- Ashley* River, in *Carolina*, Vol. I. 509.
- Affnegoes*, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 118.
- Avery*, the Pirate at *Providence*, Vol. II. 429.
- Augustino*, in *Florida*, taken by Col. *Robert Daniel*, Vol. I. 477.
- Augusta*, Town in *Georgia*, its advantageous Situation for the *Indian Trade*, Vol. I. 537.
- Ayscue*, Sir *George*, reduces *Barbados* for the Parliament, Vol. II. 17, 18.

## B.

- B**ACON, Col. his Rebellion in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 381. The Causes of it, 382. His Character, *ib.* Chosen General, 384. Quarrels with the Governor, 385. Brings an Army to *James Town*, and forces the Governor to give him a Commission, 386. Proclaim'd a Rebel, *ib.* Gentlemen join with him, *ib.* His Death, 387.
- Baffin*, Mr. his Voyage and Discoveries in *Hudson's-Bay*, Vol. I. 544.
- Baltimore*, *Cecilius* Lord, his Grant of *Maryland*, Vol. I. 323.
- Baltimore*, *Charles* Lord, Governor of *Maryland*, 329. Has the Government taken from him by King *James*, 331.
- Baltimore* County described, 337.
- Baltimore*, Bird, why so call'd, 340.
- Banana* Tree, in *Barbados*, describ'd, Vol. II. 114.
- Banks* of *Newfoundland*, Vol. I. 20.
- Barbados*, when and by whom discover'd. Vol. II. 2. Its Name whence derived. 3. First Settlement. 4. Capt. *Cannon* Governor, *ib.* Granted to the Earl of *Carlisle*. 5. Which Part first settled upon, *ib.* Sir *Henry Hunks*, Governor. 6. Names of the first Planters, *ib.* Sugar made there. 7. Fortify'd. 11. Government settled and Increase, *ib.* *Yarico*, her Story.



13. Francis Lord *Willoughby* Governor. 15. Taken by the Parliament Forces, 17, 18. Col. *Allen*, the Parliamentary Officer kill'd, 17. — *Searle*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* Col. *Modiford* Governor, 19. Supported by the *Dutch*, *ib.* Col. *Tufton* Governor, 20. *H. Hawley*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* Lord *Willoughby* again Governor, *ib.* Earl of *Clarendon's* Account of Lord *Carlisle's* Grant and the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. 21. *Hump. Walrond*, Esq; President, 24. Acts pass'd, *ib.* Why the Assembly made the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. perpetual, 25, *et seq.* *Henry Willoughby*, Esq; *H. Hawley*, Esq; *J. Berwick*, Esq; Governors, 27. Hardships to the Sugar Islands by the Act of Navigation, 19. *William Lord Willoughby* Governor, 28. *Christ. Codrington*, Esq; Deputy-Governor, 31. *Sir J. Atkins* Governor, *ib.* Attack'd by the *Dutch*, 33. Hurricane there, *ib.* *Sir Richard Dutton* Governor, 37. *Henry Walrond*, Esq; Governor, 38. Hardships by the heavy Tax on Sugars, 40, *et seq.* Col. *Kendal* Governor, 45. Forces rais'd and sent against the *French* Sugar Islands, 46. Agents in *England* appointed, *ib.* Charge of them, 47. Sickness there, 51. Commission for Trade set up, *ib.* More Forces rais'd, 54. Col. *Francis Russel* Governor, 56. *Francis Bond*, Esq; President, 58. *Ralph Grey*, Esq; afterwards Lord *Grey*, Governor, 59. Col. *J. Farmer* President, 63. *Sir Bevil Greenwill* Governor, 63. A Female Ministry then, 64. *Mitford Crow*, Esq; Governor, 65. *Robert Lowther*, Esq; Governor, 66. *William Sharp*, Esq; President, *ib.* Governor *Lowther* prosecutes several Gentlemen, 67, *et seq.* Is recall'd, 71. *Samuel Cox*, Esq; President, *ib.* Contest about the Government, *ib.* *Henry Worsley*, Esq; Governor, 74. Duke of *Portland* here, *ib.* His noble Entertainment by all Parties, 75, *et seq.* Governor of *Barbados* Instructions about *St. Lucia*, 77. Governor *Worsley's* Proceedings against President *Cox*, 78, *et seq.* Assembly against the Negro Tax, 83. Grievances complain'd of, *ib. et seq.* Remarks on Addresses there, 85. Proceedings against the Provost Marshal, 87. *Samuel Berwick*, Esq; President, *ib.* *French* Trade with our Northern Colonies, 88. Steps towards redressing Plantation Grievances, *ib.* Lord *Howe* Governor, 89. Mr. *Gel Mc. Mabon* tried for a Murder, 90. A *Romish* Priest turns Protestant, 91. Lord *Howe's* Death and good Character, *ib.* The Assembly give Lady *Howe* 2500l. 93. *James Dotten*, Esq; President, 92. *Robert Byng*, Esq; Governor, 95. Dies, *ib.* List of the chief Officers here, *ib.* Geographical Description of it, 96, *et seq.* Climate, Soil and Product, 106, *et seq.* Trees, 107, *et seq.* Birds, Beasts, Fish, Insects and other Animals, 118, *et seq.* Of the Inhabitants, and their Way of Living, 124, *et seq.* Government, Courts, Offices, and Revenue, 138, *et seq.* Of making Sugars, 145, *et seq.* Molasses and Rum, 158. Of the Trade, 159, *et seq.* Money, 165. Its former Riches and Advantages to *England*, 166, *et seq.* Hardships, 170.

- Barbuda*, Island of, describ'd, Vol. II. 229. *Christopher Codrington*, Esq; Proprietor, *ib.* Col. *Park* endeavours to dispossess him, 300.
- Barnstable* County, in *New-England*, described, Vol. I. 200.
- Bartholomew* the Buccaneer his Actions, Vol. II. 311.
- Baths in *Nevis*, Vol. II. 236. In *Jamaica*, 410.
- Barwden*, Sir *John*, his Loss in the Hurricane at *Barbados*, Vol. II. 33. By the Royal *African* Company, 36. Opposes the Monopoly Project, 43.
- Beckford* Peter, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor of *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 337. His vast Riches, 354.
- Bembow*, Admiral, his Actions in the *West-Indies*, Vol. II. 336.
- Berkley* County, in *Carolina*, Vol. I. 509, *et seq.*
- Berkham* County, described, Vol. I. 283.
- Bermudas*, discover'd, Vol. II. 440. Whence its Name, 441. Sir *G. Somers* shipwreck'd, *ib.* Mr. *R. Moor* Governor, 443. The famous Rat-Plague, 444. Capt. *Daniel Tucker* Governor, *ib.* A desperate Adventure thence by Sea, 445. Capt. *Butler* Governor, 446. Mr. *Barnard* Governor, *ib.* Mr. *Harrison* President, *ib.* *Edmund Waller*, Esq; the Poet there, *ib.* His Verses in Praise of it, 455. Geographical Description of it, 447, *et seq.* Climate, 449. Soil, 450. Healthfulness and Pleasantness, *ib.* Trees, 451. Animals, 452. Whales, Ambergrease and *Sperma Cæti*, 453. Number of Inhabitants, 447. Shipbuilding here, 454. Diminish'd, 457. *Bermudas* Hats, *ib.* Mutiny of the Negroes, *ib.*
- Birkenhead's* Conspiracy in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 379.
- Blake*, Mr. Brother to the famous Admiral, settles in *Carolina*, Vol. I. 466.
- Blenman*, *Jon.* Esq; persecuted by Governor *Lowther*, Vol. I. 68.
- Boston*, City of, in *New-England*, built, Vol. I. 61. Large and populous, 194. The Bay, 195. Describ'd, *ib. et seq.*
- Bresiliano*, the Buccaneer, his Actions, Vol. II. 311.
- Bridge-Town*, in *Barbados*, great Mortality there, Vol. II. 51. The Town described, 98, *et seq.*
- Bridgewater*, in *New-England*, attack'd by the *Indians*, Vol. I. 123. Bravery of the Garrison, *ib.*
- Bristol* Town and County, in *New-England*, describ'd, Vol. I. 201.
- Bristol*, in *Pensylvania*, described, Vol. I. 298.
- Bucane*, a Fish so call'd, describ'd, Vol. II. 193.
- Buccaneers in *America*, their Actions, Vol. II. 311, *et seq.*
- Buckinghamshire*, in *Pensylvania*, describ'd, Vol. I. 298.
- Burlington*, in *West New-Jersey*, describ'd, Vol. I. 288.

## C.

CABBAGE-Tree, in *Jamaica*, describ'd, Vol. II. 403.

*Cabot*, *Sebastian*, said to discover *Florida*, Vol. I. 456.

- Calvert County*, in *Maryland*, Vol. I. 336.  
*Cecil County*, in *Maryland*, Vol. I. 338.  
*Callibash-Tree*, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 111.  
*Cambridge*, in *New-England*, Town of built, Vol. I. 63. 78. 192.  
 Synod there, 102. College there, an Account of, 213, *et seq.*  
*Canada*, the Right of the *English* to it, Vol. I. 39. The *French*  
 there attempt to draw off the *Indians* in Friendship with the  
*English*, 243. Assist the Savages against the *English*, 121.  
*Canada*, Birds so call'd, Vol. II. 197.  
*Cape-Britain Isle*, given to the *French*, Vol. I. 37.  
*Cape-Cod*, in *New-England*, Vol. I. 200.  
*Carolina*, discover'd, Vol. I. 456. Old *Carolina* describ'd, 459.  
 King *Charles II* his Grant of it to Proprietaries, 460. Mr.  
*Locke's* Draught of a Constitution for it, 462. Sir *W. Sayle*  
 Governor, 464. Sir *J. Yeomans* Governor, 465. *Joseph West*,  
 Esq; Governor, *ib.* again, 469. *Joseph Moreton*, Esq; Go-  
 vernor, 466. *J. Colliton*, Esq; Governor, 467. Mr. *Arch-*  
*dale's* Description of *Carolina*, *ib.* *T. Smith*, Esq; Governor,  
 470. Col. *Robert Quarry*, Governor, *ib.* Mr. *Southwell*,  
 Col. *Philip Ludwell*, *Thomas Smith*, Esq; Governors, *ib.* *John*  
*Archdale*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* *Joseph Blake*, Esq; Governor,  
 473. Col. *James Moor*, 474. An Expedition against *St. Au-*  
*gustino*, 476, *et seq.* Sir *Nathaniel Johnson* Governor, 480. A  
 Schism Bill set up there, 481. And occasions great Troubles,  
 482, *et seq.* Opposed by the Parliament of *England*, 487, and  
 by Queen *Anne*, 489. Major *Tynte* Governor, 491. — *Gibbs*,  
 Esq; President, *ib.* *C. Craven*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* *Robert Da-*  
*niet*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* *Robert Johnson*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* A-  
 gain, 501. *James Moor*, Esq; 491. *Francis Nicholson*, Esq;  
 Governor, *ib.* Pyrates on the Coast, *ib.* — *Middleton*, Esq;  
 President, 492. Negro Plot, *ib.* Verdict of Juries by Ballot,  
 493. Abolish'd, *ib.* An *Indian War*, 494, *et seq.* The Char-  
 ter surrendered and Soil purchased by the Crown, 498. Sir  
*Alexander Coming's* Conference with the *Indians*, 499. *Indians*  
 submit to King *George*, 500. Governor *Johnson's* Interview  
 with them, 502. The new Province of *Georgia* taken out of it,  
 504. Mr. *Oglethorpe* arrives there, *ib.* Forwards the new Set-  
 tlement, *ib.* A Contest amongst the Lawyers, 505. *Purrys-*  
*burg*, a *Swiss* Town built, *ib.* *Thomas Broughton*, Esq; Lieu-  
 tenant-Governor, 506. Geographical Description of this Pro-  
 vince, 508, *et seq.* Again, 519. Product, *ib.* The great In-  
 crease of the Rice Trade, *ib.* Silk 517. 520. Trade 521.  
 People, *ib.* Churches and Ministers, 522. Money, 523. Me-  
 thod of settling, *ib.* First Charge, *ib.* Price of Labour, 524.  
*Cassavia Tree*, in *Barbados*, describ'd, Vol. II. 107.  
*Cassia Fistula Tree*, its quick Growth, Vol. II. 108.  
*Cedar Tree*, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 109. Of *Bermudas*, 451. Of  
*Maryland*, Vol. I. 342.  
*Chaftaw Indians* trade with the *English*, Vol. I. 533, *et seq.*  
*Chagre*, taken by Admiral *Vernon*, Vol. II. 387. Its important  
 Situation, *ib.*



- Charibbétans*, an Account of them, Vol. II. 265, *et seq.*  
*Charibbee Islands*, *Darvy's* History of them authentick, Vol. II. 240.  
*Charles County*, in *Maryland*, Vol. I. 337.  
*Charles-City County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 406.  
*Charles-Town*, in *Carolina*, describ'd, Vol. I. 510. *et seq.*  
*Charles-Town*, in *New-England*, built, Vol. I. 69. Describ'd, 192.  
*Charles-Town*, in *Newis*, Vol. I. 252.  
*Charleton Island* in *Hudson's-Bay*, Vol. I. 546.  
*Cbegos*, of *Jamaica*, what, Vol. II. 408.  
*Chefeapeak-Bay*, describ'd, Vol. I. 341, 405.  
*Chester Town and County*, in *Pensylvania*, Vol. I. 302.  
*Chichester*, in *Pensylvania*, Vol. I. 303.  
*Chub* treacherously delivers up *Pemaquid Fort*, Vol. I. 161. Is kill'd, 164.  
*Clarendon County*, in *Carolina*, Vol. I. 509.  
*Clarendon Parish*, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 393.  
*Cinnamon Tree*, in *Jamaica*, wild, Vol. II. 402.  
*Citron Tree*, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 108.  
*Cochineal*, how made, Vol. II. 405.  
*Cocoa Tree*, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 397, *et seq.*  
*Coco Tree*, in *Barbados*, 110.  
*Cock-Roches*, in *Barbados*, 122.  
*Coin* in *Barbados*, 165. In the *Leeward Islands*, 297. In *Jamaica*, 371.  
*Cobowos*, Birds in *Bermudas* so call'd, Vol. II. 452.  
*Colebry*, a Bird so call'd, Vol. II. 264.  
*Colliton County*, in *Carolina*, Vol. I. 513.  
*Coloquintida Tree*, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 108.  
*Columbus Christ.* discovers *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 302. Is wreck'd, 203. His ill Usage, his Epitaph, *ib.*  
*Connecticut Colony*, in *New-England*, settled, Vol. I. 66. Confederated with the other Colonies, 88. Its Constitution, 204.  
*Corn*, *Indian*, see *Maize*.  
*Cornwal County*, in *New-England*, Vol. I. 189.  
*Cotton Tree*, in *Barbados*, described, Vol. II. 112.  
*Craven County*, in *Carolina*, Vol. I. 509.  
*Crawfowl*, a Bird so call'd, Vol. II. 264.  
*Creolians*, why so call'd, Vol. II. 126.  
*Custard-Apple-tree*, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 111.  
*Cypress*, in *Maryland*, describ'd, Vol. I. 342.

## D.

- D** *DALE's Gift*, in *Virginia*, built, Vol. I. 364.  
*Daricn*, *Scots* Colony settled, Vol. II. 336.  
*Darien*, in *Georgia*, settled, Vol. I. 535.  
*Devil's Sea*, describ'd, Vol. II. 228.

*Dogwood,*

- Dogwood*, in *Maryland*, Vol. I. 342.  
*Dominico Island*, describ'd, Vol. II. 188, *et seq.* Since the Account of it was printed, *Lord Cathcart's Fleet* put in here.  
*Dorado*, a Fish so call'd, Vol. II. 194.  
*Dorchester*, in *New-England*, describ'd, Vol. I. 198.  
*Dorchester County*, in *Maryland*, Vol. II. 339.  
*Dorchester*, in *Carolina*, Vol. I. 513.  
*Dover*, in *Pensylvania*, Vol. I. 304.  
*Drake*, *Sir Francis*, the first Man that landed in *New-England*, Vol. I. 39.  
*Dungan*, Col. a Papist, Governor of *New-York*, a true Lover of his Country, Vol. I. 240.  
*Dunstan, Hannab*, of *New-England*, her masculine Spirit, Vol. I. 162.

## E.

- E**ARTHQUAKE, dreadful one, Vol. II. 322, *et seq.*  
*East New-Jersey*, how bounded, Vol. I. 282. And divided, 283, *et seq.* Trade, 289.  
*Ebenezer*, Old and New, in *Georgia*, Vol. I. 536.  
*Elizabeth Town*, in *East New-Jersey*, describ'd, Vol. I. 284.  
*Elizabeth City and County*, in *Virginia*, describ'd, Vol. I. 409.  
*Essex County*, in *New-England*, Vol. I. 190.  
*Essex County*, in *East New-Jersey*, Vol. I. 284.  
*Essex County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 411.

## F.

- F**AIRFIELD County, in *New-England*, Vol. I. 209.  
*Falmouth Town*, in *Antego*, Vol. II. 193.  
*Fig*, *Indian*, how propagated, Vol. II. 406.  
*Fire-Arms*, use of, first taught the Savages, Vol. I. 55.  
*Fishery at Newfoundland*, Advantage of, Vol. I. 19, 20.  
*Fly-Catcher*, describ'd, Vol. II. 405.  
*Flies*, fire, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 408.  
*Freggats*, Birds so call'd, Vol. II. 408.  
*Frederica Town*, in *Georgia*, describ'd, Vol. I. 536.  
*French*, their ridiculous Complaisance for the *Charibbeans*, Vol. II. 265. And *Vanity*, 277.  
*Frobisher's Streights*, where and when discover'd, Vol. I. 543.

## G.

- G**EORGIA, its Charter and Bounds, Vol. I. 525. Trustees, 526. First Imbarkation, *ib.* *Savannah Town* built, 527. *Indian Nations* submit to the *English*, 529. Articles of Trade with

- with them, 531. First Ship here from *England*, *ib.* *Indian* Chiefs brought over by Mr. *Oglethorpe*, 532. *Chaetaw* Indians, 533. Trade with the *English*, 534. *Darien*, 535. Greater *Imbarkation*, *ib.* *Old* and *New Ebenezer* laid out by *Salzburgers*, 536. *Frederica* built, *ib.* *St. Andrew's Fort*, on *Cumberland Island*, 537. *Amelia Island*, *ib.* *Augusta* well seated for the *Indian Trade*, *ib.* *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; General of the Forces of *Carolina* and *Georgia*, 538. Fifty five Children born in the Camp here last Year, *ib.* Situation and Soil, 539. Its Security to our Colonies, *ib.* Product and Trade, 540. Wages and Price of Provisions, 541.
- German Town*, in *Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. 302.
- Gillam*, Capt. *Zach.* first settles in *Hudson's-Bay*, Vol. I. 544.
- Ginger Plant*, in *Barbados*, describ'd, Vol. II. 113.
- Gloucester County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 411.
- Gosnold*, Capt. his early Voyage to *New-England*, Vol. I. 29. To *Virginia*, 353.
- Guarver Tree*, described, Vol. II. 110.
- Guildford*, in *New-England*, Vol. I. 208.

## H.

- H**AMPSHIRE, *New*, Province of, in *New-England*, describ'd, Vol. I. 70.
- Hampshire*, *New*, County, Vol. I. 199.
- Hartford*, in *New-England*, built, Vol. I. 66. Town and County described, 207.
- Harvard College*, founded, Vol. I. 78. Description of, 212, *et seq.*
- Henrico County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 405.
- Henricopolis Town*, Vol. I. 406.
- Hiaccomes*, an *Indian Preacher*, converted, Vol. I. 95.
- Hole Town*, in *Barbados*, describ'd, Vol. II. 100.
- Horn-Fly*, describ'd, Vol. II. 241.
- Howe*, Lord, Governor of *Barbados*, Vol. II. 89. His Death and good Character, 91.
- Hudson*, Capt. discovers *New-York*, and sells it to the *Dutch*, Vol. I. 236. Discovers *Hudson's-Bay*, 543.
- Hudson's-Bay*, a wretched Place, Vol. I. 542. *Hudson*, the Discoverer, is kill'd, 543. How the *English* came to settle it first, 544. First Proprietaries, 545. Situation and Extent, *ib.* Streights describ'd, *ib.* Air, Soil, 547. Standard of the Trade, *ib.* First Governor, 549. And Traders, *ib.* Disturbed by the *French*, *ib.* How the *English* live, *ib.* The Settlement in great Distress, 556. A Governor at *Port Nelson*, 559. Five Settlements in the Bay, 561. Lose all, *seq.* Restored by the *Utrecht Peace*, 567.
- Hurricanes*, Prognosticks of them, Vol. II. 280.
- Huskanawing*, what it is, Vol. I. 424.



## I.

*Jamaica*, discovered by *Christopher Columbus*, Vol. II. 302. Who is wreck'd here, 303. Whence its Name, *ib.* First Spanish Settlement, 304. And Trade, *ib.* Massacred 60000 Indians there, 305. Sir *Anthony Skirby* plunders it, *ib. et seq.* Col. *Jackson* takes and leaves it, *ib.* Reduced by *Cromwell's* Forces, *ib.* Col. *Doily* Governor, 307. Col. *Brayne* Governor, 309. Col. *Doily* continued Governor, *ib.* Lord *Windfor* Governor, 310. Sir *Thomas Modiford*, *ib.* Great Increase of the Inhabitants, *ib.* *Buccaneers* begin their Enterprizes, 311. Sir *Thomas Linch* Governor, 312. Captain, afterwards Sir *Henry Morgan's* Successes against the *Spaniards*, 312, *et seq.* Takes *Pawama*, 313. Lord *Vaughan* Governor, 314. Sent Prisoner to *England*, 315. Earl of *Carlisle* Governor, 316. Sir *Henry Morgan* Deputy-Governor, *ib.* Sir *T. Linch* again Governor, 317. Col. *Hender Molefworth* Governor, 318. Duke of *Albemarle* Governor, 319. A terrible Earthquake, 320. Col. *Molefworth* again Governor, 321. Earl of *Incheguinn* Governor, *ib.* The prodigious Earthquake, 322, *et seq.* Sir *William Beston* Governor, 328. The *French* land there and are beaten off, 330, *et seq.* *Rebellious Negroes*, 334. General *Sekwyn* Governor, 336. *Peter Beckford*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor, 337. Earl of *Peterborough* appointed Governor, 338. *Capt. Kirby* and *Wade*, their Cowardice, 339. Col. *Thomas Handaside* Governor, 340. *Admiral Graydon* and Col. *Colebine* arrive here with Forces, 342. Lord *Archibald Hamilton* Governor, 344. Complaints of Male Administration here, *ib.* The pernicious Practice of *Escheats*, 347. *Mr. Rigby*, *Provost-Marshal*, his Oppression, 348. *Chief Justice Haywood*, &c. turned out, 350. *Spanish Depredations*, 351. Council, 352. Frivolous Complaints of the *Spaniards*, *ib.* *Peter Haywood*, Esq; Governor, 354. Lord *Hamilton* sent Prisoner to *England*, 355. Sir *Nich. Lawes*, a Planter, Governor, *ib.* *Pirates* infest here, 356. *Commodore*, now *Admiral Vernon*, demands Satisfaction of the Governor of *Trinidad* for *Spanish Depredations*, 358. Governor *Law's* good Speech, 361. A dreadful *Hurricane*, 362, *et seq.* *Guarda-Costa* Men hang'd, 366. Of the *Muscibeto* Indians, *ib. et seq.* Their Friendship to the *English*, &c. *ib.* Duke of *Portland* Governor, 368. Col. *Dubourgay*, Lieutenant-Governor, discharged, 369. Advantage to be made of the *Muscibeto's*, 370. Of the Coin, 371. Of the Roads, 372. Minister's Income, 373. Duke of *Portland's* Death, 375. The Council address the *Dutchess*, *ib.* *J. Ascough*, Esq; President, 376. General *Hunter* Governor, *ib.* Skirmish with the *Negro Rebels*, 377. *John Gregory*, Esq; President, 379. *Henry Cuninghame*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* His Death, *ib.* *Edward Trelawney*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* *Rebellious Negroes* submit, 380. *Admiral Vernon* arrives here, 381. Takes *Porto-Bello* and

- and *Chagre*, 384. *et seq.* Towns, Forts, Parishes in *Jamaica*, describ'd, 388, *et seq.* Climate and Soil, 394, *et seq.* The Sugar here, 396. *Cocca*, Manner of planting it, 397, *et seq.* *Pimento*, 400. *Cabbage-Tree*, Account of, 403. *Cochineal*, describ'd, 405. Fish, Fruits, Animals, &c. 406, *et seq.* *Manchinello*, 409. The Alligator describ'd, *ib.* Of the Inhabitants, 411, *et seq.* Trade, 413. Product, *ib.* Latitude, 414. Rivers, *ib.* Bays, 415. *Port-Royal*, *ib.* *St. Jago de la Vega*, or *Spanish Town*, 416. Other Towns, *ib.* Parishes, 418. Number of Inhabitants, *ib.* What the *Spaniards* call the illicit Trade, describ'd, 419. Of Logwood cutting, 420.
- James River*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 410.
- James City*, in *James County*, describ'd, Vol. I. 406.
- Indians*, see the Accounts of them in their respective Colonies.
- Indigo*, Description of it, Vol. II. 400.
- Ile of Wight County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 405.

## K.

- K**ENT County, in *Pensylvania*, Vol. I. 304.
- Kent County*, in *Maryland*, Vol. I. 339.
- Kent-New County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 411.
- Kingston*, in *Jamaica*, great Mortality there, Vol. II. 328. Describ'd, 390.
- King William County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 411.
- King and Queen's County*, *ib.*

## L.

- L**AMENTINE, a Fish so call'd, Vol. II. 229.
- Lancaster County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 412.
- Landgraves*, in *Carolina*, Vol. I. 463.
- Lemon-Tree*, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 110.
- Liguania*, in *Jamaica*, destroyed by an Earthquake, Vol. II. 326.
- Lizards*, in *Nevis*, describ'd, Vol. II. 238.
- Lime-Trees*, Vol. II. 109.
- Locke*, the Philosopher, his Draught of a Constitution for *Carolina*, Vol. I. 462.
- Logwood*, of the cutting it, Vol. I. 420.
- London New County*, in *New-England*, Vol. I. 207.
- Long-Island*, in *New-England*, Vol. I. 79. In *New-York*, 274.

## M.

- M**ACOW Tree, describ'd, Vol. II. 111.
- Main County*, in *New-England*, Vol. I. 70.
- Maize*, or *Indian Corn*, its Growth, Vol. I. 189, *et seq.*

- Mangrove* Tree, describ'd, Vol. II. 111.
- Manchineal* Tree, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 404.
- Manchineal* Apple, *ib.*
- Manteo*, a faithful *Indian* brought to *England*, Vol. I. 347. Christened and reward'd, 351.
- Martha's* Vineyard, Island of, plant'd, Vol. I. 86. Describ'd, 201.
- Martinico*, attack'd by the *English*, Vol. II. 54.
- Maryland*, Bounds by the Grant, Vol. I. 323, *et seq.* By whom named, 324. First Adventurers thither, *ib.* Government settled, 328. Settlement, 325, *et seq.* Division into Counties, 329. Liberty of Conscience there, 330. Churches built there, 332. State of it, *ib.* Geographical Description, 335. Climate, 339. The Tobacco, 340. Soil, *ib.* Trade, *ib. et seq.*
- Massachusset* Colony founded, Vol. I. 57. First Proprietors, *ib. et seq.* Geographical Description of it, 224, *et seq.*
- Melasses*, how made, Vol. II. 158, *et seq.*
- Middlesex* County, in *New-England*, Vol. I. 192.
- Middlesex* County, in *East New-Jersey*, 284.
- Middlesex* County, in *Virginia*, 411.
- Mississipi*, the *English* have as much Right to it as the *French*, Vol. I. 412. *French* there not so dangerous as represented, 496.
- Montserrat*, why so call'd, Vol. II. 227. Its Situation, *ib.* Climate, Soil, 228. Deputy-Governor and Council, 231. *French* land there, 232. *English* retire to Fort *Dodon*, till the *French* leave the Island, *ib.* A prodigious Hurricane, 234. Act against *French* Trade, 235.
- Morgan*, Sir *Henry*, the *Buccaneer*, his Actions, Vol. II. 312, *et seq.* Takes *Panama*, 313. Ill us'd, 315. Made Deputy-Governor of *Jamaica*, 316.
- Mose*, the Way of hunting it, Vol. I. 187.
- Mount-Joy*, in *Pensylvania*, Vol. I. 303.
- Mount-Hope*, in *New-England*, Vol. I. 202.
- Muschetoes*, Account of, Vol. II. 122.

## N.

- N**ANSEMUND County, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 405.
- N**ANTUCKET Island, inhabited by *Christian Indians*, Vol. I. 201.
- Narragansets*, their King taken, Vol. I. 87. Subdued by the *English*, 120.
- Nassau*, in *Providence*, describ'd, Vol. II. 429, 435.
- Nelson* Port, in *Hudson's-Bay*, Vol. I. 545. A Governor there, 559.
- Nevis*, describ'd, Vol. II. 256. Sir *G. Ayscue* reduces it, 237. Climate and Soil, *ib.* Product and Trade, *ib. et seq.* Animals, 238, *et seq.* Sir *Tim. Thoruhill* and General *Codrington* here,



here, to act against the *French* Islands, 244, *et seq.* The *French* land and plunder it, 255. Lieutenant-Governor and Council, 256. Governor's Salary settled, 257. Address against the Death of *Park*, *ib.*

*Newcastle* Town and County, in *Pensylvania*, Vol. I. 303.

*New-England*, Vol. I. Capt. *Gosnold's* first Voyage in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, 39. *Popham* and *Gilbert's*, 41. Call'd *New-England*, *ib.* Capt. *Hunt's* Villainy to the *Indians*, 42. *Squanto* the faithful *Indian*, 43. First Settlement, 45. Betrayed by *Hollanders*, *ib.* Instrument of Association, *ib.* Mr. *J. Carver* Governor. 46. *Plimouth* Colony settled, 47. *Indians* and their King *Massasoit* visit the *English*, 47, 48. *William Bradford*, Esq; Governor, 48. *Indian* Princes submit, 49. The ill Fate of *Weston* and his Colony, 51. *Peirce's* Treachery, 52. Mr. *Winslow* takes out the first Patent, 53. First neat Cattle, *ib.* Capt. *Woolaston's* Settlement frustrated, 55. *Morton's* Mutiny, *ib.* Teaches the *Savages* the Use of Fire-Arms, *ib.* Distribution of Land, 56. The *Massachusetts* Patent, 57. *Matthew Craddock*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* *J. Endicot* Deputy-Governor, *ib.* The grand Imbarkation, 58. *Separatists* there, *ib.* *J. Winthrop*, Esq; Governor, *T. Dudley*, Esq; Deputy-Governor, 59. *Salem* built, 59. Sir. *R. Saltonstal*, &c; remove to *Massachusetts*, 60. *Charles-Town* built, *Boston* built, 60, 61. Sir *R. Gardiner* there, 62. *Cambridge* built, 63. University founded, 77. *Indians* murder the *English*, 63. *Indians* Lands purchased, 64. Persecution there, 65. Sir *H. Vane* there, *ib.* *Connecticut* Colony settled, 66. *Ed. Hopkins*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* *Oliver Cromwell* and others, about to remove thither, 68. *New-Haven* Colony, 69. *Theop. Eaton*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* *New-Hampshire* and *Main* Government, 70. The *Pequot* War, 71, *et seq.* The good Behaviour of an *Indian* Princess, 74. *Pequots* subjected, *ib.* Sedition about the Covenants of *Grace* and *Works*, 75. *New-England* Synod explained, 76. *Antinomians* banish'd, 77. Settle at *Rhode-Island*, 77. Confederacy of the four Governments here, 78. *Long Island* inhabited by the *English*, 79. Puritans remove hither, 81. *Martha's* Vineyard planted, 86. War between *Indian* Kings, 87. Capt. *Atherton* seizes the King of the *Narragansets*, *ib.* *Indians* converted to *Christianity*, 90. *et seq.* Mr. *Elliot* preaches to them, *ib.* He translates the Bible into their Language, 95. *Hiacomes*, an *Indian* Preacher, *ib.* Mr. *Maybew's* Mission, 97. *New-England* Society for propagating the Gospel, 99. Names of them in *New* and *Old England*, 100. *et seq.* Synod at *Cambridge*, 102. Baptists persecuted, *ib.* Again, 112. Cruel Laws against *Quakers*, 103, 105, *et seq.* *T. Prince*, Esq; Governor, 104. *F. Newman*, Esq; Governor, 105. *Venner* the 5th Monarchist there, *ib.* *Massasoit's* two Sons take the Name of *Alexander* and *Philip*, 108. Synod at *Boston*, 106. The Beginning of putting People to Death for *Witchcraft*, 110. *Connecticut* and *New Haven* Colony united, 111. *J. Leveret*, Esq; Governor

Governor, 113. *J. Sansaman*, King *Philip's* Secretary, becomes a Preacher, and is murder'd, *ib.* The War with King *Philip* begins, 116, *et seq.* Capt. *Beers*, &c. kill'd, 119. Governor *Winslow* subdues the *Narragansets*, 120. Six *English* Captains kill'd, 121. A great Slaughter of the *Indians*, *ib.* The *French* assists them, *ib.* The Queen of *Pocasset's* Bravery, 125. King *Philip* shot by an *Indian*, *ib.* The War in the East, 126, *et seq.* *W. Leet*, Esq; *Sim. Bradstreet*, Esq; and *Robert Treat*, Esq; Governors, 128. *New-England* Charter taken away, *ib.* *H. Cranfield*, Esq; Governor, 129. *Jos. Dudley*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* Sir *Edmund Andros* Governor, *ib.* Seized, 136. Council resume the Government, 137. Capt. afterwards Sir *William Phips*, brings home immense Treasure, 130. Made High Sheriff, 134. Third *Indian* War, 132. *Indians* take *Pemmaquid-Fort*, 138. Bravery of two *English* Boys, 139. Sir *William Phips's* unfortunate Expedition to *Quebec*, 140. The Difference between the old and new Charter, 144. Sir *William Phips* Governor, *ib.* Capt. *Convers's* Bravery, 145. *Pemmaquid New Fort* built, 146. Peace with the *Indians* concluded there, 147. Witch Plague, 148, *et seq.* Mr. *Boroughs*, a Minister, tried and hang'd as a Witch, 149, 151. Numbers more hang'd, 151, *et seq.* Dog hang'd as an Accomplice, 156. Dr. *Mather's* and Sir *William Phips's* Relations accused of Witchcraft, *ib.* A Stop thereupon to the Persecution, *ib.* Discontents against Sir *William Phips*, 158. *W. Stoughton*, Esq; Governor, 159. The *Indians* set on by the *French* against the *English*, 159. A War, and their King *Bomaseen* taken, 160. Major *Hammond* taken and sold, and redeemed by Count *Frontinac*, 161. *Indians* first ride a Horseback, *ib.* *Chub* delivers up *Pemmaquid Fort*, *ib.* Kill'd 164. *Hannah Dunstan's* Stoutness rewarded, 162. Earl of *Belmont* Governor, 164. *Indian* Sachems submit to *England*, 165. *New-England* assists *Jamaica*, 167. *G. Dudley*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* General *Hill* and Admiral *Hovenden*, their fatal Expedition to *Canada*, 169. *Samuel Shute*, Esq; Governor, 171. *New-Haven* University set up, 173. Pirates tried and hang'd, 174. *W. Burret*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* *J. Belcher*, Esq; Governor, 175. Contests about the Governor's Salary, 176, *et seq.* Salary settled, 179. Woods for Masts laid out, 180. Climate, Soil and Product, 181, *et seq.* Hunting the Mose, 187. Geographical Description of Counties, Towns, &c. 189, *et seq.* *Boston* describ'd, 193, *et seq.* Number of Inhabitants, 196. Trade and Way of Living, 197. *Rhode-Island* describ'd, 203. *Martha's* Vineyard, 201. *New-England*, its Inhabitants, Fruitfulness and Pleasantness, 205. Its Laws and Government, 210, *et seq.* *Harvard* College, 212, *et seq.* Of the *Indians*, 223, 224, 225. Number of Inhabitants in *New-England*, 227. *English* Title to the *Mississipi*, 228. Trade of *New-England*, 229. Plenty of Naval Stores, 231. Exports thence to the Sugar-Islands, 234.

*Newfoundland*, its Situation, idle Pretences of the *French* to the Discovery, Vol. I. 2. Sir *H. Gilbert* takes Possession for Queen *Elizabeth*, 3. Cast away, 4. First *Newfoundland* Company, 5. Dr. *Vaughan* purchases and settles, 7. Sir *G. Calvert's* Grant, 8. Number of Inhabitants, 14. Climate, Way of Living, and Soil, 16. The *Spaniards* pretend to the Fishery, 17. Product, Meats, Fish, 19. The *Banks*, 20. *Indians*, 21, 22. Wars between the *French* and *English*, 22, 23, 24. Sir *J. Norris* here, 24. Cession of the Island by the *French* to the *English*, 26.

*Newhaven* Colony, in *New-England*, settled, Vol. I. 69. Join'd to *Connecticut*, 111. County describ'd, 208.

*New-Jersey* describ'd, Part of *Nova Belgia*, Vol. I. 281. *Swedes* here, 282. Divided into two Proprietaries, *ib.* Their Bounds, *ib.* Division, East and West, 283. Why not encouraged, *ib.* Counties, *ib. et seq.* Iron Works, 286. No Churches, *ib.* Dr. *Cox*, Proprietor of *West Jersey*, *ib.* Number of Inhabitants, 289. Second Proprietaries, 290. *Robert Barclay*, Esq; the famous Quaker, Governor, 291. *Garven Lawrie*, Esq; Deputy-Governor, *ib.* Terms of Sale of Lands, *ib.* Sir *Neal Campbell* Governor, 292. Col. *Andrew Hamilton* Governor, 293. *Edmund Byllings*, Esq; Governor of *West New-Jersey*, *ib.* Charter surrender'd, 294. Trade here, 295. Increase of Slaves, *ib.* *Lewis Morris*, Esq; Governor, *ib.*

*New-Scotland*, its Discovery and Settlement, Vol. I. 28, *et seq.* That and *Canada* belongs to the *English*, who drive out the *French*, 31, 32. Mr. *de la Tour* his Purchases there of the *English*, *ib.* Yielded together with *Canada* by *Charles II.* to the *French*, 33. Sir *W. Phips* retakes it, *ib.* Governor *Nicholson* calls *Port-Royal Anapolis*, 34. *Indians*, 36. Their Musick, 37. *Cape Briton* Island, its great Advantage for the Fishery, *ib.* Better for the *French* than *Newfoundland*, *ib. et seq.* Given up to them by the *Utrecht* Treaty, *ib.*

*New-York*, *Dutch* first Possessors, Vol. I. 236. Bounds, 237. Climate and Soil, 238. The *English* take Possession of it, *ib.* Describ'd, 239. *Hudson's River*, *ib.* Capt. *Nichols* Governor, 240. Sir *Edmund Andros*, *ib.* Col. *Dungan*, *ib.* Col. *Schuyler's* Expedition against *Quebec*, 241. *Schenckada* burnt by the *French*, 242. Col. *Lesley* Governor, by Usurpation, *ib.* Condemned and executed, 243. Col. *Fletcher* Governor, *ib.* Count *de Frontinac* enters and quits the Province, *ib.* Col. *Slaughter* Governor, *ib.* *Jos. Dudley*, Esq; Deputy-Governor, 244. Earl of *Bellamont* Governor, *ib.* Mr. *Nanfan* Deputy-Governor, *ib.* Lord *Cornbury* Governor, 245. *Indian Kings* of the five Nations at *London*, 247. *New-York* joins in the Expedition against *Canada*, 248. *Palatines* settle there, 249. The Charge of it, 250. Brigadier *Hunter* Governor, renews the Alliance with the Kings of the five Nations, *ib.* *W. Burnet*, Esq; Governor, 251. *Peter Schuyler*, Esq; President, meets the *Indian Segamores* at *Albany*, *ib.* Another Congress with them



at *Albany*, 253. Their Speeches, *ib. et seq.* *John Montgomery*, Esq; Governor, 256. *Rip. Van Dam*, Esq; President, *ib.* *W. Cosby*, Esq; Governor, 257. His Quarrel with Mr. *Van Dam*, *ib. et seq.* And with Chief Justice *Morrice*, 259. Orders *Zenger* the Printer to be prosecuted, 263. Tried and acquitted, 268. Mr. *Hamilton*, *Zenger's* Council, highly honoured by the City of *New-York*, 269. Geographical Account of the Province, 271, *et seq.* The Five Nations, 273. *Long-Island*, 274. Climate and Soil, 276. *Indians*, *ib.* Number of Souls, *English* and *Indians*, 279. Trade a very profitable one, *ib.*  
*New-York Town*, first called *New-Amsterdam*, Vol. I. 39. *et seq.*  
*Norfolk County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 405.  
*Northumberland*, *ib.* 412.

## O.

**O**IL, Train, how made, Vol. I. 20.  
*Oppeccanough*, Emperor of the *Virginia Indians*, formidable to the *English*, Vol. I. 370. Massacres them, *ib.* Defeated by the *English*, 371. Massacres them again, 373. Is taken, 374. His Magnanimity and Death, *ib.*  
*Orange Trees*, in *Barbados*, describ'd, Vol. II. 109. In *Bermudas*, 451.  
*Oronoco*, a Bird so call'd, Vol. II. 264.  
*Oystins*, in *Barbados*, why so call'd, Vol. II. 103.

## P.

**P**ALM Tree, in *Bermudas*, Account of, Vol. II. 451.  
*Palmer Worm*, Vol. II. 242.  
*Palmeto Tree*, Vol. II. 113.  
*Paneel Sugars*, what they are, *ib.* 153.  
*Papa Tree*, in *Barbados*, *ib.* 110.  
*Park*, Col. Governor of the *Leeward Islands*, Vol. II. 204. His tragical End, 219.  
*Parrot Fish*, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 123. In *Antego*, 196.  
*Passage Fort*, in *Jamaica*, destroyed by an Earthquake, Vol. II. 326. Described, 417.  
*Pear prickled*, in *Barbados*, described, Vol. II. 109. In *Bermudas*, 451.  
*Pelican*, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 408.  
*Pemlico*, a Bird in *Bermudas* so call'd, Vol. II. 452.  
*Pen, William*, Esq; procures a Grant of *Pensylvania*, Vol. I. 297. Goes thither, 310. Buys the Country of the *Indians*, *ib.* Leaves the Place, 315. Government taken from him, *ib.* His Troubles, 317. Dyes, 318.  
*Pen. William*, Esq; Junior, goes to *Pensylvania*, Vol. I. 321.  
*Pensberry*, in *Pensylvania*, describ'd, Vol. I. 299.  
*Pensylvania*, the Grant promised to Sir *William Pen*, Vice-Admiral, Vol. I. 297. Given his Son, *ib.* Extent and Bounds, *ib.*

- ib.* Lands not yet laid out, 298. Counties, *ib. et seq.* Swedes and Dutch here, 299. Philadelphia, fine Plan of it, *ib.* A Church of England there, 301. Swedish Churches, 302. Number of Inhabitants, 304. Climate and Soil, 305. Product, 306. Indians, *ib.* Why the Indians have flat Heads, 307. Swedes surrender to the Dutch, 309. Col. W. Markham Governor, *ib.* Rates of Land at first and now, 310. William Pen, Esq; Governor, *ib.* Buys the Country of the Indians, *ib.* The Indians get by the coming of the English, 311. The Constitution, *ib.* Alter'd, 311. Mr. Pen, a Court Favourite, 312. Col. Fletcher Governor, 313. Capt. Blackwell Governor, *ib.* Tobacco not to be preferred here, *ib.* Thomas Lloyd, Esq; Governor, *ib.* The Ballot abolish'd, 314. George Keith, the Convert Quaker, offends, *ib.* Col. And. Hamilton Deputy-Governor, 315. Col. Evans Governor, approved by the Queen, *ib.* Mines, 316. Trade and Labour, *ib.* William Keith, Esq; Governor, 318. New Comers taxed, *ib.* Fire at Philadelphia, 318. Credit, Association, 319. Major Gordon Governor, 320. Acts pass'd, *ib.* More new Comers, 321. Number of Inhabitants, 321. Mr. Pen, Junior, arrives, *ib.* League with the Indians, 322.
- Pepper, red, the Plant in Barbados, Vol. II. 113.
- Pepper Tree, in Jamaica, describ'd, Vol. II. 401.
- Pequot Indians, War with the English, Vol. I. 71, *et seq.*
- Perth, Amboy, in East New-Jersey, Vol. I. 285.
- Philadelphia City, described, Vol. I. 299, *et seq.* Fire there, 318. Number of Inhabitants, 321.
- Philadelphia County, *ib.* 299.
- Philip, King of the Wampanoags, his Wars with the English, Vol. I. 116, *et seq.* Sets the Maquas against him, 123. Is kill'd, 125.
- Phips, Sir William, finds a Wreck, Vol. I. 130. Made High Sheriff of New-England, 134. Reduces New-Scotland, 33. His Expedition against the French at Canada, 140. Puts an End to Witch-burning, 156. Sent to England, 159. His Birth, 190.
- Physick Nut, Vol. II. 107.
- Pimento, in Jamaica, describ'd, 410.
- Pike, Land, Vol. II. 239.
- Pine Tree, in Barbados, describ'd, Vol. II. 114.
- Plantine Tree, *ib.* 113.
- Plimouth Colony, in New-England, settled, Vol. I. 47. United with the other Colonies, 88. The Town described, *ib.*
- Pocahonta, an Indian Princess, in Virginia, her Kindness to Capt. Smith, Vol. I. 361. Stolen by Sir Samuel Argal, 365. Christened, 366. Married to Mr. Rolfe, and carried to England, *ib.* Her Treatment at Court, 367. Her Death in England, *ib.*
- Poison Tree, in Barbados, describ'd, Vol. II. 107.
- Poison Weed, in Bermudas, *ib.* 454.
- Pomgranate Tree, Vol. II. 110.
- Portland, Duke of, Governor of Jamaica, Vol. II. 368. His Death, 375.

- Porto-Bello* describ'd, Vol. II. 381. Taken by Admiral *Vernon*, *ib.*  
*Port-Royal*, in *Jamaica*, destroyed by an Earthquake, Vol. II  
 322, *et seq.* Its present Description, 415.  
*Port-Royal*, in *New-Scotland*, Vol. I. 34.  
*Port-Royal*, in *Carolina*, Vol. I. 516.  
*Powaw Indian*, in *Hudson's-Bay*, what it is, Vol. I. 553.  
*Powhatan King*, wars with the *English*, Vol. I. 360. His Daughter  
 turns Christian, and marries an *English Gentleman*, 366. He  
 makes Peace with the *English*, *ib.*  
*Powhatan Town*, *ib.* 359.  
*Prince George County*, in *Virginia*, describ'd, Vol. I. 406.  
*Prince George County*, in *Maryland*, *ib.* 337.  
*Princess Ann County*, in *Virginia*, *ib.* 405.  
*Providence and Bahama Islands*, their Discovery, Vol. II. 422.  
 Proprietaries, 423. Mr. *Chillingworth* Governor, 424. Mr.  
*Clark* Governor, *ib.* *Cadwallador Jones* Governor, his Ty-  
 ranny, *ib.* Mr. *Gilbert Apsley* President, 426. A Sedition  
 there, 427. *Avery* the Pirate there, 429. Mr. *Trot* Gover-  
 nor, *ib.* House of Lords petition Queen *Anne* about it, 433.  
 Mr. *Webb* Governor, 430. Mr. *El. Hasket* Governor, 431.  
 Mr. *Lightfoot* Governor, 432. Mr. *Birch* Governor, *ib.* Capt.  
*Woodes Rogers* Governor, 433. Council and chief Officers,  
 435. Number of Inhabitants, 436. Insolent Claim of the  
*Spaniards* to these Islands, 437. Mutiny of the Soldiers there,  
 438.

## Q.

- Quebec*, attack'd by Sir *W. Phips*, Vol. I. 140.

## R.

- RATTLE-SNAKE, in *New-England*, Vol. I. 187.  
 Rat-Plague, in *Bermudas*, Vol. II. 444.  
*Rawleigh*, Sir *Walter*, discovers *Virginia* by his Servants, Vol. I.  
 346. Said to go there himself, 350.  
*Reading*, in *New-England*, describ'd, Vol. I. 193.  
*Rhode-Island*, describ'd, Vol. I. 203.  
*Rice Trade*, great Increase of, Vol. I. 519.  
*Richmond County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 412.  
*Roenoke Isle*, the first Land made by the Adventurers to *Virginia*,  
 Vol. I. 346.  
*Rolfe*, Mr. marries the *Indian Princess Pocahontas*, Vol. I. 366.  
 Call'd in Question for it, 367.  
*Rocquet*, an Animal, describ'd, Vol. II. 264.  
*Roxbury*, in *New-England*, describ'd, Vol. I. 199.  
*Rum*, how made, Vol. II. 150, *et seq.*  
*Rupert's River*, in *Hudson's Bay*, first settled upon, Vol. I. 544.



## S.

- S** *T. Andrew's* Parish, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 102.  
*St. Andrew's* Parish, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 390.  
*St. Bartholomew's* Island, taken by Sir *T. Thornhill*, Vol. II. 245, *et seq.*  
*St. Cristopher's*, Discovery, Vol. II. 158. Settled by *English* and *French*, 259. Sir *Thomas Warner* Governor for the *English*, 260. Col. *Rich* Governor, 261. Climate, Soil and Product, 262. Parishes, 263. A full Account of the *Charibbeans*, 265, *et seq.* Mr. *Everard* Governor, 280. Sir *William Stapleton* Governor, 281. Sir *Nath. Johnson*, *ib.* *English* surrender to the *French*, *ib.* Recover'd by General *Codrington* and Sir *Tim. Thornhill*, 288. Sir *William Matthews* Governor, 291. The Cession of it to the *English* by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, 294. Lands left by the *French*, 295. Coin raised by the Lieutenant-Governor against the Act, 296. Governor's Salary settled, 298.  
*St. David's* Parish, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 388.  
*St. Dorothy's*, *ib.* 392.  
*St. Elizabeth's* *ib.*  
*St. George's* Parish, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 100.  
*St. George's* Parish, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 393.  
*St. George's* Isle, one of the *Bermudas*, Vol. II. 448, *et seq.*  
*St. Jago de la Vega*, in *Jamaica*, built, Vol. II. 304. *Christ. Columbus* made Duke of it, *ib.* Plunder'd by Sir *Ant. Shirley*, 305. By Col. *Jackson*, *ib.* Destroyed by an Earthquake, 326. Describ'd, 391.  
*St. James's* Parish, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 100.  
*St. James's* Parish, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 392.  
*St. John's* Parish, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 102.  
*St. John's* Parish, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 391.  
*St. John's* Town, in *Newfoundland*, Vol. I. 13. Destroyed by the *French*, 14.  
*St. John's* Town, in *Antego*, Vol. II. 193.  
*St. Joseph's* Parish, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 102.  
*St. Katharine's* Parish, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 390.  
*St. Lucia*, describ'd, Vol. II. 171. The Right of the *English* to it, 172. The *French* dispossels'd, *ib.* First Settlement abandoned, *ib.* *French* complain of the *English* taking Wood there, 173. Governor of *Barbados* forbids the *French* to settle there, 174. A Grant of it to the Duke of *Montague*, 175. Preparation for a Settlement, *ib.* The *English* begin it, and are opposed by the *French*, 177, *et seq.* *English* and *French* leave the Right to it contested, 181.  
*St. Lucy's* Parish, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 101.  
*St. Mary's* Parish, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 393.  
*St. Mary's* County, in *Maryland*, Vol. I. 336. City, *ib.*  
*St. Michael's* Parish, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 98.  
*St. Peter's* Parish, in *Barbados*, 101.  
*St. Thomas's* Parish, 100.

- St. Thomas's*, in the *Vale*, Vol. II. 393.  
*St. Vincent's*, inhabited by *Indians* and *Negroes*, Vol. II. 183, *et seq.* Granted to the Duke of *Montague*, *ib.* His Agent there unsuccessful, 184.  
*Salem*, in *New-England*, built, Vol. I. 59. Describ'd, 190.  
*Savannah Town*, in *Georgia*, Vol. I. 527.  
*Saybrook*, in *New-England*, built, Vol. I. 67.  
*Schenectada*, in the Province of *New-York*, burnt by the *French*, Vol. I. 242.  
*Schuyler*, Col. *Peter*, of *New-York*, his Expedition against *Quebec*. Vol. I. 241.  
*Seasonings*, in *Maryland*, Vol. I. 328.  
*Shark Fish*, describ'd, Vol. II. 195.  
*Soap Tree*, in *Jamaica*, describ'd, Vol. II. 403.  
*Soldier*, a Reptile so call'd, describ'd, Vol. II. 239.  
*Somerset County*, in *Maryland*, Vol. I. 339.  
*Speight's Town*, in *Barbados*, describ'd, Vol. II. 101.  
*Spiders of Bermudas*, describ'd, Vol. II. 453.  
*Spiders*, monstrous, in *Nevis*, Vol. II. 241.  
*Spotsylvania County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 414.  
*Stafford County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 412.  
*Suffolk County*, in *New-England*, Vol. I. 193.  
*Sugar*, when first made in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 7. A grievous Tax upon it, 40. Canes, how planted, 145, *et seq.* How made, 148, *et seq.* How clay'd, 152. How refined, 154. *Jamaica Sugar*, 396.  
*Surinam Colony*, abandoned by the *English*, Vol. II. 316.  
*Surry County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 405.  
*Suffex County*, in *Pensylvania*, Vol. I. 304.  
*Sword-Fish*, describ'd, Vol. II. 197.

## T.

- T**ALBOT County, in *Maryland*, Vol. I. 339.  
*Tamarine-Tree*, in *Barbados*, Vol. II. 108.  
*Tobacco*, first brought into *England*, Vol. I. 347. Severe Tax upon it, 394. How made, 442. Of *Maryland*, 340. Of *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 410.  
*Tobacco*, sweet-scented, Vol. I. 410, 442.  
*Tortoise*, the Fish so called, Account of it, Vol. II. 406.  
*Treacle*, how made, Vol. II. 158.  
*Tygers*, flying, describ'd, Vol. II. 241.

## U.

- Vere Parish*, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 392.  
*Virginia*, its Discovery by Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Direction, Vol. I. 346. *Amidas* and *Barlow's* Voyage, *ib.* Tobacco first brought into *England*, 347. Mr. *Ralph Lane*, first Governor, 348. Sir *Francis Drake* here, 349. First Settlement ends, 350. Second

cond Settlement, *ib.* Destroyed, 351. Third Settlement, *ib.* Mr. *J. White* Governor, *ib.* The *Indian Manteo* christened, *ib.* An End of the third Settlement, 352. Capt. *Gosnold's* Voyage, 353. Capt. *Pring's* Voyage, 354. Capt. *Weymouth's* Voyage, *ib.* The South *Virginia* Company, 355. Capt. *Newport* here, 356. First Colony that remained, *ib.* Mr. *Wingfield* President, 357. Capt. *Radcliffe* President, *ib.* Capt. *Smith* President, 359. Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, Capt. *Newport*, Deputy-Governors, 360. Capt. *Smith's* Adventures, 361. The Friendship of *Potahonta*, *ib.* Miserable State of the Colony, 362. Lord *Delaware* Governor, 363. Sir *T. Dale* Marshal General, *ib.* Sir *T. Gates* Governor, 365. *Pocahonta* seized by Capt. *Argal*, *ib.* Married to Mr. *Rolfe*, 366. Arrives in *England*, *ib.* Her Treatment and Behaviour at Court, 357. Dies in *England*, *ib.* Capt. *Yardly* Deputy-Governor, 366. Sir *Samuel Argal* Governor, 367. His Expedition against the *Dutch* and *French*, 368. Capt. *Powel* Deputy-Governor, 369. Sir *G. Yardly* Governor, *ib.* The first Assembly, *ib.* Sir *F. Wyat* Governor, *ib.* The *English* massacred by the *Indians*, 370. The Company dissolved, 372. Present Constitution, *ib.* Sir *J. Harvey* Governor, 373. Sir *W. Berkley* Governor, *ib.* Another Massacre, *ib.* King *Opsecanough* kill'd, 374. Sir *W. Berkley* submits to the Parliament, 375. Col. *Diggs* Governor, 377. Mr. *Bennet* and Mr. *Matthews* Governors, *ib.* Col. *Francis Morrison* Deputy-Governor, 378. Sir *W. Berkley* again Governor, *ib.* Clamours here, 379. Adventurers, 381. Discoveries towards the Mountains, *ib.* Col. *Bacon's* Mutiny, *ib.* The Causes of it, 382. The *Indians* stir, 383. *Bacon* chosen General by the People, 384. Quarrel with the Governor, 385. Enters *James Town* with his Army, *ib.* The Governor flies from him, 386. Gentlemen join with him, *ib.* Dies, 387. *Herbert Jeffreys*, Esq; Deputy-Governor, 389. Sir *W. Berkley* dies in *England*, *ib.* Peace with the *Indians*, *ib.* Sir *H. Chickley* Deputy-Governor, 390. Lord *Colepepper* Governor, *ib.* Salary 2000*l.* a Year, *ib.* Riot about Tobacco, 391. Lord *Colepepper* gets the *Northern Neck*, 392. Lord *Howard*, of *Effingham*, Governor, 393. The Impost on Tobacco, 394. *Nath. Bacon*, Esq; President, 395. A College set on Foot, *ib.* *Francis Nicholson*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor, *ib.* Sir *Edmund Andros* Governor, 396. Col. *Nicholson* Governor, 398. Earl of *Orkney* Governor, 400. *Edward Notte*, Esq; Deputy-Governor, *ib.* Col. *Spotswood* Deputy-Governor, 401. His Scheme for a general Housing of Tobacco, *ib.* Pirates hang'd, 402. *Hugh Drisdale*, Esq; Governor, *ib.* Major *Gouge* Governor, 403. Geographical Description of it, 404. *Cheseapeak* Bay, 405. Sweet-scented Tobacco, 410. *Williamsburgh* describ'd, *ib.* and 436. Hills in *Virginia*, 414. Of the Inhabitants, *English* and *Indians*, 416, *et seq.* Government, 430, *et seq.* Church Affairs, 434, *et seq.* Climate, Soil, Product, 438, *et seq.* Beasts, Birds and Fish, 443, *et seq.* Coin and Trade, 447, *et seq.* State, 452.



- Univerſity*, in *New-England*, an Account of it, Vol. I. 212, *et ſeq.*  
*Voyage*, a very dangerous one, by Sea, Vol. II. 445.  
*Urchin*, *Sea*, a Fiſh ſo call'd, deſcrib'd, Vol. II. 196.

## W.

- W** *ALES*, new, in *Hudſon's-Bay*, Vol. I. 545.  
*Waller*, Edmund, Eſq; at *Bermudas*, Vol. II. 446. His  
 Verſes upon it, 455.  
*Warwick County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 409.  
*Weathersfield*, in *New-England*, built, Vol. I. 66.  
*Weed*, Spirit in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 411.  
*Westmoreland County*, in *Virginia*, Vol. I. 412.  
*West New-Jerſey*, the History of, Vol. I. 293, *et ſeq.*  
*Whales* about *Bermudas*, Vol. II. 453.  
*Whitewood Tree*, in *Jamaica*, Vol. II. 403.  
*Williamsburg*, Town of, in *Virginia*, deſcrib'd, Vol. I. 406.  
*Wilton*, in *Carolina*, Vol. I. 513.  
*Wind-mills*, in *Barbados*, an Account of them, Vol. II. 147,  
*et ſeq.*  
*Witches* perſecuted in *New-England*, Vol. I. 148, *et ſeq.*  
*Wood*, Ant, in *Barbados*, deſcrib'd, Vol. II. 122.  
*Wood*, Iron, *ib.* 113.

## Y.

- Y** *ARRICO*, a *Charibbean Maid*, her Story, Vol. II. 13.  
*York County*, in *Virginia*, deſcrib'd, Vol. I. 409.  
*York River*, *ib.* 410.











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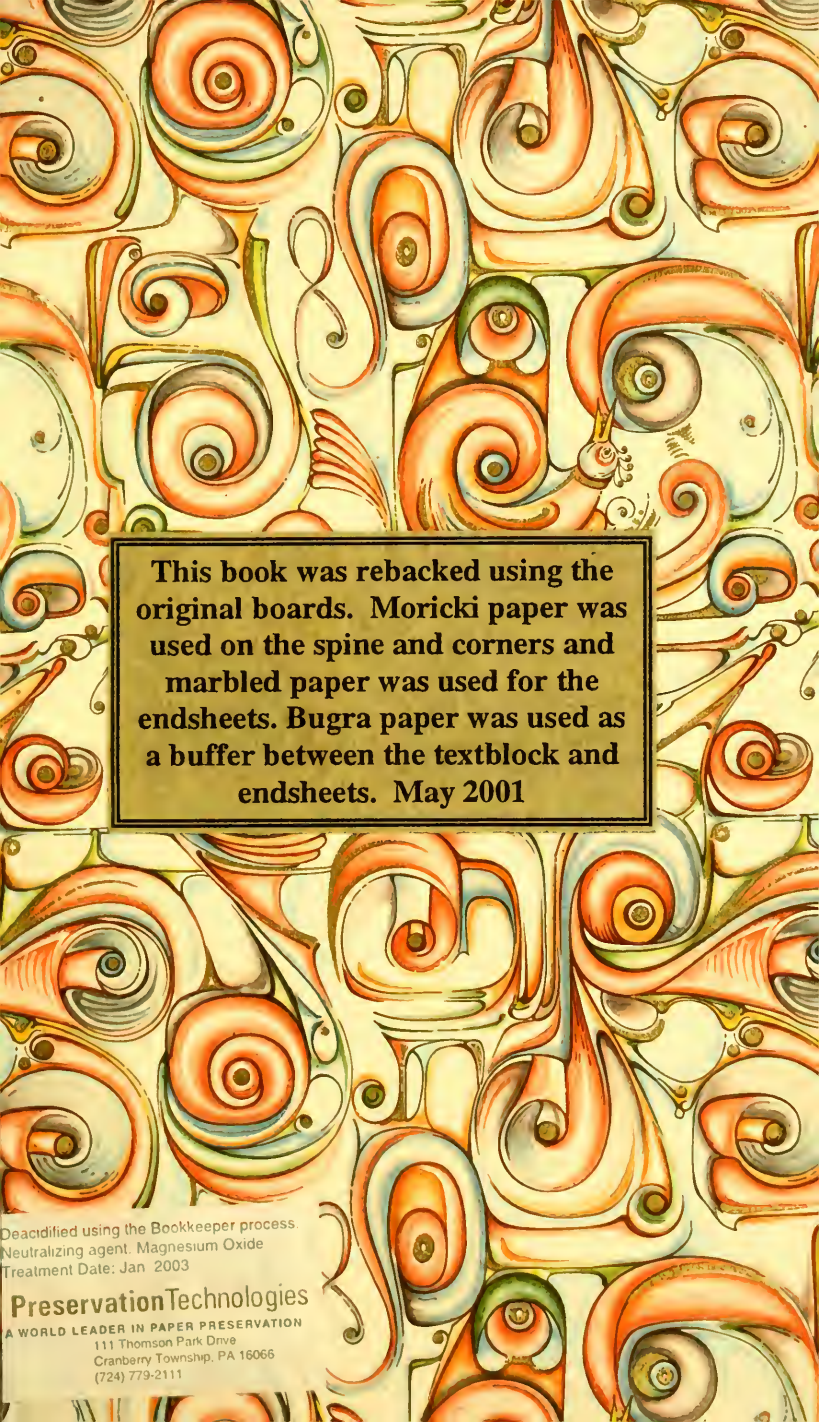












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