

Modern history or, the present state of all nations. Describing their respective situations, persons, habits, and buildings, manners, laws and customs ... plants, animals, and minerals / by Mr. Salmon ; illustrated with cuts and maps ... by Herman Moll.

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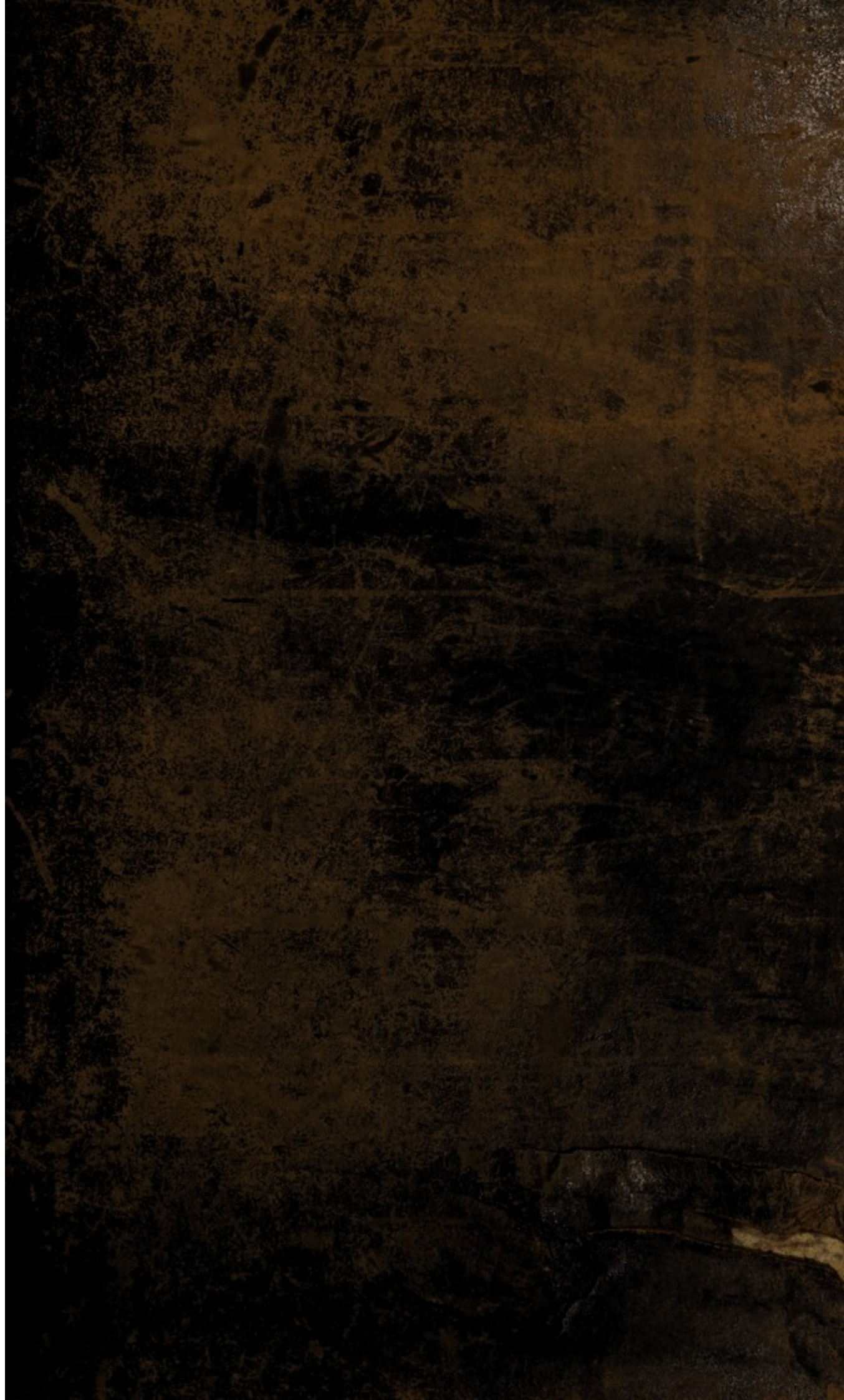
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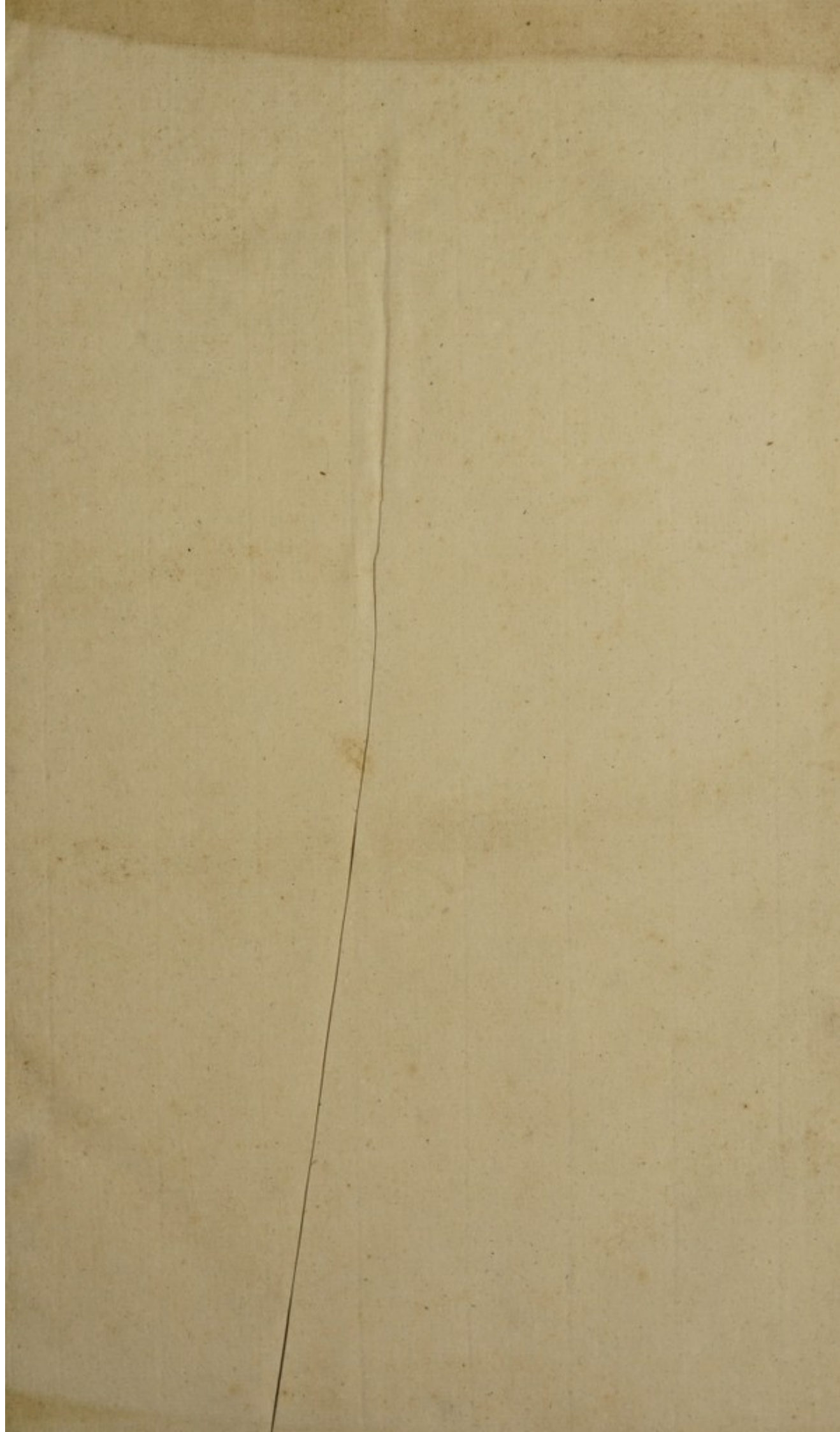
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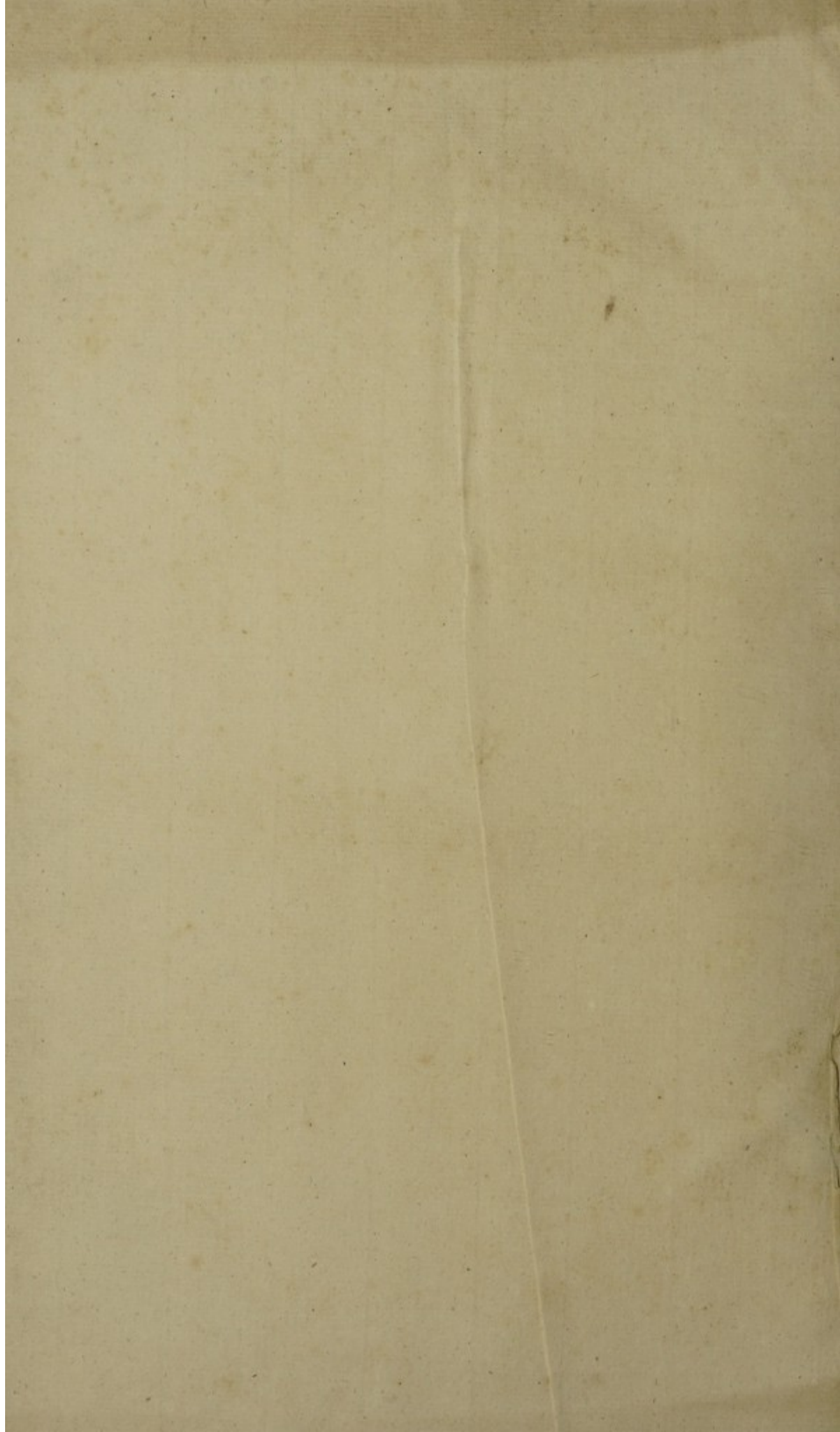
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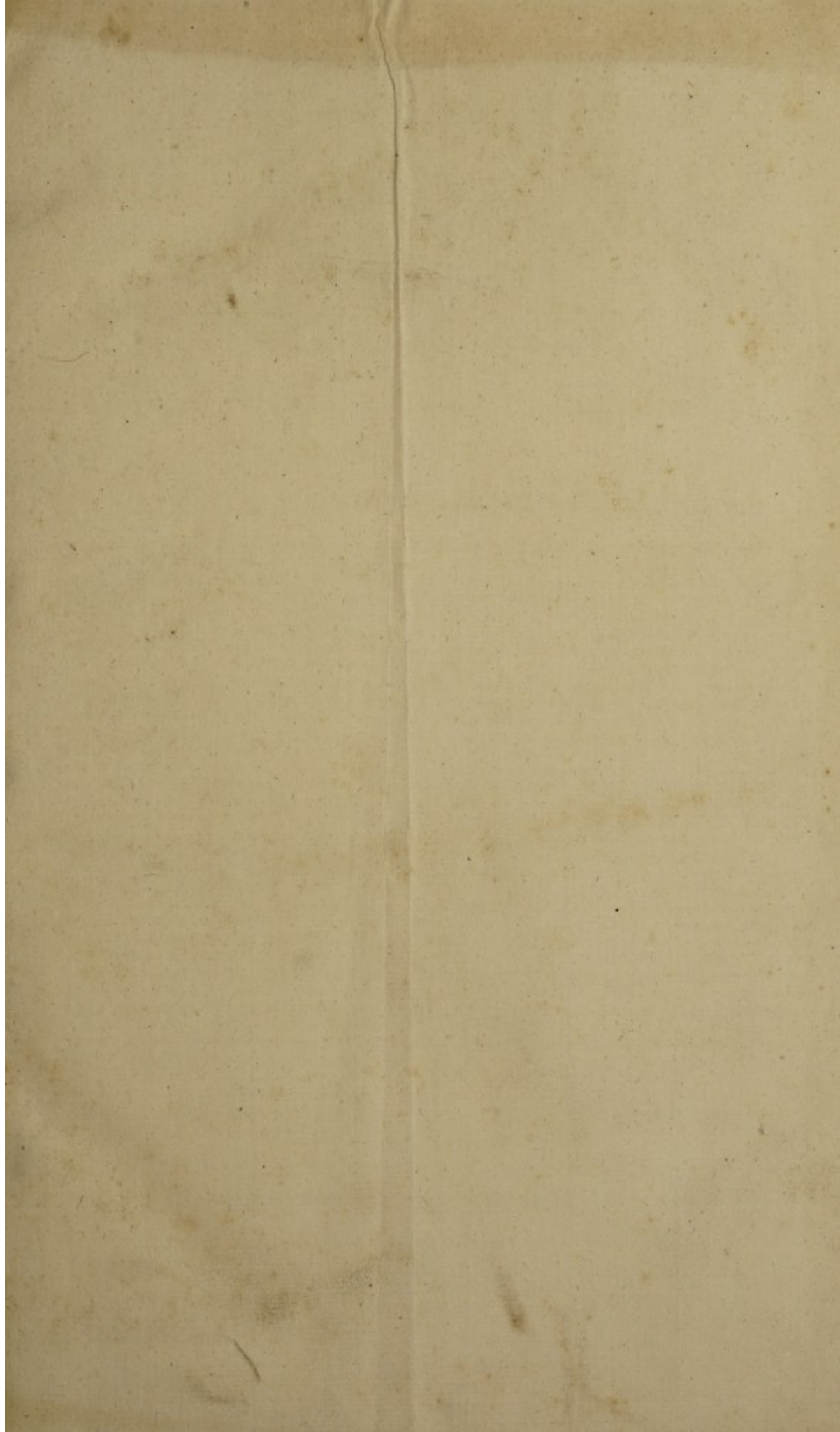


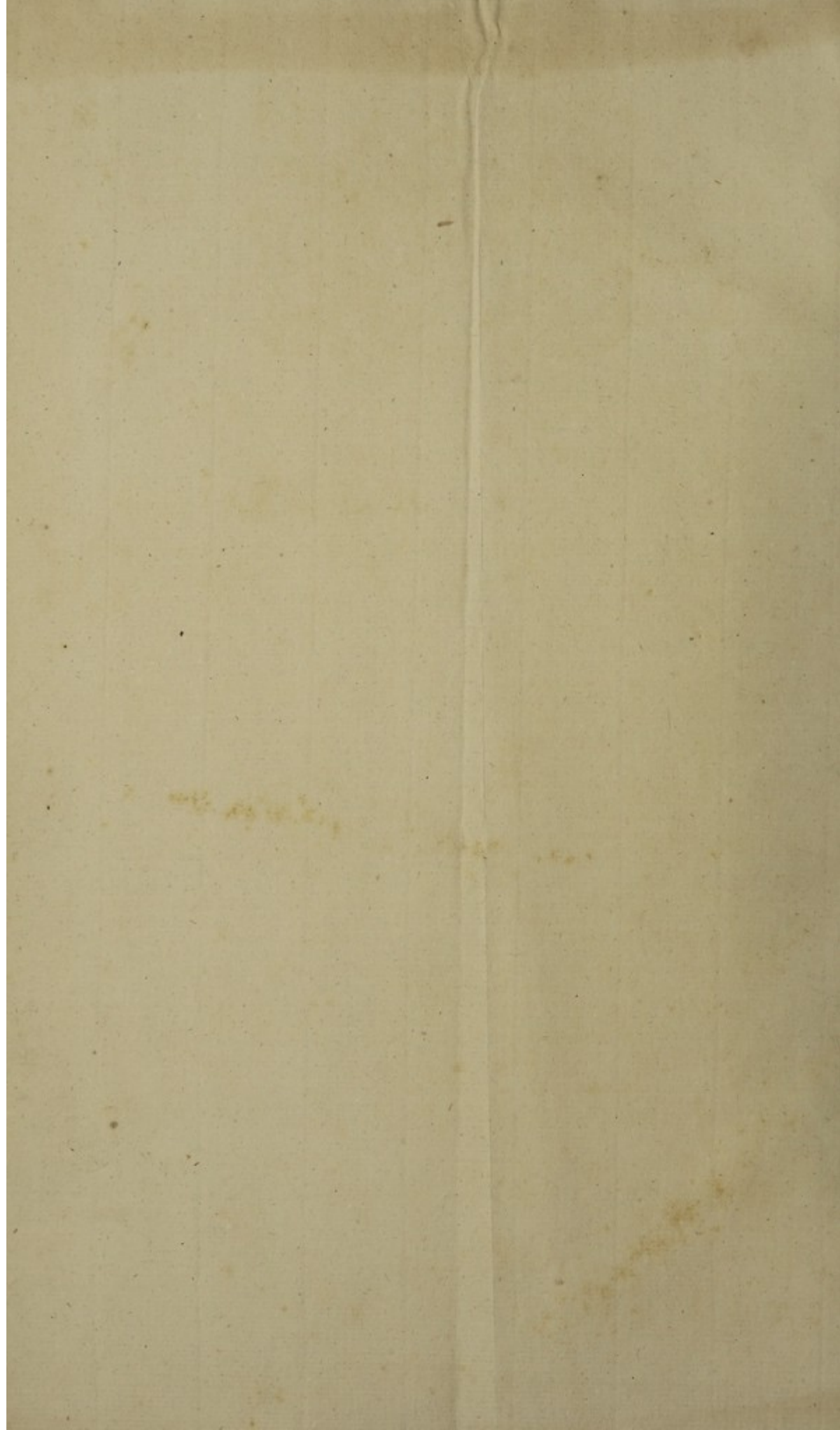
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STATE OF NEW YORK
IN SENATE
JANUARY 18, 1891.

REPORT
OF THE
COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE
IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE SENATE
JANUARY 18, 1891.

G

The Commissioner of the Land Office has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a resolution passed by the Senate on January 18, 1891, relative to the report of the Commissioner of the Land Office, and in response thereto to submit the following report.

The report of the Commissioner of the Land Office for the year 1890, was submitted to the Senate on January 18, 1891, and was published in the Senate Journal of that date. The report contains a full and complete statement of the affairs of the Land Office for the year 1890, and of the progress of the work of the Office during the year.

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Given at the City of New York, this 18th day of January, 1891.
J. H. M. J. J. J.
COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE.



GEORGE R.

GEORGE the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *Great-Britain, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting: Whereas our Trusty and Well-beloved *Thomas Longman, John Shuckburgh, Thomas Osborne, Charles Hitch, and Stephen Austen*, Citizens and Booksellers of *London*, have by their Petition humbly represented unto Us, that they have been at very great Expence and Labour in procuring and purchasing Books for the compiling and improving a Work, Entitled, *Modern History: Or, The Present State of all Nations*; describing their respective Situations, Persons, Habits, Buildings, Manners, Laws and Customs, Religion, Policy, Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and Husbandry, Plants, Animals, and Minerals, by *Thomas Salmon*: In which are comprehended not only such Voyages and Travels, as have been published already, but the Accounts and Observations of several judicious Travellers, who have lately visited the remotest Parts of the Globe, and had great Opportunities of informing themselves of the present State of the respective Nations they describe: The Third Edition, with considerable Additions and Improvements, and an Abstract of the ancient History of most of the Countries described, brought down to the present Time. The whole adorned with Cuts of the various Inhabitants, and Maps of the several Countries, projected by *Herman Moll*, the most accurate and correct Geographer of this Age, in Three Volumes in Folio. Which Work, the Petitioners, with the utmost Submission, apprehend may be of great Service not only to the Publick in general, but to all Persons concerned in Trade and Navigation; and being desirous of reaping the Fruits of their very great Expence and Labour, and of enjoying the full Profit and Benefit that may arise from printing and vending the same, without any other Person interfering in their just Property, which they cannot prevent without Our Licence and Protection; they have therefore most humbly prayed Us to grant them Our Royal Licence and Protection for the sole Printing, Publishing, and Vending the said Work, in as ample Manner and Form as has been done in Cases of the like Nature. We taking the Premises into Our Princely Consideration, and being graciously inclined to give Encouragement to all Works that may be of publick Use and Benefit, are pleased to condescend to their Request; and do, by these Presents (as far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Case made and provided) grant to the said *Thomas Longman, John Shuckburgh, Thomas Osborne, Charles Hitch, and Stephen Austen*, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, Our Royal Privilege and Licence for the sole Printing, Publishing, and Vending the said Work, during the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Date hereof; strictly forbidding and prohibiting all Our Subjects, within Our Kingdoms and Dominions, to reprint or abridge the same, either in the like, or any other Volume or Volumes whatsoever, or to import, buy, vend, utter, or distribute, any Copies thereof reprinted beyond the Seas, during the aforesaid Term of Fourteen Years, without the Consent or Approbation of the said *Thomas Longman, John Shuckburgh, Thomas Osborne, Charles Hitch, and Stephen Austen*, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, by Writing under their Hands and Seals first had and obtained, as they will answer the contrary at their Peril: Whereof the Commissioners, and other Officers of our Customs, the Master, Wardens, and Company of *Stationers of London*, and all other Officers and Ministers, whom it may concern, are to take Notice, that strict Obedience be given to Our Pleasure herein signified.

Given at our Court at St. James's the Thirteenth Day of December 1743, in the Seventeenth Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

CARTERET.

MODERN HISTORY:
OR, THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
ALL NATIONS.

Describing their respective
SITUATIONS, PERSONS, HABITS,
AND BUILDINGS;
MANNERS, LAWS AND CUSTOMS, RELIGION,
AND POLICY;
Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and
Husbandry;
PLANTS, ANIMALS, AND MINERALS.

By Mr. ^{Thomas} S A L M O N.

Illustrated with CUTS and MAPS, accurately drawn according to the Geographical
Part of this Work,

By HERMAN MOLL.

THE THIRD EDITION.

With considerable Additions and Improvements, interspersed in the Body of the Work: Also the
History and Revolutions of each Country, brought down to the present Time.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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vol. ii 1745

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VOL. II.

LONDON: Printed by

T. Longman and T. Green, 15, Abchurch Lane, in the City of London.

And by J. Johnson, 7, St. Paul's Church-yard, in the County of Middlesex.

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And by J. Murray, 1, Pall-mall, in the County of Middlesex.

MILKING.



THE

P R E F A C E.

THE ancients were not very consistent with themselves when they related that the Torrid Zone was not habitable, and at the same time affirmed that *Africa* had been surrounded several times by ships, which must have passed the Torrid Zone twice in every such voyage.

That they were deceived in their notion, *That the Torrid Zone was not habitable*, is now sufficiently evident; and I am apt to think they were in an error also, as to the circumnavigation of *Africa* in those early ages.

It is true, some of the moderns as well as the ancients are of this opinion; to support which they quote the following passages out of HERODOTUS.

HEROD. lib. 4. cap. 41, 42. *Africa maria est manifestè circumflua, exceptò duntaxat ubi Asia contermina est; NECO Ægyptorum Rege hoc primo demonstrante, is enim misit navibus Phœnicis quosdam, præcipiens ut transvæcti columnas Herculeas penetrarent ad septentrionale usque mare atque ita ad Ægyptum remearent.*

Phœnices igitur à rubro mari solventes abierunt in mare australe, qui cum autumnus advenisset, applicatis ad terram navibus, sementem faciébant in quamcunque Africae partem navigantes pervenissent ac messem expectabant.----Deinde messò frumento navigabant. Ita biennio consumpto anno tertio ad Herculeas columnas declinantes in Ægyptum remearunt, referentes quæ apud me fidem non habent, sed fortè apud alios: In prætereundo Africam se babuisse solem ad dextram.

"This is the fact, as related by HERODOTUS (say these gentlemen) and the question is, "How these men, thus sent out by NECUS, should really know that *Africa* was surrounded by water; that it might be sailed round within the space of three years; that in autumn they must be obliged to go on shore, and stay there long enough to sow corn and reap it; and in the voyage, * *all along have the sun to the right hand*, unless they had really performed this voyage.----It will not be enough to say, that you can't see how such a voyage could be performed, or to tell us of high seas, cross winds, or to argue from consequences, viz. How came it about that the King of *Ægypt* planted no colonies in those new discovered countries? When a fact is so well circumstantiated as this before us; and when modern experience shews those circumstances to be exactly true, nothing but showing a downright impossibility for such a fact being performed, can any way invalidate it. 'Tis plain from HERODOTUS, that from the testimony of these men, he believed that *Africa* was surrounded southward by water.---All that seemed to him incredible in their narrative was,---That the land of *Africa* should run out so far to the south, as † *that these men should see the sun in the greatest part of their voyage to the north of them*. You must not think that this story was slighted, and looked upon as a fable in those days.

"A thousand causes, difficulty of the voyage, a small prospect of advantage.---Troubles that immediately succeeded in Egypt, might hinder its being further prosecuted.---However we find, that about 115 years after NECUS, the matter was disputed in XERXES's court.---For HERODOTUS tells us in the same book, chap. 43.---That when one of XERXES's great men had offended him, instead of putting him to death, he ordered him, by way of punishment, to endeavour to make this same voyage, viz. ‡ *To set out to Egypt, and to sail by the Straights round Africa into the Red-sea*.---This great man accordingly undertook the voyage; and after he had sailed some months beyond the Straights, probably discouraged by the difficulties from wind, sea, &c. he returned, telling XERXES that the voyage could not be performed.---But this answer was so far from satisfying that monarch, that he put him to death for his former crime.---From whence it is further evident, that the ancients, at least some of them, believed that *Africa* was *Mari Circumflua*."

There are others that mention three voyages round *Africa* performed by the ancients, and relate, that HANNO, the Carthaginian and Persian Nobleman abovementioned, wrote particu-

* This is impossible.

† The passage in Herodotus does not say so.

‡ Directly contrary to the Phœnician voyage.

lar histories of their respective voyages; but had these voyages been really performed, would not the ancients have given us some account of the countries south of the Equator? Would not they have taken notice of the southern hemisphere, and of the stars and constellations they observed there? which were such remarkable discoveries, that if they had they been once made could never have been forgotten. But there are these further objections against the circumnavigation of *Africa* by the ancients, viz.

1. That it was impossible to discover and navigate an unknown coast for fifteen or twenty thousand miles extent, in the space of two or three years without a compass, when the mariners were neither acquainted with the rocks and sands upon that coast, or with the winds, currents, or seasons they were to meet with in any part of it, and wanted the stars that used to guide them on this side the Equator.

2. It is strange no nation should make a second attempt, or even settle one colony in *Africa*, south of the Equator, or even near it, if the Phenicians made such an expeditious and successful voyage round it.

3. It is a further objection to this voyage, that the ancients knew nothing of the annual periodical winds or storms between the Tropics, and of their shifting regularly every half year to the opposite points: that the winter or stormy season always advanced with the sun, and they had the fairest weather when it was at the greatest distance from them, contrary to what happens in countries without the Tropics.

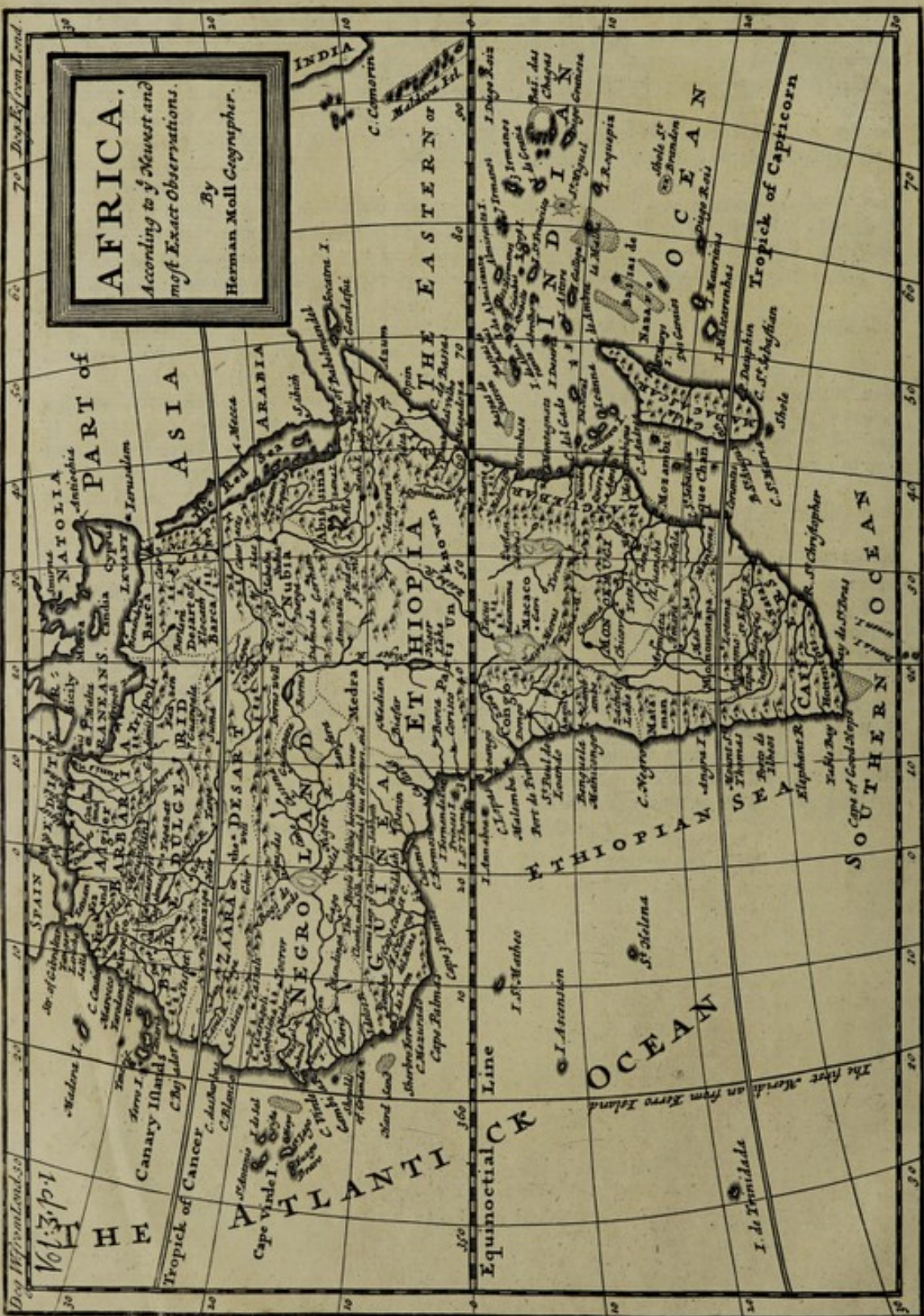
4. The galleys of the ancients could never pass the *Cape of Good Hope*, without many miraculous incidents, if the winds and seas there were what we find them at this day.

5. In such low-built galleys they could neither lay in provisions sufficient for the voyage, nor could they stay to procure them by the way, if it was performed within the space of two or three years: And if they would have gone on shore from time to time for them, it would have been impracticable on many parts of the coast of *Africa*, because of the surf or swelling of the sea in some places; and in others there are neither wood, water, or provisions of any kind to be met with for some hundreds of miles.

6. They must have had extreme good fortune not to have been destroyed by diseases, enemies, or other accidents on shore, if they had escaped the danger of the sea.

7. They must have remained in harbour near one half the time, on account of the never-failing tempestuous seasons and contrary winds, and must have lain by still longer on account of dark nights and foggy weather, which reduces the time of their sailing to a very few months, much too small a space of time to encompass *Africa* even with all the advantages we are masters of; which consideration alone is sufficient to overthrow the credit of these voyagers of the ancients round *Africa*.

But all these objections united and duly weighed, I persuade myself amount to a demonstration, that this voyage could never be performed by the ancients within the space of three years at least, in the opinion of any seamen who are acquainted with the coast of *Africa* and the winds and seasons upon that coast, and sensible of the hazard and difficulty of sailing upon an unknown shore without a compass; though speculative men, unacquainted with maritime affairs, may possibly be of another opinion.



AFRICA.

According to the Newest and most Exact Observations.

By

Herman Moll Geographer.

70° Dist. E. from Lond.

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Vol. 3. 171

THE

ATLANTIC

Equinoctial Line

OCEAN

SOUTHERN OCEAN

THE EASTERN or

INDIAN

OCEAN

Tropic of Capricorn

PART of

ASIA

ARABIA

ETHIOPIA

INDIA

CHINA

MACAO

MOZAMBIQUE

SENEGAL

GUINEA

SPAIN

PORTUGAL

FRANCE

ENGLAND

IRELAND

SCOTLAND

WALLES

YORKSHIRE

LANCASHIRE

THE PRESENT STATE OF AFRICA in general.

CHAP. I.

Of AFRICA in general.

CHAP.
I.

The situation.

The figure of it.

The latitude, longitude and extent.

Africa anciently contain'd several celebrated kingdoms and states.

AFRICA is bounded by the Mediterranean sea, which separates it from Europe, on the north; by the isthmus of Suez, the Red sea and the Eastern ocean, which separate it from Asia, on the east; by the Southern ocean on the south; and by the Atlantick, or great Western ocean, which divides it from America, on the west.

It is of a pyramidal or triangular figure, the base whereof is the northern part of it, which runs along the shores of the Mediterranean, and the point or top of the pyramid the Cape of Good-Hope.

Africa is a peninsula join'd by the narrow isthmus of Suez to Asia, and situated between the 37th degree of north latitude, and the 35th of south latitude, the most western part of it lying 18 degrees west of London, and the most easterly 51 degrees to the eastward of London: so that it takes up 72 degrees of latitude, and consequently is 4320 miles in length from north to south, if we reckon 60 miles to a degree as usual; and 5040 miles in length, if we reckon 70 miles to a degree, which comes much nearer the truth; and, as it extends 69 degrees in breadth, viz. from Cape Verd in the west to Cape Gardesoy in the east, we may reckon the breadth of it to be about 4830 miles, computing 70 miles to a degree.

This quarter of the world once contain'd several kingdoms and states, eminent for the liberal arts, for wealth and power, and the most extensive commerce; tho', at this day, there is scarce one single nation left upon that continent that deserves our notice. There were situated the celebrated kingdoms of Egypt and Ethiopia, with the rich and powerful state of Carthage, to which the kingdoms of Numidia and Mauritania were subject.

Then almost all the northern parts of Africa were full of people, from the Red sea to the Atlantick ocean, and Carthage extended her commerce to every part of the then known world: even the British shores were visited by her fleets, 'till

JUBA, King of Mauritania and tributary to Carthage, unhappily call'd in the Romans, who, by the assistance of the Mauritians, subdued Carthage, and made all the kingdoms and states in Africa subject to them; after which, the natives neglected their trade, and even the cultivation of the soil; they were become provinces of Rome, liable to be plunder'd and impoverish'd by rapacious Viceroyes and Governors sent from that capital: whereupon their traffick, in a short time, dwindled to nothing, and they cultivated no more of their lands, than what might serve for their subsistence. Upon the decline of the Roman empire, in the fifth century, the north of Africa was overrun by the Vandals, a barbarous northern people, who contributed still more to the destruction of arts and sciences there; and, to add to their misfortune, the Saracens made a sudden conquest of all the coasts of Egypt and Barbary in the seventh century: These were afterwards succeeded by the Turks; and both being of the Mahometan religion, whose disciples carry ruin and devastation along with them where-ever they come, the ruin of that once flourishing part of the world was thereby compleated.

The soil of the northern shore of Africa is still the same, capable of producing almost every thing desirable in life, but possess'd by a wretched abandon'd people, that have given themselves up to robbery and rapine; who, neglecting to cultivate their soil, or make any improvements, subsist chiefly by their piracies at sea, and what they can ravish from the honest and industrious part of mankind, who, being obliged to sail by their coast, are so unhappy as to fall sometimes into their hands.

From the discoveries that have been made in Africa of late years, we find, that it is not that barren desert country it has been represented; for not only the north part of it is generally fruitful where it is cultivated, but the south also produces corn and wine. And here we meet with herds of the finest cattle in the world; and even between the

CHAP.
I.

The soil and produce of Africa in general.

Tropics

CHAP. I. Tropics there are multitudes of people, fine rivers, and a rich soil capable of the greatest improvements. The cinamon tree actually grows there; and it is thought, that the rest of the fine spices might be raised in those latitudes, which would make those spices more plentiful, and we should no longer be obliged to purchase them of the Dutch (who barbarously dispossest us of them in the Indies) with treasure. However, here it is that we meet with plenty of the best gold and ivory; and from hence the Europeans export two hundred thousand Negroe slaves, and upwards, annually to America; which shews, that Africa, between the Tropics, must be vastly populous, tho' the ancients held, that the Torrid Zone was not habitable.

The different people who inhabit Africa.

Three different people inhabit this continent, viz. Pagans, Mahometans, and Christians: the first are the most numerous, possessing the greatest part of the country from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, and these are generally black: the Mahometans, who are of a tawny complexion, possess almost all the northern shores of Africa. The people of Abyssinia, or the upper Ethiopia, are denominated Christians, but retain abundance of Pagan and Jewish rites; and there are some Christians upon the sea-coasts on almost every side of Africa; but these are a small number, compared either with the Pagans or Mahometans. There are also some Jews in the north of Africa, who manage all the little trade that part of the country is yet possess'd of: but it is remarkable, that tho' the Carthaginians, who inhabited this very country of Barbary, had greater fleets, and a more extended commerce, than any other nation, or than all the people upon the face of the earth, when that state flourish'd; and that Africa is better seated for a foreign trade, than any other quarter of the world; the natives have scarce a single merchant-ship belonging to them, and no other ships of force, than what Sallee, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, set out for piracy; and these are but very few and small, their whole strength not being able to resist a squadron of five European men of war. But it is time now to descend to particulars, and describe the respective countries contained in Africa.

They have neither ships or commerce.

The grand divisions of Africa.

The several grand divisions of Africa at this day, are these ten:
1. Egypt. 2. Ethiopia superior; and 3. Zaquebar, all which lie on the east of Africa. 4. Monomotapa, Monomotapa and Caffraria, called by some the lower Ethiopia, which lie on the south. 5. Congo and Guinea on the south-west. 6. Nigritia or Negroeland in the middle of Africa, extending almost quite through the country from east to west, on both sides the great river Niger. 7. Zaara, or the desert to the northward of Nigritia. 8. Biledulgerid, the ancient Numidia to the northward of Zaara. 9. The empire of Fez and Morocco, containing the north-west part of Africa. 10. and lastly, The coast of Barbary on the north, containing the countries of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Barca.

Great disagreement about the division of Africa.

There are scarce any two nations, or indeed any two of the learned, that agree in the modern division of Africa; for this very good reason, that scarce any traveller has penetrated into the heart of the country, and consequently we must be content to acknowledge our ignorance of the bounds, and even the names of several of the midland nations. These may well be reckon'd still among the unknown and undiscover'd parts of the world;

but the best accounts and conjectures that have been made concerning them, I shall endeavour to present the reader with: Egypt has been already fully describ'd, with the rest of the Turkish dominions, in the first volume of Modern History; I proceed, therefore, in the next place, to give the present state of Ethiopia, which lies contiguous to it, comprehending under that name Abyssinia, Nubia, Abex and Aian.

CHAP. II.

The present state of ETHIOPIA Superior.

THE ancients, it is pretty evident, called all that they knew of Africa, to the southward of Egypt, Ethiopia, and the people Ethiops, from their dark complexions: but the country I now describe, including only Abyssinia, Nubia, Abex and Aian, is bounded by Egypt and the desert of Barca on the north; by the Red sea and the Eastern ocean on the east; by Zaquebar and Nigritia, on the south; and by Nigritia and Zaara, on the west: so that I include all that country, that lies between the 5th and the 20th degrees of north-latitude, and between the Eastern sea and Nigritia, under the general name of Ethiopia. This is that country, which most of the learned conjecture was anciently govern'd by the celebrated Queen of Sheba, styl'd the Queen of the south; and afterwards by Queen CANDACE, whose prime minister, the eunuch, was converted and baptized by St. PHILIP: and lastly, this was that country, whereof it is supposed the real or imaginary Prester JOHN, or Prebbyter JOHN, was sovereign. I come now to give a more particular description of the countries I have reduced under the general name of Ethiopia.

CHAP. II.

The ancient Ethiopia.

The boundaries of Ethiopia Superior, and the countries comprehended under that name.

Supposed to be subject to the Queen of Sheba, and Queen Candace, and to Prester John.

And 1st of Abyssinia, a country of a thousand miles extent, that has scarce any communication with the rest of the world at this day. The Turks having made themselves masters of that part of Ethiopia that lies upon the Red sea, and the rest of it being surrounded by mountains or unpassable deserts; within these it appears to be an exceeding fine level country, diversify'd with woods and fruitful plains, well planted with palm-trees, dates and cedars, and water'd by several noble rivers.

Abyssinia.

The river Nile rises in the middle of Abyssinia; and, having first taken a circuit almost round its source, runs an hundred miles to the northward, and afterwards two hundred miles towards the east; and then, turning to the south and south-east, continues its course two hundred and fifty miles further; in which eastern course it forms the lake of Dambea, which is an hundred and twenty miles over: after which, it takes a semicircular sweep; in which course it continues to run five hundred miles, and then turning directly north, enters the kingdom of Egypt; which winding course does not only render the soil extremely fruitful, but is of great advantage to their inland commerce; tho' after its entering Egypt, there are so many steep-falls and cataracts, that they can neither export or import any goods or merchandize upon this river.

Rivers.

There are also two other great rivers, call'd the Moraba and Albara, which run through the country from south to north, and fall into the Nile, in the province of Sennar; and there is still a fourth great river, call'd the Haouache, which, after a course of six hundred miles to the south-east, falls into the Red sea or Arabian gulph.

This

CHAP.
II.
Produce of
the soil.

This country, thus happily watered, produces plenty of corn, rice, millet, dates, grapes, flax, cotton, sugar, salt, and sulphur: their flax is esteemed the finest in the world; and from hence, 'tis said, the Egyptians had theirs, of which they made the fine linen of Egypt mentioned in scripture: and had they, at this day, an opportunity of exporting the produce of their soil, 'tis said this country alone might raise rice, sugar, &c. sufficient to supply all the neighbouring countries. The Turks, who are masters of the coast of the Red sea, though they will suffer no other nation to trade to Abyssinia, annually fetch great quantities of rice from thence, particularly at the times of the great pilgrimages to Mecca, Arabia not affording provision sufficient for their subsistence.

Gold is also very plentiful here, of which the Turks get some; and, had the Ethiopians an opportunity of bartering it for the merchandize of Europe, 'tis thought we might meet with as great plenty of it here, as any where, though there are no gold mines wrought: they have also mines of silver and copper, the latter of which they work, and have a good deal of that metal; and, 'tis said, they have the largest emeralds in the world.

Animals.

As to their animals, they have camels, oxen, sheep, and other cattle in great plenty, and very large; also wild beasts, crocodiles, &c. common to the rest of Africa; but what they are most famous for, is an excellent breed of horses, equal to those of Arabia; or, as some conjecture, those of Arabia are, in reality, bred in Abyssinia, where they abound in rich pastures.

It may be objected here, that, if Ethiopia be thus cut off from any communication with other countries, how could the Queen of Sheba, or Queen CANDACE's eunuch, travel into Judæa? To which it may be answered, that the coast of the Red sea was then a part of Ethiopia, by which it was very easy to visit either Egypt, Arabia, or Palestine.

Ethiopia was then a mighty empire, subject to one sovereign, who commanded the sea coast as well as the inland country; but now the King, or Emperor of Ethiopia, is a Prince of small power, his territories being divided into abundance of little principalities like Germany, the Princes whereof scarce acknowledge a superior; and as they are seldom united, are by no means a match for their powerful neighbours, the Turks, who therefore keep them shut up within the bounds of Abyssinia, and will not suffer them to correspond or traffick with the rest of the world.

Provinces
and chief
towns of
Abyssinia.

Travellers reckon up nine principalities or provinces in Abyssinia; every one whereof has a distinct sovereign, that acknowledges, however, the King of Abyssinia for his chief Lord.

1. The province of Ambara; the chief towns whereof are, Ambara the capital of Abyssinia, and situated in the middle of it, and Lalibela. 2. Bega-medri, the chief towns whereof are, Amadora, Alata and Maker. 3. Dambea; the chief towns whereof are, Amba-Marjan, Dancas and Jenda. 4. Shoa; the chief towns whereof are, Debra, Libanos and Wenthit. 5. Gojam; the chief towns whereof are, Ledanegus, Debra, Semona and Selah. 6. Bugna; the chief towns whereof are Egala and Arguan. 7. Samen; the chief towns whereof are Waldeba and Toraf. 8. Gonga; and 9. Walaka, in the two last whereof no towns are mentioned; and indeed, the people in general live more in tents, than houses, the King keeping his court, like the Great Mogul, for the most part in

CHAP.
II.
The King
generally
lives in the
field.

his camp, which looks like a city laid out into streets; and, as he is followed by his nobility, officers, tradesmen, subtlers, &c. the camp is always well supplied with provisions and necessaries of all kinds. The King's tent is pitched in the centre of the camp, and his nobility and the rest of his subjects encamp round about him, those of the lowest rank being at the greatest distance from the royal pavilion.

The air of this country in the vallies is excessive hot during the summer months, but on the mountains cold; and, as some affirm, the cold there is more troublesome than the heat, during that season they call the winter, which is about the vernal equinox. They have terrible thunder, and three months of almost continual rain; which, falling from the mountains that surround Abyssinia in torrents, occasions the overflowing of the Nile in Egypt the succeeding months, of which a full account has been given in the description of that country: all the rest of the year almost they enjoy serene settled weather in Abyssinia; the people being generally healthful, and living to a good old age.

As to the persons of the Ethiopians, they are generally of a good stature; their complexion a deep black; their features much more agreeable than those of the Negroes, having neither such thick lips or flat noses: they are said to have a great deal of vivacity and natural wit; to be of a teachable disposition, and fond of learning, though they have but few opportunities of improving themselves.

The better sort of them are clothed in vests, made of silk stuffs or cotton, after the manner of the Franks in Turkey; but their poor people go almost naked, having only a small piece of skin or coarse stuff wrapped about their waists.

They have no other bread than thin cakes baked upon the hearth as they want them: they eat all manner of flesh almost as the Europeans do, except swine's flesh, and such other meats as were prohibited to the Jews; they also still abstain from things strangled, and from blood, killing their meat in the same manner the Jews do: as to the poor people, they live chiefly upon milk, butter, cheese, roots, herbs, and what their flocks and herds produce.

The meat is brought to the tables of people of condition in earthen dishes, and they have no other plates or trenchers than the thin cakes, that serve them for bread; and, according to some, they use neither knife, fork, or spoon; but this can't be entirely true, if what they tell us of another circumstance in their eating be so: viz. That their Princes and Great men are above feeding themselves, and are fed by boys with spoons; and this latter is the more probable, because, in administering the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the Priest gives the communicants the liquor they use instead of wine in spoons.

They seldom roast their meat; it is generally boiled or stewed, and they are very fond of the broth or soup that is made of it. Their usual drink is mead or metheglin, the country abounding in honey. They have also liquors made of wheat and rice, and their Princes drink some wine; but they do not seem to be well skilled in making this liquor, though they have the finest grapes in the world: you cannot make their Princes a more acceptable present, than some bottles of European wine.

CHAP.
II.

Linen, I find, they have very little, tho' their country is found to be the most proper for flax of any in Africa; and indeed they do not seem to stand much in need of any, for they use no table-linen, or sheets; they lie on carpets or mats, as in other hot countries, and not in beds: and this leads me to speak of their manufactures, which are very mean. The Jews are said to be the only weavers and smiths amongst them; and, as for other handicrafts, such as carpenters, taylor and shoemakers, every man breeds up his children to the trade or profession he uses himself. There are particular families, whose business it is to make trumpets, horns, &c. and these several trades, like the casts or tribes in the East-Indies, live separately, and do not intermix with any other trade or tribe, either by marriage or otherwise.

Their manufactures

Their buildings

Their traffick

Their way of travelling

Arms and wars

Their buildings are exceeding mean, the generality of their houses being but poor huts, made with clay and splinters. Some travellers tell us of the ruins of magnificent palaces and temples; but, when the Portuguese Missionaries came amongst them, about two hundred years ago, after that people had found the way to the eastern coasts of Africa, by the Cape of Good Hope, there were neither palaces, temples, fortifications, or even a walled town to be found in the country. The Popish Missionaries indeed, after they had insinuated themselves into the favour of their Princes, taught them to build temples, palaces, and fortresses; but of these there are very few at this day: for the King, as has been observed, lives generally in the field, where he is attended by the petty princes, nobility, artificers, &c. the chief of them lying in pavilions and tents; but as these are not easily purchased by the common people, they make them little huts of clay and green boughs; and the towns they talk of, are composed of houses of the like sort: the silks, stuffs, calicoes, linen and carpets, they use for furniture or cloathing, they receive chiefly from the Turks, by the way of the Red sea, who take the gold and emeralds of Abyssinia in return for this merchandize, with some fine horses: the Brokers, or Merchants, between the Turks and Abyssinians, are Jews, Arabians, or Armenian Christians; few or none of the natives trade or travel abroad; and it is very probable, that the Turks would not suffer them, if they should attempt it, lest a communication should be opened again between them and other nations, who might also exchange their manufactures for the gold and precious stones found in this country. When the Portuguese first found the way to Abyssinia, the shores of the Red sea were open; but now the Turks keep so strict a guard there, that it is difficult for any other people to have access to them. In travelling, they ride upon mules or camels, mules being the best of all animals to clamber the mountains, and camels for their sandy plains; but, in war, horses only are used to charge the enemy. Their troopers, 'tis said, ride on mules, when they march, and lead their horses; which are reserved purely for the day of battle. Their arms are chiefly lances, bows, arrows and swords; and they have some fire-arms, which they purchase of the Turks. The wars of the King of Abyssinia are principally with the Ethiopian Princes; who, being encouraged and assisted by the Turks at first, mightily reduced that Prince's power, and, while the Ethiopians were engaged in civil wars at home, it was, that the Turks possessed themselves of that part of their country that lay upon the Red sea. Thus the Ethiopians, by their

insurrections and encroachments on their Prince, disabled him to defend or recover that part of his dominions, by which only he could have any commerce with the rest of mankind. He is now reduced as low as the Turks can wish, having no trade or intercourse with any other nation, but what they are pleased to allow him; and has lost much of his power and authority at home, by the Princes and Governors of provinces setting up for themselves; which leads me to enquire into the King's titles, prerogatives, government, &c.

CHAP.
II.

This Prince, according to the Portuguese, who visited his country, soon after their passing the Cape of Good Hope, in the 16th century, was styled *Prestor JOHN*, or *Presbyter JOHN*; which some imagine, was given him because he seemed to be the High priest of his religion, as well as King, having a cross always carried before him, and acting as supreme Governor in ecclesiastical affairs, as well as civil, in all cases except that of ordination: Others say, the Turks and Arabians gave him the title of *Prestor Chan*, or *Cham*, that is, King of Slaves; they receiving most of their black slaves from Ethiopia, of which he was Sovereign. But, however that be, travellers generally agree, that his own subjects style him *Negus*, or King; and oftener, *Negafcha*, *Negafcht*; which, in their language, signifies King of Kings, to distinguish him from the Princes and Governors of provinces, who are styled also *Negus*: And, for this reason, the Europeans give this Ethiopian sovereign the title of *Emperor*: The Persians also give him the title of *Pat-Sha*, the Disposer of kingdoms, which is the highest title known in Asia, and equal to that of *Emperor* in Europe. But every one of these Princes, at his accession to the throne, assumes a particular name, or rather motto; one styles himself the *Pillar of Faith*; another the *Virgin's Incense*; and, a third, the *Beloved of God*, sprung from the stock of *JUDAH*, the son of *DAVID*, the son of *SOLOMON*, &c. for they have a tradition, that their Princes are descended from *SOLOMON* by the *Queen of Sheba*.

The Prince's titles and prerogatives.

His arms also are said to be a lion rampant, holding a cross, with this motto, *The lion of the tribe of JUDAH has won*.

This Prince is, or rather was absolute, and his throne hereditary; but, as he has lost much of his power and prerogatives, which the Great men of the country have usurped; he is now frequently controlled by his Lords: The eldest son also is sometimes passed by, and a younger, or an illegitimate son, advanced by the Nobility to the imperial dignity: The civil power, however, still seems to be subject to the military. The King is most of the year in the field, attended by great armies of horse and foot; and consequently their laws, if they have any, are silent, when the Prince pleases to control them; but what laws they have, seem chiefly to relate to their religion. Thus far, indeed the Abyssinian Princes and Nobility are in a better condition than they were formerly; that though they have few or no laws to screen them from the arbitrary dominion of their Emperor; yet they are become so powerful, that he is cautious how he opposes them, or enters upon any thing of consequence without their concurrence; however, the common people still remain in a manner slaves to the Emperor, or their respective Lords. They have gained little by the encroachments the Great men have made on the authority of their sovereign: They have

Government.

The common people slaves.

no

CHAP. II. no inheritance in their lands; but they themselves, their lands and goods are in a manner their Lord's property: they labour but to maintain the grandeur of their superiors, and make a poor provision for their own wretched families.

The Prince's revenues.

The Emperor's revenues are paid in kind, not in money, of which I can't find they have any in their country; but then, pure gold is one of the articles (which is found in the sands of their rivers, or under the roots of trees, on the tops and sides of mountains, for they have not yet wrought one gold mine, tho' it is evident, there are many in the country). Part of his revenues arise by the duties that he lays on merchandize brought from Turkey by the way of the Red sea: the Farmers also pay him a thirtieth part of all their grain, cattle, fruit and produce of their farms every year, by which his table, court and guards are maintain'd in plenty: and every Weaver, and other artificer, presents him with part of his manufacture; whereby his servants and officers are furnish'd with cloathing and other necessities; the King's revenues also arise, by his creating

Knights of St. Anthony.

Knights of St. ANTHONY; every one of whom, pays him a fine on being knighted: These are an order, partly ecclesiastical, and partly military, and very numerous; every man of quality being oblig'd to make one of his younger sons a Knight of this order; and some authors relate, that he has no less than twelve thousand of these Knights in his army.

Coronation of the Emperor.

The Emperor is crown'd in one of their principal churches, with a kind of coronet set with glittering stones, which is plac'd upon his head by their metropolitan, in the presence of the Nobility and Clergy; when there are hymns sung, guns fir'd, and other demonstrations of joy suitable to the solemnity, as in Europe. The Prince no sooner ascends the throne, 'tis said, but he orders all his brothers, children and relations to be secur'd in a fortress, situated on an almost inaccessible rock, that his Nobility may not set up any of them to rival him, which they frequently do, when they have an opportunity; and the successor is kept in the profoundest ignorance, till he is sent for out of prison, and advanc'd to the imperial dignity.

The laws and customs of the Abyssinians.

If the Abyssinians have no written laws, they have however certain immemorial customs, by which offenders are punish'd according to their respective crimes; unless the Prince, or some great Lord interposes his authority to prevent it: For capital crimes, criminals are beheaded, hang'd, ston'd or drubb'd to death with clubs; except murderers, and these are put into the hands of the relations of the murder'd persons, who may kill, torture him, or make him their slave as they see fit; but prisoners of quality, guilty of notorious crimes, 'tis said, are only banish'd to a certain rock, situated in the lake of Tzane. For theft, the offender is whipp'd, and oblig'd to make restitution; but adultery is punish'd with death: Civil causes the parties plead themselves (I can't learn, there are any Lawyers in the country, any more than written laws) before their respective Lords; and they may appeal from these tribunals to the Emperor, 'tis said; but this is seldom done, lest it should be resented by their immediate Governors.

Their religion.

I proceed in the next place to treat of their religion, which seems to be a mixture of Christianity and Judaism; but in their Christianity, they approach much nearer the Greek than the Latin church: They keep both the Jewish and Christian sabbath, and keep each of them more like a fast than a festival: They circumcise their children,

both males and females, the eighth day, and baptize them a fortnight after: formerly they baptiz'd none, till they were thirty years of age. The circumcision of their females sounds a little odd to us; but, 'tis said, they have an excrescence, or superfluous skin, that falls over the Pudenda, a piece whereof is cut off on this occasion: Certain it is, other nations of Africk have such an excrescence, and travellers report that the Ethiopians have it: but of this I cannot be so positive, as that the females of some other nations have.

Circumcision is perform'd by any old woman; but baptism only by a Priest. If it be an adult person, the Priest anoints him with oil, and then going with him into some river or pond, by the assistance of two Deacons, plunges him three times under water; saying, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Then the Deacons bring the person out, and he is anointed again; after which he is clothed with a white garment, signifying purity or innocence; and over it they put a red vest, to signify he was redeem'd and regenerated by the blood of CHRIST: after which, he is introduc'd into the church and receives the holy communion, and at his departure is presented with milk and honey, and receives the Priest's benediction.

An infant that is baptiz'd, is only gently dipp'd and sprinkled with water; but to these also they give some of the consecrated bread and cup: and annually they celebrate the 6th of January as a festival, going into the water and dipping themselves, in commemoration of our Saviour's baptism, which they suppose happen'd on that day; from whence some have conjectur'd, that they renew'd their baptism once a year.

At the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the consecrated elements are placed on a great square, wooden chest, instead of a table; the holy utensils are a dish, a cup and a spoon, call'd the spoon of the cross; with which they distribute the liquor they use instead of wine, which is made of the bruised stones of raisins infus'd in water; and this, after the bread, the Deacon delivers with the spoon both to the Clergy and Laity. They have also consecrated urns and censers, in which they burn perfumes at these times. Every person receives the sacrament once a month, or as often as he thinks fit; but never out of a church. They acknowledge the same books of holy scripture, as we do, for their rule of faith; and, 'tis said, have a more correct copy of the Septuagint, than is to be met with in Europe.

They admit the councils of Nice, Constantinople and Ephesus, with other provincial councils receiv'd till the council of Chalcedon; and, besides the Nicene canons, have eighty-four other canons in the Arabic language, which their Emperor CONSTANTINE sent to Jerusalem, anno 440, and were carried from thence to Rome, anno 1646. This book contains the synod of the Apostles, said to be written by St. CLEMENT; the councils of Ancyra, Caesarea, Nice, Gangra, Antiochia, Laodicea and Sardis, with the acts of 318 fathers; a treatise of the sabbath, with a decree and canon of penance; to which is annex'd their general liturgy, prayers and offices for the communion, a particular service for holidays, with books containing the lives of Martyrs and Saints, and hymns in praise of the blessed Virgin.

They use the Nicene creed, but have not the Apostle's creed: They hold, according to LUDOLPHUS, that the three persons in the Trinity are one God:

CHAP. II.

CHAP.
II.

God: that there are not two natures and wills in CHRIST; and yet affirm he is perfect God and perfect Man, without confusion of the two natures; which, I must acknowledge, I do not comprehend. They have but two sacraments (*viz.*) Baptism and the Eucharist, and give the bread and the cup both to Clergy and Laity, as has been related already: They believe the real presence in the sacrament, but not transubstantiation; and therefore do not say at the consecration, this is my body; which words, according to the Roman catholicks, produce the change; but this bread is my body, and this cup is my blood; neither do they give those divine honours to the consecrated elements, which the disciples of transubstantiation do.

They make general confessions of their sins, and receive as general absolutions; but make no particular confessions: They seem to believe the soul to be produc'd from matter, and yet, that it is immortal, and that, after death, the souls of good men remain in some intermediate state, and have not the vision of God, till the resurrection; for they have in their divine service, the following petition for their dead (*viz.*) Remember, Lord, the souls of thy servants; and, O Lord, release our fathers: From whence the Roman Missionaries infer, that they believe a purgatory: They keep holidays in honour of the Saints; and invoke them, begging their intercession, especially the virgin MARY's, whose picture they have, but no image of her, or any other Saint: They also invoke the holy Angels, as they have sometimes appear'd to good men, and brought them answers of their prayers; and reckon up nine orders of those celestial beings: They fast the forty days in Lent, and at some other times, keeping their fasts so strictly, that they eat nothing within the space of four and twenty hours, and sometimes fast two whole days together (which is done much easier in hot, than in cold countries): They also observe Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, and all other festivals of the ancient church, tho' at different times from the Latins.

The Emperor, as has been observ'd, is supreme in all ecclesiastical, as well as civil causes; and the Clergy, as well as Laity, are under the jurisdiction of the King's Judges: they have, however, a Metropolitan, consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria, who confers orders on the Clergy, who are chiefly Monks: They have neither Archbishop or Bishops, or any order superior to Priests; only the Abbot of every society of Monks is their superior, and has some authority over them.

These Monks do not live in cloysters or convents, but every one in his own hut, forming a kind of village near some church, where they perform divine service in their turns: Their inferior orders below the Priest or Presbyter are, the Sub-presbyter, Deacon and Sub-deacon: The Monks never marry; but one would imagine they had some Clergy that were not Monks; because travellers relate, that Clergymen, who are not Monks, may marry once; possibly this may be meant of the inferior orders, who are not Monks: These Monks manure small parcels of ground, and live by their labour.

Their principal churches were built at first, after the model of the temple of Jerusalem, with a sanctuary and outward court; but they have built them since in the form of a cross, like the cathedrals in other Christian nations: the Princes of the royal family and chief Nobility all receive the order of

Deacon; and are thereupon admitted into the choir and chancel, and every Prince has a cross carried before him, even after his accession to the throne; from whence, and the supreme ecclesiastical authority he exercises, this Prince is held to partake of the sacred function; and, according to some, from hence it was, their Emperors were stil'd Presbyter Chan, or Cham (not Presbyter JOHN) King of Priests, or the Priestly King.

The people use lighted tapers at divine service like the Greek church: They neither sit or kneel in their churches, but stand; tho' the service, on some holidays, lasts whole days and nights; but they have crutches, on which they are permitted to lean: They keep their churches exceeding neat, and put off their shoes when they enter them, which shews their regard for them, as uncovering the head does with us: And such is their veneration for these sacred structures, that they will not spit on the pavement for the world; and, when they are travelling, 'tis said, they will light when they come near a church, and walk past it: They have pictures of the Saints in their churches, but no images; and, tho' their Clergy carry a cross in their hands, which is kiss'd by all they meet, and they often sign themselves with the sign of the cross, yet they are not suffered to carry about them either an image or picture of CHRIST crucified.

According to LUDOLPHUS, they formerly acknowledged the Bishop of Rome to be the first Patriarch; but denied his supremacy over the whole church: But the Portuguese Missionaries, resorting to Ethiopia at the latter end of the fifteenth century, when their countrymen found the way thither round the Cape of Good Hope, had almost made good Catholicks of the Ethiopians, and persuaded their Emperor, not only to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, but to admit a Patriarch amongst them, sent thither from Rome. The government also consented to abolish their ancient rites and ceremonies, and conform entirely to the ritual of the Roman church: But many of the Nobility and Governors of the provinces, with a majority of the Common people, having the greatest abhorrence of the Popish religion, rose in arms against their Emperor, which occasion'd civil wars in Ethiopia, that lasted upwards of an hundred years, wherein many thousands were killed; but the Court, with the assistance of the Jesuits, European Engineers, and some Portuguese troops, were generally victorious over those of the ancient religion, but could never subdue their obstinate perseverance in it; and several provinces revolted entirely from the Emperor: However, their Emperors continued still to profess the Popish religion, and submit to the dictates of Rome; till at length the Jesuits, under pretence of maintaining the Pope's ecclesiastical supremacy, took upon them to direct almost all secular affairs, treating the Prince rather as a Viceroy to his Holiness, than Sovereign of the country; and, having erected and garrison'd several fortresses, were sending for European forces to maintain their usurped power; which gave such an alarm to the Emperor, as well as to the Nobility, that it was agreed at once to abolish Popery, and restore their ancient religion. The Romish Priests were

hereupon generally sacrificed to the fury of the people, and their Patriarch very narrowly escaped out of the country with his life: And when three Capuchins afterwards came as far as Squaquena, upon the Red sea, from whence they sent letters to the Emperor of Ethiopia to obtain leave to come into his territories again; that Prince requested the

CHAP.
II.

Their Emperor submits to the Pope.

Which occasions a civil war.

Several provinces revolt.

The usurpations of the Jesuits.

The Papists are massacred.

The old religion restored.

Turkish

CHAP. II. Turkish Bassaw, who commanded on that coast, to suffer no Franks to come that way into his territories, and to send him the heads of those Capuchins; which the Bassaw did not only oblige him in, but sent him their skins flea'd off, and stuff'd, that he might know them to be Franks by their colour, and Priests by their shaved crowns. Thus have the Jesuits and Fathers of the Romish church procured their superstition to be banish'd out of almost every country where they have planted it: They have indeed, by their skill in physick and mathematicks, and an artful address, insinuated themselves into the courts of many great Princes; but then their advancing the Pope's supremacy to such an extravagant height, and pretending to controul the government in civil, as well as ecclesiastical matters, has ever occasion'd their expulsion. Thus it was in Japan, where that Emperor, finding them usurping upon his civil authority, order'd every Christian in his dominions to be massacred; and that no Christian should ever set his foot on shore there again. This also has put a stop to their progress in China, and occasion'd very severe persecutions of the Christians there; but still they persist in their encroachments on Princes where they have an opportunity; and probably will never be satisfied, till they have made his Holiness universal monarch in temporals as well spirituals; or procured their own extirpation by the general consent of Christian Princes, as the Knights-Templars did by their insolence in the fourteenth century. But to return to Ethiopia:

Their marriages are no more than contracts before friends, which are, however, blessed afterwards by the Priest; but this is, I presume, where a person confines himself to one wife, for their religion prohibits polygamy, and they are sometimes excommunicated for taking more wives than one; and yet their Emperor has an hundred at least, and their Great men as many wives as they please: it is only the common people that are forced to keep to one wife; and possibly they need but little restraint in this particular, not being able to maintain more. The sons of the Emperor succeed according to their seniority, as do those of the Nobility, who have obtained an independency: But the rest of the people have no inheritance in their lands, nor can dispose of their estates or effects, but by the permission of the King, or their respective Lords.

They seem astonish'd, and make great howlings and lamentations, on hearing of the death of their friends, or any great man. The corpse, after it is wash'd and perfum'd, is wrapped up in a cloth; and, being laid on a bier, is carried to the burying-place by some of the Clergy, who read over some passages out of the Psalms on the occasion: After which, the corpse is laid into the grave without a coffin; but they have no particular funeral service: The relations and friends of the deceased mourn for some time afterwards in rags or tatter'd cloaths, imagining a poor neglected dress best expresses their sorrow for their deceased friends; and this seems to have been the general opinion of the ancients, who, upon any melancholy occasion, rent their cloaths, or at least put on such as were so; and did not study dress while they were in mourning, as some of the moderns do.

As to the learning of the Ethiopians, it appears to be very mean at present; reading and writing the languages, in use amongst them, seems to be their highest attainments; scarce any of their Clergy pretend to more. The Arabick language, is that wherein the scriptures, their liturgy and divine

offices, as well as all acts of state, are written: CHAP. II. The Court and Nobility use a language, call'd the Amarick, from its being spoken chiefly in the province of Amara; and the common people the Ethiopick, of which there are abundance of different dialects; one province scarce understanding another. Both the Amarick and Ethiopick are a mixture of languages; and, according to some, compounded of the Arabick, Hebrew and Chaldee.

Nubia is one of those countries I have comprehended under the general name of Ethiopia, because it is contiguous to Abyssinia, and was certainly part of the ancient Ethiopia, if it be not of the modern; and because the Nubians, according to the best accounts we can get of them, resemble the Ethiopians more than any other people.

Nubia is usually bounded by the desarts of Barca, and Egypt towards the north; by Abyssinia, on the east; by the lower Ethiopia, on the south; and Zaara, on the west; and is said to be four hundred leagues in length, and two hundred in breadth; but scarce any two Historians or Geographers agree in these matters; and, in truth, they seem to guess at almost every thing they relate of Nubia, and this is the case of almost every other inland country of Africa.

Some tell us of a river that rises in this country, and falls into the Nile; that it abounds in gold, musk, sandal, wood and ivory; having elephants, horses, camels, lions, and such other animals, wild and tame, as are to be found in the neighbouring country of Abyssinia; but they don't so much as know, whether it be a monarchy or commonwealth; or whether it is divided into many little kingdoms and states; the last of which is most probable, because we hear so little of them. The same uncertainty we meet with in relation to their religion: it is suppos'd they were once Christians, there being the ruins of some Christian churches there, 'tis said: They relate also, that their religion is a mixture of Paganism, Christianity, Judaism and Mahometanism, and it is highly probable, every one of these religions is profess'd by one or other of the natives, people of all those various religions bordering upon them.

Dangala is said to be their capital city, and situated in 17 degrees of north latitude; and Geographers pretend to give us the names of several other towns, which perhaps never had any existence; and therefore I shall not trouble the reader with them. I believe we may conclude, that their towns are not better than those in Abyssinia, which we find are compos'd of very mean huts and cottages. Thus much however, I believe, we may conclude, that the people are black, as in Ethiopia, and partake of many of their customs; but as for any thing else, little regard is to be given to what Historians or Geographers have written of them, and therefore I shall take leave of this *terra incognita*, and not tire the reader with such accounts of it, as are not to be depended on.

That part of Ethiopia, which I comprehend under the names of Abex and Anian, or Aian, is bounded by Egypt and Abyssinia towards the north and west; by the Red sea, and the Eastern ocean, on the east; and by Zanguebar on the south, extending from the 5th degree of north latitude to the 20th.

Anian lies upon, or near, the Eastern ocean, and the Red sea; of which the Portuguese and other Europeans, who have visited it of late years, assure us, it is a perfect desert, from latitude 5, to the straits of Babelmandel, or the entrance into the Red sea, and even within those straits for several miles;

The Jesuits every where do more mischief than good to Christianity, by preaching up the Pope's supremacy.

Marriages of the Abyssinians.

Polygamy practised by their Great men.

Inheritances.

Their funerals.

Learning and languages of the Abyssinians.

Nubia, the present state of it.

Its situation and extent.

Chief towns.

Persons of the natives.

Abex and Anian.

The state of Anian.

CHAP. II. the country being cover'd with sand and weeds, and producing scarce any sustenance either for man or beast; neither inhabited or habitable; no harbour for shipping, or river that waters any part of it, says my author: Tho' there are others, who pretend, that the country is populous, and abounds with plenty of all things; but this can be understood only of the coast of Abex, to the northward of Aian, and lying on the western shore of the Red sea, some degrees within the straits of Babelmandel, of which the Turks are masters. This province is indeed very fruitful; the principal ports whereof are, Suaqueem or Suaquee, and Arquico or Ercoco, about 150 miles distant from each other; and in these the Turks keep strong garrisons, which command the country, and collect great quantities of rice and other provisions, which they send over to Jeddo in Arabia, the port town to Medina and Mecca, for the service of the Pilgrims that resort thither, both from Africa and the north and eastern parts of Asia, in vast multitudes; but I do not meet with any other ports or great towns on the coasts of Abex, 'till we come as high as Egypt.

Chief towns. The people here are chiefly Turks and Arabians, and their manners and customs the same with those already describ'd in the first volume of *Modern History*, that treat of Arabia and Turkey.

CHAP. III.

The present state of ZANGUEBAR.

CHAP. III. UNDER the name of Zanguebar I include all the east coast of Africa, extending from 5 degrees north to 28 south, bounded by Aian or Anian on the north, the Eastern ocean on the east, Caffraria on the south, and the inland unknown countries of Africa, sometimes call'd Ethiopia inferior, on the west; comprehending, under the general name of Zanguebar, the countries of Magadoxa, Melinda, Quiloa, Mozambique and Zofala.

Countries comprehended in it. The country of Magadoxa lies a little to the northward of the Equator; the chief town, of the same name, situated at the mouth of a river, in 3 degrees some odd minutes north latitude. The people here are in alliance, or, rather, subject to the Portuguese; as are all the people almost upon this coast. Their country is very barren, affording scarce any merchandize, or cattle, unless a good breed of Horses, which, 'tis said, they sell to the Portuguese, who dispose of them again to the Arabs. The people are a mixture of Pagan, Mahometans and Christians: Their complexions, generally, a deep black, with flat noses and thick lips, like the rest of the Negroes.

Melinda. The country of Melinda lies to the southward of the Line; the chief town, of the same name, being situated in 2 degrees and a half south latitude, on an island at the mouth of the river Melinda, and is the capital of the Portuguese dominions in this part of the world.

Air. Notwithstanding this country lies so near the Equator, it is exceeding pleasant, fruitful, and healthful; being frequently refresh'd with showers and fine sea-breezes. The city of Melinda is a large populous place, well built, considering where it stands; has a good harbour, commanded by a strong citadel. And here the Portuguese have 17 churches, and 9 religious houses: They have also warehouses stock'd with all sorts of European goods, with which they trade with the natives for

the produce of the country, viz. gold, Elephants teeth, slaves, Ostrich-feathers, wax, and drugs; such as senna, aloes, Guinea grains, civet, amber-grease, and frankincense. The country produces also rice, millet, sugar and fruits; and the Portuguese export great quantities of rice to their other settlements, besides what they use. Some calculate, that the inhabitants of the city of Melinda, and the little island on which it stands, do not amount to less than 200000 souls, great part of them Christians.

CHAP. III. The natives have a King of their own, who is a Religion. Mahometan; but many of his people are still Pagans; and all of them in some subjection to the Portuguese. The publick buildings in Melinda, besides the churches and monasteries already mention'd, are the Governor's palace, the publick magazine and town-hall; all which are said to be magnificently built; at least, they exceed any thing of the kind that is to be found in Africa.

The country of Quiloa lies to the south-ward of Melinda; the capital city, of the same name, being in 8 degrees odd minutes south latitude. The Portuguese possess'd themselves of this place on their first discovery of this coast; but it being an unhealthy situation, they quitted it again: However, the King of the country is tributary to them (as the rest of the Princes on this coast are;) and pays them, 'tis said, a tribute in gold, amounting to the value of an hundred thousand crusadoes annually. This part of the country produces excellent sugar-canes; but the Portuguese do not improve them, receiving great quantities of sugar every year from their countrymen at Brazil, who come hither annually for slaves.

Mozambique. The country of Mozambique lies south of Quiloa; the chief town, situate on an island on the mouth of a river, of the same name, in 15 degrees south latitude. Here is a good harbour, defended by a citadel; the town it self regularly fortify'd; and the island, on which it stands, is thirty miles in circumference, and extremely populous. Here are six churches, and several monasteries; the Monks whereof make abundance of proselytes in the neighbouring country. Here the Portuguese also barter European goods with the natives (whom they have taught to cloath themselves) for their gold, Elephants teeth, and slaves; and here their shipping to and from India calls for refreshments: And, as this country produces great herds of cattle, the Portuguese kill Beef, and salt it up, sending it to the Brazils, or selling it to European shipping.

Mongale, an island-town in this country, also is garrison'd by the Portuguese: And here is their chief staple for European goods. The gold they receive for them of the natives, is found near the surface of the earth, or in the sands of rivers; there being no gold mines wrought in Africa.

Mombaza. The city of Mombaza, in the country of Mozambique, lies in 7 degrees 4 minutes south latitude, which the Portuguese possess'd themselves of when they first visited the east coast of Africa; and, being beaten out of it afterwards, recover'd it again; and have at present a considerable trade here.

In Zofala, to the southward of Mozambique, the Portuguese have also some little settlements; and, indeed, they have the trade of the whole coast almost to themselves as far as the Tropic of Capricorn.

CHAP. IV.

*The present state of CAFFRARIA:**Particularly the south part of it, the country of the Hottentots.*

CHAP. IV.

Situation and extent.

Division. Hottentot country. Situation.

First discovery of it.

The Dutch settle at the Cape.

The face of the Hottentot country.

CAFFRARIA is the most southern part of Africa, lying in the form of a crescent about the inland country of Monomotapa, and bounded by the ocean on the east, south and west, extending it self from the Tropic of Capricorn on the east, to the most southerly point of Africa, call'd Cape d'Aguilas, latitude 35, running up from thence to the northward as high as the same Tropic, on the west side of Africa; and by some is carried to latitude 15 south.

This country is divided into two parts, viz. the country of the Hottentots, and Caffraria Proper. The country of the Hottentots is the most southern part of Caffraria, lying between lat. 28. and 35, and between the eastern and western ocean, being about 300 miles from east to west, and about 400 from north to south. The Dutch town, which has obtain'd the name of the Cape, lying in lat. 34 degrees 15 minutes, longitude 18 degrees to the eastward of London.

This country was first discovered by the Portuguese Admiral DIAZ, in his attempt to find a way to the East-Indies round Africa, about two hundred and forty years ago. The Portuguese, some years after, attempted to make a settlement there; but the inhabitants falling upon them, and cutting in pieces several of their people; and there being no harbours for the security of their shipping against the violent storms upon that coast, they laid aside their design. The English afterwards visited the Cape, and were discouraged from settling there, for much the same reasons the Portuguese quitted it; namely, the tempestuous seas, and the want of harbours, together with the untractableness of the people: However, the Dutch observing the fruitfulness of the country, and judging that it would be of great use to supply them with provisions in their voyages to and from the Indies, fixed a colony at the Cape about the year 1651, erected a fort, and entered into a treaty with the natives, who, for a very moderate consideration, transferred a good part of their country to them; and here the Dutch have remained ever since, enlarging their territories to that degree, that they have now settlements upwards of two hundred miles to the north and east, well planted and cultivated, of which I shall give a more particular account hereafter.

The country of the Hottentots is mountainous; but the tops of the hills, as well as the valleys, are generally fruitful: It is also adorned with groves of trees, and a great variety of plants and flowers, that are watered by little rivulets, and render it exceeding pleasant during the fine season; but in the time of the rains or mounsoons, they swell into unpassable torrents. The winds also rage great part of the year, and do not only make the coasts very unsafe for ships, but do a great deal of mischief by land to the grain and fruits, as well as to their buildings. These winds, while the sun is in the southern signs, blow from the south-east, and are then very dangerous to ships coming into the Cape. When the sun is in the northern signs, they blow from the north-west, and then are no less dangerous to the ships at anchor in the bay. How-

ever, 'tis observed, that the inhabitants are never more healthful than during this stormy weather: If the wind ceases for a week or ten days, they are subject to the head-ach and other distempers, which go off again when ever the wind rises.

On approaching the Cape of Good Hope, three remarkable mountains are discovered, viz. the Table-hill, the Lion's-hill, and the Wind, or Devil's-hill, which may be seen 40 or 50 miles out at sea.

The Table-hill was first named so by the Portuguese, as resembling, at a distance, a square table; the perpendicular height is upwards of 1850 feet. On the top of it are several good springs, the water whereof is exceeding clear and well-tasted. Between this hill and the bay where the ships ride, is a valley, where stands the Dutch town, their fort, and their fine garden, the admiration of all travellers; but these will be more particularly described hereafter. In the summer-season, viz. from September to March, a cap of clouds constantly covers the top of this hill before a storm, and gives notice to the Sailors to prepare for it.

The Lion's-hill is not so high as the former: It lies contiguous to the sea, and bears west from the Table-mountain, being separated from it by a narrow valley. It is supposed to have obtained its name from the resemblance it bears to a Lion couchant, with his head erect; or, according to others, from its being infested with Lions when the Dutch first settled there. On this hill stands a flag, guarded by some Soldiers, who give notice of the approach of shipping, from what quarter they come, and their number, by hoisting and lowering the flag.

The Devil's-hill supposed to be so called from the furious winds that issue from thence when the top is covered with a white cloud, is not so high as either of the former: It lies also along the shore, being separated from the Lion's-hill by a small valley or cleft. These three hills lie in the form of a crescent, about the Table-valley.

The Hottentot nations, who inhabit this southern promontory of Africa, are 16 in number; at least the Dutch are acquainted with so many; but that there are more to the northward of these, seems pretty certain.

The 16 nations enumerated by travellers, and particularly by KOLBEN, are, 1. The Gongeman nation; 2. The Kochaqua; 3. The Sussaqua; 4. The Adiqua; 5. Chirigiqua; 6. The greater and lesser Namaqua; 7. The Attaqua; 8. The Koopman; 9. The Hessaqua; 10. The Sonqua; 11. The Dunqua; 12. The Damaqua; 13. The Gauros, or Gauriqua; 14. The Hauteniqua; 15. The Chamtouer; 16. The Heykom.

The Gongeman nation first trafficked with the Dutch; and, in consideration of some brass rings, beads, and other trifles, admitted them into that fine country where the Cape-Town now stands; but when they saw the Dutch erecting a fortress and enclosing the lands, from whence they excluded the cattle of the Hottentots, the natives represented, that they meant no more in their treaty with the Dutch, than that they should be at liberty to dwell with them, and have pasture for their cattle; they were not so stupid as to exclude themselves from their own country, or to suffer forts to be built that would bring them under the subjection of foreigners; and, when the Dutch refused to throw open their enclosures, assembled in arms to drive them out of their country. But the Hollanders were become so strong, that they engaged

CHAP. IV.

The Table-land.

Table-valley.

The Lion's-hill.

The Devil's-hill.

The several Hottentot nations.

The Gongeman nation.

Their treaty with the Dutch.

CHAP.
IV.

gaged the natives, and defeated them, compelling them to submit to such terms as the victors were pleased to impose; which were, in short, no other, but that the Hottentots might still remain in their own country, and graze their cattle upon such lands as were not enclosed by the Dutch; and accordingly the Gongeman nation are intermixed with the Dutch at this day, but enjoy no more of their lands than the Hollanders have not thought fit to appropriate to themselves (which indeed is all the best part of it.) The Gongeman nation are barely permitted to feed their cattle upon the common or waste grounds that are not enclosed. The Hollanders are now lords of the country, and the natives little better than their vassals, or tenants at will; though the Dutch are obliged to use them with some tenderness, lest the other nations, their brethren, should disturb their distant colonies.

Kochoqua
nation.

2. The Kochoqua nations lie to the northward of the Gongemans, in whose limits is a great deal of good pasture, part of which is enclosed by the Dutch; but the natives still possess more than half the lands: In this country are several salt-pits; but, as there are few springs, not many of the Dutch reside here.

Sussaqua's.

3. The Sussaqua's lie to the northward of the Kochoqua's. The country is mountainous, and there are but few villages in this territory, and no great herds of cattle; the people deserting the country for want of water, though there is good pasture on the hills as well as in the valleys.

Odiqua's.

4. The Odiqua's country lies contiguous to that of the Sussaqua's; and these two nations are always in a confederacy against their neighbours the Chirigriqua's.

Chirigri-
qua's.

5. The Chirigriqua's are a numerous people celebrated for their strength and dexterity, in throwing the Hassagaye or Lance: Their country is mountainous, and extends along the sea-coast; the soil, however, generally good, there being rich pastures on the top of their hills, as well as in the valleys; and through the middle of it runs one of the largest of their rivers, called the Elephant river, from the Elephants resorting in great numbers to it. Here are also woods of large, tall trees, different from any we meet with in Europe; and these are infested with Lions, Tigers, and almost all manner of wild beasts.

Nama-
qua's.

6. The greater and lesser Namaqua; the lesser extending along the coast, and the other contiguous to it, on the east. This people 'tis said, are able to bring an army of twenty thousand men into the field, and are the most sensible of all the Hottentot nations: Their country however, is mountainous and barren, destitute of wood, and hath but one spring in the whole territory; only the Elephant river, running through their country, supplies some part of it with water. Here are also great numbers of wild beasts, and small spotted Deer, of which hundreds and thousands are sometimes seen in a herd. The venison, generally, is fat and good.

Attaqua's.

7. The Attaqua's lie to the northward of the Namaqua's, possessing a very barren country, with very little water in it, and is neither populous, nor well stocked with cattle, the natives dispersing themselves in small parties, that they may the better find a subsistence. This is the most northern nation, described by KOLSEN on the western coast, though he mentions another nation still to the northward of the Attaqua's, called the Chorogauqua's, possessing a vast extent of country, and supposes there may be still several other nations to the northward of them,

before we come to Angola. Then, returning southward, he brings us to

CHAP.
IV.

8. The Koopmans, who lie to the eastward of the Gongemans, and the Cape Town: Here the Dutch have a great many settlements and plantations, and a rich tract of land enclosed; but the natives, however, are suffer'd to dwell among them, and graze their cattle on the uncultivated grounds. This country is well wooded and water'd: There runs a rapid stream through the valleys into the sea, call'd Palamite river, whose source is in the Drakenstein mountains, on the Dutch frontiers, receiving several lesser rivulets in its course; the largest whereof is called the Black river. In this territory also is a hot bath, and several salt-pits.

9. The country of the Hessaqua's joins also to Hessaqua's the Gongemans. They abound in Cattle, Sheep, and Oxen (the only riches of the natives) more than any other Hottentot nation, and traffick more with the Dutch for brandy, tobacco, corral, brass beads, and other trifles; for which they give their cattle in exchange. They are said to be the most effeminate of the Hottentots, and least addicted to war; and when they are attack'd therefore by an enemy, beg the protection of the Hollanders. Their Kraals, or Villages, are larger than those of any other nation; and their country does not only abound with cattle, but great plenty of game, and every thing desirable in life: The Hessaqua's who have no stock, frequently serve the Dutch; but when they have got a little money to buy cattle, they usually leave their masters, and, returning to their Kraal, set up for themselves.

10. The Sonqua's, who lie to the eastward of the Koopman nation, are said to be a small, but brave people, and dexterous in the management of their arms. Their country is rocky and mountainous, and the barrenest of all those about the Cape. As they are reckon'd good Soldiers, they are frequently hired by their neighbour nations, as the Swiss are in Europe, to assist them in their wars, and serve purely for bread; having very little food of their own but roots and herbs, and what they can get in hunting, at which they are very expert: They also plunder the woods for honey, which they sell to the Europeans, not being fond of it themselves.

11. The Dunqua's nation borders upon the Sonqua's. This people enjoy a more level country than the former: It is also well water'd with rivulets, that fall into the Palamite river: The hills as well as vales are good pasture, and they abound in cattle and game.

12. The Damaqua's, who lie next them, also enjoy a fruitful level country, abounding in cattle and game, and the Palamite runs in a winding or serpentine course thro' it; but here is a great scarcity of wood: They have some salt-pits; which, being at a great distance from the Dutch, no use is made of them, the Hottentots eating no salt.

13. The Gauro's, or Gauriqua's, lie next to the Damaqua's. They possess a small country, but are, however, a numerous people, the soil being rich, and every where well supply'd with wood and water: The country abounds also in cattle, and no less in wild beasts; which the natives are so far from regretting, that it is said they look upon it as a happiness they have so many opportunities of shewing their dexterity and courage in engaging them, and they are most of them clothed in the skins of Tigers or other wild beasts they have killed.

14. The Houteniqua's lie on the sea-coast, north-east of the Gauro's, in whose country is a great deal

Houteniqua's
great qua's.
deal

CHAP. IV. deal of good pasture; and they have woods replenish'd with timber, with great variety of herbs and flowers.

Chamtouers. 15. The nation of the Chamtouers, who lie contiguous to the Houteniqua's, possess a very fruitful country, well wooded and water'd; their streams affording variety of fish. Here are also abundance of wild beasts, and plenty of game.

Heykoms. 16. The Heykoms lie to the north-east of the Chamtouers; their country mountainous and destitute of water, but has, however, some fruitful valleys: This is said to be the most northerly country of the Hottentots, on the east coast of Africa, and to lie contiguous to the Terra de Natal, inhabited by the Caffries, properly so call'd, who are a very different people from the Hottentots.

Of their name, and original. As to the derivation of the name of Hottentot, I could never meet with any satisfactory account: They had given themselves this name, it seems, before any European nation arriv'd on their coast; and this is all we know certainly of the matter. Their original is no less obscure; but from some of their customs, that resemble those of the Jews and the ancient Troglodites, it is imagin'd they descended from one or other of those nations. Mr. KOLBEN tells us, they have a tradition amongst them, that their first parents came into their country through a window or door (the word for both in the Hottentot language being the same): That the name of their male ancestor was N'oh, and his wife's, Hingn'oh: That they were sent thither by God himself; and that they taught their descendants husbandry. This tradition, he says, prevails in all the Hottentot nations; which he looks upon as a certain evidence of their being descended from Noah.

He adds, that they resemble the Jews in their offerings, and regulating their festivals by the new and full moon, and in their separation from their wives at certain times, as well as in abstaining from certain sorts of food, especially Swines-flesh, and undergoing a kind of circumcision at a certain age: But still he thinks they are rather descended from the Troglodites, who inhabited the south part of Egypt, or Ethiopia, in this very quarter of the world, and had these and several other customs which the Hottentots observe; as, the giving their children the name of a favourite animal, and their exposing their superannuated parents without any food, and thereby putting an end to their lives. He observes also, that the manner of hunting of the Hottentots resembles that of the Troglodites; and that their funeral ceremonies are much the same. But, to proceed to something more certain, namely a description of their persons. As to the stature of the men, they are rather low than tall; for though there may be some 6 foot high, there are more about 5 foot. Their bodies are proportionable, and well made: They are seldom either too fat or lean, and scarce ever any crooked or deform'd persons amongst them, any farther than they disfigure their children themselves, by flattening and breaking the gristles of their noses; looking on a flat nose as a beauty. Their heads, as well as their eyes, are rather of the largest: Their lips are naturally thick; their hair black and short, like the Negroes, and they have exceeding white teeth; and after they have taken a great deal of pains, with grease and foot to darken their natural tawny complexions, resemble the Negroes pretty much in colour. The women are much less than the men; and what is most remarkable in them, is a callous flap or skin that falls over the

CHAP. IV. Pudenda, and in a manner conceals it: The report of which usually excites the curiosity of the European Sailors, to visit the Hottentot village near the Cape, where a great many of those ladies, on seeing a stranger, will offer to satisfy his curiosity for a halfpenny, before a croud of people; which perfectly spoils the character the pious Mr. KOLBEN has given of their modesty.

The men cover their heads with handfuls of Their hair-grease and foot mix'd together; and, going without any thing else on their heads in summer-time, the dust sticks to it, and makes them a very filthy cap; which, they say, cools them, and preserves their heads from the scorching heat of the sun; and in winter they wear flat caps of Cat-skin or Lamb-skin, half dry'd, which they tie with a thong of the same leather under their chins. The men also wear a krosse or mantle, made of a Sheep-skin or other skins, over their shoulders, which reaches to the middle; and, being fasten'd with a thong about their neck, is open before. In winter they turn the woolly or hairy sides next their backs, and in summer the other: This serves the man for his bed at night; and this is all the winding-sheet or coffin he has when he dies. If he be a Captain of a village, or Chief of his nation, instead of a Sheep-skin, his mantle is made of Tyger-skins, wild Cat-skins, or some other skins they set a value upon: But, tho' these mantles reach no lower, generally, than their waists, yet there are some nations who wear them as low as their legs, and others that have them touch the ground.

They conceal or cover those parts also which every other people do, with a square piece of skin about two hands-breadth, generally with a Cat-skin, the hairy side outwards, which is fasten'd to a string or girdle about their bodies.

The man also hangs about his neck a greasy pouch, in which he keeps his knife, his pipe and tobacco, and some dacha (which intoxicates like tobacco) and a little piece of wood, burnt at both ends, as a charm against witchcraft. He wears also three large ivory rings on his left arm, to which he fastens a bag of provisions when he travels. He carries in his right hand two sticks, the first call'd his kirri, which is about three foot long, and an inch thick, but blunt at both ends; the other, call'd his rackum-stick, about a foot long, and of the same thickness, but has a sharp point, and is used as a dart, to throw at an enemy or wild beast; which he seldom misses, if he be within distance. In his left hand he has another stick, about a foot long, to which is fasten'd a tail of a Fox or wild Cat; and this serves him as a handkerchief to wipe off the sweat. They wear a kind of sandals, also made of the raw hide of an Ox or Elephant, when they are oblig'd to travel through stony countries; and sometimes have buskins, to preserve their legs from bushes and briars; but ordinarily their legs and thighs have no covering.

The women wear caps, the crowns whereof are a little raised; and these are made also of half-dry'd skins, and tied under their chins. They scarce put them off night or day, winter or summer. They usually wear two krosses or mantles, one upon another, made of Sheep-skins, or other skins, which are sometimes border'd with a fringe of raw leather; and, as these are only fasten'd with a thong about their necks, they appear naked down to the middle: But they have an apron, larger than that of the men to cover them before, and another of still larger dimensions that cover their back-sides. About their legs they wrap thongs of half-dry'd skins,

CHAP.
IV.

skins, to the thickness of a jack-boot, which are such a load to them, that they lift up their legs with difficulty, and walk very much like a Trooper in jack-boots: This serves both for a distinction of their sex, and for ornament. But this is not all their finery: If they are people of any figure, instead of Sheep-skin they wear a Tyger-skin, or a mantle of wild Cat-skins. They have also a pouch hangs about their necks, in which they always carry something to eat, whether they are at home or abroad, with their dacha, tabacco, and pipe.

Orna-
ments.

But the principal ornaments both of men and women are brass or glass beads, with little thin plates of glittering brass and mother of pearl, which they wear in their hair, or about their ears. Of these brass and glass beads strung they also make necklaces, bracelets for the arms, and girdles; wearing several strings of them about their necks, waists and arms, chusing the smallest beads for their necks: Those are finest that have the most strings of them; and their arms are sometimes covered with bracelets from the wrist to the elbow; the largest beads are on the strings about the middle; in these they affect a variety of colours, all of which the Dutch furnish them with, and take their cattle in return.

There is another kind of ornament peculiar to the men; and that is, the bladder of any wild beast they have killed, which is blown up and fastened to their hair, as a trophy of their valour.

Both men and women powder themselves with a dust they call bachu; and the women spot their faces with a red earth or stone (as ours do with black patches) which is thought to add to their beauty, by the natives; but, in the eyes of Europeans, renders them more frightful and shocking than they are naturally.

But, as part of their dress, I ought to have mentioned in the first place, the custom of daubing their bodies, and the inside of their caps and mantles, with grease and foot. Soon after their children are born, they lay them in the sun, or by the fire, and rub them over with fat or butter, mixed with foot, to render them of a deeper black, 'tis said; for they are naturally tawny: And this they continue to do almost every day of their lives, after they are grown up, not only to increase their beauty possibly, but to render their limbs supple and pliable. As some other nations pour oil upon their heads and bodies, so these people make use of melted fat. You can't make them a more acceptable present than the fat or scum of a pot that meat is boiled in to anoint themselves. Several of these Hottentots coming on board our ship as soon as we arrived at the Cape, addressed themselves in the first place to the Cook for some of the fat he had skimmed off his boiling coppers; which, being gratify'd in, they immediately clapped it on their heads by handfuls; which confirmed us in the opinion of their nastiness, of which we had heard so much. Nor are they more cleanly in their diet than in their dress; for they chuse the guts and entrails of cattle, and of some wild beasts (with very little cleansing) rather than the rest of the flesh, and eat their meat half-boil'd or broil'd; but their principal food consists of roots, herbs, fruits, or milk: They seldom kill any of those cattle, unless at a festival; they only feed on such as die of themselves, either of diseases or old age, or on what they take in hunting; and when they are hard put to it, they will eat the raw leather that is wound about the womens legs, and even soles of shoes: And, as their mantles are always well stocked with lice of an unusual size, they are not ashamed to sit down in the publick streets at the Cape, pull off the

Diet.

lice, and eat them. And I ought to have remembered, that they boil their meat in the blood of beasts when they have any of it.

CHAP.
IV.

They rather devour their meat than eat it, pulling it to pieces with their teeth and hands, discovering a canine appetite and fierceness: They abstain, however, from Swine's flesh, and some other kinds of meat, and from fish that have no scales, as religiously as ever the Jews did. And here it may not be improper to say something of the management of their milk and butter: They never strain their milk, but drink it with all the hairs and nastiness with which it is mix'd in the milking by the Hottentot women. When they make butter of it, they put it into some skin made in the form of a Soldier's knapsack, the hairy side inwards; and then two of them taking hold of it, one at each end, they whirl and turn it round till it is converted into butter, which they put up for anointing themselves, their caps and mantles with, for they eat no butter; and the rest they sell to the Dutch, without clearing it from the hairs and dirt it contracts in the knapsack. The Hollanders, when they have it indeed, endeavour to separate the nastiness from it, and sell it to the shipping, that arrives there, frequently for butter of their own making; and some they eat themselves (but surely none but a Dutchman could eat Hottentot butter) and the dregs and dirt that is left they give to their slaves; which having been found to create diseases, the Governor of the Cape sometimes prohibits their giving their slaves this stuff by publick edict; which is not, however, much regarded. The butter-milk, without any manner of cleaning or straining, the Hottentots drink themselves; giving what they have to spare, to their Lambs and Calves.

The usual drink of the Hottentots is Cow's-milk, or water, and the women sometimes drink Ewes-milk; but this the men never touch: and 'tis observed, that the women are never suffered to eat with the men, or come near them, during the time of their menses.

Since the arrival of the Dutch among them, it appears that the Hottentots are very fond of wine, brandy, and other spirituous liquors: These, and the baubles already mentioned, the Hollanders truck for their cattle; and tho' a Hottentot will turn spit for a Dutchman half a day for a draught or two of four wine, yet do they never attempt to plant vineyards (as they see the Dutch do every day) or think of making wine themselves. I proceed, in the next place, to give an account of their towns and houses, or rather, their camps and tents.

The Hottentots, like the Tartars and Arabs, remove their dwellings frequently for the conveniency of water and fresh pasture: They encamp in a circle formed by twenty or thirty tents, and sometimes twice the Number, contiguous to each other; within the area whereof they keep their lesser cattle in the night, and the larger on the outside of their camp: Their tents, or, as some call them, houses, are made with slender poles, bent like an arch, and cover'd with mats or skins, and sometimes both: They are of an oval figure, the middle of the tent being about the height of a man, and decreasing gradually (the poles being shorter) towards each end, the lowest arch, which is the door or entrance, being about 3 foot high, as is the opposite arch at the other end; the longest diameter of the tent being about 12 or 14 feet, and the shortest 10; and in the middle of the tent is a shallow hole about a yard diameter, in which they make their fire, and round which the whole family, consisting of nine or ten people of all ages

Their
towns or
camps.

CHAP.
IV.

ages and sexes, sit or lie night and day in such a smoak (when it is cold, or they are dressing of victuals) that it is impossible for an European to bear it, there being usually no vent for the smoak but the door, tho' I think I have seen a hole in the top of some of their huts to let out the smoak, and give them light. Such a circle of tents or huts as has been describ'd, is call'd by the Hottentots a Kraal, and sometimes by the Europeans a town or village; but seems to be more properly a camp: For a town consists of more substantial buildings, and is seldom capable of being removed from one place to another; whereas these dwellings consist of nothing more than small tent-poles, covered with skins or mats, which are moveable, and carried away upon their baggage-Oxen whenever they remove with their herds to a distant pasture.

Furniture.

As to the furniture of their tents; this consists of little more than their mantles which they lie on, some other skins of wild beasts they have kill'd or purchas'd, an earthen pot they boil their meat in, their arms, and perhaps some other trivial utensils. The only domestick animals they keep, are Dogs, as ugly in their kind as their masters, but exceeding useful to them in driving and defending their cattle.

Their genius and temper.

The Hottentots are agreed by all to be the laziest generation under the sun: They will rather starve, or eat dry'd skins, or shoe-soles at home, than hunt for their food; and yet, when they do apply themselves to the chase, or any other exercise, no people are to be found more active and dexterous than the Hottentots; and they serve the Europeans often with the greatest fidelity and application; when they contract to serve them for wages: They are also exceeding generous and hospitable; they will scarce eat a piece of venison, or a dish of fish they have catch'd, or drink their beloved drams alone, but call in their neighbours to partake with them as far as it will go.

Government of the Hottentots.

The next thing I shall enquire into, is the government of the Hottentots; and I find all people agree, that every nation has its King or Chief, call'd Konquer, whose authority devolves upon him by hereditary succession; and that they do not pretend to elect their respective sovereigns. That this Chief has the power of making peace and war, and presides in all their councils and courts of Justice: But then his authority is said to be limited; and that he can determine nothing without the consent of the Captains of the several Kraals, who seem to be the Hottentot senate. The Captain of every Kraal, whose office is hereditary also, is their Leader in time of war, and Chief magistrate of his Kraal in time of peace; and, with the head of every family, determines all civil and criminal causes within the Kraal; only such differences as happen between one Kraal and another, and matters of state, are determined by the King and Senate. The Dutch, since their arrival at the Cape, have presented the King, or Chief of every nation of the Hottentots in alliance with them, with a brass crown; and the Captains of each Kraal with a brass-headed cane, which are now the badges of their respective offices; formerly they were distinguish'd only by finer skins, and a greater variety of beads and glittering trifles.

Their Kings.

In their councils their King sits on his heels in the centre, and the Captains of the Kraals sit in like manner round about him. At his accession, 'tis said, he promises to observe their national customs; and gives them an entertainment, killing an Ox, and two or three Sheep, upon the occasion; on which he feasts his Captains, but their Wives are only entertain'd with the broth: But then the next day,

'tis said, her Hottentot Majesty treats the Ladies, and their Husbands are put off in like manner with the soup.

CHAP.
IV.

Magistrates.

The Captain of each Kraal also, at his accession, 'tis said, engages to observe the customs of his Kraal, and makes an entertainment for the Men, as his Lady does the next day for the Women; and though this people shew their Chiefs great respect, 'tis said, they allow neither their King or inferior Magistrates any revenue; they subsist, as other families do, upon their stock of cattle, and what they take in hunting.

Justice administered.

As they have no notion of writing or letters, they can have no written laws; but there are some ancient customs, from which they scarce ever deviate. Murder, adultery and robbery, they constantly punish with death; and, if a person is suspected of any of these crimes, the whole Kraal join in seizing and securing him; but the guilty person sometimes makes his escape to the mountains, where robbers and criminals, like himself, secure themselves from justice, and frequently plunder the neighbouring country; for no other Kraal or nation of Hottentots will entertain a stranger, unless he is known to them, and can give a good reason for leaving his own Kraal.

If the offender is apprehended, the Captain assembles the people of his Kraal in a day or two; who, making a ring, and sitting down upon their heels, the criminal is placed in the centre of them; the witnesses on both sides are heard, and the party suffer'd to make his defence: After which, the case being consider'd, the Captain collects the suffrages of his Judges; and, if a majority condemn him, the prisoner is executed on the spot: The Captain first strikes him with a truncheon he carries in his hand, and then the rest of the Judges fall upon him, and drub him to death: Then wrapping up the corpse in his krosse or mantle, it is carried some distance from the Kraal, and buried.

In civil cases also the cause is determin'd by a majority of voices, and satisfaction immediately order'd the injur'd party out of the goods of the person that appears to be in the wrong. There is no appeal to any other Court; the King and his Council, consisting of the Captains of the Kraals, never interpose, unless in matters that concern the Publick, or where the Kraals are at variance. It may be proper here to add, that the Hottentots cattle and personal estate descend to his eldest son: He cannot disinherit him, or give his effects to his other children; but, as for a property in lands, or any certain real estate, no man has any: The whole country is but one common, where they feed their cattle promiscuously, moving from place to place to find water or fresh pasture as necessity requires.

Even the several nations have no stated bounds; but use such tracts of land as their ancestors did before them: 'Tis true, their respective limits sometimes create differences between the several nations, and occasion bloody wars; which brings me to treat of their arms, and the arts and stratagems they use in war.

The arms of a Hottentot are; 1. His lance, which resembles a half-pike, sometimes thrown and used as a missile weapon; and, at others, serves to push within close fight, the head or spear whereof is poison'd. 2. His bow and arrows, the arrows bearded and poison'd likewise, when they engage an enemy, or a wild beast they do not intend for food: Their bows are made of iron or olive wood; the string, of the sinews or guts of some animal: The quiver is a long narrow case, made of the skin of an Elephant, Elk or Ox, and slung at their backs, as

Soldiers

CHAP.
IV.

Soldiers sling their knapsacks. 3. A dart of a foot long, which they throw exceeding true, scarce ever missing the mark they aim at, tho' it be not above the breadth of a half-crown; these also are poison'd, when they engage an enemy, or a wild beast that is not to be eaten: And, lastly, when they have spent the rest of their missive weapons, they have recourse to stones, seldom making a discharge in vain: and what is most remarkable in their shooting, or throwing arrows, darts, or stones, they never stand still, but are all the while skipping and jumping from one side to the other, possibly to avoid the darts and stones of the enemy.

They never fight on horse-back.

Every man a soldier.

The causes of war amongst them.

Their way of fighting.

They are all Foot, they never engage on Horse-back; but have disciplin'd Bulls or Oxen taught to run upon the enemy, and to toss and disorder them; which these creatures will do, with the utmost fury, on the word of command, not regarding the weapons that are thrown at them: for, tho' the Hottentots have numbers of large Elephants in their country, they have not yet learnt the art of taming them, or training them up to the war, as the military men in the East-Indies do.

Every able-bodied man is a Soldier, and possess'd of a set of such arms as has been describ'd; and, on the summons of his Prince, appears at the rendezvous with all imaginable alacrity and contempt of danger, and every man maintains himself while the expedition lasts. As their Officers, civil and military, have no pay; so neither do the Private men expect any: a sense of honour, and the publick good, are the sole motives for hazarding their lives in their country's service.

The principal inducement to their entering into a war at any time, is the preservation of their territories: As they have no land-marks or written treaties to adjust the exact bounds of every nation, they frequently disagree about the limits of their respective countries; and, whenever any neighbouring nation grazes their cattle upon a spot of ground another claims, satisfaction is immediately demanded; and, if it be not given, they make reprisals, and have recourse to arms. But this is not the only occasion of wars among the Hottentots: They are not always that chaste and virtuous people Mr. KOLBEN has represented them, some tempting HELEN (for Hottentots possibly may appear amiable in one another's eyes with all the grease and carrion they are clothed with) has smitten a neighbouring Chief perhaps, who prevails on his people to assist him in the rape of the desired female; and this frequently sets their tribes together by the ears. The stealing each other's cattle is another cause of deadly strife; for tho' each Kraal punishes theft among themselves with death, yet it is looked upon as an heroic act to rob those of another nation; at least the body of the people are so backward in giving up the offender, that they frequently come to blows upon it.

When they march into the field, every man follows his particular Captain, the Chief of his Kraal: They observe little order; neither do they take the precaution of throwing up trenches to defend themselves, and, what is still more surprising, have no shields to defend themselves against missive weapons, tho' some say they will ward off a lance or dart, and even a stone, with a little truncheon about a foot long, which they carry in their hands.

The several Companies advance to the charge, at the command of their Chief; and, when those in the front have shot one flight of arrows, they retreat, and make room for those in the rear; and, when these have discharg'd, the former advance

again; and thus alternately they continue the fight, till they have spent all their missive weapons, and then they have recourse to stones, unless they are first broken and dispersed by a troop of Bulls; for the wise Chiefs and Generals of each side, according to the European practice, remaining on an eminence in the rear, to observe the fortune of the day, when they observe their people are hard press'd, give the word of command to their Corps de Reserve of Bulls, who break into the body of the enemy, and generally bring all into confusion; and that side that preserves their order best, on this furious attack of these Bulls of Basan, are sure to be victorious. The skill of the General seems to lie chiefly in managing his Bulls; who never charge each other, but spend their whole rage upon the men, who have, it seems, no Dogs of English breed to play against them, or this stratagem would be of little service: But I should have observed, that as the battle always begins with horrid cries and noise, which perhaps supplies the place of drums and trumpets; so the victors insult with no less noise over the conquered enemy, killing all that fall into their hands: but they seldom fight more than one battle, some neighbouring power usually interposing to make up the quarrel; and of late the Dutch perform this good office, between such nations as lie near their settlements. From their wars with each other, I naturally proceed to their wars with wild beasts, with which their country abounds more than any other: These people, it seems, esteem it a much greater honour to have killed one of these foes to mankind, than an enemy of their own species.

There are instances of a Hottentot's engaging singly with the fiercest wild beasts, and killing them; but usually the whole Kraal or village assemble, when a wild beast is discovered in their neighbourhood, and, dividing themselves in small parties, endeavour to surround him. Having found their enemy, they usually set up a great cry, at which the frightened animal endeavours to break thro' and escape them: If it prove to be a Rhinoceros, an Elk, or Elephant, they throw their lances at him, darts and arrows being too weak to pierce thro' their thick hides: If the beast be not killed at the first discharge, they repeat the attack, and load him with their spears; and, as he runs with all his rage at the persons who wound him, those in his rear follow him close, and ply him with their spears, on whom he turns again, but is overpowered by his numerous enemies, who constantly return to the charge, when his back is towards them, and scarce ever fail of bringing the creature down, before he has taken his revenge on any of them. How hazardous soever such an engagement may appear to an European, these people make it their sport; and have this advantage, that they are exceeding swift of foot, and scarce ever miss the mark they aim at with their spears: If one of them is hard pressed by the brute, he is sure to be relieved by his companions, who never quit the field till the beast is killed, or makes his escape; though they sometimes dexterously avoid the adversary, they immediately return to the charge, subduing the fiercest either by stratagem or force.

In the attacking a Lion, a Leopard or a Tyger, their darts and arrows are of service to them; and therefore they begin their engagement at a greater distance, than when they charge an Elephant or Rhinoceros; and the creature has a wood of darts and arrows upon his back, before he can approach his enemies, which make him fret, and rage, and fly at them with the greatest fury; but those he attacks

CHAP.
IV.

Their way of attacking a wild beast.

CHAP.
IV.

tacks, nimbly avoid his paws, while others pursue him, and finish the conquest with their spears. Sometimes a Lion takes to his heels, with abundance of poisoned darts and arrows in his flesh: but, the poison beginning to operate, he soon falls, and becomes a prey to those he would have preyed upon.

The Elephant, the Rhinoceros, and the Elk, are frequently taken in traps and pitfalls, without any manner of hazard. The Elephants are observed to go in great companies to water, following in a file one after another, and usually take the same road till they are disturbed: The Hottentots therefore dig pits in their paths, about 8 feet deep, and 4 or 5 over; in which they fix sharp stakes pointed with iron, and then cover the pit with small sticks and turf, so as it is not discernable: and as these animals usually keep in one track, frequently one or other of them falls with his fore-feet into the pit, and the stake pierces his body; the more he struggles, the deeper the weight of his monstrous body fixes him on the stake. When the rest of the herd observe the misfortune of their companion, and find he can't disengage himself, they immediately abandon him: Whereupon the Hottentots, who lie concealed, in expectation of the success of their stratagem, approach the wounded beast, stab him with their spears, and cut his largest veins, so that he soon expires; whereupon they cut him to pieces, and, carrying the flesh home, feast upon it as long as it lasts. His teeth they make into rings for their arms, and, when they have any ivory to spare, dispose of it to the Europeans. The Rhinoceros and Elk are frequently taken in pitfalls, as Elephants are.

Honours
confer'd
on him
that kills a
wild beast.

The Hottentot, who kills any of these, or a Lion, Leopard, or Tyger, singly, has the highest honour conferred upon him, and several privileges, which belong only to such intrepid heroes. At his return from this hazardous and important service, the men of Kraal depute one of the seniors to congratulate him on his victory, and desire that he will honour them with his presence; whereupon he follows the old Deputy to the assembly, whom he finds, according to custom, sitting upon their heels in a circle; and a mat of distinction being laid for him in the centre, he sets himself down upon it: After which, the old Deputy pisses plentifully upon him, which the hero rubs in with great eagerness, having first scratched the grease off his skin with his nails; the Deputy all the while pronouncing some words unintelligible to any but themselves. After this they light a pipe of tobacco, which they smoke, and hand one to another till there remains nothing but ashes in the pipe; and these the old Deputy strews over the gallant man, who rubs them in as they fall upon him, not suffering the least dust to be lost. After which, his neighbours having severally congratulated him on his advancement to this high honour, they disperse, and go to their respective tents. The conqueror, afterwards, fastens the bladder of the furious beast he has killed to his hair; and is from that time, by every one, esteemed a brave man, and a benefactor to his country.

Being retired to his tent, his neighbours seem to vie which of them shall oblige him most, and are, for the next three days, continually sending him one delicious morsel or other; nor do they call upon him to perform duty during that time, but suffer him to indulge his ease: But, what is still more unaccountable, his wife or wives (for he may have more than one) are not allowed to come near him for three days after this honour is conferred upon him; but they are forced to ramble about the fields, and keep to a spare diet, lest they should, as Mr. KOLBEN

VOL. III.

CHAP.
IV.

formises, tempt the husband to their embraces: But, on the third day, in the evening, we are told, the women return to their tent; are received with the utmost joy and tenderness; mutual congratulations pass between them; a fat Sheep is killed, and their neighbours invited to the feast; where the prowess of the hero, and the honour he has obtained, are the chief subject of the conversation.

There is scarce any wild beast, but the flesh is good eating, if it be not killed with poisoned weapons; but the Tyger is the most delicious morsel; and, as the whole Kraal partake of the feast, the person who kills him meets with a double share of praise, as he both rids the country of an enemy, and pleases their palates. Mr. KOLBEN relates, that he has himself eaten of the flesh of a Tyger, and that it exceeds any veal in the world. But to return to the field-sports of the Hottentots: When they hunt a Deer, a wild Goat, or a Hare, they go singly, or but two or three in company, armed only with a dart or two; and seldom miss the game they throw at; yet, as has been observed already, so long as they have any manner of food left, if it be but the raw hides of cattle, or shoe-soles, they will hardly be persuaded to stir to get more; tho', it is true, when they apprehend their cattle in danger from wild beasts, no people are more active, or pursue the chase of them with greater alacrity and bravery.

The Hot-
tentot fish-
ing.

From hunting, I proceed to treat of their fishing, at which, according to KOLBEN, they are very expert; taking fish with angles, nets, and spears; and by groping, they get a certain fish, called Rock-fish, particularly by groping the holes of the rocks near the shore when the tide is out: These are mightily admired by the Europeans; but, having no scales, the Hottentots will not eat them.

When they throw their lines into the sea, KOLBEN pretends; they allure the fish towards the bait by whistling and other noises; which I shall not encourage my readers to have much faith in, our fishermen imagining that a noise frights away the fish: However, both seem to be of opinion, that fish can hear in the water; and, if this may be depended on, I can't see why fish, as well as serpents, may not be charmed with musick, or something like it. Certain it is, the snakes in the East-Indies will rise up and dance to the voice of a girl, and the musick of a very ill instrument: But still, I must confess, I am in doubt, whether fish can hear in the water; and, if they can, whether they may be charmed with sounds of any kind.

But the manner of the Hottentot's swimming is as particular as his fishing; for he stands upright in the sea, and rather walks and treads the water, than swims upon it; his head, neck and shoulders being quite above the waves, as well as his arms; and yet they move faster in the water than any European can: even in a storm, when the waves run high, they will venture into the sea, rising and falling with the waves like a cork, in my author's phrase: However, he observes, that before they venture either into the sea or a river, they mutter something to themselves, which he supposes to be a short prayer; adding, that when they have put up their fish in skins, they will swim, or rather walk, with a great load of them on their heads through the waves to the shore.

Their way
of swim-
ming.

The next thing I shall consider, is the marriage of the Hottentots; and it seems, every young fellow has such a regard to the advice of his father (or rather the laws and customs of the country require

The mar-
riages of
the Hot-
tentots.

CHAP.
IV.

it) that he always consults the old man before he enters into a treaty with his mistress; and, if he approves the match, the father and son, in the first place, pay a visit to the father of the damsel; with whom having smoked, and talked of indifferent things for some time, the father of the lover opens the matter to the virgin's father; who, having consulted his wife, returns an answer immediately to the proposal: If it be rejected, the lover and his father retire without more words; but, if the offer be approved by the old folks, the damsel is called, and acquainted, that they have provided a husband for her; and she must submit to their determination, unless she can hold her lover at arms-end, after a night's struggling: For KOLBEN tells us, where the parents are agreed, the two young people are put together; and, if the virgin loses her maidenhead, she must have the young fellow, tho' she be never so averse to the match; but then she is permitted to pinch and scratch, and defend herself as well as she can, and, if she holds out till morning, the lover returns without his mistress, and makes no farther attempts: But, if he subdues her, she is his wife to all intents and purposes, without farther ceremony; and the next day the man kills a fat Ox, or more, according to his circumstances, for the wedding-dinner, and the entertainment of their friends, who resort to them upon the occasion, bringing abundance of good wishes for the happiness of the married couple, as is usual among politer people. The Ox is no sooner killed, but all the company get some of the fat, and grease themselves with it from head to foot, powdering themselves afterwards with Buchu; and the women, to add to their charms, make red spots on their black faces with red oker.

The entertainment being ready, the men form a circle in the area of the Kraal (for a large company cannot sit within doors) and the women form another; the bridegroom sitting in the middle of the men's circle, and the bride in the centre of her own sex: Then the Priest, as KOLBEN calls him, enters the men's circle, and pisses upon the bridegroom, which the young man rubs in very joyfully: Then this Priest, as he is called, goes to the ladies circle, where he does the bride the same favour, and she rubs in the urine in like manner: And thus the old man goes from the bride to the bridegroom, and back again, till he has exhausted all his store; which is another instance of the modesty of the Hottentots, that KOLBEN cries up so much. But, to proceed: He affords them a great many good wishes all the time; as, "That they may live long and happily together; that they may have a son before the end of the year, and that he may prove a brave fellow, and an expert huntsman, and the like." After which, the meat is served up in earthen pots glazed with grease; and, some of them having knives since the Europeans came amongst them, they divide their meat pretty decently; but more of them make use of their teeth and claws, pulling it to pieces, and eating as voraciously as so many Dogs; having no other plates or napkins than the stinking corners of the mantles they wear; and sea-shells without handles, usually serve them instead of spoons. And here it may be proper to describe their manner of roasting meat, which, in speaking of their diet, was forgot. They take a broad flat stone, and having fixed it in the ground, they make a fire upon it, till it is thoroughly heated; then taking off the coals, they lay the meat upon the stone, which they cover with another flat stone of the same dimensions. Then they make a fire on the uppermost stone, and kindle

Their way
of roast-
ing meat.

another round about them both; and thus the meat is soon roasted, at least as much as they desire it should; for, if it be a little more than hot through, it is enough for them.

What they leave the first meal, is set by for the next; and, the pots and pans being taken away, each circle lights a pipe of tobacco, which is handed round; and, when that is out, another: Thus they continue smoking, and talking merrily on the occasion, till morning. They drink scarce any thing but water and milk; and that very rarely, but at their meals. They have no strong liquors at their weddings, nor do they dance at the entertainment; but, towards break of day, the bride steals off, and the bridegroom after her; and then the company disperse. There is no throwing the stocking.

The next day all the guests return again, and feast upon what was left, smoke and chat as the day before; and this is repeated as long as the provision lasts: after which, they take their leaves of the new married couple, and return home. The Hottentots allow of polygamy; but seldom have more than three wives at a time; and, it seems, 'tis death to marry or lie with a first or second cousin, or any nearer relation.

The Hot-
tentots al-
low a plu-
rality of
wives.

A father seldom gives his son more than two or three Cows, and as many Sheep, upon his marriage; and with these he must make his way in the world; and I don't find they give any more with their daughters, than a Cow or a couple of Sheep: nor do they leave them, or their younger sons, any thing when they die; but all the children depend upon the eldest brother, and are his servants, or rather slaves, when the father is dead, unless the eldest brother enfranchise them: nor has the mother any thing to subsist on, but what her eldest son allows her. As there are no great fortunes among them, they match purely for love; an agreeable companion is all their greatest men aim at: Their Chiefs intermarry frequently with the poorest men's daughters; and a brave fellow, who has no fortune, does not despair of matching with the daughter of a Prince. Merit, according to KOLBEN, is more regarded here, than among the politer nations.

A widow, who marries a second time, is obliged to cut off a joint of one of her fingers; and so for every husband she marries after the first: Either man or woman may be divorce'd, on shewing sufficient cause before the Captain and the rest of the Kraal; the woman, however, must not marry again, tho' the man is allowed to marry, and have as many wives as he pleases at the same time.

Divorces
allowed.

A young Hottentot never is master of a hut or tent till he marries, unless his father dies and leave him one: Therefore the first business the bride and bridegroom apply themselves to after their marriage-feast, is to erect a tent or hut of all new materials, in which work the woman has as great a share as the man; and, this taking them up about a week's time, the new-married couple are entertain'd in the mean time in the tents of some of their relations.

When they resort to their new apartment, and come to keep house together, the wife seems to have much the greatest share of the trouble of it: she fodders the cattle, milks them, cuts out the firing, searches every morning for roots for their food, brings them home, and boils or broils them, while the drone of a husband lies indolently at home, and will scarce give himself the trouble of getting up to eat, when his food is provided for him by the drudges his wives: The more of them he has, still the

The wo-
men work
to main-
tain their
husbands
in idle-
ness.

CHAP. IV. the lazier life he leads, the care of making provision for the family being thrown upon them.

He will, 'tis said, in his turn attend his cattle in the field; but expects every one of his wives should do at least as much towards taking care of them, as he does: he will also sometimes, but very rarely, go a hunting with the men of his Kraal, and bring home a piece of venison, or a dish of fish; but this is not often: and, if he is of any handicraft trade, he may work at it two or three hours in a week, and instruct his children in the art. He also takes upon him to sell his cattle, and purchase tobacco and strong liquors of the Dutch, with necessary tools, beads, and other ornaments, for which the Hottentots barter away their cattle. Their wives are not permitted to intermeddle in the business of buying and selling; this being the sole prerogative of the man.

They have scarce any sense of shame.

KOLBEN is pleased to take all occasions to cry up the chastity of these poor wretches: You never see them, he says, kissing and toying, or even looking amorously at one another; the woman, he adds, never presumes to enter her husband's apartment, tho' he sometimes steals to hers. One would think by this description, every Hottentot took as much state upon him as an Eastern Monarch; and that the poor hut or tent he lies in, had as many spacious rooms in it as a palace: whereas, in another place, KOLBEN himself informs us, that the dimensions of a hut are exceeding small, about 6 foot high and 12 foot diameter; that the man has frequently two or three wives; that his sons and daughters lie in the same hut, when they are men and women grown; and for all this company how is it possible there can be distinct apartments? For my part, I have looked into these huts, where I have seen a fire-hearth of about 3 foot diameter in the middle of it, and the whole family, men, women and children, of all ages and sexes, lying round about the fire-place like so many brutes, no partitions between them, nor indeed room for any. It is merry enough also to hear this grave gentleman talk of separate beds, when they have nothing like a bed; but every one lies down upon his sheep-skin mantle, and has no other covering in cold weather but another skin; and when it is warm, none of them have any covering at all: Nor is it at all improbable, that the Hottentot lies with his wives before all this company; for they have no back rooms to retire into when they have a call. What makes this also the more probable is, that we see nothing like modesty among them; for, when the Europeans came out of curiosity to see the Hottentot villages, the women, old and young, will take off their greasy modesty-bit, and shew you all they have for the value of a half-penny; and that before their own family and the whole village: They will cry their ware as you pass by their tents, and invite you to see it; but the carrion they wear about them on their backs and legs, and the shocking and frightful countenances they take pains to make themselves, are enough to drive any man from them: Indeed, if they happen to be to the windward, no European nose can bear the fragrant odours, ravishingly sweet to them, but enough to poison any thing else that walks upon two legs. But it is time now to give some account of their management of lying-in women.

The lying-in women.

When the wife finds herself near her time, the midwife (who is chosen by the whole Kraal, and enjoys that office for life) is called with the good women her neighbours, and the husband is obliged to leave the tent, on pain of forfeiting a couple of Sheep

for the entertainment of the Kraal: When the woman has a bad time, they boil milk and tobacco together, and make her drink it; which, 'tis said, is generally of great service to her, and hastens the birth. If the child be still-born, it is immediately buried, and the whole Kraal are forced to remove to another camp, as they do whenever any person dies. If the woman brings a live son into the world, there is great rejoicing: But the first thing they do with the child, is to daub it all over with Cow-dung; then they lay it before the fire, or in the sun, till the dung is dried; after which, they rub it off, and wash the child with the juice of certain herbs, laying it in the sun, or before the fire again, till this liquor is dried in; after which, they anoint the child from head to foot with butter, or Sheep's fat melted, which is dried in as the juice was: And this custom of anointing their bodies with fat they retain afterwards as long as they live.

CHAP. IV.

If the woman has twins, and they are girls, the man proposes it to the Kraal, that he may expose one of them, either upon pretence of poverty, or that his wife has not milk for them both; and this they usually indulge one another in: They do the same when they have a boy and a girl, but always preserve the boys, tho' they happen to have two at a birth. The exposed child is carried to a distance from the Kraal; and, if they can find a cave or hole in the earth, that some wild beast has made, they put the child alive in it; and then, having stopped up the mouth of the den with stones or earth, leave it there to starve: If they cannot meet with such a cavity, they tie the infant to the lower bough of a tree, or leave it in some thicker of bushes, where it is frequently destroyed by wild beasts.

They expose their female children, if they have twins

They do not deal thus however, as has been observ'd, by their male children. On the birth of a boy, they kill a Bullock; and, if they have twins, two Buloeks; and make an entertainment for all the neighbourhood, who congratulate the parents on their good fortune; and, as with us, the greatest rejoicings are on the birth of the first son.

Their exposed females are sometimes found by the Dutch, and taken care of, and all imaginable pains taken, as they grow up, to make Christians of them, and bring them off from the Hottentot customs: But they no sooner understand of what extraction they are, than they renounce their Christianity, throw off the European habit, and, running away to some Hottentot camp, take the Sheep-skin mantle, and conform themselves to all the customs of the people, from whence they are descended.

But, notwithstanding these people are so inhuman to expose their children, they have an unaccountable abhorrence of their being cut in pieces and dissected, as they are sometimes served by European Surgeons, if the children have not been dead long when they are found. The Hottentots imagine, that this is done with a design to use their flesh in witchcraft or magick; and, it seems, they watch the corpse of a relation that is buried, for some time, lest their own pretended conjurers should take them up again, and apply them to the like purposes; even the Sheep-skin mantle the woman is brought to bed upon, and that after the birth, are carefully buried together, lest some wizard should make use of them to enchant the mother, or some of the family.

The same day a Hottentot child is born, it is named by the mother, and generally has the name of some animal given it, that the mother most admires,

The mother names the child.

CHAP.
IV.

mires, as that of the Lion, the Elephant, the Horse, the Hart, &c. The man is not allowed to come near his wife in the month, or at such times as the Jews were prohibited approaching theirs, on pain of treating his neighbours with an Ox or Sheep, or forfeiting a pair of gloves, as our nurses call it; but whether there be any religion in the matter, as KOLBEN insinuates, I much question, any more than in the woman's purification, or daubing herself with grease and dust before they meet again: But, if I understand Mr. KOLBEN right, the Hottentots imitate brutes more than men, in the act of generation.

When the woman goes abroad again, after her lying in, she ties the infant between two Sheep-skin mantles at her back, never taking the child into her arms to suckle it; but throws her breast over her shoulder as she walks, and lets the child take its fill of it, while she perhaps is smoaking a short pipe of tobacco, which the wind frequently blows into the child's face; but they are so used to it from the time they are born, they don't much regard the smoak. They are weaned at about six months old; and then the mother puts a pipe into the child's mouth, and teaches it to smoke itself, which serves sometimes instead of more substantial diet. As soon as they can go alone, which is very early, they follow the mother abroad wherever she goes, unless it be bad weather; and then they remain at home with the indolent father, who never stirs out, unless necessity forces him abroad: The women and their daughters, as they grow up, do all the laborious work, cut the wood, drag it home, dig roots, and dress them for the father and the sons, who scarce ever give them any assistance, as has been related already: Tho' the sons, 'tis said, are perfectly under the government of the mother, and dangle after her wherever she goes, till they are formally admitted into the society of the men by a certain ceremony, that will be described hereafter; but this is not perform'd till the sons are 17 or 18 years of age: And this leads me to treat of the religion of the Hottentots.

The religion of the Hottentots.

On the first discovery of this people, and even till within thirty or fifty years past, it was much doubted, whether the Hottentots had any religion; nay, it was so confidently affirmed by those who had visited the Cape, that they had none, that most of our learned Divines knew not how to deny it; and only answered, that they were monsters in nature: That, as every other people appeared to have some sense of God and religion stamped upon them by nature, this one exception ought not to affect that general maxim: "That God had imprinted the knowledge of himself in the hearts of all mankind." But now we have the fullest evidence, that the Hottentots are not an exception to this general rule.

SAAR relates, that the Hottentots acknowledge, they believe there is a God, who made heaven and earth.

Father TACHART affirms, that the most sensible of the Hottentots declared, in a conference he had with them on their religion, that they believed there was a God that made heaven and earth, and caused it to thunder and rain, and who provided food and cloathing.

BOEVING says, they professed to believe, that, as the Chief of a Hottentot nation presided over the Captains of the several Kraals, so God was the supreme Being, and Commander of all inferior deities. But KOLBEN, who has taken most indefatigable pains to be acquainted with their principles, travelled from nation to nation, and continued many

years among the Hottentots, with a view of making discoveries, and particularly to understand what religion the people had, assures us, that they believe a supreme Being, Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things therein; the Governor of the world, through whose omnipotence all things live and move: And that this Being is endow'd with incomprehensible attributes and perfections; styling him, Gounja Gounja, or Gounja Ticquoa, God of Gods: That he is good, and does no-body any hurt, and dwells far above the moon. And yet it seems agreed, that they pay no divine worship to this supreme God, tho' they worship several subordinate deities; which KOLBEN demanding the reason of, they answer'd, that their first parents grievously offended the supreme God; and he thereupon cursed them, and all their posterity with hardness of heart; so that they now know little of him, and have less inclination to serve him: This tradition he again and again assures us the Hottentots have; and that he has given it us without the least addition or improvement of his own. But, however they have disused the worship of the supreme God, it seems they adore the moon. Father TACHART says, that, on the appearance of the moon, they assemble in great numbers, and dance in circles, clapping their hands, crying and raving (as the Europeans at first term'd it) all night long. They throw themselves into surprizing distortions of body, stare wildly towards heaven, extend every feature, and cross their foreheads with a red stone: And these, says KOLBEN, are certainly acts of religion, tho' he acknowledges the Hottentots have frequently denied it; which, he says, proceeded from the Europeans laughing at them, when they saw them in these ecstasies. They denied it to BOEVING, and often to himself; but they have seriously acknowledged at other times, that these dancings and howlings are religious honours and invocations of the moon, whom they call Gounja; whereas they call the supreme Being Gounja Gounja, or Gounja Ticquoa, the God of Gods. The moon, they hold, is an inferior visible god, and the representative of the high and invisible: That the moon has the direction of the weather; and therefore they pray to her when it is unseasonable. They never fail to assemble and worship this planet at the new and full moon, let the weather be never so bad; and tho' they distort their bodies, grin, and put on very frightful looks, crying and howling in a terrible manner, yet they have some expressions that shew their veneration and dependance on this inferior deity; as, "Mutshi Atze, I salute you; you are welcome: Cheraqua kaka chori Ounqua, grant us pasture for our cattle and plenty of milk." These and other prayers to the moon they repeat, frequently dancing and clapping their hands all the while; and, at the end of every dance, crying, Ho, ho, ho, ho! raising and falling their voices, and using abundance of odd gestures, that appear ridiculous to European spectators; and which, no doubt, made them at first, before they knew any thing of their language, conclude, that this could not be the effect of devotion, especially when the people themselves told them, it was not an act of religion, but only intended for their diversion. But to return:

They worship the moon.

They continue thus shouting, singing and dancing, with prostrations on the earth, the whole night, and even part of the next day, with some short intervals, never resting, unless they are quite spent with the violence of the action; and then they squat down upon their heels, holding their heads between their hands, and resting their elbows on their knees; and,

CHAP. IV. and, after a little time, they start up again, and fall to singing and dancing in a circle as before, with all their might.

They worship a Fly.

The Hottentots also adore a Fly about the bigness of a Hornet: Whenever they see this insect approach their Kraal, they all assemble about it, and sing and dance round it while it remains there, strewing over it the powder of Buchu, by Botanists call'd Spiræam; which, when it is dried and pulveriz'd, they always powder themselves with it at festivals. They strew the same powder also over the tops of their tents, and over the whole area of the Kraal, as a testimony of their veneration for the ador'd Fly. They sacrifice also two Sheep as a thanksgiving for the favour shewn their Kraal, believing they shall certainly prosper after such a visit: And, if this insect happens to light upon a tent, they look upon the owner of it for the future as a Saint, and pay him more than usual respect. The best Ox of the Kraal also is immediately sacrificed, to testify their gratitude to the little winged deity, and to honour the Saint he has been pleased thus to distinguish: To whom the entrails of the beast, the choicest morsel in their opinion, with the fat and the caul is presented; and the caul being twisted like a rope, the Saint ever after wears it like a collar about his neck day and night, till it putrefies and rots off; and the Saint only feasts upon the entrails of the beast, while the rest of the Kraal feed upon the joints, that are not in so high esteem among them: With the fat of the sacrifice also the Saint anoints his body from time to time, till it is all spent; and, if the Fly lights upon a woman, she is no less revered by the neighbourhood, and entitled to the like privileges.

It is scarce possible to express the agonies the Hottentots are in, if any European attempts to take or kill one of these insects, as the Dutch will sometimes seem to attempt, to put them in a fright: They will beg and pray, and fall prostrate on the ground, to procure the liberty of this little creature, if it falls in a Dutchman's hands: They are, on such an occasion, in no less consternation than the Indians near Fort St. George, when the Kite, with a white head, which they worship, is in danger. If a Soldier takes one of these alive, and threatens to wring the neck of it off, the Indians will gather in crowds about him, and immediately collect the value of a shilling or two, to purchase the liberty of the captive bird they adore. But to return to the Hottentots: They imagine, if this little deity should be killed, all their cattle would die of diseases, or be destroy'd by wild beasts; and they themselves should be the most miserable of men, and look upon that Kraal to be doom'd to some imminent misfortune, where this animal seldom appears.

They worship departed Saints and Heroes.

The Hottentots also pay a sort of religious worship to the souls of departed Saints and Heroes: They consecrate fields, mountains, woods, and rivers to their memory; and when at any time, they happen to pass by such consecrated ground, they put a short prayer to the subordinate deity of the place, and sometimes dance round, and clap their hands, as they do in their adorations of the moon: And being asked the reason of it, they will sometimes answer seriously that this is done in honour of certain Heroes among their ancestors; who, when they were upon the earth, were eminent for their valour, beneficence, or other conspicuous virtues: But as the Europeans usually laugh at them for their ridiculous gestures on these occasions, they will very seldom answer seriously; and only reply, this is the Hottentot custom. And from these dif-

ferent accounts it is, that we find authors, who have written of the Hottentots, frequently differ in their history; some assuring us, that these are acts of devotion and religion; and others, that they have not any thing like religion amongst them, and that these antick postures and gestures are only the effects of mirth and custom.

Mr. KOLBEN relates, that nothing can be more certainly depended on, than the Hottentots worshipping departed Saints and Heroes, and gives the following instance of it. He saw (he says) a Hottentot skipping and jumping round a little mount; and inquiring thereupon into the history of the Saint to whom it was dedicated, the Hottentot answered, he did not know it was consecrated to the memory of any particular deity; but he did not doubt but some eminent Saint resided in that place; for, happening to rest here one night, as he was upon a journey, when he awaked next morning, to his great surprize, he saw a Lion standing near him; but that the creature let him pass, without attempting to seize him; which he would certainly have done, he thought, if the saint, who inhabited that mount, had not protected him. He now therefore gratefully paid his acknowledgments to this good Demon for his wonderful preservation, or to that effect.

But this people, it seems, do not only pay divine honours to good, but evil Demons: They worship, as the natives of the East-Indies do, a powerful evil spirit, whom they believe the author of all the calamities in life; and who has nothing good or gracious in his composition, but rather delights in the miseries of mankind: And this being, or evil genius, they worship, and sacrifice Sheep and Oxen to, that he may do them no mischief; and the Indians, in like manner, perform a solemn sacrifice once a year to this enemy of mankind, at which the whole nation assists, under an apprehension that some great evil will befall them, if they neglect it.

The Hollanders have sent several reverend Divines to the Cape as Missionaries, who have spared no pains to bring the Hottentots off from their idolatry, and induce them to embrace Christianity; even their covetousness and ambition have been applied to, and temporal rewards offered them, on condition of their being instructed in the principles of Christianity. But no motives whatever, whether those relating to this or another state, have yet been able to make the least impression on any one of them: They hold fast and hug their ancient superstitions, and will hear of no other religion; which, with me, is a great argument that they have a religion or superstition of their own; for were they governed only by secular motives, and had no notion of God or providence, why should they not accept the rewards the Dutch offer, and importune them to accept of on their embracing Christianity? And I am apt to think, that the reason that they neither imitate the Europeans in their building, planting or cloathing, is because they imagine themselves to be religiously obliged to follow the customs of their ancestors; and that, if they should deviate from them in the least of these matters, it might make way for a total change of their religion and manners, which they cannot think of without abhorrence.

KOLBEN relates, that one of the Dutch Governors at the Cape bred up an Hottentot from his infancy, obliging him to follow the fashions and customs of the Europeans, to be taught several languages, and to be fully instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, cloathing him handsomely,

The endeavours of the Dutch Missionaries to make proselytes of the Hottentots.

CHAP.
IV.

and treating him, in all respects, as a person for whom he had a high esteem; and let him know, that he design'd him for some beneficial and honourable employment. The Governor afterwards sent him a voyage to Batavia, where he was employed, under the Commissary his friend, for some time, till that gentleman died; and then he returned to the Cape of Good Hope: But, having paid a visit to the Hottentots of his relations and acquaintance, he threw off all his fine cloaths, bundled them up, and laid them at the Governor's feet, and desired he would give him leave to renounce his Christianity, and live and die in the religion and customs of his ancestors; only begg'd the Governor would give him leave to keep the hanger and collar he wore, for his sake; which while the Governor was deliberating with himself upon, scarce believing the fellow to be in earnest, the young Hottentot took the opportunity of running away, and never came near the Cape afterwards, thinking himself extremely happy that he had exchanged his European cloaths for a Sheep-skin and the rest of the Hottentot dress and ornaments: The English East-India company, I'm inform'd, made the like experiment, bringing over two of that nation hither, whom they clothed decently after the European manner, and used them in all respects, with the greatest goodness and gentleness, hoping, by that means, to be better informed of the condition of their country, and whether it might be worth their while to make a settlement there; but the two Hottentots only learnt English enough to bewail their misfortune in being brought from their country and their friends; and, after two years trial of them, being again set on shore at the Cape, they immediately stripp'd off their European cloaths, and, having taken up the Sheep-skin mantle again, rejoiced beyond measure for their happy escape from the English.

"These infidel Hottentots, says the reverend BOEVING, shew the utmost reluctance to the reasoning on matters of religion. How often (says he) have I exhorted them to adore Gounja Gounja, the God of Gods (as they acknowledge him to be) and to thank him for the benefits they receive daily from his hands. To which they would answer, they did thank him, but still they performed no manner of divine worship to him. And, being told they ought to express their thanks to this God of Gods, by paying him the honour and veneration due to him, they grew uneasy, and had not patience to hear the good man any longer; but retir'd, some frowning, and others mocking and laughing at him; so that I could not (says he) so much as pave a way towards instructing them in Christianity."

The reverend PETER KOLBEN also informs us, that he has frequently allured them in small companies with tobacco, wine, brandy, and other things they are fond of, to places of retirement, that he might draw them off from their idolatry, and instruct them in the true worship of God: That, as long as his stock lasted, he had their company, and they seemed to attend to him with a design to learn, but he soon found they only spunged upon him for what they could get, and laughed at him when he was gone. When his stores were spent, they still called out for more; and, when they found they were exhausted, gave him to understand they would hear no more. But this learned Divine very judiciously adds, that the immoral lives of the Europeans at the Cape, do not a little contribute to the prejudice of the Hottentots against Christianity: The

contradiction between the profession, and the practice of the Hollanders, has been fatal to the Christian faith they send their Missionaries to propagate. These people are not so dull of apprehension, but they can see, that their principles and practices are dissimilar, as well as other people: And, as they discover such a wide difference between them at the Cape, it is not to be doubted, but this gives these Infidels unconquerable prejudices, and defeats all attempts of the Missionaries to convert them; and this must be acknowledg'd to be the case also in every other Pagan nation the Europeans visit. Our sea-faring men are not the soberest and discreetest people in their conduct even here at home; but, when they get abroad, they throw off all manner of restraint, as if travelling gave them a licence to turn debauchees, and to practise every infamous vice their religion prohibits: They run into much greater excesses than the infidels themselves, and give them such an abhorrence of them and their religion, which the natives imagine encourages these extravagancies, that they can never entertain a favourable opinion of it; for even Pagans generally admire virtue, and detest notorious vices; and are apt to think that religion best, that makes the best men. Till our morals are better, therefore, we must never expect to make any real profelytes abroad, tho' possibly we may sometimes make a hypocrite; who, on some temporal views, may for a Time conform himself to our customs.

But to return to the Hottentots: They have several other ceremonies and customs, which intelligent travellers conjecture have a relation to their religion; particularly that of depriving their males of the left testicle, which is universally observed in every Hottentot nation generally at eight or nine years of age; tho', if the parents are poor, and not able to be at the expence of the feast, it is sometimes deferred till their sons are eighteen or nineteen.

At the performance of this rite, a Sheep is killed in the first place, and the Priest, with the fat of the entrails, greases the young lad, who is to undergo the operation, from head to foot; then tying his hands and feet, he is laid on the ground on his back, stretched at his full length, some friend or relation sitting upon each arm and leg, and another lying cross his body to prevent his struggling: Then the Priest takes a common knife well sharpened, and, taking hold of the left testicle, makes a large orifice in the scrotum, squeezes out the testicle, and then ties up the vessels in an instant; after which, he takes a little ball, consisting of Sheep's fat, the powder of Buchu, and of some other herbs, and stuffs into the vacant scrotum, and then sews up the wound, using the bone of a small bird as an awl, and a Sheep's sinew instead of thread: The Priest then anoints the patient again with the fat of the entrails of the new-kill'd Sheep; which, having scraped off again in some Places with his long nails, he pisses upon the boy, and rubs in the urine; and thus the ceremony being finished, the patient is laid in a tent provided for that purpose, where he is left two whole days and nights without any manner of nourishment: In which time, however, the wound is usually so well healed, that he is able to shift for himself: And my author observes, they undergo the whole operation almost without a groan; nor was there any instance of a boy's miscarrying by this painful rite.

In the mean time, the company resort to the father's tent, where the men feast upon the Sheep killed on this occasion, and the women are allowed to eat the soup, but do not touch a morsel of the flesh;

CHAP.
IV.

Some rites peculiar to the Hottentots.

CHAP. IV. flesh; and the remainder of the day, and the succeeding night, being spent in smoaking, singing, and dancing, they grease or anoint themselves the next morning with the remaining fat of the sacrifice, and powder themselves with Buchu; after which, they retire to their respective tents, the Priest being first presented with a Calf or a Lamb for his trouble and attendance.

As to the reason of this painful rite among the Hottentots, some have imagined they use it, because it contributes to their swiftness, their speed being equal to that of the fleetest Horses, as it is said. But, as I much doubt whether they are so very swift of foot, as some relate, so I can see no manner of reason to believe that this adds to their heels, if they are so: It is not unlikely, as KOLBEN conjectures, that the using this rite proceeded from a mistake at first, and was performed instead of circumcision; though it was certainly a very unlucky mistake, if it was one, it putting the patient to so much more pain than the other; but, however that be, no man is permitted to marry, till he can produce evidence, that he has undergone this operation; and the women, it seems, insist upon it the more, because they have a notion, that every man, who has two testicles, gets twins; though, it seems, there are instances among them, that a man with one does the same. There is still another ceremony to be performed, before a person can enter into the married state; and that is, the admitting the young fellow into the company and conversation of the men, which is performed when they are about 18 years of age: Before this, they converse only with the women, and follow their mothers from place to place wherever they go. When the Kraal are inclined to admit a youth into the society of the men, they assemble; and, sitting on their heels in a circle, the lad is sent for, when the Captain, or some other senior Hottentot, demands of the rest, if they think fit to admit him into their society, and to make a man of him? which being answer'd in the affirmative, the speaker informs the young man, that he is now to leave the conversation of his mother and the women, and no more amuse himself with childish toys: That, if he is known to converse with his mother, or any of the sex for the future, till he is married, he will be looked on as unfit for the company of men: That he must now behave as a man, and not discover any softness or effeminacy in his conduct. And these lectures being frequently repeated, that they may make the deeper impression, this, like many other Hottentot rites, is concluded by the old man's puffing upon him, and repeating some wishes at the same time; as that good fortune may attend the youth; that his beard may grow, and that he may encrease and multiply. After which, a Sheep being killed, part of which is roasted and the other boiled, they feast upon it; and, at the latter end of the entertainment, the young fellow is called in, and suffered to eat with them; and from thence forward is looked upon as a compleat man. But, if he is ever seen to converse with the women afterwards, he becomes extremely contemptible; he is in a manner unmann'd, and must give a fresh entertainment to his village, before he can be restored to the privilege of a man: Among which, I find one is, that he may then insult his mother, and even beat her for his own humour, without any provocation, and is not liable to be punished for it; nor is his ill usage of her any reflection on him, but rather looked upon as an argument of a noble spirit.

The initiating ceremony.

They have festivals, and kill sacrifices also upon many other occasions; as an obtaining a victory over wild beasts or men, on their recovery from a fit of sickness, and the like. At these festivals they erect an arbour in the centre of the Kraal, which the women adorn with sweet herbs and flowers, while the men take an Ox, and, tying his legs with ropes, throw him on his back; and, having extended his legs to the utmost stretch, they fasten the cords to stakes drove into the ground: After which, they rip the beast open alive from one end to the other; then they tear the guts from the carcase and nobler parts, avoiding as much as possible the breaking the blood-vessels about the heart; by which means the creature is sometimes half an hour a dying. When the entrails are taken out, they anoint themselves with the fat of them; and then roast and boil the rest of the sacrifice, the guts and inwards being the portion of those of the best quality among them, as they are esteemed preferable to any other part of the Bullock: But, tho' the men feast upon the flesh, they send no part of it to their wives, the women are forced to be content with the broth, as upon other occasions: After which, they smook, dance, and play upon such instruments as they have; but scarce ever drink any other liquor at these feasts, than their usual beverage, milk and water; tho' no people are fonder of spirituous liquors. My author observes, they keep themselves perfectly sober at all religious solemnities; how odd soever their antick postures and distortions in their dances may make them appear to strangers.

At the removing of their Kraal, or camp, which they always do upon the death of any person in it, as well as for water and fresh pasture, the men sacrifice a Sheep, and eat it up among themselves, allowing their wives only the soup; and when they come to a new camp, the women sacrifice a Sheep, and eat it up among themselves, sending the broth only to the men: They also anoint themselves with the fat of the slain beast, powdering themselves with Buchu, as the men do; which my author looks upon also as religious ceremonies, performed for the prosperity of their Kraal.

But whatever notions the Hottentots may have of God or his providence, Father TACHART is of opinion, that they expect no life after this; and therefore, he observes, they endeavour to make the present life as easy and comfortable to them as they can. BOEVING also affirms, that they do not believe the resurrection of the dead; but imagine, they and other animals, at death, perish alike; for he says, talking with some Hottentots once on this subject, they answered, "Only here, hereafter no thing: The dead come to life again! How can that be?" KOLBEN on the other hand says, that tho' the Hottentots have no notion of a resurrection, yet it is manifest, from several customs they retain among them, that they do believe the immortality of the soul: As first, they offer prayers and praises to those they esteem holy Hottentots after their deaths.

They have no notion of a future state. But believe how ever the immortality of the soul, according to some.

2. They are apprehensive the dead may return, and give them some disturbance; and therefore, upon the death of any one of the society, they always remove their camp to another place, believing that the dead never haunt any place, but that where they died: And, as if they imagined the dead might stand in need of the same things they did while living, they leave the tent standing where he died, with all his cloaths, arms, furniture and implements of household-stuff, and never will touch any thing belonging to a dead man, no not of an enemy's kill'd in the battle.

And

CHAP.
IV.

Another argument KOLBEN brings to prove they believe the immortality of the soul, is their faith in witchcraft; and that their pretended wizards can lay a troublesome spirit, and prevent their appearing again: For, it seems, the Hottentots ascribe all such diseases as their Physicians can't cure, to the power of magick; and, as in Europe, look upon every decrepid old woman as a Witch. Now, says KOLBEN, if they did not believe the souls of departed mortals had a being after they were dead, why should they take any pains to prevent their haunting their abodes? It is manifest also, he observes, that they believe the souls of men, good or bad, remain about the places they inhabited; and consequently that they do not die with the body: However he admits, that, whatever they believe of departed souls, they have no notion either of heaven or hell, or of a state of rewards or punishments: This is evident from the behaviour of a dying Hottentot, and those about him; neither he nor his friends offer up any prayers to their gods for the salvation of his soul; or even mention the state of departed souls, or their apprehensions of his being happy or miserable after death: However, they set up such terrible howlings and shriekings, when the sick man is in his last agonies, that they may be heard, says my author, at a mile's distance; and yet these very people are frequently guilty of murdering their ancient parents, as well as their innocent children. When the father of a family is become perfectly useless and superannuated, he is obliged to assign over his flock of cattle, and every thing else he has in the world, to his eldest son; and, in default of sons, to his next heir-male: After which, the heir erects a tent or hut in some unfrequented place a good distance from the Kraal or camp he belongs to; and, having assembled the men of the Kraal, acquaints them with the condition of his superannuated relation, and desires their consent to expose him in the distant hut; to which the Kraal scarce ever refuse their consent. Whereupon a day being appointed to carry the old man to the solitary tent, the heir kills an Ox, and two or three Sheep, and invites the whole village to feast and be merry with him; and, at the end of the entertainment, all the neighbourhood come and take a formal leave of the old wretch, thus condemn'd to be starv'd or devour'd by wild beasts (which seems to me the most cruel and ill-natur'd part of the whole tragedy): Then the unfortunate creature is laid upon one of their carriage-Oxen, and carried to his last home, attended to the place, where he is to be buried alive, by most of his neighbours. The old man being taken down, and set in the middle of the hut provided for him, the company return to their Kraal, and he never sees the face of a human creature afterwards: They never so much as enquire whether he was starv'd to death, or devour'd by wild beasts: He is no more thought of, than if he had never been. In the same manner they deal with a superannuated mother; only as she has nothing she can call her own, she has not the trouble of assigning her effects to her son.

They expose their parents to certain death.

When the Hottentots are upbraided with this unparallel'd piece of barbarity, they reply, it would be a much greater cruelty to suffer an old creature to languish out a miserable life, and to be many years a dying, than to make this quick dispatch with them; and that it is out of their extreme tenderness they put an end to the lives of these old wretches; all the arguments in the world, against the inhumanity of the custom, can make no impression on them:

4

And, indeed, as long as the Dutch have resided at the Cape, they have not been able to break them of one single custom, or prevail with them to alter any part of their conduct, how barbarous or absurd forever: And, it seems, the Captain of a Kraal is not exempted from seeing his funeral solemniz'd in this manner, while he is alive, if he happens to become useless. And this leads me to treat of such funerals as are solemniz'd after the person is really dead.

CHAP.
IV.

The sick man, having resigned his breath, is immediately bundled up, neck and heels together, in his Sheep-skin mantle, exceeding close; so that no part of the corpse appears: Then the Captain of the Kraal, with some of the seniors, search the neighbouring country for some cavity in a rock, or the den of a wild beast, to bury it in, never digging a grave, if they can find one of these within a moderate distance. After which, the whole Kraal, men and women, prepare to attend the corpse, seldom permitting it to remain above ground more than six hours. When all things are ready, all the neighbourhood assemble before the door of the deceas'd, the men sitting down on their heels in one circle, and resting their elbows on their knees (their usual posture) as the women do in another: Here they clap their hands, and howl, crying, Bo, bo, bo! (*i. e.* father) lamenting their loss. The corpse then being brought out on that side the tent, where the person died, and not at the door, the bearers carry him in their arms to the grave, the men and women following it in different parties, but without any manner of order, crying all the way, Bo, bo, bo! and wringing their hands, and performing a thousand ridiculous gestures and grimaces, which is frequently the subject of the Dutchmen's mirth; it being impossible, 'tis said, to forbear laughing at the antic tricks they shew on such an occasion.

Their funerals.

Having put the corpse into the cavity prepared for it, they stop up the mouth of it with Ant-hills, stones, and pieces of wood, believing the Ants will feed on the corpse, and soon consume it. The grave being stopp'd up, the men and women rendezvous again before the tent of the deceas'd, where they repeat their howling, and frequently call upon the name of their departed friend: After which, two of the oldest men get up; and one of them, going into the circle of the men, and the other into the circle of the women, piss upon every one of the company; and, where the Kraals are so very large, that two can't find water enough for this ceremony, they double or treble the number. Then the old men go into the tent of the deceas'd; and, having taken up some ashes from the fire-place, they sprinkle them upon the body of the people, blessing them as they go: And, if the deceas'd was a person of distinction, this is acted over again several days. But I should have remember'd, that the ceremony always concludes with an entertainment. If the deceas'd had any cattle, a Sheep is killed on the occasion; and the caul, being powder'd with Buchu, is tied about the heir's neck, who is forced to wear it while it rots off, which is no great penance, all stinks being perfumes to a Hottentot. All the relations also wear the cauls of Sheep about their necks; which, it seems, is their mourning, unless the children of the deceas'd are so poor, that they cannot kill a Sheep; and then they shave their heads in furrows of about an inch broad, leaving the hair on of the same breadth between every furrow.

As I have treated of the religious customs and ceremonies of the Hottentots, it may be proper now to say something of those officers amongst them, which the Europeans generally denominate their

Their Priests.

Priests.

CHAP. IV. Priests. These persons are call'd Surri or master, and are elected by every Kraal: They are the men, who perform the ceremony of pissing at their weddings, and other festivals: The Surri also is the person who extracts the left testicle from the young males at 8 years of age; for all which he has no stated revenue, but a present now and then of a Calf or a Lamb, and makes one at all their entertainments. But every Kraal also has its Physician, as well as its Priest, who are persons that have some skill in physick and surgery, and particularly in the virtues of salutary herbs: These also are chosen by a majority of voices, and make it their business to look after the people's health; but have no other reward neither for their pains, than voluntary presents. And such is the opinion of the Hottentots of these Physicians, that, if they cannot effect a cure, they conclude they are certainly bewitch'd; as the Doctor himself also never fails to give out: Whereupon application is made to some pretended Conjuror for relief; and, if the patient happens to recover, it gives the Cunning-man, as we call him, a mighty reputation.

Their
Physicians.

The Hottentot Physician and Surgeon, as has been hinted, is the same person; and tho' these gentlemen scarce ever saw a body dissected, 'tis said, they have pretty good notions of anatomy: They cup, bleed, make amputations, and restore dislocated limbs, with great dexterity; colicks and pains in the stomach they relieve by cupping. Their cup is the horn of an Ox, the edges cut very smooth: the Doctor, having suck'd the part where the pain lies, claps on the cup; and, after it has remained some time, till he thinks the part is insensible, he pulls off the horn-cup, and makes two or three incisions, half an inch in length, with a common knife, having no other instrument: After which, he claps on the cup again, which falls off when it is full of blood; but the patient, 'tis said, suffers great pain in the operation. If the pain removes to another part, they rub it with hot fat; and, if that does not ease the pain, they use the cup again on the part last affected; and, if the second cupping does not relieve the patient, they give him inward medicines, being infusions or powders of certain dried roots and herbs.

They let blood in Plethories and indispositions of that kind, having no other instrument than a common knife; and, if bleeding will not effect the cure, they give the patient physick.

For head-achs, which they are pretty much subject to in calm weather, they shave their heads in furrows, as they do when they are in mourning; but a brisk gale of wind usually carries off the head-ach, without any other application; and this they don't often want at the Cape.

They seldom make any other amputations, than of the fingers of such women as marry a second time, or oftner; and, in this case, they bind the joint below that which is to be cut off very tight, with a dried sinew, and then cut off the joint at once with a knife, stopping the blood with the juice of Myrrh-leaves; after which, they wrap up the finger in some healing herbs, and never any part of the finger receives any hurt beyond the amputation.

They have little or no skill in setting fractur'd limbs; but are pretty dexterous at restoring of dislocations.

The Hottentot Physician, in case he meets with a foul stomach, gives the juice of Aloe-leaves; and, if one dose will not do, repeats it two or three days; and, for any inward ail, they give chiefly the powders or infusions of wild Sage, wild Figs,

and Fig-leaves, Buchu, Garlick or Fennel: But, whatever the disease be, it seems the patient never fails to sacrifice a Bullock, or a Sheep, upon his recovery.

CHAP. IV.

I proceed now to treat of the Hottentots care of their cattle, the only wealth or substance almost they are masters of. They have no enclosures; nor has any single man a property in any particular lands, but the whole country is one great common. Between six and seven every morning therefore, after the women have milked their Cows, four or five men of the Kraal (for they take the trouble of it alternately) drive the cattle to the best pasture they can find in the neighbourhood, and there guard them all day against the attacks of wild beasts, bringing them home again between five and six in the evening: As their camp or Kraal is of a round figure, and their tents stand close together, there is only one narrow passage, through which they let in their Sheep, and lodge them in the area of the Kraal all night. They have also a hut in the middle of the Kraal for their Calves and Lambs. As for their Oxen and their large cattle, these are fastened to their tents on the outside of the Kraal, and their Dogs are turned out to give notice of the approach of wild beasts; and, indeed, the cattle themselves, 'tis said, are soon sensible if a wild beast approaches the Kraal, and long before he comes at them, will fall a lowing, and making a mighty noise and bustle, and alarm their masters frequently time enough to come out to their rescue; for a Hottentot is so far from flying from these terrible animals, that be it Lion, Tyger or Leopard, they all immediately run to their arms, and plant themselves between the cattle and the enemy; and if they happen to have any of their cattle carried away, they all pursue the wild beast, and generally make him pay for the robbery with his life, being so swift of foot, that few animals can escape them, especially with their prey.

The management of their cattle.

They breed up also a sort of war-Oxen, as has been observ'd under another head; and these are of great service to them, both in the managing and guarding their herds: Other Oxen they discipline for carriage, loading them with their tents and baggage, whenever they remove. Every Kraal has a Doctor or Farrier for their cattle, who makes it his business to look after them; tho' it seems, they are subject to few diseases, but what are occasioned by their heavy rains, which fall in winter three or four days together, without intermission; and then, the cattle having no barns or shelter to fly to, suffer pretty much: However, my author observes, they never have the rot amongst them. Whatever their cattle ail almost, they bleed them in the first place, and then give them an infusion of Garlick: Instead of gelding their Bulls and Rams, as the Europeans do, they tie up the testicles of the creature so tight with a thong, that they stop all manner of communication between them and the body, and so let them go till they rot off.

Tho' a Hottentot looks upon the loss of his cattle as the greatest misfortune that can befall him; yet he is not inconsolable upon the death of an Ox or Cow; for they esteem cattle, that die of themselves, to be as good meat, or rather more delicious eating, than if they had been kill'd by a Butcher, and all the Kraal partake of it: So that if the loser grieves for his particular misfortune, the rest rather rejoice at it.

CHAP.
IV.They
serve the
Dutch.

When a Hottentot has no cattle, he usually lets himself to one of his countrymen, or to a Dutchman, till he gets money enough to buy a Cow, or two or three Sheep; but they chuse rather to serve Europeans than their own people, because they can have a daily supply of Tobacco, and now and then a draught of Wine, or a dram from them; and besides, their wages are rather better than what they can get at home: And, notwithstanding their natural sloth, 'tis said, they make very diligent and faithful servants during the time they contract for. Tho' they are extremely fond of Wine and Tobacco, you may safely trust it in their hands; they will not touch any thing committed to their care; nor do they, if we may credit the Dutch, want a capacity for almost any business. This also is sufficiently evident from the handicraft trades amongst them.

Their me-
chanicks.

Their Smiths do not only fashion their iron, but melt it from the oar: They find plenty of iron-stones in several parts of their country; and, having got a heap of these, they put them into a hole in the ground, heated and prepared for their purpose: Then they make a fire over the stones, which they supply with fuel, and keep up till the iron melts; and then it runs into another hole, which they make for a receiver, a little lower than the first. As soon as the iron in the receiver is cold, they break it in other fires, beat them with stones, till they shape them into the heads of lances, darts, arrows and bows, and such weapons as they use; for they scarce ever form any other utensils, but arms of this metal: They get the hardest flat stone, according to Monsieur VOGEL, and laying the iron upon it, as upon an anvil, beat it with another round stone, which serves them for a hammer: Then they grind it upon the flat stone, and polish it as nicely as any European artificer could do with all his tools. They have some copper-ore too, which they melt in like manner; but they make only toys and ornaments for their dress of this metal: Nor indeed do they ever work in iron, but when they want weapons. They would never labour, if their necessities did not sometimes compel them to it: But, when they do, no people work harder, or more indefatigably; for they never leave a piece of work, till they have finished it. But surely, since they have found the way of working both iron and copper, they can't but be accused of very great indolence and stupidity, that they do not make themselves such tools, of iron and copper-vessels, as they want: If they can form and polish arms, and brass beads so exquisitely as some travellers affirm, they might also make any thing else they have occasion for; as axes, hammers, saws, brass pots, and other vessels, with a little more application. But to proceed:

Their Butchers also are said to be great artists in their way, and to handle a knife as dexterously as an Anatomist: Having tied the hind and fore legs of a Sheep, they throw the creature on its back, and, with cords, two of them extend it to its full stretch, while a third rips it up; so that all the entrails appear: Then, with one hand, he tears the guts from the carcase, and, with the other, stirs the blood, avoiding as much as he can the breaking any of the blood-vessels about the heart; so that the Sheep is a long time a dying: In the mean time, he gives the guts to another, who just rids them of the filth, and rinses them in water, and part of them are broil'd and eaten amongst them, before the Sheep is well dead: Having scooped the blood out of the body

CHAP.
IV.

of the animal with their hands or sea-shells, they cut the rest of the guts in small pieces, and stew them in the blood, which is the Hottentots favourite dish. An Ox also is killed in the same manner; being thrown upon his back, and his legs extended with cords, he is ripped up, and his guts taken out first; in which cruel operation the beast is half an hour a dying: They separate the parts with great exactness, dividing the flesh, the bones, the membranes, muscles, veins and arteries, and laying them in several parcels, every thing entire. The bones also are taken out of the flesh, and laid together in such order, that they might be easily formed into an exact skeleton: These they boil by themselves, and get the marrow out of them, with which they anoint their bodies. Of the Sheep-skin, as has been observed already, they make a mantle, if it be large; but, if it is small, they cut it into thongs, to adorn their women's legs: And the hide of an Ox serves either to cover their tents, or to make girts and straps of, with which they bind their baggage on the Carriage-oxen when they decamp; and if they have no other use for their Ox-hides, they lay them by, and eat them when they want other food.

They have another artificer, who is both Felt-monger and Taylor; that is, he dresses skins after their way, and then makes them into mantles: He takes a Sheep-skin just flead off, and, rubbing it well with fat, the skin becomes tough and smooth; and, if it be for one of his countrymen, he rubs it over also with fresh Cow-dung, and lays it in the sun till 'tis dry: Then he rubs it with fat and Cow-dung again; which he repeats several times, till it becomes perfectly black, and stinks so, that no European can bear it; and then, with a little shaping and sewing, it is a complete mantle for a Hottentot: But, if it be dress'd for a Dutchman, he only rubs the skin well with fat, which secures the wool from coming off. If he be to dress an Ox's-hide, he rubs the hairy side with wood-ashes; then, sprinkling it with water, rolls it up, and lays it a day or two in the sun: If this does not loosen the hair, so as it may be easily pull'd off, he rubs it with ashes again, and lets it lie some time longer; and then, stripping the hair clean off, rubs it well with fat, which is the full dressing. These hides he usually cuts out into straps or girts of the breadth of two inches, which serve to pack up their tents and baggage on a march, as has been related already: And my author observes, he is very dextrous in cutting out mantles, and sewing the skins together, especially if they are made of Cat-skins. This operator has no cutting instrument, but a knife; his awl is the bone of a bird, and his thread the split sinews of some animal; and with these he performs his work as neatly as a European Taylor with all his instruments about him.

It is the employment of another mechanick to make their ivory rings or bracelets for their arms, which he cuts out of an Elephant's tooth, forms and polishes to admiration also, without any other tool than his knife.

The Potter or maker of earthen vessels is another art; but this, it seems, they are all dexterous at, every family making the pots and pans they want. For these they use only the earth of Ant-hills, clearing them of all sand and gravel; after which, they work it together with the bruised Ant-eggs, that are said to constitute an extraordinary cement. When they have moulded these materials into a kind of paste, they take as much of them

CHAP.
IV.

as will make one of their pots; and fashion it by hand upon a flat stone, making it of the form of a Roman urn; then they smooth it within and without very carefully, not leaving the least roughness upon the surface; and having dry'd it in the sun two or three days, they put the pot into a hole in the ground, and burn it, by making a fire over it; and when they take it out, it appears perfectly black: Every family also make their own mats, with which they cover their tents or huts; but this is chiefly the business of the women: They gather the flags and rushes by the river-side, or weave or plat them into mats so closely, 'tis said, that neither the weather or light can penetrate them.

The last artificer I shall mention, is the Rope-maker, who has no better materials, than such flags and rushes as the mats are made of; and yet they appear almost as strong as those made of hemp: The Dutch, at the Cape, buy and use them in ploughing, and in draught-carriages.

The traf-
sick of the
Hotten-
tots.

After giving an account of their manufactures, it is natural to enquire into the trade of the natives; but this is very inconsiderable. As they have no money amongst them, they truck and barter one thing for another. The poor Hottentots sometimes employ themselves in making arms, viz. bows and arrows, lances and darts, bartering them with the rich for cattle, to begin the world with: Others get Elephants teeth; and what they do not use in making rings and ornaments for themselves, are generally disposed of, it is thought, to the Portuguese and other Europeans, who touch at Terra de Natal, and other parts of the eastern or western coast. The Hottentots sell very few teeth to the Dutch; tho', 'tis manifest, they kill abundance of Elephants: They supply the Hollanders however with cattle, and take Wine, Brandy, or Tobacco, in return; and KOLBEN relates, that an Ox may be purchased of them for a pound of Tobacco, and a large Sheep for half a one. As to coin, the reader will conclude they have none; nor do they ever see any, unless some small pieces of money the Dutch sometimes give them for their wages at the Cape; and it must not be forgot, that the Hottentots find abundance of Ostrich's-eggs in the sand, which they barter with the sea-faring men, that touch at the Cape, for Brandy and Tobacco; every Sailor almost being proud of bringing home one of these egg-shells to his friends, after he has fry'd and eaten the yolk, which makes a large pancake, and is pretty good food, but rather of the strongest.

Their way
of travel-
ling.

As to the way of travelling here, the natives all travel on foot, unless the aged and infirm; and these are carried on their Baggage-oxen. As there are no inns or places for refreshment, the travelling Hottentot calls at the Kraals in his way, where he meets with a hearty welcome from his countrymen, who endeavour to shew their hospitality to strangers, whether of their own country or of Europe.

When the Hollanders travel either on foot or on horseback, if they cannot reach a European settlement, they also call at the Kraals of the Hottentots, where they are complimented with a hut, and such provision as they have; or they may lie in the area of the Kraal, in the open air, if they please, and the weather be good: And here they are secure both from robbers and wild beasts; for there are, it seems, Outlaws and Banditti on the mountains, who give no quarter to any-body. A European also is in danger from their

Bulls of war, which guard their herds, if he has not fire-arms about him; and therefore the Dutch constantly travel with arms. They also take a Hottentot in their company, which secures them from any misunderstanding with the natives, and procures them the better usage; for there have been some instances where the Europeans have been insulted, and in danger even from the Hottentot Kraals.

CHAP.
IV.

As to the language of this people, it has been observed already, that they have nothing like writing or hieroglyphicks to express their thoughts by; and their speech is in many instances so inarticulate, that no European can imitate the words, or rather sounds they use, unless he has lived amongst them from his infancy: Some observe, that it resembles more the noise of an enraged Turkey-cock, than the voice of a man. KOLBEN calls it a monster of languages; and says, though he resided many years among the Hottentots, and endeavour'd to acquire it with the utmost diligence, he was still very defective in it; nor could he meet with one in the settlement, that could speak it tolerably, who was not born amongst them: That the pronunciation depends on such collisions or clappings of the tongue against the palate, and such strange vibrations and inflections of that member, as a stranger cannot easily imitate or describe. The Hottentots also find it exceeding difficult to pronounce other languages: They easily understand either French or Dutch; but the motions of their tongues, to which their own language subjects them, renders them almost unintelligible, when they attempt to speak a foreign language.

Many of their own words yielding to no pronunciation known in other countries, it is impossible almost to put them in writing; however, a list of many of their words has been attempted by JUNKERAS, in his comment on LUDOLPHUS, in which KOLBEN observes there are a great many faults, and has given us a new specimen of some of their words; of which I shall take the liberty to transcribe part, viz. Chauna, a Lamb; Kgou, a Goose; Kamma, Water, and other liquids; Quaiha, an Ass; Knonm, to hear; Khoekara, a bird called Knorhan; Kirri, a stick or staff; Kaa, to drink; Kouquequa, a Captain; T'kamma, a stag; Kgoyes, a Buck or Doe; Tik-qua, God; Cham-ouna, the Devil; Hacqua, a Horse; Choa, a Cat; Koukekerrey, a Hen; T'koume, Rice; Kehou, a Peacock; Kuanehou or Tkeuhouw, a Star; Camkamma, the Earth; Quauw, Thunder; Tquassouw or Kquvssomo, a Tyger; Tkaa, a Valley; Toya, the Wind.

KOLBEN adds, he has known several of the Hottentots, who have understood French, Dutch, and Portuguese, to a degree of perfection; and, allowing for defects in pronunciation, spoke those languages roundly; and that he knew another, who learnt both English and Portuguese in a little time, and spoke them with great propriety. They never exceed ten in numbering: In reckoning their cattle, or any thing else, when they come to ten, they begin again with a unit, and count ten more; and when they have done this ten times, they say ten ten (by which they mean they have counted an hundred:) Then they begin again in like manner, and count another ten ten, and so on. Their words for their numbers as high as ten are Q'kui, one; K'kam, two; K'ouna, three; Hakka, four; Koo, five; Nanni, six; Honko, seven; Khyssi, eight; K'heffi, nine; Gylsi, ten.

Numbers.

There

CHAP.
IV.

There remains little more to be observed of the Hottentots, unless it be their musick, which KOLBEN seems to have some taste for; tho' it scarcely excels the marrow-bone and cleaver, as the reader will believe, when he understands that they have but two poor instruments; the one called the Gom-Gom, which is no more than an iron bow, with a Cocoa nut-shell affixed to it, and a split quill, which they play upon like a Jews-trump; and the other an earthen pot, covered with a Sheep-skin, which makes a very bad drum: Nor is their vocal musick more agreeable to a European ear; tho' they seem to be exceedingly charmed with both themselves, and continue their performances often to an unreasonable length.

The Cape
town.

I come now to give an account of the colonies and settlements of the Dutch at the Cape; the chief town whereof extends itself from the seashore, along the Table-valley, to the Company's garden, containing between two and three-hundred handsome houses, regularly laid out into spacious streets, with courts before them, and large gardens behind them. The houses are built of stone, but thatch'd, and seldom more than one story high. The stormy weather they are subject to, obliging them to build low, and to thatch most of their houses, instead of tiling them, that they be not knocked on the head with the tiles, as they go about the streets; and as it is, when the winds set in easterly, they usually receive some damage. The Dutch give all imaginable encouragement to their subjects to build here, allowing any person that desires it, ground sufficient to build upon, and for yards and gardens, either adjoining to the town or in the country: But, when such houses are sold, the Government reserves a ground-rent of a tenth or twentieth penny, according to the condition they are in; and of corn-fields, vineyards and pasture-ground, the Government reserves a tenth part of the produce, or the value thereof in money.

At a little distance from the town, in the same valley, the Dutch have a noble fort or citadel, built in stone in form of a pentagon, which defends the landing-place. The Soldiers in garrison are about 200 men; and here the Governor and the principal officers of the company have their respective apartments, and there are very large and commodious store-houses belonging to the Government. The Company have between five and six hundred officers and servants at the Cape, besides slaves, which are near six hundred more: The last are lodged in a large building in the town, which is divided into two wards, one for the men, and the other for the women; and adjoining to it, is a prison for the lewd and dissolute, who are kept to hard labour, as in Holland.

Their church at the Cape is a handsome spacious edifice, but perfectly plain, without any manner of ornament on the inside or outside; and both church and steeple are thatch'd for the same reason, I presume, as the houses in the town are: They have no seats, as in our churches, only forms; and, when the sacrament of the Lord's-supper is administer'd, a large table is placed before the pulpit, and they sit round it, and, in that posture, receive the elements.

They have a fine hospital here, whither they send the sick seamen that arrive in their fleets going to and from India; of whom there are not less than an hundred, or a hundred and fifty frequently in one fleet. This, and the supplying their ships with fresh provisions, are the principal advantages the Dutch yet receive by the possession of the Cape,

here being no secure harbours, or scarce any thing that deserves the name of merchandize besides provisions.

CHAP.
IV.

But what is the most admir'd of any thing at the Cape, are the Company's gardens, where they have introduced almost all the fruits and flowers that are to be found in Europe, Asia or Africa, and most of them are improved, and flourish more than they did in the respective climates and countries from whence they were brought; and both gardens are watered by springs that fall down from the Table-mountain just above them. The Apples and Pears of Europe are planted here, with the Grapes of Asia, as well as those of Europe, all of a delicious flavour. Here are also Lemons, Oranges, Citrons, Figs, Japan apples, and an infinite variety of other fruits, all excellent in their kind; but I have reserved a particular head for their vegetables, and therefore shall not enlarge on them here.

At a little distance from the town are several beautiful country-seats, vineyards and farms, extending far into the country; besides which, there are two other great colonies or settlements, the one called the Stellenbosch colony, and the other the Drakenstein and Waveren colony, taking up a vast tract of land, upwards of an 100 miles, perhaps near two, to the northward and eastward of the Cape, but intermix'd with the Hottentot nations, who still graze their cattle upon such lands as are not enclosed and cultivated by the Dutch.

The Government of the Cape is administer'd by The Dutch Government at the Cape.

1. The Grand-Council, or College of Policy, which consists of the Governor, and eight of the Company's principal officers. These have the direction of trade and navigation, make peace or war with the Hottentots, and have the supreme management of every thing conducing to the security and interest of the settlement. This Council holds a constant correspondence with the Directors of the Dutch East-India Company in Holland, and with the Dutch Governments of Batavia and Ceylon.

2. The second Court is styl'd, The College of Justice, and is compos'd of most of the same members; and determines all civil and criminal causes of any importance: But appeals lie from it to the supreme Court of Justice at Batavia, or the supreme Court of Justice in Holland.

3. An inferior Court of Justice, for determining trespasses, assaults, breaches of the peace, and actions of debt, under an hundred crowns: This Court consists of one of the Grand-Council, who is President, three Burghers or Townsmen, and four of the Company's immediate servants.

4. A Court of Marriages, which examines into the legality of every marriage-contract before it is celebrated, whether the Parties have the consent of their parents and guardians, and whether there be no pre-contract. The members of this Court are the same as the last; and, when they have received satisfaction in these matters, grant their warrant to the Ministers of the churches where the parties live, to publish the bans the three following Sundays from the pulpit, and then to solemnize the marriage, if no-body forbids it; and, if they do, they must assign some good cause, or else the marriage proceeds. Men of figure usually invite the Court to their houses when these enquiries are to be made, and give them a handsome entertainment, and a present of five or ten crowns. But before this Court can enter upon the examination, the bride and bridegroom must always attend the Governor, and ask his Consent.

CHAP.
IV.

5. The Court of Orphans, consisting of the Vice-President of the Grand-Council, three of the Company's officers, and three burghers or substantial inhabitants. Without the consent of this Court, no orphan can marry under five and twenty years of age; but upon a certificate of the Court of Orphans, testifying their consent, an orphan is at liberty to marry, on taking the same steps as other people do.

6. An Ecclesiastical Council, for the government of the reformed churches at the Cape (for here is a colony of French Protestants, which the Dutch transported to the Cape, to assist them in cultivating their vines, and making wine, which is now brought to great perfection): This Council consists of three Pastors, six Elders, and twelve Overseers of the poor (there being three parishes, of the extent of three colonies) and two Elders and four Overseers in every parish. This council determines finally all temporal matters, and many spiritual concerns, relating to the church: particularly, they order what ceremonies shall be observed in divine worship, and alter them from time to time, as they see fit. They distribute such collections also as are made for the poor; which, 'tis said, they manage so well, that no Beggar is seen in the settlement: The surplusage of these charities is applied to the repairs of churches, or the maintenance of schools. There is also a vestry in every parish, consisting of a President (some wealthy Merchant), the Pastor, the two Elders, and four Overseers, who manage the particular affairs of the respective parishes.

7. The Common-Council (of which there is one in every colony) is chosen every year by the Grand-Council. That of the Cape colony has very little business, unless it be to propose matters to the Grand-Council, and collect the taxes: But the Common-Council of the other colonies have great authority; the Lieutenant of each colony presiding in it, who with his brethren take cognizance of all trespasses and actions of debt under an hundred and fifty florins, and try all criminal matters that happen within their respective limits.

8. There are also two Councils or Boards of Militia; one for the Cape-Town, and the other for the districts of Hellenbögist and Drakenstein. In the Council for the Cape-Town presides a member of the Grand-Council, having nine other officers of the Militia join'd with him, and once a year their Militia, both Horse and Foot, is mustered and review'd by some of the members of the Grand-Council: For they have now Horses in abundance, which were first brought from Persia, and have multiplied prodigiously. The Company have a free stable of Horses, for the use of the Governor and the rest of their officers: Some of their Horses are fit for the coach; but the most are Saddle-Horses.

The Dutch East-India Company, 'tis said, are still at the expence of forty thousand pounds annually, in maintaining this settlement at the Cape; and all they receive from thence yet, does but barely pay them their charges; tho' it is observable, that they do not allow their Governor above four or five hundred pounds a year, and the rest of their officers proportionably.

The revenues of the Cape.

The revenues which repay the Company's expences, arise either from the tenths they reserve on all the lands they grant, or from the duties the Company lay on the produce of the Cape, and such merchandize as is carried thither, particularly on Wine, Brandy, Tobacco, Beer, Mum, &c. or by the merchandize they themselves annually send to the Cape, which yields them a profit of 75 per

VOL. III. NUMB. CVI.

Cent. and this very near enables them to ballance their accounts: But, as the colonies are continually encreasing, and improving their lands, it will probably yield them a considerable profit in a few years more.

CHAP.
IV.

The Company usually fetch the slaves they employ at the Cape, from the island of Madagascar, which lies a little to the eastward of the continent of Africa. The Dutch represent them as a perverse, stubborn generation, that are not to be dealt with but by the severest discipline and punishments: Certain it is, their masters use them as if they were the worst of the human species. KOLBEN relates, that some of these slaves, running away when he was there, the ringleaders were taken and broken alive upon the wheel, and yet they shew'd no manner of concern, or uttered a single groan at their execution: That after their bones were shattered to pieces by the blows of the executioner, they were taken alive from that wheel, and stretched upon another, where they continued alive a considerable time, and yet never cry'd out or murmur'd in this exquisite torture to the last.

The Companies slaves there.

Another of these Madagascar slaves was condemn'd to be roasted alive, for attempting to burn his master's house; which was executed upon him in this manner: He was chain'd to a post; after which a great fire was made round about him, and he run round the post, till being almost roasted by the scorching heat of the flames, he dropp'd down, crying out in the Portuguese, *Dior mio Pay! O God my Father!* and soon after died, without making any other complaint.

From these two instances, every one must admire the spirit and courage of the natives of Madagascar, who can meet death in the most terrible shapes, with so much resignation and composure: But that they must at the same time detest and abhor the tyranny and cruelty of the Hollanders, that can thus inhumanly torture their own species. These people, probably, were born free, stolen from their friends, and sold to the Hollanders, who make them serve with rigour. The first offence, it appears, was only an endeavour to escape from their barbarous task-masters, for which they were broke alive, and kept in the most exquisite pain, till the extremity of it put an end to their wretched lives; not being indulged, like other malefactors, with the Coup de Grace, the favourable blow, to put an end to their pain. The last was roasted alive, for an attempt to fire a house; and who knows the provocation his master had given? Surely, every one may thank God he does not live under the tyranny of the Dutch republick, who will not be satisfied with the bare forfeiture of life, for scarce any offence, but require the party should feel the most exquisite misery that human nature can sustain; and with whom the bare suspicion only of a person's conspiracy against their state, is look'd upon as a sufficient evidence for putting him to the torture, and depriving him of life, estate, and all that he has in the world: Witness the usage the English themselves met with from the Dutch at Amboyna. This is the happy government, that our Whigs so much admire, and what they have made such strenuous efforts to introduce in Great-Britain!

I proceed in the next place to treat of the husbandry of the Dutch in their settlements at the Cape; the three principal branches whereof are, 1. Grazing: The management of their Arable lands; and 3. The cultivation of their Vineyards.

The husbandry of the Dutch at the Cape.

CHAP.

IV.

Their
cattle.

The Government usually contract with four substantial men, to furnish the Company's officers and servants at the Cape, and the company's shipping that touches at the Cape, with beef and mutton; and these Graziers are obliged to keep great numbers of cattle, both Sheep and Oxen, always fat, to answer the sudden demand there is often for them, upon the arrival of a fleet. The Cape Oxen are pretty large, weighing commonly five or six hundred pound, and sometimes a great deal more: Their Cows furnish the Grazier and Farmer with milk and butter for their houses, and some for sale. The mutton of the Cape is good; but what is most remarkable in the Sheep, is, that they have rather hair than wool on their backs, and their tails are of such a length and thickness, that they weigh from fifteen to twenty pound; and they have some Persian Sheep, the tails whereof weigh thirty pound and upwards. There are prodigious herds both of great and small cattle, in all the Dutch settlements, besides those that belong to the Hottentots; among which the wild beasts frequently make terrible havock. The Tyger kills great numbers at a time, for the sake of sucking of their blood, not much regarding the flesh; and there are packs of wild Dogs that will worry the Sheep of a whole flock, when they get in amongst them. But it is observed of the Lion, that he contents himself with carrying off a single carcase, and scarce ever does any mischief to the rest. The cattle smell a wild beast at a great distance, and immediately run for it, when they discover him; but the small cattle usually suffer most, as the larger have the heels of them.

The soil.

The soil at the Cape is exceeding fruitful, and gives great encouragement to the Husbandman. Whether a piece of ground is design'd for a garden, a vineyard, or corn-field, they always plough it up in the first place, and clear it of weeds. Their ploughs have two unequal wheels; that which goes next the furrow being much larger than the other; and their ploughs are drawn only by Oxen, tho' they have great numbers of Persian horses. These are rather too small for drawing, and never used either in plough or cart. They put sometimes five pair of Oxen to a plough, the soil is so very heavy at some times, and so hard at others; and they have frequently almost as many drivers as Oxen.

Their seasons for
plough-
ing, sow-
ing, &c.

The Farmer, here, dungs his land, if it wants it (tho' a great deal of it wants no manure) in April and in May, and, after some rain has fallen, begins to plough. Their seed-time begins in June, in the lowlands, and in July, when more rain has fallen on the hills; and he has seldom done sowing till August; the latter end of which month, and part of September, is spent in pruning his Vines, and dunging them: In October, the Vineyards are weeded, and, after that, the corn-fields: In December, all their grain is ripe; and our Christmas is the height of their harvest. In January they tread out their corn in the fields, and in February they carry it to the Company's magazines, where they receive ready money for all they don't use themselves. They sow almost all manner of grain, but Oats and Lentils; but these are so apt to be shaffer'd before harvest, by the tempestuous weather, that they scarce receive their seed again.

The crop of grain sometimes suffers by the mildew as with us; and the Elephants do them a great deal of mischief when they get into a corn-field, devouring some, and treading down more: The Elk, Deer and Wild-goats also do them some damage, as well as birds and insects, which swarm pretty much at the Cape: However, with all their losses they

have generally enough for their use, and a great deal to sell, which is laid up in the Company's granaries, and some of it sent as far as Batavia.

CHAP.

IV.

One bushel of Wheat at the Cape, 'tis said, yields an encrease of thirty or forty bushels; a bushel of Barley, fifty or sixty, and sometimes seventy bushels; a bushel of Peas from thirty to sixty; and a bushel of Beans, from twenty to twenty-five: Tho' sometimes their Peas and Beans suffer so much by the Locusts, that they yield scarce any thing. They never thresh their corn, but tread it out in the field with Oxen or Horses on a hard round floor prepar'd for the purpose, about ten yards diameter, at the extremity whereof the corn is laid, and the cattle drove round over it, the sheaves being turned from time to time till it is all trodden out. As the Oxen and Horses frequently dung amongst the corn when they tread it, the husbandmen separate this filth from it after it is dry'd in the sun: Thus they get all their corn trodden out by their cattle within the space of a month, which would take them up a whole winter to thresh; and when the corn is trodden out, they fan or winnow the chaff from it, and afterwards use a sieve or skreen, as the Europeans do, to clear it of sand and dirt.

They
tread out
their corn.

From their Corn, I proceed to give some account of the Cape Wine, of late so much admired in Europe: It was a great while, it seems, before they rais'd any considerable Vineyards: They carried thither at first, indeed, Vine-stocks from the banks of the Rhine, and from Persia, in small parcels, which grew pretty well, and furnish'd them with Grapes for eating; but they did not pretend to make any quantities of Wine, till a certain German taught them to take the prunings of their Vines, and cut them in small pieces of half a foot in length, and sow them in fields plough'd up for that purpose. They follow'd his directions; the prunings of the Vines grew, sending out shoots at every knot; by which means they were soon furnish'd with as many stocks or plants as they had occasion for; and, removing them from these nurseries, they planted them in other grounds in rows, the Vines at the distance of two foot and a half from each other, and the rows at the distance of three foot and a half, the land being first prepared by ploughing it: And now there is scarce a cottage in the Cape settlements but has its vineyards, which produces Wine enough for the family, and some for sale; tho' sometimes their Vines receive damage from the mildew, and at others from Locusts. And there is still a little black worm, that is a greater enemy to them than either of the former: This insect eats a hole in the knot of the Vine, whereby the bud perishes; but they employ their slaves in taking these worms every morning, whereby they prevent a great deal of mischief. Their Vines also receive considerable damage sometimes by the south-east winds, which break off the branches laden with the finest clusters of Grapes; for which reason they do not let them run up on poles, or the walls of houses, as in Europe, but endeavour to prevent their rising above three foot from the ground. Their vintage begins the latter end of February, and continues all the month of March; tho' they have some Grapes ripe in January; but these they dry and eat, observing that the Wine made of them will not keep.

The culti-
vation of
their
Vines.

Their Wines are put into vessels when they are taken out of the Wine-press; and, when they have stood some time, are rack'd off from the lees; then letting them stand three or four months longer, they are fin'd with ising-glass, and sometimes hot sand is thrown in afterwards; and, when the Wines are fine, they

The ma-
nagement
of their
Wines.

CHAP. IV. they stop them up close, only giving them vent when the Vines are in blossom, or they will foment and endanger breaking the cask. They put their Wine also every year into fresh casks, and fill them up to the bung, keeping them sometimes till they are three or four years old; but are generally forc'd to dispose of them every year for want of casks to keep them in, which are very scarce at the Cape, there being no pipe-staves but what are brought from Holland. They have both red and white Wines; but the greatest plenty of white, which, if kept two years, has much the flavour of Canary.

Their kitchen gardens.

Besides a vineyard, every house almost has its kitchen-garden, in which there are all the roots and herbs that grow in the kitchen-gardens of Europe; and indeed they are supply'd from time to time with their seeds from thence; for it is observ'd, their plants degenerate the third year, so as to be good for little: However, while they do last, their plants are larger and sweeter than those of Europe; the head of a Cabbage, at its full growth, weighing thirty or forty pound, and the head of a Colliflower as much, the seeds whereof are brought from Cyprus and Savoy: Their Melons also are of an exceeding fine flavour, and larger and wholesomer than those of Europe: Cucumbers are likewise very plentiful, and are reckon'd wholesome here; and all these things are rais'd without glassies or hot-beds, their summers being exceeding hot, and winters moderate: Their Potatoes are very large, weighing from six to ten pound; these they brought from India, and they are exceeding good.

Fruit-trees.

They have scarce any fruit-tree the natural product of the country, at least such as the Europeans care to taste of; tho' the Hottentots eat some of them: However, those that are remov'd thither from Europe or Asia come to great perfection, the fruit being reckon'd much better than in the countries from whence they were brought. Here is the Apricot, the Peach, the Quince, the Fig and many more, which are produc'd in the Cape soil; only by setting a twig of any of these trees in the ground, they immediately take root, and grow up into trees in a very short space: Others are inoculated and grafted on old stocks, and thrive apace; the fruit of four years growth being most esteem'd. And here I shall take an opportunity of adding something to the description already given of the Company's fine garden at the Cape town, which takes up nineteen acres of ground. Here are to be found the most delicious fruits of Asia and Europe growing within squares of Bay-hedges, so high and thick, that the storms coming off the ocean can prejudice them but little; and these hedges afford a most refreshing shade in the hot season. In this garden also is a fine grove of Chestnut-trees that the sun can't penetrate, and secur'd against the blustering winds that infest this shore. Here also we meet with Peaches, Pomegranates, Citrons, Lemons, Oranges, with the apples and pears of Europe intermix'd, all excellent in their kind; and here we see the crimson Japan Apples, which, intermix'd with the green leaves, appear exceeding beautiful. They have great variety of Figs in this garden; but those most admir'd are the Pisang Figs, that grow upon a plant which dies as soon as the fruit comes to maturity, and next year a new plant arises from the same root: It has no stock; but the leaves, which are seven ells long, and about half as broad, twine round each other, and form a kind of barrel instead of a stock; the Figs are blue and large. Here also grows the Indian Guavos, perfectly round, and of the bigness of a Crab-apple: It is a most delicious wholesome fruit,

Company's garden.

cover'd with a tender green skin, and within full of seeds, which alone are a remedy against the Flux (the reigning disease of hot countries.)

CHAP. IV.

I shall just mention some other vegetables, which are the natural product of the Hottentot countries; and first the Aloe, of which there are various kinds that grow upon the rocks, some of them in blossom all the year round; the flowers whereof are white, red or speckled.

Plants that grow in the Hottentot country.

The African dwarf Almond, with narrow leaves and double flesh-colour'd flowers, the Almonds whereof are exceeding bitter; however, the Hottentots eat them, after they are boil'd in several waters.

The Arum Ethiopicum is also found here, having a large round root, which bites and enflames the tongue to a very great degree; and yet the Hottentots eat it instead of bread, after they have boil'd it in several waters, dried it in the sun, and broiled it.

The prickly wild African Asparagus abounds in the low grounds; the stalks whereof are of a grass-green, and very tender, and taste like European Asparagus; and these the Hottentots supply the Dutch with in great plenty, not caring for Asparagus themselves.

The African Night sweet-scented Crane's-bill also is met with here; a twig of which, with two or three flowers upon it, will perfume a whole room; it is commonly call'd Night-flower at the Cape: There are several sorts of them, most of which keep close shut from sun-rise to sun-set. Here also is the African Jasmine, with single leaves and flowers like the common Jasmine.

The African Shrub, with Laurel leaves; the branches being numerous, and very close together, they serve like Box for borders in the Company's gardens.

The Honey-flowers, so call'd from the sweet juice that distils from them, are eaten both by Europeans and Hottentots. And here is the African Ironwood, so call'd, because it is as hard as iron, and will sink, if thrown into water.

The lesser African Sisyrrinchium, with a large variegated flower, is found here. It has a root that eats like a Chestnut, and is as large as a Potatoe; some of them white, others red, and a third sort black, all of them of a delicious taste, and very plentiful at the Cape in September, and the three following months.

Here also is the African sweet-scented Spiraea, with hairy leaves, call'd by the Hottentots, Buchu. Towards the end of the summer, when these leaves begin to wither, the Hottentots gather and dry them in the sun; and, having pulveriz'd them, powder their hair and skins on all festivals and rejoicing times with the dust, which is of the colour of gold. They look upon this powder also as a remedy for the head-ach.

There is a dwarf-tree at the Cape, call'd by the Dutch Cripplewood, with crooked knotty branches; the leaves broad, thick and tough, and shaped like those of the Apple-tree; the fruit something like the Pine-apple; the bark is thick and wrinkled, and used by the Tanners at the Cape; and the Physicians pulverize it, and give it their patients in Dysenteries.

There is a root also in this country, which the Hottentots call Kanna, and will give almost any thing to purchase it, a little of it raising the spirits to a very high degree, and is compared to the Ginseng of the Chinese, which the reader will meet with an account of in the first volume of the *Modern History*.

There

CHAP.
IV.

There grows a tree in this country also, called by the Europeans Stinkwood, from the nauseous scent it gives at the first cutting and hewing of it; but its smell goes off after it has lain and dried some time. It is beautifully clouded, and used by the Dutch Joiners for tables and cabinets; and the wood is also used as a medicine in some distempers.

Exotick
plants.

The Dutch have also introduced several exotick or foreign trees and plants from Asia, Europe and America; and particularly the Fir-tree, which was first brought to the Cape about the year 1690, and planted in the Company's garden, being then about three foot high, and now they are forty feet in height.

Three or four sorts of Almond-trees also have been brought hither, which bear fruit once in three years; and, as they have large plantations of them, yield the Dutch a considerable profit.

The Ananas or Pine-apple, a most delicious fruit also, is planted in their gardens, being of American extraction. If a woman eats of this fruit before it is ripe, it will make her miscarry, 'tis said: What the fruit was, that tempted the first woman to transgress in Paradise, is uncertain; but a more tempting fruit than this is hardly to be met with in the world.

We see in their kitchen-gardens also, red and white Beets, red and white Cabbages and Colliflowers: And here we meet with four sorts of Camphire-trees, the best whereof were transplanted from Borneo, the other three came from Sumatra, China, and Japan, and soon grow to the bigness of a Walnut-tree; the leaves of a grass-green, and being rubbed between the fingers, smell strong of Camphire.

A great deal of Hemp also is raised here; the stalk whereof is almost as strong as wood. The Hottentots smother the seeds and leaves of it as they do Tobacco, and sometimes mix it with their Tobacco: And here the Cardus Benedictus, or blessed Thistle, thrives, and the Clove-gilliflowers, which were brought from Holland: But the plant of the greatest Importance is the Cinnamon-tree they have transplanted from Ceylon. This, it seems, the Dutch can raise in almost any soil or climate; and yet the rest of the European nations scarce attempt to transplant it, at least to any purpose: The English African company have one of them indeed, in a garden belonging to one of their forts, on the coast of Guinea; and the Portuguese have planted a walk of them in the same country; but, 'tis said, they durst not proceed any farther, lest the Dutch should come and take away their country and plantations from them. But I hope this is not the case of the English; we are not yet so much under the dominion of the Dutch, that we dare not cultivate the fine spices in our own plantations: And yet one would think we were afraid of them, or we should never purchase Cinnamon of the Hollander, at what price he is pleased to set upon it, and never attempt to raise this plant ourselves. Our East-India Merchants possibly are still frightened at the tortures their predecessors suffered under the Dutch at Amboyna; and therefore are determined to sit down contented under the loss of that valuable branch of their commerce, which the Hollander, by the most barbarous violence, deprived the English of. But to give some description of the Cinnamon-tree: The outward bark is rough, and good for nothing; but this being taken away, there is a tender inward bark of a dark green colour, which being cut off, and dried in the sun,

turns brown, as we see it here: Within three years the tree recovers itself again, so as to yield another crop; and the oftner it is peeled, the better the Cinnamon is, till the tree grows very old.

It is needless to specify every plant the Dutch have brought to the Cape, having already observed, that there is scarce any fruit-tree, flower-root, or herb, that is of any great value, in Europe or Asia, but the Dutch have transplanted, and which flourish in great abundance in their colonies here, unless it be Cloves and Nutmegs, and such plants as require a warmer sun; and therefore I shall proceed, in the next place, to treat of the animals that are found in this part of Africa, and first of their quadrupeds.

Quadrupeds.

The Lion is frequently seen here, whose strength and stately gait have obtained him the title of the king of beasts: His shin-bones, 'tis said, after they are dried, are as hard and solid as a flint, and used in the same manner to strike fire with: When he falls upon man or beast, he first knocks them down with his paw, and deprives his prey of all sensation, before ever he touches it with his teeth, roaring most terribly at the time he gives the mortal blow. KOLBEN relates, that when he resided at the Cape, a Soldier, who stood centinel before his Officer's tent, was thus knocked down by a Lion, and carried off: And that he knew another Lion knock down a middle-sized Ox, and jump over a brick wall with him of a considerable height. When a Lion is enraged or hungry, he creeps and shakes his dreadful mane, and lashes his back and sides with his tail, threatening destruction to all that come in his way; but this the traveller seldom discovers, till 'tis too late to avoid him; for the noble brute frequently lies lurking in thickets and bushes, till his prey approaches pretty near him; but if he does not shake his mane, or move his tail, 'tis said, a traveller may easily pass by him. A Horse will run full speed, if ever he sees a Lion; and, if he has a rider upon his back, will endeavour to throw him, to get away the faster: And, indeed the best thing a traveller can do in such a case, is to quit his horse; for the Lion will follow the Horse, and pass by his master. I am almost afraid to relate another story after Mr. KOLBEN, though he be a traveller of as good credit, as most I have met with; for, as he did not see the adventure, perhaps he was imposed upon. The passage is this: He says, two brisk young fellows, walking in the fields near the Cape, a Lion rushed on them from his covert, aiming at one of them the mortal blow; but the fellow, jumping nimbly on one side, the Lion missed him: Whereupon the man caught hold of his main with one hand, and running the other into his mouth, held the beast fast by the tongue, till his comrade shot him: But, as I observed before, I must leave the story on this reverend gentleman's credit, who relates it as tho' he believed it himself; however he might be imposed upon. He adds, that he has eaten of the flesh of a Lion several times; that it tastes something like venison, and is very innocent food. It is needless to give a particular description of this noble animal, since we never are without some of the species here in England.

The Tyger and Leopard also are among the wild beasts at the Cape: They are very much alike, only the Tyger is larger, and distinguished by rings of black hair, enclosing yellow spots; whereas the black streaks of a Leopard are of the form of a crescent, with an opening: The heads of both are much like that of a Cat, and they have terrible whiskers: They seldom run fairly at their prey, but

The Ty-
wild beasts at the Cape: They are very much alike, &c.

CHAP.
IV.

but lie concealed in covert, and jump upon it as a Cat does upon a Mouse: The flesh of both is very white and tender, and, according to some, preferable to veal. Sir EDWARD WINTER, Governor of Fort St. George in the East-Indies, was surprized by a Tyger as he was hunting; but, as the beast flew up at him, he grasped the creature so close in his arms that it could not breathe; and, falling with the Tyger into a pond, he drowned the brute, without receiving any manner of harm; for which King CHARLES II. knighted him, at his return to England; and the family have ever since carried a Tyger in their arms. Mr. KOLBEN also relates, that one BOWMAN, a Burgher at the Cape, walking alone in the fields, a Tyger leaped up at his throat; but the Dutchman seizing the brute and struggling with him upon the ground, and drawing a knife out of his pocket, cut the Tyger's throat; but was himself so grievously torn and wounded, that it was a great while before he recovered. He tells us also, that when he was at the Cape in 1708, an he and the Leopard, with three young ones, entered a Sheep-fold; and having killed and sucked the blood of near a hundred Sheep, tore a carcass in three pieces, and gave each of their young ones a piece: After which, each of the old Leopards took a carcass, and were marching off; but being way-laid by the owners and their servants with arms, the female and the three young ones were killed; but the male broke through, and made his escape.

The Elephant.

The Elephants of this part of Africa, KOLBEN says are larger than those of any other country (but I believe he is mistaken, those of Pegu and Siam are said to be larger.) Their teeth weigh from sixty to one hundred and twenty pound; and their strength is scarce to be conceived. KOLBEN says, one of them being yoked to a ship at the Cape, that was careening there, fairly drew it along the Strand: They are from twelve to fifteen foot in height, and some say a great deal more; the female is much less than the male, and has its breasts or dugs between its fore-legs: Their usual food is grass, herbs, and roots, and the tender twigs of trees and shrubs; and, if they meet with a corn-field, they will devour a great deal of the grain, as has been related already: They pull up every thing with their trunk, which serves as a hand to feed themselves; and with this they suck up water, and empty it into their mouths: But, having described these animals already, in treating of India, in the first Volume of *Modern History*, it is unnecessary to say more of them here.

The Rhinoceros.

The Rhinoceros also is to be met with at the Cape. This animal is something less than the Elephant, but of equal, if not greater strength; at least, the Elephant runs away and avoids him, whenever he discovers him: His skin resembles that of the Elephant, being without hair; of a dark ash-colour, inclining to black, and so hard that scarce any weapon will pierce it; but he is not armed with scales, as our Painters frequently represent him; tho' the scars and scratches he gets by forcing his way thro' the thick woods, look something like scales at a distance: He has a snout like a Hog; upon which there grows a solid horn, of a dark-grey colour, that turns upwards a little, being from a foot to two foot in length; with this, when he is enraged, he rends up the earth, and tosses it over his head, as he does the stones that lie in his way, throwing them to a great distance behind him: On his fore-head he has another convex-horn, almost of the shape and size of a hat-crown: He has the

sense of smelling very quick; and when he has the scent of his prey in the wind, forces his way to it, in a direct line, thro' the thickest woods, tearing up every thing that obstructs his passage, grunting as he goes like a Hog; but is discovered the soonest by his throwing about the stones, and breaking his way through the thickets: He seldom falls upon a man, unless he has a red coat on; and then he attacks him with all his fury, flinging him over his head with such force, that he is killed, or rendered insensible, by the fall; and then, according to KOLBEN, with his rough prickly tongue licks the flesh off his bones: His eyes are very small, and he looks only right forward, not easily turning his neck; and though he is pretty swift of foot, a traveller, by a sudden turn, may avoid him; for then he loses sight of the man. Our reverend author assures us, he has experienced this himself, having met a Rhinoceros more than once in all his fury: But this does not seem to agree with the observation Mr. KOLBEN makes just before, that a Rhinoceros would not attack a man unless he was in a red coat; for, I presume, this reverend writer wore black. The Rhinoceros does not feed much on grass; but delights more in Broom, Shrubs, or Thistles. The flesh of this beast is frequently eaten; and his horn, his skin, and his blood are used in medicine: The horn, KOLBEN assures us, from his own experience, will not endure the touch of poison: They make cups of it at the Cape, tipped with gold and silver; and if wine be poured into one of them, it will immediately rise and bubble up, as if it boiled; and if there be poison in it, the cup will split: If poison be put into one of these cups alone, it immediately flies in pieces. They carefully preserve the very chippings of the horn, being esteemed a great remedy in Convulsions, Fainting-fits, and other diseases. The blood also is dried and preserved by their Physicians, being of great service in obstructions.

There are wild Dogs, not unlike English Wild Hounds, that hunt in packs near the Cape, without a Huntsman, or any thing to direct them but their appetites; chasing almost every thing that falls in their way; even Lions and Tygers are sometimes attacked by them, and overpowered by their numbers: They will hurt no man, and travellers are very glad to see them, being assured there are no wild beasts near the place where they are. Both the Dutch and the Hottentots follow these Dogs, when they see them chasing their prey; which, when, they have run down, they will suffer any man to take it from them, without snarling: The flesh the Hottentots get by this means they eat, and the Dutch salt it up, and give it to their slaves. But as much friends as these Dogs are to Men, they worry and kill greater numbers of their Sheep than any other wild animals, if the Shepherds happen to be out of the way. KOLBEN relates, he has known them worry above fourscore at a time in one flock; tho' they don't eat up more than five or six perhaps.

There are two sorts of Wolves at the Cape; the one like the European Wolf, and the other called the Tyger-wolf, supposed to be begot between a Tyger and a Wolf: His head is broad like a Bulldog's; his nose and eyes large; his hair shagged, and spotted like a Tyger's: He has large claws, which he draws in like a Cat, and a short tail; keeps all day in his den, and preys only in the night; when he keeps such a dismal howling, that he frequently alarms the Hottentot Dogs, who drive him

CHAP.
IV.

away; but if he gets into a flock of Sheep he usually kills two or three of them; and, having eaten as much as he cares for, carries off a carcase. The Lion, as well as the Leopard and Tyger, frequently hunt these Wolves, and tear them to pieces if they catch them.

Buffaloes.

There are great numbers of Buffaloes in the Hottentot countries, larger than the Buffaloes of Europe; being of a brownish red, and having short horns that turn inwards, and almost meet: Their hides are so hard and tough, that a musket-ball will scarce enter them; if a gun be let off at a Buffaloe, he will run with the utmost rage at the man that fires it; neither fire nor water will stop him. KOLBEN relates, that one of these creatures jump'd into the sea after a man that had attack'd him; and he had no way to escape but by diving, till the enraged beast lost sight of him. The flesh of a Buffaloe is not so tender as that of an Ox.

The Elk.

The Elk is also found in the Hottentot countries: He is about five foot in height; has a fine slender neck, and a beautiful head, not much unlike that of a Deer: His horns are about a foot long, rough and twisted towards the lower part; but smooth and pointed at the ends: The hair of his body smooth and soft, and of an ash-colour; his legs long and slender, and his tail about a foot long: His flesh is good either roasted or boil'd, and much like tender beef: He frequents the mountains, and will climb the steepest rocks with great celerity; but sometimes comes down into the valleys, and does considerable mischief to the gardens of the Europeans, who thereupon set traps for the beast, or shoot him.

A fine wild
Ass.

The European Asses are common at the Cape; but there is another wild animal, which goes by the name of an Ass, which has nothing like that creature but his long ears; for he is a well-made, beautiful, lively beast; of the size of an ordinary saddle-Horse; his hair soft and sleek; and there runs on the ridge of his back a black streak, from his mane to his tail; and, from the ridge of his back down to his belly, fall several streaks of various colours, forming so many circles: His head, ears, mane and tail also have streaks of white and brown; and he is thought to exceed a Horse in swiftness: Such of them as are taken alive, are sold at an extravagant price; but there is no instance of their being broke for the saddle, or for any other use: It is their beauty, and the difficulty of taking them alive, that makes them so much valued. KOLBEN says, he has seen great numbers of them running wild in the Hottentot countries.

Goats.

The common Roe-buck and the European Goat also are found here; but they have another Goat, of a fine blue colour, and as large as a Red Deer; his beard is long and graceful; his legs long; his horns not so long as those of the common Goat, but finely turn'd in rings till near the point: Their flesh is said to be pretty good, but lean; and they are oftner killed for their skins, than for food.

There are another sort of Goats, not much differing in size or shape from the former; spotted red, white and brown: Their beards also very long, and of a brown red.

There is still a third sort of the same size, with a streak of white from head to tail on their backs, and other white streaks crossing this, and running down on each side; the hair on all other parts of the bodies grey, with little touches of red, and long grey beards. The flesh of these is said to exceed that of venison.

Hogs.

The Dutch have replenish'd their settlements with European Hogs, as well as those of the Indian black

breed without bristles, whose bellies almost touch the ground: They have very few wild Hogs like those in Europe; but there is another sort called an Earth-hog, from his digging himself a den, and lying commonly under ground; of a red colour, and toothless; for which reason, 'tis said, he feeds chiefly upon Ants, which he catches in this manner: He lays himself down among their little hills, and putting out his tongue, which is of an unreasonable length, the Ants get upon it; and, being so clammy that they can't get off again, he lies still till he has got a good number, and then draws it in and swallows them: After which he lays the same bait for more. Both Europeans and Hottentots frequently hunt him; he is a poor defenceless creature, having neither teeth or claws, and is easily knock'd down with an ordinary club.

The Porcupine is another animal very common at the Cape; the body of it about three foot long, and two foot high: His head and feet resemble a hare's, and his ears are not unlike those of a Man; when he is bowel'd, he weighs about twenty pound. But what is most remarkable in this animal, is a wood of quills, with which his back and every part of him, except his belly, is cover'd: They are about the length of a Goose-quill; but straight, hard and without feathers, and, growing less and less from the middle to the end, terminate in a sharp point, the longest being towards his rump: These quills lie close to his body, unless when he is attack'd by man or beast; and then he sets them up and appears of a round form, not much unlike a Hedge-hog, enclosed with his bristles, and, like the Parthian, fights retiring from the foe, at whom he shoots his pointed quills, till he is almost naked; but can give no dangerous wounds, unless he happens to hit his pursuers in the eyes: His quills might possibly stick in the flesh of a naked man; but not go deep enough to do him any considerable mischief. The Europeans frequently set him down in an enclosed yard or garden, and run after him in sport, till the creature has shot away all his quills at them: The flesh of a Porcupine is well tasted, and esteem'd wholesome food.

They have large Monkeys or Baboons in the Hottentot countries; but these are animals so well known every where, that they need not a particular description. They frequently rob the Dutch gardens at the Cape in troops; which, 'tis said, they manage with a great deal of artifice, setting their centinels at every avenue, to prevent surprize, and planting a line of their comrades, from the orchard, or garden, to the hills: That they toss the fruit from one to the other, and thereby make a surprizing dispatch in pilfering a garden. When their centinels discover any person approaching, they set up a great cry, and alarm the rest, who immediately take to their heels; and, if there be any young ones amongst 'em, they jump upon the backs of the old ones, and are carried off: But, 'tis said, they sometimes get so drunk in robbing a vineyard, that they are easily taken. The Dutch frequently tame these animals, which serve them in the place of House-dogs, and are extremely watchful in the night-time.

There are some wild Horses in the Hottentot countries; but I don't find any of them have been tam'd or broke by the Dutch. They had indeed brought over Persian Horses, before they discover'd them; which are multiplied to that degree, that some European planters have two or three hundred of the Persian breed, and many of them thirty or forty. These Persian Horses are generally small, and of a chestnut colour.

There

CHAP.

IV.

Sea Cow.

There is a creature at the Cape also, call'd by the Dutch a Sea-cow; but it always feeds on grass ashore (according to KOLBEN) and only runs into the sea for its security. The head of this animal resembles rather that of a Horse, than a Cow, and is called by several writers a Sea-horse. KOLBEN assures us, it is as large as a Rhinoceros, and of the same colour; but the legs something shorter. The nostrils of the creature are very large, out of which it spouts water when it rises out of the sea, or from the bottom of a river: The legs are short, and all of a thickness, and the hoof is not cloven: The tail is like that of an Elephant, with very little hair on it; and it has no hair at all on the body: The female suckles its young ones, as another Cow does. KOLBEN relates, that he has frequently seen them suckle their Calves, which were about the size of ordinary Sheep. The skin of a Sea-cow is tough, and near an inch thick, so that a musket-ball will scarce penetrate it; and therefore they usually aim at the head, which may be fractured by a bullet.

On each under-jaw this animal has two large teeth, or tusks, the one straight, and the other crooked, about the thickness of a Cow's-horn, and running a foot and a half out of its mouth; these teeth weigh, each of them about ten pound, and are exceeding white, and never change yellow, as the ivory of Elephants teeth does, and therefore are more valuable.

The Sea-cow, raising her head above the water, smells a Man at a considerable distance; and, if she perceives any one near the shore, drives down again, spouting up the water from her nostrils like a Whale: After which, she goes to the bottom, and does not come up again a great while: Therefore, if a man discovers the head of the beast above water, he must fire that instant; she certainly dives out of his reach, if she turns her head towards him. When she is wounded in a river, or near the sea-shore, they follow her in boats by the blood; and, with hooks and grappling-irons, fish up the carcase, which is said to be a good load for a waggon: the flesh of this creature is so much admired by the Dutch at the Cape, that they will give twelve or fifteen pence a pound for it: The leaf and other fat is valued as much as the lean, being melted and used like butter in cookery, and some eat it with bread. It is reckoned also an excellent remedy in case of a surfeit, or a redundancy of humours. This animal has been conjectured by some of the learned, to be the Behemoth in Job; while others take the Whale, the Elephant, or the Rhinoceros, for the Behemoth; the ancients called it the Hippopotamus.

The Stink-bingsem, as the Dutch call it, seems to be an animal peculiar to the Hottentot country, and to have obtained its name from the stinking scents it emits from its posteriors; which are such, that neither man or beast can bear them. This is the creature's best defence when it is pursued: The very Dogs will desert the chase, rub their noses, and howl when the beast lets fly; and a man is perfectly stifled with the nauseous stench. The Dutch sometimes shoot it, but no-body dares take it up; for it has been found, that, if a person but touch the carcase, all the washing in the world will not sweeten him again for some time; and no man living can bear him in his company.

The Stink-bingsem.

From the four-footed animals, I proceed to describe some of the most remarkable of the feather'd race, in the Hottentot countries; and first their Eagles. There is one sort of them, which the

Dutch call the Dung-bird, from his tearing out the guts and entrails of animals. If these Eagles find an Ox or Cow laid down, they fall upon the beast in great numbers, make a hole in the belly of it with their bills and talons, and perfectly scoop out the inside of it, leaving nothing but a bare skeleton covered with the hide. The feathers of these Eagles are most of them black; but some of a light grey: The body of one of them is something larger than a wild Goose, and the bills large, and bent like a Hawk's. When these birds are looking for their prey, they mount up almost out of sight; and, when they have discovered it, they fall down upon the animal in an instant, and, by their numbers, overpower the largest cattle.

They have another Eagle in the Hottentot countries, called by the Europeans Aquila Anatoria, or the Duck-eagle, because he preys upon the Ducks: And there is still a third sort, called the Bone or shell-breaker, that delights in the flesh of the Land-tortoise. When this Eagle has seized one of these animals, he carries the unfortunate captive up a great height; and, letting his prey fall upon a rock, breaks the shell in pieces, and has no more trouble in getting at the meat.

There is an excellent beautiful fowl at the Cape, called by the Dutch Flamingos, and by Mr. RAY, *Flamingo*, *Phœnicopterus*, larger than a Swan, and its head and neck as white as snow. The upper part of the wings are of a flame colour, and the lower black: The legs longer than those of a Hern, and web-footed like a Goose: They fish in ponds and rivers in the day-time, and at night retire to the hills: They are frequently killed by the Europeans at the Cape, their flesh being esteemed very good. Here are also abundance of wild Geese, that are very easily taken; and their flesh so good, that tame Geese are in no esteem at the Cape.

There is no country that abounds more in Ostriches than that near the Cape: This is the largest fowl we are acquainted with; the neck is very long, the bill short and pointed, the legs thick and strong; the feet cloven, with which they will strike a very smart blow; their feathers are sometimes black and sometimes white, and of a very great value in Europe, being exceeding ornamental: The eggs are as big as a child's head; the hen lays her eggs in the sand; but they are not hatch'd by the sand alone, as some have given out: 'Tis true, that the Ostrich covers up her eggs with the sand on the shore, till she sits; but then the cock and hen take it by turns to sit on the eggs, and very seldom leave them both at a time: Neither do they leave their young ones to shift for themselves when they are hatch'd; for their chickens cannot walk till some time after they are out of the shell: In this feeble state the old ones feed them, and, when they can run, if any person attacks their young ones with arms, the old ones have courage enough to retaliate the injury, and will put a man hard to it to defend himself. The Ostrich cannot fly, but, with the assistance of its wings, makes such speed when it is pursued, that a man must be well mounted to overtake it. It has been said, that an Ostrich will digest pieces of iron or pebble-stones; and it is true that an Ostrich will swallow them, but they always come out as they went in, without any alteration of the shape or size.

There are a great variety of Hawks in the Hottentot countries; but this being a sport the Dutch don't

CHAP.

IV.

Eagles.

Flamingo.

Wild Geese.

Ostriches.

Hawks.

CHAP.
IV.

don't seem to delight in, or the natives know any thing of, they are never tamed or taught to fly at game.

Pheasants. Pheasants are common at the Cape; and the way of taking them, according to **KOLBEN**, very particular: He says, that when they see them feeding, they advance behind a piece of canvas, on which a Pheasant is painted, and by this stratagem come so near the bird, that they can throw a net over it.

Other
Fowls.

They have also, in this part of Africa, Turkeys, Peacocks, Ducks, Snipes, Larks, Black-birds, Thrushes, Finches, Canary-birds, Pigeons, wild and tame Swallows, Sparrows, and almost every fowl and bird we meet with in Europe; but, as these are all well known, they need no particular description.

Reptiles
and in-
sects.

Serpents.

Of the reptiles and insects about the Cape of Good Hope their serpents are the largest, of which they have great variety; particularly the Asp, a serpent of an ash colour, speckled with red and yellow spots; the head and neck broad, and, near the eyes, a fleshy protuberance of the bigness of a Hazel-nut, some of them several yards in length.

The Eye-serpent, so called from light specks that appear like eyes on his black skin. This is also called sometimes the Dart-serpent, from its darting or shooting himself forward with great swiftness. There is also a Tree-serpent, which has obtained its name from winding itself round the branches of trees, which it so resembles in colour, that men are frequently bitten and surpriz'd by it, taking the creature for part of the tree.

The Dispass, so call'd from the violent thirst it occasions in those that are bitten by it, also is found here; as is the Cobree Capelle or Hairy-serpent, according to **KOLBEN**, which the reader will find described in the first volume of *Modern History*.

From the head of this serpent, it has been said, that the Bramines of India extract a stone, which will draw out the poison from a wound, if any person is bitten by a serpent; but others affirm, there is no such stone in this serpent's head, but what goes under the name of a Serpent-stone, is a composition; however it has certainly very strange effects. **KOLBEN** says, he saw it tried upon a child that was bitten by some poisonous animal, which swelled up the arm prodigiously; and the stone, being applied to the wound, stuck fast, drinking in the poison till it could receive no more, and then dropped off; and, after the stone was purged in milk, it was applied again, and this was repeated till all the poison was drawn out; after which, the arm soon healed.

But the most troublesome serpents here, are the House-serpents, so called from their delighting in houses; and, if they can, they will get into bed to a man, but will not attempt to bite, unless he happens to hurt them; and, if they do, their bite is not mortal: This Serpent is an inch and a half thick, and from an ell to a yard and a half in length.

There is also a very small Serpent, that harbours and lays its eggs in the thatch of houses. These are about a finger's length, and the thickness of a Goose-quill: The Water-Snake is of the same thickness, but about six inches long.

KOLBEN, speaking of their sea and river insects, mentions a Sea-flea, of the size and shape of a Shrimp, which fixes itself on fish, and stings

them intolerably: And of the Sea-louse, that resembles a Horse-fly, and will sting and suck a fish to death, if it can't rub them off. He speaks also of a great variety of Sea-worms, some a yard and a half in length; but does not acquaint us, whether they have any of those worms, which are so prejudicial to ships, which we meet with in the Straits, and in the East and West-Indies.

Among the land insects, according to **Mr. KOLBEN**, there are some Ants, that have wings, and fly; but, in nothing else, differ from the common creeping Ant. Their Bees are exactly like those in Europe; but the Dutch seldom hive them, having plenty of honey, on very easy terms, from the Hottentots, who take it in the woods, or on the tops of rocks, which is said to have a better flavour than that in hives: However, as the Hottentots put it into a half-dry'd skin, with the hair inwards; when the Dutch bring it to the Cape, the Dutchmen must have pretty good stomachs to eat it.

They swarm also with Flies in this part of Africa; many of which sting intolerably: And here are green Flies, which have exactly the same effect as Spanish Flies, and are used by their physicians in raising blisters.

The Gnats are exceeding troublesome at the Cape, and the Fleas are no less so, especially to the Hottentots, whose nastiness makes them multiply to that degree, that they are forced to remove their camp, and go to a new ground, to avoid them: It is, in a manner, part of the Dutch litany, it seems, "From Flies, Fleas and the winds, good Lord deliver us." But, as **KOLBEN** observes, when the winds begin to rise, it redeems them from the Plague of Flies, as well as the head-ach, and many other distempers they are afflicted with in calm weather.

The Grass-hoppers at the Cape, it seems, do a great deal of damage to their corn-fields, orchards and gardens; and to get rid of them, the Dutch sprinkle the grounds where they come, with water in which tobacco has been steeped; and this, **KOLBEN** assures us, will oblige them to quit the place.

As to Lice, the same writer relates, that, tho' the Hottentots swarm with them, they will not live with a European here, any more than in the East-Indies, or in any hot latitude; and, as for Head-lice, he observes, the Hottentots so load their hair with grease and Cow-dung, that they have none of that species: But I have observed in the East-Indies, that the heads of the natives there were very lousy, tho' neither they nor the Europeans had any on their bodies; and, according to Don **QUIXOT**'s observation to his man **SANCHO**, no body lousy ever passed the line alive: Tho' our Sailors swarm with them in cold voyages to the Baltick and the North, they never are troubled with these vermin in hot climates. Bugs, however, are a great torment to the Dutch at the Cape: The best remedy they have yet met with against them, is the painting their wainscots and bed-posts with oil colours, in which mercury is mixed; but this will not always do.

There are abundance of Scorpions at the Cape: They are between two and three inches long, of the thickness of a small finger, green and yellow, and carry their tails with a sting, open to view, upon their backs. This creature creeps very slowly, and may possibly have no inclination to mischief, never attempting to sting any one, unless it is in danger

CHAP.
IV.

CHAP.
IV.

danger of being crushed; but, if it does sting a man, the pain is equal to that he would receive from a hot iron clapt to the part for twelve hours; and makes him run out of his house like a mad Dog; but, about twelve hours after, the pain begins to abate, especially if some oil of Scorpion be applied to the wound. This I speak of the house Scorpion, that is found among dirt and rubbish; for the sting of the black Scorpion, that is found in woods, is said to be mortal.

There is also a little black Spider, of the bigness of a pea, at the Cape, whose bite is mortal. KOLBEN relates, that he knew a Negroe-slave killed by one of these insects; and that a European boy was put to a great deal of pain, and in danger of his life, by the bite of one of them; but was cured by the applying the Snake-stone to the wound, which sucked out all the poison.

Wasps are another plague in this country; but a brisk gale of wind, which they seldom want, drives these away, as well as the Flies. The Centapedes, or Hundred-legs, is another troublesome insect, his bite being as prejudicial as the sting of a Scorpion: It is about a finger's length, hairy, and a little thicker than a Goose-quill. The Snake-stone is a remedy against this poison also; and some say, a roasted onion will draw out the poison.

Weevils or Wholes, as the country farmers call them, abound here, and destroy abundance of corn in the granaries; inasmuch that they are forced to let them remain empty sometimes for several years. These insects also are found on ship-board, and soon spoil the biscuit when they get into it.

The Terra
de Natal in
Caffraria.

As to that part of Caffraria, which lies on the eastern side of Africa, and between the Hottentots nations on the south, and the Portuguese settlements of Zanguebar on the north, and usually called the Terra de Natal: The natives of this country are blacker than the Hottentots, and have been taught to cloath themselves more decently. They have also some buildings that may deserve the name of houses, and traffick with the Portuguese, and other European nations that touch on this coast, bringing gold and Elephants teeth from the inland countries, and bartering it for cloathing, strong liquors, utensils and toys. As to the Caffries upon the western coast, which lie between the Hottentots on the south, and the Portuguese colonies in Congo on the north; including the country of Mataman or Matapan, and extending to the 16th degree of south latitude: This is all a desert uninhabited coast, where no European nation has yet found it worth their while to settle colonies, or even factories, producing no article fit for commerce, or even necessary provisions; and consequently we can know no more of this coast, than its defects already mention'd. And, as for the inland countries of Monomotopa and Monomuegi, &c. which lie between the eastern and western coast, and have the Hottentots on the south, and the upper Ethiopia on the north; all that we know of them is, that the natives are Pagan Negroes, and sometimes bring their gold and Elephants teeth to those countries that border upon the sea; and that the natives of the south-east coast of Africa purchase these goods of inland people, and barter them again with the Europeans for cloathing, arms, utensils, toys, &c. I proceed therefore to the description of Congo, the greatest part whereof is at this day subject to the Portuguese.

The Caffries on the western coast.

Monomotopa and Monomuegi.

CHAP. V.

The present state of CONGO.

Containing the present state of the kingdoms of Congo, for the most part subject to the Portuguese; under which are included the countries of Angola, Congo Proper, and Loango.

CONGO is situated on the west-coast of Africa, between four degrees and half north, and sixteen degrees south latitude; taking up near twenty degrees of latitude, and consequently is above twelve hundred miles in length, from north to south; but is not of a proportionable breadth, scarce extending two hundred miles from the sea into the land, in any part: It is bounded by the kingdom of Benin and Nigritia, on the north; by the inland unknown countries of Africa, on the east; by Matapan in Caffraria, on the south; and by the Atlantick ocean, on the west.

Situation and extent.

The kingdom of Angola, the first division of it, commences at Cape Negro, latitude 16 degrees south, and extends northward to 8 degrees south latitude, including several small kingdoms, which our mariners have given various names to, scarce ever agreeing in the same name for any one country; and therefore I thought proper to include them all under the general name of Angola.

Angola the southern part of Congo.

The chief town of Angola, and indeed of all the Portuguese settlements, on this side of Africa, is St. Paul de Loanda, situated upon a small island near the continent, in 12 degrees of south latitude, a little to the northward of the great river Coanza. This is the seat of the Portuguese Viceroy: However they do not seem to be so much masters of the coast of Angola, as of the rest of Congo; for both the English and Dutch trade thither, and the English transport abundance of slaves from Angola to America every year.

The chief town St. Paul de Loanda.

Congo Proper is situated to the northward of Angola: The chief town St. Salvador, situated in the latitude of six degrees, upon the great river Congo, or Zaza, about 150 miles from the sea, said to be 17 miles in compass, and, according to some, a great deal more; but then fields and gardens are included, I find, and the houses are not contiguous. The Negroe King has a magnificent Palace in the middle of the town, if we may credit the Portuguese, whose tributary this Prince is; and the district belonging to the palace, is so large, they inform us, that there are three Christian churches in it, besides a Cathedral, and twelve churches more in the outward city. The cathedral is built of brick, without ornament on the outside, but exceeding rich within, the Portuguese relate. There are also several religious houses and convents in the place; and the number of souls, Portuguese and Negroes, in St. Salvador, 'tis said, amount to 100000. Both the cities last-mentioned are Episcopal Sees.

Congo Proper, the second division. Chief town St. Salvador.

In the subdivision of Loango, the chief towns are Loango, on the sea-coast, in 2 degrees south latitude, and Cape Lopas, half a degree to the southward of the Equator: Here the Negroe King lives in the castle with the Portuguese Governor, and is treated as their good ally; but the Portuguese are in reality masters of this town and kingdom, as well as of the rest of Congo, except part of Angola.

Loango, the third and most northerly division of Congo.

CHAP.

V.

Other towns and settlements of the Portuguese in Congo.

Negro towns.

Their principal towns and settlements on the coast of Congo, besides those already nam'd, are Great Cafcais, that stands at the mouth of a navigable river, which I find no name to: Goango, situated at the mouth of the great river Zara or Congo; and further southward on the coast, Cape Pulmerino, Cape Lebdo, Libolo, Benguelas, or Fort St. Philip (near which the Dutch have a factory) Tortuga, and Angra de Negros. As to the towns belonging to the Negroes, most of them consist of a few huts, built with clay and reeds, in an irregular manner; and as every tribe or clan has its particular King or Sovereign, his palace is usually distinguished by a spreading tree before his door, under which he sits and converses, or administers justice to his subjects. But I perceive most of their towns are in or near a grove of trees; for our Sailors always conclude, there is a Negro town, wherever they observe a tuft of trees upon the coast: And, as these consist of Palms, Cocoa-nut-trees, Oranges, Lemons, and other fruit-trees, that retain their leaves and verdure all the year; such dwelling-houses, how mean soever the materials of their houses are, cannot be unpleasant. The Negro towns, in fruitful countries, stand very thick, and are exceeding populous, the whole country appearing almost one continued village. As to their persons, they are as black as any of the Negroes, but much more civiliz'd. The Portuguese fathers have not only converted most of the people upon this extensive coast to christianity, but taught them to cloath themselves like Christians, and they now take off great quantities of European manufactures.

There are a multitude of Kings or petty Sovereigns in this country, most of them in some kind of subjection to the Portuguese, who permit them, however, to govern their own people, according to their ancient customs. Notwithstanding this country is situated under, and on both sides the equator, 'tis not so excessive hot as in some higher latitudes; for which several reasons are assigned; as, 1. Because their day is never above twelve hours long: 2. Their rainy season continues four months; viz. from June to September inclusive, when their rivers, like the Nile, overflow the level country; and this renders Congo no less fruitful than Egypt. The Portuguese have taught the natives also to make the best of their lands, and introduced European corn, fruits, and plants; and, as the country is very populous, there is now scarce a spot of ground uncultivated.

The Portuguese masters of the country.

The Portuguese have the sole foreign trade in this country, except in some part of Angola, whither the English and Dutch resort for slaves. They bring from thence chiefly slaves, Elephants teeth, wax and peltry, consisting of the skins of Buffaloes and other beasts, for which they give the natives in return all manner of cloathing, made of cotton, linnen, or slight stuffs, tools, utensils, tobacco, brandy, and other spirituous liquors; and 'tis said, the Portuguese frequently purchase slaves and teeth here, with the gold they bring from Brazil (for there is no gold found in Congo;) and that, from this coast and some other settlements they have in Africa, they do not send less than 100000 slaves to Brazil.

Negroes purchased cheap at Angola.

The English and Dutch at Angola also barter linnen, calicoes, slight stuffs, beads, toys, tobacco and brandy, for slaves, which are transported from thence to America. Negroes, 'tis said, are purchas'd cheaper at Angola than in Guinea. Young Blacks at full growth and in their prime, under three pounds a head, and boys and women in porportion;

and these poor creatures are pack'd as close as Her-rings, 7 or 800 of them in a ship, where they are forced to lie double, almost the whole voyage, and kept with no better food than horse-beans; tho' their profit, one would think, should induce the Merchants to use them well; for a slave, that is purchased for three or four pounds at Angola, is worth twenty or five and twenty in America.

Most of the cattle that are found in Caffraria, Product of Congo, may be seen in Congo, such as Cows, Oxen, Buffaloes, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Deer, Elephants, Lions, and Tygers. The country also produces rice in great plenty; and here grows the Palm and Cocoa-nut-tree, which are not to be met with in Caffraria; and, among the many exotick plants the Portuguese have brought hither, is the Cinnamon-tree, of which they have a flourishing long walk, in a small island near the coast; but dare not propagate them any further, lest the Dutch should come and take their country from them, as has been observ'd already.

And now, travelling westward, according to my usual method, I proceed to give a description of the celebrated coast of Guinea, the gold whereof attracts so many European nations thither.

CHAP. VI.

The present state of GUINEA:

Comprehending the countries of Benin and the Slave Coast, the Gold Coast, the Ivory Coast, and the Grain Coast.

GUINEA, in its largest extent, comprehending, 1. Benin and the Slave Coast; 2. The Gold Coast; 3. The Ivory Coast; and, 4. The Grain Coast; lies between 4 degrees and a half and 10 degrees and a half north-latitude; and between the great river Camarone, on the east, and the mouth of the river Sierra de Leon, on the west, taking up 30 degrees of longitude, viz. from 15 east, to 15 west, of London; which, at 60 miles to a degree, makes it 1800 miles long. This country is bounded by Nigritia, or Negroland, on the north; by the undiscover'd inland countries of Africa, on the east; by Congo, and the Atlantick ocean, on the south; and by the same ocean on the west.

CHAP. V.

Its situation, extent and subdivisions.

This country, according to some, obtained the name of Guinea, because it is hot and dry, the word signifying as much in the language of the natives; but those, who derive it from hence, surely never consider'd, that no country is better water'd, either with rain from heaven, or with more numerous rivers. I am therefore inclined to think, that it took its name from a town call'd Guinhy, which the Portuguese touched at when they first visited this coast.

The first subdivision of this country Benin, in which I include the Slave Coast, is bounded by Nigritia, or Negroland, on the north; by the unknown inland parts of Africa, on the east; by Congo, and that part of the Atlantick ocean, call'd the gulph or bite of Guinea, on the south; and by the Gold Coast, on the west; lying along the sea-coast, from the river Camarone, on the east, to the Danish fort of Christianburgh, near the river Volta, on the west: The principal rivers in this division, besides the great river Camarone, the south-east boundary of it, are the river Del-Rey, or the King's River, to the westward of it; and the rivers Forcades, Formosa and Lagos, further westward; and lastly, the river Volta, near the western bounds of this division.

Benin and the Slave Coast the first subdivision.

The

CHAP.
VI.Chief
town Be-
nin.

Awerri.

Arebo.

Ardra.

Fida or
Whidah.

Popo.

Alampo.

English
settle-
ments.Other Eu-
ropean set-
tlements.The Gold
Coast.Chief
towns.European
settle-
ments.* Christi-
anburgh.* Creve-
coeur.

* Acra.

* Patience.

* Anam-
boa.* Amster-
dam.* Fort
Nassau.* Con-
radburgh.

* Cape Coast.

The chief towns, which give names to so many kingdoms or districts are, 1. Benin, situated on the river Benin or Formosa, in 7 degrees and a half north latitude, said to be 11 miles in circumference, and to contain 100000 inhabitants, all Negroes, with a magnificent palace of their King's; but, notwithstanding all the fine things said of this town, both palaces and houses have clay-walls, and thatched roofs. 2. Awerri, situated also in Benin, at the mouth of the river Forcades, not subject to the King of Benin, but to the Portuguese, who have a castle, with a strong garrison, that commands it. The Portuguese also have settlements for 150 miles up the river Formosa, and most of the petty Sovereigns of this country are either their allies, or subject to them. 3. Arebo, on the east-side of the mouth of the river Formosa: This was formerly a place that the Europeans visited pretty much for slaves; but now the Portuguese have almost the sole trade of this part of the country. 4. Great Ardra; and, 5. Little Ardra, situated near the river Lagos, on the Slave Coast: The greater said to be extremely large and populous, and both of them inhabited by Negroes. 6. Fida or Whidah, situated on the Slave Coast, between the rivers Lagos and Volta: The town and country about it extremely populous; but consisting of such poor huts as the Negroes usually live in. 7. Great Popo; and, 8. Little Popo; both which towns lie upon the same coast to the westward of Fida. 9. Lampo or Alampo, a little to the eastward of the mouth of the river Volta: This, and the other towns, consisting only of Negroe-huts, require no particular description. I shall only add, that the English have two factories or settlements on the Slave Coast; one at Alampo, and the other at Whidah: And that the Portuguese, French, and Dutch, have each of them one settlement at Whidah on the same coast. But, as to the country of Benin Proper, no European nation has any settlement there, but the Portuguese, who are in a manner, masters of it: And, if we may believe their Missionaries, have made profelytes of most of the natives. But travellers tell us, that those, near the sea-coast, are a very sad sort of Christians, a profligate and abandoned race, addicted to all manner of vice.

The Gold Coast, so named from the abundance of gold that is found there, is bounded by Nigritia, on the north; by the Slave Coast, on the east; by the ocean on the south; and by the tooth or Ivory Coast, on the west.

The principal river in this division is that of the Rio Cobra, or Ancober, by some called the Gold-River, which falls into the sea, near the Dutch fort of St. Anthony, a little to the westward of Cape Three-Points.

The chief towns, which give names to so many petty kingdoms or states dependent on them, are Aquamboe, Agonna, Acron, Fantyn, Sabo, Fetu, Commami, Jabi, Adom, Ante and Axim.

On this coast are several European forts and settlements: The most easterly, called Christianburgh*, belongs to the Danes: The second, called fort Crevecoeur*, stands a little to the westward of the former, and belongs to the Dutch, and further westward Acra, which belongs to the English: In Agonna stands fort Simpaz, which belongs to the English: In Acra* fort Patience*, to the Dutch: In Fantim Anamboa*, to the English, and Amsterdam* to the Dutch: In Saboe fort Nassau* to the Dutch: In Fetu Conradburgh*, to the Dutch; and Cape Coast-Castle*, or Carolus-Burgh to the

English: In Covani Vredenburg* and Las Minas, or Delmina*, to the Dutch: In Ante or Hante, fort Infuma*, to the English; Batenstern*, Orange*, and St. Sebastian*, to the Dutch: In Axim*, the forts of Axim and St. Anthony*, to the Dutch; and fort Fredericksburgh*, and Dorothea*, to the Prussians, which is the most westerly of all the European settlements on the Gold Coast. There are also several other small forts and factories belonging to the English and Dutch on this coast; but those already mentioned are the chief: The two strongest forts are those of Cape Coast, which belong to the English; and that of Las Minas or Delmina, which the Dutch are in possession of. The Hollanders took this, and several others, from the Portuguese; and also treacherously dispossessed the English of the fort, to which they have since given the name of Amsterdam, and several others, in the year 1665, during full peace; and which was one occasion of the first Dutch war: Nor have our good allies restored them to this day.

The next division of Guinea, is that of the Ivory or Tooth Coast, which takes its name from the Elephants teeth found here, and is bounded by Nigritia, on the north; by the Gold Coast, on the east; by the ocean on the south; and by the Grain or Pepper Coast, on the west.

The most remarkable places and towns on the Ivory Coast are, Jaque, Cape Lahoe, Drumyn, Cape, Palmas, Sestre, Sino and Bottowa; and the chief rivers those of Rio de Suerio, and Rio Escravos.

The last and most westerly division of Guinea, is that of the Grain or Pepper Coast, bounded by Nigritia, on the north; the Ivory Coast, on the east; and the ocean, on the south and west: The principal rivers whereof are, the Rio de Sestre, the Rio de St. Paul, and the river de Sierra Leon.

The chief towns are, Baffoe, Sanguin, Sestre, Gorea, Buga and Tomba: And here are also two English settlements on the coast, viz. those of St. Anne, at the mouth of the river Sierra, Leon, and Sherbro fort, to the eastward of it. I proceed now to give a more particular account of the coast of Guinea.

Travellers usually make but two seasons in this country; namely, winter and summer: From April to September inclusive, in their winter, or rainy season; and from October to March inclusive, is their summer, and their hottest, as well as fairest weather; though then the Sun is farthest from them on the south-side of the equator; whereas the coast of Guinea lies 5 degrees north. But their wet season does not always begin just at the same time; nor is it the same at all places on this coast. At some time, and in some places, it begins a month or two sooner than in others, and is sometimes of a longer, and at others of a shorter duration; however, between the vernal and the autumnal equinox, they generally have excessive rains, attended with violent storms of wind, as well as thunder and lightning; and as the winds at this time blow from the southward, and there is not one harbour upon the coast, if any shipping happens to be there in these storms, they are infallibly run on shore, unless they can stand out to sea, or get into the mouth of the river Sierra de Leon, when they find them coming on: And, it seems, there always sits such a surf or swelling-sea on this coast, that it is very difficult going on shore at any time, even during the fair season, especially at Whidah.

CHAP.
VI.

* Vreden-

burgh.

* Delmina.

* Infuma.

* Baten-

stern.

* Orange.

* St. Se-

bastian.

* Axim.

* St. An-

thony.

* Frede-

rickburgh.

* Doro-

thea.

The Dutch

surprized

the Eng-

lish forts

in time of

peace, and

still keep

them.

The Ivo-

ry Coast.

Chief
towns.Grain
Coast.Chief
towns.English
settle-
ments.Air and
seasons on
the Guinea
Coast.A great
surf upon
the Coast.

The

CHAP.
VI.
Winds.

The most violent storms, or travadoes, are in July and August, and come from the southward : It is observed also, that, during the hot season, the winds are periodical on this coast, blowing from midnight till one or two in the afternoon, from the land ; and then, shifting to the southward, blow from the sea : And that the sea rages to that degree on this shore some months in the year, that it looks like fire, which makes the Sailors stile it, The Burnings, at which times it is almost impossible to go on shore.

Rivers.

Bad air
upon the
coast.

The rivers in this country, falling from high mountains not very far from the coast, form so many rapid torrents, and in the wet season overflow the valleys, from whence ascend thick stinking fogs, that make the country very unhealthful to foreigners ; but what I take to be still more pernicious is, that the European factories always lie near the sea, and the mouths of the rivers, and, from the Ouze and salt-marshes underneath them, till more unhealthful vapours arise : And, 'tis said, the fish, which the Negroes lay upon the shore till they putrify, do not a little contribute to corrupt the air. But from what cause soever it proceeds, few Europeans visit these shores, but have a dangerous fit of sickness soon after their arrival, and many of them are carried off by it.

Their rivers, running but a short course from north to south, and being made chiefly by the rains, are not any of them navigable for ships, from the river of Sierra de Leon, in the west, to the river of Benin in Formosa, in the east ; but abound however with variety of very good fish, as well as their seas.

It may be observed farther, that, during the rainy season, though the sun be then directly over their heads, the weather is moderately cool, especially in the evening. Some relate, that in September, about the end of the rains, it is really cold ; and though the middle of the day is excessive hot in summer, viz. from October to March, yet even then the evenings are cool ; and they have this further relief, that there are no long days : It must be nine in the morning before the intense heat begins, and at three or four in the afternoon it is pretty much abated, the sun not being then above two or three hours high.

The face
of the
country.

As to the face of the country, it is agreeably diversified with mountains and valleys, woods and open fields : The hills adorned with trees of an extraordinary height, and the valleys between them rich, large, and extensive, proper for the cultivation of all manner of corn and fruits, with villages every where agreeably interspersed, the country being exceeding populous : But the most pleasant and fruitful part of the country, is that about Fida or Whidah, which, from the description of some travellers, one would imagine a perfect paradise, if it was not for the unhealthfulness of the place, with regard to European constitutions.

It must be supposed, however, in so extensive a coast, as from the river of Sierra de Leon, to the river Camarone, there is a great deal of barren desert ground : We find much of this upon the Gold Coast ; and other parts of it are so overflowed in the rainy season, that the soil will produce scarce any thing but rice ; all other corn and plants almost are destroyed by the annual floods : But then Whidah and other places makes amends for this, by their abundant fertility.

The per-
sons of the
Negroes.

The persons of the Negroes are so well known among us, that it is almost unnecessary to describe them : They are generally of a good stature, well

proportioned, robust, able-bodied men ; their complexion a shining jet black ; their noses flat ; their lips thick ; they have large rolling eyes, of which great part of the white appears, and exceeding even white sets of teeth ; their hair black, short, and curled, appearing more like black wool than hair.

CHAP.
VI.

The habit of a Negroe is a Paan, or cloth, about his waist, about two foot broad ; and those of the better sort have another cloth of a good length wrapped about them, and thrown over their shoulders ; but yet so as their arms, legs, and a good part of their bodies appear naked both of the men and women. Their ornaments consist of a multitude of rings or bracelets, of gold, ivory, or copper, according to their circumstances, worn on their arms and legs, with necklaces and girdles of coral, one upon another ; but the plaiting and adorning their hair takes up the greatest part of their time, especially of the womens : The hair of some of the Negroes is longer than that of others ; and they have a way of pulling it out of the natural curl, and making it strait, by hanging weights to it ; after which, they form it into various fashions, dressing it up with little thin plates of gold, copper, tinsel, beads, coral and shells, that make a glittering shew : Some of the women throw a veil over all, to keep off the scorching sun, and some of the men have caps ; their fishermen particularly have them made of skins or rushes, and are very happy if they can get a European hat : But many of the Negroes go perfectly bare-headed ; and their scalps, 'tis said, are so hardened by it, that they are not sensible of the sun's intense heat.

Their ha-
bits.

Orna-
ments.

Their salutations in the inland country are performed by stretching out their hands, bending the knee, or embracing each other ; and where a subject or inferior person addresses himself to his Prince or superior Lord, he prostrates himself on his face before him, till he is bid to rise : As for the people of the coast, who have furnished themselves with caps and hats, they have learnt of the Europeans to salute their friends by pulling them off. Our Factors observe, this people do not want sense, but employ it to the vilest purposes ; namely, in defrauding all the Europeans they deal with, as well as one another. But our people are so ingenious to confess, that the Christians have, in a great measure, contributed to make them those exquisite cheats. The Europeans first taught them to adulterate their gold, and mix copper and other paltry ingredients with it ; and therefore have no great reason to complain of them on this score : They have been made much worse by their traffick with us, both in this respect, and many others. Our Merchants have sent over large quantities of brandy and spirits ; and our Factors and Sailors frequently shew them, that Christians get drunk with them, and commit as many extravagancies, as those who never heard of christianity : And tho' our people reflect upon their women for their lewdness, they see the Europeans, who visit their coasts, as lewd as they can be : They cannot but observe, that the professors of that religion which requires the strictest justice, chastity, and temperance, are as abandoned libertines as the Pagans themselves, and by that means are confirmed in the vicious habits we censure them for. All the difference is, that Christians do this in defiance of the principles of their religion ; and the Negroes, in conformity with theirs, at least as to wine and women ; from which their superstitions do not restrain them, but rather encourage them in the practice of those vices : And this

Saluta-
tions.

Our Geni-
us and tem-
per.

Debauch-
ed by the
Christians.

CHAP. VI. this is, and ever will be, the great obstruction to the propagation of Christianity in Pagan countries. That the profession and practice of our people are so widely different, that the heathen nations can never think our missionaries in earnest, when they preach up virtue, and endeavour to make proselytes of them. It is observed also, that the Negroes in the inland countries are not near so vicious and corrupt in their morals, as those that converse with us upon the coast.

Melatto's. There is still a more abandoned race here than the Negroes, according to the accounts our Factors and Seamen give of them: These are the Melatto's, or mixed breed, proceeding from Negroes and Europeans. The Portuguese, when they first discovered the south-west coast of Africa, propagated both their religion and their species in many parts of it. These are of a tawny complexion, profess themselves Christians, but retain many of the superstitions of the Pagan Negroes. They dress, 'tis said, like the Portuguese, but exceed both Negroes and Portuguese in their vices. The men are drunken, lewd, thievish, and treacherous to the last degree; and the women prostitutes to both Negroes and Europeans; to the first, privately, and to the last publicly, without any manner of shame or restraint. This vice they see countenanced by the practice both of Negroes and Christians, and therefore make no scruple of indulging themselves in it, whenever pleasure or profit tempts them to it. Such are the Christians we find upon the eastern and western coast of Africa, whose ancestors were proselyted by the Portuguese Missionaries: Not that I would ascribe their vicious habits to the doctrines the Missionaries taught, that might be agreeable to the Christian purity; but I am afraid our Factors and Sea-faring men, both Papists and Protestants, have for the most part been such lewd, drunken, vicious wretches, that these unhappy Melatto's have either thought those crimes none at all, or venial at least: To the dissolute lives therefore of the European Christians chiefly is to be ascribed the vices of the Melatto's we censure so severely. But, to conclude the character both of Negroes and Melatto's, it is agreed, they are both of them very deficient in point of courage, and both of them extremely lazy and indolent; and some have charged them with the most barbarous cruelty.

They are observed also to be very covetous, and yet such masters of their temper, or so easy in all conditions of life, that no sudden changes or alterations in their fortunes can disturb them. If they lose a battle, 'tis said, they sing and dance, as if they had gain'd one; and if a man is deprived of all his effects and treasure at one stroke, he appears contented; it is not to be perceived by his countenance: Which shews a great deal of philosophy, or an unusual degree of stupidity. But I am apt to think, the one is frequently taken for the other in every nation; and therefore, whether this calm, undisturbed manner of theirs in every change of fortune is to be admir'd or condemn'd, is not easy to determine: But thus much we may venture to assert, that the man that is least mov'd at such shocks, is happiest in himself, and least troublesome to his friends; and that men of the finest sense are generally soonest moved, and more subject to passion than those of a heavier make: The first are apt to have too quick a sense of the consequence of misfortunes, and to aggravate and multiply them, before reason comes to their relief: But then, such a man, perhaps, will obviate a dif-

CHAP. VI. ficulty, and behave himself better under a calamity, when he has duly consider'd it, than the dull unthinking mortal.

Having given a description of the people, I proceed to enquire into the animals that are found here, and first their quadrupedes: Of which the first in magnitude is the Elephant. There are found such numbers of these monstrous creatures, in that part of this country call'd the Tooth-coast, that there is more Ivory brought from thence than from any other part of the world: But we are not to understand, that there are no Elephants in the rest of the country, comprehended under the name of Guinea; for there are Elephants in Benin, on the Slave-coast, in Proper Guinea, and the Malaguetto or Pepper-coast, tho' not in so great numbers as are met with on the Tooth-coast. Those creatures have been already described, in treating of the East-Indies, Ceylon, and the country of the Hottentots; and therefore I need say little of them here. BOSMAN tells us, that they sometimes come down to the European forts and factories, in the day-time: That they are not afraid of fire, or even of guns; and that their hides cannot be penetrated by a musket-bullet: That one of them that came down to their fort Elmina, received above 300 shot before he fell: That most of the bullets fired at him, were flat-
 Their quadrupedes.

ted by his impenetrable hide, and dropp'd off, as if they had been shot against a wall: However, some of them hitting him on the head, he was brought down at last, and the Negroes feasted on his carcase. They have Bulls and Cows, but no Oxen in this country, the Negroes applying themselves very little to grazing. The flesh of these animals is dry and hard in most places, and their sheep, which are clothed with hair instead of wool, make very indifferent food, and yet both the one and the other are very dear: Their Cows also give wretched milk, and very little of it. They have Goats, Hogs, and Deer, which are much better food than the former. The Horses are exceeding small, and used sometimes for the saddle, as well as Asses; but they neither use them or any other cattle for the draught of carriages, or to lay burthens on; all their goods are carried on porters backs, if it be 100 miles, unless they have the conveniency of water-carriage, which they have but very little of, their rivers falling from steep rocks and mountains, and consequently can be navigated but a very little way.

Here are also found Lions, Tygers, Leopards, wild Hogs, Jackalls, wild Dogs, Foxes, and Crocodiles; but I meet with no travellers that mention Camels in this part of Africa, tho' they are so numerous to the northward of the river Niger; the reason whereof may be, that neither hilly nor dirty countries (as the valleys of Guinea are) are proper for these animals; whereas they are extremely useful in carrying burdens over sandy plains and deserts, and there we meet with great numbers of them, both in the north of Africa and in Asia.

There are several sorts of wild Cats in Guinea, and among the rest a Civet-Cat. They have also a Mouse that yields a kind of Musk, but no animals are more numerous here than Monkeys, of which one species, BOSMAN assures us, are not much less than Men. He himself saw one, he says, 5 foot high; and these are so bold and impudent, that they will sometimes attack men: But they have another sort of Monkey, coal-black, with

CHAP.
VI.

white beards, not above two foot high, and very pretty; they are all very thievish here, as well as in other places, plundering gardens and corn-fields, but pretty nice in their diet, chusing the best of every kind of grain and fruit. The Camelion also is found in this part of Africa; of which Animal it is reported, and not without grounds, that he frequently changes colour. I have stood and look'd on him a great while, under a garden-hedge, and, I must own, he seem'd to me to vary his colour frequently: It is observ'd, that the colour he usually puts on when he is surpriz'd, is a fine green, spotted brown, or yellow; for, his ordinary colour is grey, and the skin almost transparent: But BOSMAN observes, that they never change to a red, nor to some other colours; though some have affirm'd they always appear to be of the colour of the thing that is next them. It is a very small animal, less than a Rat, but bigger considerably than a Mouse, and will live several months (some say years) without food; though others are of opinion it catches Flies, as some other creatures do, by putting out its tongue, which is almost as long as the body: But the Flies must light on the Camelion's tongue, if he does catch them; for he is so exceeding slow that he can overtake nothing by running after it.

Reptiles.

There are, besides these, innumerable quadrupeds in this part of Africa; for which our travellers wanting names, and having given but odd descriptions of them, I proceed to their reptiles; and first their Serpents, which are of various kinds, some of them of a monstrous size: And tho' it be very certain that venomous reptiles do grow to a great bigness, in all countries that are hot and moist, I must beg Mr. BOSMAN's pardon, if I do not believe there are Serpents that have swallowed Deer and Men: For it is not only incredible, that their bodies should grow to such a size as to enclose the body of a man; but the throat of this animal is so remarkably narrow, that tho' a Serpent be of very large dimensions, yet it is with a great deal of difficulty that he gets down a small Chicken, or even a Rat: And this BOSMAN himself observes, though he tells the story of a Serpent's swallowing men and beasts; adding, that when he was there, Serpents of 22 foot long were taken, and, he believ'd, in the inland country there might be much bigger; however, he admits that the most venomous Serpents are not a yard long; and observes, that they are spotted black, white, and yellow: Nor are Serpents only found in the fields and woods here, but get into their very houses and bed-chambers; which is not much to be wonder'd at, since one species of them is worshipp'd by the Negroes, cherish'd, and us'd with more tenderness, than they shew to their own children; and if any one should strike or wound one of these Serpents, the whole country would rise upon him, and pull him to pieces. The crime is look'd upon to be unpardonable; but I shall have occasion to treat of this sort more particularly under the head of religion, and only observe here, that the bite of one of these Serpents is not mortal.

There are also Scorpions in this country, which have been described in treating of the Hottentots: But the Toads, mentioned by BOSMAN, are as extraordinary in their dimensions as his Serpents. He relates, that he has seen them as broad as a plate we eat on, and that he took them for Land-Tortoises, when he first saw them. I remember another writer, who says, that their Toads at Bom-

bay in the East-Indies are as big as Ducks; but I must confess I never saw any such, and am apt to believe, that author stretch'd a little; but my friend BOSMAN, who compares them to Tortoises, has certainly overdone it.

CHAP.
VI.

Centapedes, or Hundred-legs, are also very numerous here, and creep into houses and bed-chambers. It is a little, long, flat insect, with abundance of feet, from whence it obtain'd its name, and its bite is very painful and venomous, but not mortal. They have a species of Ants in Guinea that do incredible mischief: They will not only get into beds, and force a man to get up; but, if we may believe BOSMAN, there are such numerous hosts of them, that they will seize upon a Sheep or Fowl, and devour it alive: That they will eat their way through a thick wooden chest, in a night's time; and the Factors find it very difficult to secure their goods from them, and Gnats, and Flies, which are the plague of this and other hot countries.

They have plenty of tame fowl, but wretched lean, dry stuff: Here are also some Turkeys and Ducks, first brought hither by the Portuguese; but plenty of Pheasant, Partridges, wild Ducks, Snipes, and other wild fowl, natives of the country: They have also a very beautiful bird, of the shape of a Parrot; the upper part whereof is red, grey, sky-colour, and deep blue; the breast and lower part green, as are the head, neck, and tail; but only admir'd for its beauty. Here are also Eagles, Herons, Parrots, Parakeets, Hawks, and other birds of prey, and a vast variety of feather'd kind, never seen in Europe; which with other uncommon animals, would take up a volume alone to describe.

I proceed therefore, in the next place, to their fish, which are exceeding good and plentiful, both in their seas and rivers: The sea particularly affords a fish very like our Cod, with Plaice, Flounders, and other flat fish. They have also Mackerel, Soles, and Dabs; Lobsters, Crabs, Shrimps, and Prawns: In their rivers are fine Jacks, a fish like a Trout, Mulletts, and abundance more, that are very delicious eating. These are the principal support of the Europeans, as well as of the natives, on the coast; for flesh is neither so cheap, so good, or so wholesome, as their fish: In their seas also are the Grampus, or small Whale, the Sword-fish, and the Dog-fish, which are of no other use but to make oil of it.

From the animals in Guinea, I proceed to give some account of their vegetables: They have, in some places, Rice, Millet, Maize or Indian Corn, in great abundance; though there are other parts of the country so subject to floods, that the soil bears little except Rice: They have also Yams and Potatoes, which serve the natives often instead of bread: And Sugar-canes grow to great perfection, but not much cultivated by the natives; and the Europeans, having no more land than what lies about their forts and factories, don't think it worth their while to plant them.

The Palm-tree is of infinite use to the natives, as they draw wine from the tree, and press oil from its nuts: These abound more in Guinea, than in any other country. Here also is the Cocoa-nut-tree; but they do not put it to the many uses they do in the East-Indies, contenting themselves with drinking the milk of the Cocoa when it is young, or eating the nuts when they are ripe: Of these I have given a particular description in the first volume of *Modern History*, that

Corn and
plants.

treats

CHAP. VI. treats of India, to which I refer the reader; it being the most generally useful of any plant that grows.

The Palm-tree described.

But to be a little more particular as to the Palm-tree: The body of it, at full growth, is about as thick as a man's body, and six foot in height; but, from the trunk, its branches shoot upwards 20 foot, and more: The leaves are an ell long, and about two inches broad, and terminate in a sharp point, much like the sedge that grows by the sides of the ponds; and these branches the natives frequently cover their huts with. There are great variety of Palm-trees, some of which are not of half the thickness of this, and the liquor, drawn from them, differs in flavour and strength.

When they find a tree old enough to yield a quantity of wine, they cut off all its branches; and, having let it stand a few days thus stripp'd of its ornaments, they bore a hole in the thickest part of the trunk, in which having placed a hollow reed or pipe, the wine oozes through it into a pot set to receive the liquor, but so slowly, that they don't get above two quarts in 24 hours; but this it will do for 20 or 30 days successively, according to the goodness of the plant; and, when it has almost done dropping, they make a fire at the bottom of it, which forces out something more: After which, the tree dies, and is good for little but the fire; though, in other countries, where they content themselves with drawing small quantities, 'tis said, a tree will last several years after it is tapp'd. The Palm is reckon'd to be in its prime at 10 or 12 years growth; and then may yield 10, 15, or perhaps near 20 gallons of wine; of which an anchor, or 5 gallons, is usually sold at about half a crown English on the coast, a great deal of it being brought down from the inland countries, the cheapness whereof shews, that there must be a vast number of Palm-trees in the country. This Wine, when first drawn, is extremely pleasant, and yet strong; but the Negroes, who bring it to the coast, frequently mix and adulterate it: However, it goes down with the Fishermen and inferior people, who drink it more to raise their spirits and intoxicate them, than for its fine flavour; and perhaps the older and sower it is, the stronger it may be.

They have also both sweet and sour Orange-trees upon the coast, but not many; I'm apt to think they were first planted here by the Portuguese: But there are vast numbers of Lemon-trees, and great quantities of Lemon, or Lime-juice; and small pickled Lemons are annually exported to Europe from Guinea. The Papay-tree also is to be met with all over the coast; the trunk whereof is, from 1 foot to 3 foot, in thickness; and, from 10 to 30 foot, in height, being a tender spongy wood, very easily cut, the fruit growing at first at the top of the trunk, without either branches or leaves; but, as it grows older, branches shoot out from the top, and from them other small twigs, with fine broad leaves, not unlike those of the Grape-vine; the fruit is about as big as a large Pear, of an oval figure, green without, and white within; but, with lying, turns red, and has within it abundance of little white seeds: It serves the natives for food, but is scarce so good as a Pompon. There is also some Ginger grows in this country, and the Pisan or Bananas-tree is found here, which yields a sweet luscious pulp; the fruit is of the size of a Cucumber, cover'd with a thin yellow rind; but these have been describ'd more than once in treating of India and the Hottentot countries: There are several other fruits, which resemble our Plumbs, both blue and

white, on the Guinea coast, but ill-tasted, and scarce ever eaten, either by natives or foreigners, any more than many other fruits that grow naturally on this coast. Here are also some Pomegranates, Tamarinds, the delicious Ananas or Pine-apple, and the finest Melons. The Portuguese endeavour'd to introduce Grapes; but there are scarce any of the Vines that thrive: However, 'tis observ'd, that almost all manner of European roots, herbs and garden-stuff, come to great perfection here, as the Europeans experience in their gardens; and there are several sorts of Beans, the natural product of the country, that are pretty good food.

But the plant Guinea is most famous for, is the Guinea Malaguette or Guinea Pepper, which grows chiefly in that part of it, which has obtained the name of the Grain or Pepper-coast.

The Guinea Pepper grows on a shrub, in long, slender, red shells or pods, separated into four or five divisions or cells, and cover'd by a white film: It grows also in some places like rank grass; and there is a sort of Pepper here, called Piemonto, by us Spanish Pepper, which grows likewise on shrubs, of the height of a Gooseberry-bush, in great abundance: It is of two sorts, great and small, both of them at first green, but afterwards red, and the larger inclines to black: This fruit is hotter than common Pepper, especially the small sort. There is also a very strong sort of stinking Tobacco grows on this coast, which the Negroes smoke; but so offensive, that an European can scarce bear the smell of it.

Amongst that variety of forest-trees, that are found on the Guinea coast, their timber-trees, 'tis said, grow to a prodigious magnitude, and others are admired for their beauty and the fine shade they afford in this hot climate: Of the bodies of some of these trees hollow'd, their Canoes are made. There are others, that have a very beautiful grain, streak'd red and yellow, and clouded fit for tables and cabinets; and others, 'tis said, fit for masts and yards. There is also the Capot-tree, that bears a sort of Cotton, which BOSMAN speaking of by way of figure, I presume (as he does in describing the Guinea Toads and Serpents) says, that a musket-shot will scarce reach the top of it; but sure 'tis needless to caution the reader, that this cannot be literally true: It were to be wish'd, however, that travellers and voyage-writers would not speak in poetical strains, and enlarge at this rate; it being difficult sometimes to distinguish what is to be taken literally, and what figuratively. I believe the reader may depend upon it, that BOSMAN meant no more, in the description of his monstrous Toads and Serpents, and of this high tree, than that they were exceeding large in their kind; for, if he did intend more, it is enough to destroy the credit of his whole book, which however, at this day, is look'd upon as one of the best descriptions we have of Guinea. But what he intimates of another tree so large, that several thousand men may be drawn up under the branches of it, if he means one of the same kind with the Banian-tree, which is common in India, this may be true; for the boughs of the Banian-tree, reaching down to the ground, take root again, and grow up into additional bodies; so that one of these trees frequently form a grove alone: And under these it is, that the Banians worship their God, and perform their penances in India; which leads me to observe, that the Negroes also consecrate trees and groves to divine worship, or rather worship some particular trees as gods. But on this I shall enlarge further under the head of religion.

Having

CHAP.
VI.
Minerals.

Having seen what the surface of the earth produces, I proceed to their minerals; of which, 'tis said, they have several, namely, Iron, Copper, Silver and Gold; but none of their mines are wrought; and some have questioned, whether there be any Silver in the country; but, as to Gold, Guinea is supposed to contain more than any other part of the world, there being such vast treasures washed down from their mountains, and found in their rivers, while the mines yet remain unopened: And this it is, that has drawn so many European nations hither, though it be with the extremest hazard of their lives.

Gold,
where
found.

It has been already observed, that, during the rainy season, the water falls in torrents from the hills, washing away the earth, and sometimes great pieces of rocks are undermined, and come rolling down the stream; which, being thus removed, the cavities, where the Gold before lay concealed, are sometimes discovered, and large pieces of this mineral picked out of the holes and clefts of rocks or mountains; but much more is washed down in little particles, no bigger than sand, into the rivers; the former being called Rock-gold, and the other Gold-dust: When the rains abate therefore, and the dry season comes on, both men and women resort to all the little streams, and, gathering up the sand in heaps, put it into trays and tubs, where they wash it, till all the earth and sand is washed clean away; and if there be any Gold, its weight fixes it at the bottom of the tub: This they continue to do every day from morning till noon; some of them perhaps finding the value of six or seven shillings, others the value of six-pence, and a great many find nothing at all. But the streams, where the Gold is found, are generally at a distance from the sea; scarce any of it is to be met with on the shore, or near the mouths of rivers: Great part of it comes two or three hundred miles, and upwards, out of the country, being brought down by the Negroes at the season for trading, when they expect shipping upon the coast. The Mountain or Rock-gold, it is observed, touches better than the dust; but then there are abundance of small stones that adhere to it, and occasion a great loss in the melting; and therefore the Factors chuse rather to purchase the Gold-dust. As to the rest of their minerals, I meet with no account of them; but I must not forget their Salt, which is made by letting the sea-water into shallow pans in the dry season, till the sun exhales the water, and then the Salt is left at the bottom: They also make a great deal of Salt by boiling the sea-water, and furnish the inland countries with it.

Salt.

Trade of
the Guinea
coast.

And now, having shewn the produce of the country, and thereby discovered the principles of commerce, it seems extremely proper, in the next place, to enter upon a description of their traffick with other nations; the four great articles whereof are, 1. Gold; 2. Slaves; 3. Elephants teeth; and, 4. Drugs; under which last I comprehend Guinea Grains or Pepper, Civet, Cardamums, Indigo, and Gums of several kinds, particularly Gumtragent, Wax, and Red-wood.

Gold.

1. Gold is had chiefly on that part of the coast called Guinea Proper; though there is Gold to be met with in other places: The same may be said of the Tooth coast and Slave coast: There are more of each to be had in the districts that go under those names; though some of every species may be met with from one end of the Guinea coast to the other, taken in its largest extent.

CHAP.
VI.

The European Merchants, or Factors, never go up into the country to purchase Gold: But the trading Negroes come down to the forts and factories, and on board the European ships, with it, and are, by Christian instruction, 'tis said, become very sharp, or rather roguish traders: It seems, we have taught them to mix Copper, and other ingredients of less value, both with their Rock-gold, and Gold-dust; and they are such exquisite proficient, that they frequently cheat their masters who instructed them in the mystery. Some pieces they cast so artfully, that quite round, of the thickness of a shilling, the piece shall be pure Gold, and perhaps filled up with Copper or Iron; but the common false Mountain gold is a mixture of Silver, Copper, and a proportion of Gold very high colour'd, which makes the cheat not easily discernible; for, being obliged to receive an infinite number of little pieces in a pound, it is almost impossible to touch every one, and the metal, looking so well, is scarce suspected. They also tinge powder of Coral so artificially, that it is impossible to distinguish it any other way, than by the weight: Of this also they make a powder, resembling Gold-dust; but chiefly of the filings of Copper, to which they give a very good tincture; but all this false-tinged metal, in a month or two loses its lustre.

The way the factors take to distinguish true Gold from false, if it be in large pieces, is to cut it thro', which easily discovers what it is; and, if the pieces be small Mountain-gold, they lay them upon a stone, and beat them with a hammer; and, as this is not practicable in Gold-dust, they put the dust into a Copper-bason, winnowing and blowing it, by which the false Gold flies away, leaving the pure Gold behind. The value of Gold, brought from the Guinea coast one year with another, by all the European nations that trade thither, is supposed to amount to the value of three hundred thousand pounds, and upwards; of which the English may import one third, the Dutch another, and the French, Portuguese, Danes and Prussians, another third.

The Slave trade is carried on in much the same manner the Gold trade is: The Negroe Factors and Merchants come down to the coast with their slaves, agree with the Europeans for the price of them, and the price of the goods they are to take in exchange; and a ship is soon dispatched, if they act fairly. But, if a Merchant delivers any part of his goods before he has his slaves, they will make him wait a great while for them, and sometimes not bring them at all, unless the European Factor finds some way to make reprisals: And yet it is found necessary to trust these people; for, as they trade with other nations beyond them, and have not always effects to purchase slaves, they have no way of getting them sometimes, unless they can be credited with goods to go to market with, and exchange for slaves in the inland country. As Guinea has a multitude of petty Sovereigns, who are frequently at wars with each other, the slaves are generally such as are taken in these wars, not only men, but women and children; for, where they invade a country with any success, they carry all the inhabitants into captivity. There are also a great many others, who are made slaves for debt, or for some misdemeanour; and not only the debtor or criminal himself loses his liberty, but oftentimes the whole family, and all that are related to him: And, 'tis said, people sell even their wives and children where they have offended them, while others lessen their

Slave
trade.

CHAP. VI. their families, under an apprehension that they shall not be able to maintain them; and if a famine, or great scarcity happens, they will sell themselves to one another for bread. It is reported, that one of the petty princes upon this coast, on some small disgust, sold a score of his wives to a Captain of a ship at once, parting from them with as little reluctance as a Grazier does with a score of Sheep; and, in times of full peace, nothing is more common, than for the Negroes of one nation to steal those of another, and sell them to the Europeans: There have been instances also, of children selling their fathers and mothers when they have been weary of them, and wanted to enjoy what they had. These are the various ways by which the unhappy Negroes are frequently reduced from flourishing Circumstances to a state of slavery, and brought down to the coast to be sold to the Merchants of Europe.

The first business, after a ship arrives upon the coast to trade for slaves, is to pay the duties, and make a present to the King or Governor of that part of the country, for leave to trade: Then the King's slaves are to be taken off at almost what price he pleases to set upon them, before the Merchant is permitted to deal with his subject. When the price is agreed on, the European Surgeon views all the slaves naked, men, women, and children; and the grown men, that are supposed to be above 35 years of age, are usually excepted to, as are all that have any lameness, or other defects, those whose sight fails them, and such as have the venereal disease, or any other distemper that is not easily cured; and even the loss of a tooth is sometimes made an objection. The infirm being set aside, the rest are branded with a hot iron by the Merchant, to distinguish them, and locked up in some prison, till they can be sent on board; for the Europeans have no forts or factories in many places, where they meet with the greatest number of slaves. The price of an able-bodied man may be about five pounds, the woman a fifth part less, and the children in proportion to their respective ages. When they are sent on ship-board, their former masters strip them of every rag, so that the Merchant receives them all perfectly naked; and thus they generally remain till they come to America; tho', as they are packed close together, six or seven hundred in a ship, cold is the least of their hardships. The decks are divided so, that they are forced to lie, or sit double, on the hard boards, the whole voyage; and all the men are loaded with irons, many attempts having been made, by the slaves on board, to kill the ship's crew, and run the ship a-ground; in which some of them have succeeded: Others have jumped overboard, rather trusting to the mercy of the sea, than their white masters, from an apprehension, as our Sailors suggest, that they are to be fatted for slaughter, and devoured by white men. But there seems to be reason enough for their attempting to escape, without any such apprehension: To be carried away from their country, laid in irons, and crowded together in dismal dark holes, where they have not room to stand or sit upright, may very well put them upon attempting to escape, if they had no other views, than the rescuing themselves from these barbarous masters, in whose service they cannot but expect to live very miserably, when they find themselves so hardly used at first. No wonder therefore, that many of them chuse to hazard their lives, by endeavouring to escape, when life, in such circum-

stances, is more to be dreaded than death itself; and this is surely such a traffick as can never be justified or defended. Were these miserable wretches brought to Europe, and used with humanity; or were they disposed of to Planters in America, that would treat them as their own species ought to be treated, they might be no great sufferers by exchanging black for white masters: But to sell them again to the cruel Spaniard to work in his mines, and be used worse than brutes, must be condemned by every man that reflects on the practice: And, as I'm informed, many of our English Planters don't use their slaves much better, generally agreeing not to make Christians of them, lest they should understand, that our religion teaches us to do as we would be done by; and thereupon they should expect to be dealt with like men, who have the same God, the same great Lord and Master. But to return: One would think, that the exporting slaves thus continually from Africa to America, should dispeople the former; for, it is computed, that the Portuguese alone export above a hundred thousand, and the rest of the European nations about the same number: I question whether the English do not transport fifty thousand; for they are obliged to deliver thirty thousand to the Spaniards annually, by the cursed Asiento contract; a bargain that surely can never prosper, and, possibly, instead of encreasing our wealth and trade, may engage the nation in perpetual broils with the Spaniards.

The next great article of trade to that of Slaves, is Ivory: This may be had in small quantities from one end of the Guinea coast to the other; but is met with chiefly in that part of the country, that has obtained the name of the Tooth coast; and probably abundance of teeth are brought some hundreds of miles out of the country: There are large plains, 'tis said, where teeth are found in abundance, which either belonged to Elephants that died naturally; or were killed by people that did not know the use of their teeth; though some have conjectured, they shed their teeth, and receive them again; which, if they do, it must be at a very advanced age: For a full-grown tooth or tusk (of which they have but two that grow out of their jaws, and turn up like a horn) weighs sometimes upwards of an hundred weight, and ordinarily fifty or sixty pounds: But whether they shed these teeth or not, and to what age these monstrous animals live, is very uncertain; all that we know of their age is, that in India, where they tame Elephants, and use them for travelling, and in their wars, they live to a very great age; having continued in some families for several generations, and the proprietors only know, that their fathers and grandfathers were possessed of them.

The last article of trade is the Guinea Pepper, Wax, and Drugs, which are had chiefly upon the Grain coast: But what quantities of these, or of teeth, are brought from Guinea, is uncertain: Only a late writer computes, that the English, Dutch, French, Danes, and Brandenburgers, export from Europe to Africa, in the whole, about the value of two hundred thousand pounds in goods; and that they bring from thence annually in Gold, Slaves, Ivory, Pepper, and Drugs, the value of three millions; and that the Portuguese are possessed of such vast territories and tracts of land upon the eastern, as well as the western coast of Africa, that they trade for as much as all the rest of the European nations put together, in slaves and teeth.

CHAP. VI.

The Ivory trade.

Guinea Pepper and Drugs.

A calculation of the value of the Guinea trade.

CHAP.

VI.

Goods ex-
ported to
Guinea.

The goods, which the Europeans carry to Africa, and barter for Gold, Slaves, and the rest of the commodities above-mention'd, are chiefly these, (viz.) Callicoos, Cottons, Linen and Woollen-Stuffs, Serges, Perpetuana's, wrought iron, Pewter and Brads; such as Swords, Knives, Hatchets, Nails, Hammers, Pewter-dishes, Plates, Pots and Cups, Bras-pots, Kettles, and other household utensils; Fire-arms, Powder, Shot, Brads and Glafs-toys, Beads, Beugles and Cowries, or Blackamoor's-teeth, with Brandy, Spirits and Tobacco. The brads ware, 'tis said, the Negroes are infinitely fond of, and will purchase almost at any rate; and wrought Pewter, Iron and Lead, are good articles. There are great quantities of Powder, Shot, Arms, Cloathing, Liquor and Furniture, also sent from Europe annually, for the use of the European forts and factories there.

Artificers
in Guinea.

Having treated of the trade of the Europeans, with the Guinea coast, I proceed to enquire into the manufactures, traffick and employment of the natives; and, I perceive, every tribe or family almost make their own tools, instruments and utensils: They are all Smiths, Carpenters and Mafons, building their own houses, or huts, with wood and clay, and thatching them with reeds, or Palmeto branches: They also make their own arms; such as darts, arrows, lances and broad-swords; but their fire-arms, gun-powder and bullet, they purchase of the Europeans: They also make their instruments of husbandry, and several household utensils. It is with a surprising dexterity they form and polish their swords, and heads of darts and spears, considering the few poor tools they work with: Their anvil is only a flat stone; and, till the Europeans taught them the use of hammers, another stone supply'd the place of them: But their Smiths bellows, it seems, have three pipes or snouts, which blow up a fire very suddenly, and are said to be an invention of the natives.

Fisher-
men.

Their Watermen and Fishermen are but one tribe, and are very numerous upon the coast; eight hundred, or perhaps a thousand of them, go out a fishing at once: They have hooks, harping-irons and nets, and all the implements that European Fishermen use; and every Canoo, or Boat, is but one piece, made out of the body of some large tree; the largest 30 foot long, and 6 broad: These the Europeans hire to carry their merchandize to and from their ships, and along the coast from one factory to another; but they have a lesser sort they use in fishing. Their Canoos, according to their size, are rowed by two, three, seven, nine, eleven, and sometimes fifteen Watermen; for, where there are more than two, you have always an odd number, because one of them steers the boat. Instead of oars, they row with an instrument, fashion'd like one of our shovels, with which they push themselves along, looking the same way they row, and move exceeding swiftly; and, as these boats are only a large piece of timber scoop'd hollow, there is no sinking of them; for, if they are over-set, and turned bottom upwards, as they frequently are, by the great surf and swelling seas, upon this coast, still the vessel floats upon the waves; and the Watermen swimming like so many spaniels, turn their canoos, and get into them again, arriving safe ashore, frequently when the Europeans they carry, and all their goods, are lost.

Their hus-
bandry.Manag'd
by the
women.

As the Negroes have two harvests in the year, great part of their time is taken up in digging, planting Rice, and sowing Millet and Maize, or Indian corn, and planting Yams and Potatoes; but the husbandry is left almost entirely to the women:

And, except, in their fisheries, their Carpenters and Smiths work, the women go through the drudgery of every thing: Their wives dig up the ground, sow, plant, make their cloaths and mats, brew the beer, and dress their food; while the husband loiters away his time, and does scarce any one thing towards the support of the family; so that the more wives a man has, the richer he is in Guinea, and the easier his circumstances are. And some of the Negroes on the coast, 'tis said, make money of their wives, by letting them out to others that can pay for their favours. They make but little distinction between their wives and their slaves; but seem alike indifferent to both: However, it is held highly criminal to meddle with a Negroe's wife of any quality. But to return to their husbandry: They have two harvests, as has been observ'd, of Millet and Maize, every year; one in August, and the other in December; but the last is inconsiderable, it being a dry time; and, as that sort of corn, call'd Millet, will not grow without some moisture, the Rice will not grow at all without water; and therefore they can have but one harvest of the latter in any place where they cannot flow their grounds. And, as it has been hinted, some parts of the country produce only Rice, and others only Millet: But the soil yields them such plentiful crops, that they need never have a scarcity, if they were not the most improvident people in the world; but they never lay up any stores. When they have a plentiful crop of Rice, the European shipping sometimes takes it off their hands; and, before the next harvest, they are starving: They seldom consider what they shall want themselves, when they meet with a good market for their grain; inasmuch, that they have been obliged to sell their wives, children and slaves, to the Europeans for food, or they would have been starved; and this, in years, when they have had plentiful crops.

As to the traffick of the Negroes among themselves; it consists either in carrying the corn, and other produce of the respective maritime countries, from one place to another along the coast, in their large canoos, as there happens to be a demand for it; or in bartering and exchanging goods with one another on shore. Those near the coast exchange the merchandize they get of the Europeans, with those of the more distant countries, for Gold, Slaves and Elephants teeth, which foreigners take off their hands, furnishing them with new supplies of European goods; and, with these, they go to market in the inland countries again.

Before I quit this article of trade, it may be proper to say something of the rise and progress of this traffick between the Europeans and the Guinea coast. The Portuguese were the first that discover'd the south-west shores of Africa in the 15th century; and, as the Pope was then thought to have a right to dispose of all Pagan countries, they obtained a grant from his Holiness, Anno 1442, of all countries discover'd to the south and east of Cape Bajadore, which lies on the western side of Africa, latitude 27 north. The Pope however afterwards, on the discovery of America by COLUMBUS, published another Bull in favour of the Spaniard, dated the 3d of May 1493; whereby he assign'd and transferr'd, to the King of Spain and his successors, all the countries discover'd, and to be discover'd, 100 leagues to the westward and southward of the Azores and Cape Verd islands; which the Portuguese looked upon as an infringement of the former grant to them; and this bred a misunderstanding between those two nations: However, they came to

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CHAP.
VI.

an agreement in the year 1493, that the line, mentioned in the grant to Spain, to be drawn from north to south through the Azores, and the Cape Verd islands, should be extended 270 leagues farther west-ward; and that all new discover'd lands to the westward of that line should belong to the Spaniards; and those to the eastward of it to the Portuguese: And accordingly the latter built forts, and settled colonies on the eastern and western coasts of Africa, and in the East-Indies, and remained in the quiet possession of them, enjoying the sole trade of Africa and the East-Indies about 100 years without a competitor: No other European nations attempted to interrupt them in it; but acquiesced in the Pope's determination in assigning America to the Spaniard; and the discoveries in Africa, and the East-Indies, to the Portuguese.

The Reformation, however, happening in the 16th century, the English and Dutch, and other Protestant nations, began to call in question the Pope's power of disposing of Pagan countries; and, being ambitious of sharing the Gold of Africa with the Portuguese, both the English and Dutch, in the 16th century, sent several ships to the coast of Guinea, where, in imitation of the Portuguese, they exchanged toys and trifles with the Negroes for Gold, and made very advantageous returns: But the Portuguese building forts upon the coast, and keeping the natives in a sort of subjection, that they could not trade with freedom with any other people, the Negroes invited the English to settle among them; and, for some small consideration, assign'd them places to erect forts and factories upon, that they might be able to protect their own trade, as well as that of the natives, from the insults and encroachments of the Portuguese; and the Dutch, falling upon the Portuguese settlements about the same time, deprived them of their capital fort of Elmina, and, at length, drove them from all their settlements on the Gold-coast: Whereupon the Portuguese removed farther eastward, and gained a vast extent of country, in which they are not disturbed by the Dutch, or any other nation; there being little or none of the same tempting metal there, tho' they meet with slaves in great abundance: But these the Dutch have little occasion for, having scarce any plantations in America.

The Dutch endeavour to drive the English from the Gold-coast, and take some of their forts in time of peace.

The Hollander had no sooner driven the Portuguese from the Gold coast, but he began to contrive how he might beat the English, and all other nations, out of that trade, as he had from the fine spices in the East-Indies, and engross this noble mineral to himself: Accordingly, by various artifices, the Dutch spirited up the natives to fall upon the English factories and distress them, supporting the Negroes under-hand in their hostile attempts; and at length, in the year 1664, were guilty of such a piece of treachery towards the English, who had protected their infant state, as is scarce to be credited. They had, by treaty, it seems, agreed to join an English squadron, to suppress the Pirates upon the Barbary coast; and DE RUYTER, the Dutch Admiral, actually failed to the Straights with the English, under pretence of putting that project in execution: But then making an excuse to the English Admiral, that he was ordered another way, he failed to the coast of Guinea; and there, with the assistance of the Negroes his countrymen had already spirited up against the English, made himself master of several English forts, and particularly of that still in their

CHAP.
VI.

possession, which goes by the name of Amsterdam Fort: And, not contented with this, the Dutch afterwards failed to the islands belonging to the English in the West-Indies, plunder'd and ravag'd them in a most barbarous manner; and all this, in a time of full peace, without any manner of provocation. But the Court of England, having some way or other got intelligence of the matter, was so fortunate as to make reprisals on a fleet of Hollanders in the Channel; which however BURNET, and our Whig-historians, clamour wonderfully against, because war was not declared: The Dutch had before driven us from the Spice islands in the East-Indies; they were now endeavouring to monopolize the Gold-coast, they plundered our plantations in the West-Indies; and yet these pacifick gentlemen would have us sit still with our arms a-crofs, and never attempt to do ourselves justice; and, when we do, cry out upon it as a breach of the law of nations; when the ungrateful Dutch, who are so much indebted to this nation, were the aggressors: Which is an undeniable instance of the partiality of our admired Whig-writers, or of their ignorance, if they were not appriz'd of the true state of the case.

The Dutch had the same views here, as they had in the East-Indies: They intended to have brought such a force to Guinea, as should have subdued the natives, and excluded all other European nations from the Gold-coast; after which, no doubt, they proposed to have opened the mines where this glorious metal was lodg'd, and become the sole masters of them, as the Spaniards are of the Silver mines in Potosi: But they were forced to relinquish part of what they had plunder'd the African company of, the Court of England espousing their interest heartily at that time; and thereupon this project of the Hollanders proved abortive. However, the African, or Guinea company, received very great losses, from time to time, by the treacherous practices and depredations of the Dutch, and have suffered perhaps yet more by our own Interlopers, or Separate traders; which brings me to consider what has been so long, and so warmly controverted; namely, whether this branch of our commerce ought to be laid open, or restrained to a particular Company? It is said in behalf of the Company, that, if it had not been for the forts they erected there, the Dutch would infallibly have monopoliz'd the Gold-trade, as they have the Spices of India: And that it seems hard upon them, that, when they have been at such an expence to erect and maintain forts there, to protect this valuable part of our trade, Interlopers, who are not at these expences, should be suffered to come and undersell them, and run away with the profit. On the other hand, the Separate traders alledge, that all companies are the ruin of trade: That their Directors and Managers mind nothing but enriching themselves, and making the fortunes of their relations and dependants, whom they prefer to the Governors, Factors, or Captains; and that the trade always suffers in such hands: Private Merchants manage with greater frugality, making the best of every thing; and that, since the trade has been laid open to such traders as pay Ten per Cent. towards the Company's charges in maintaining their forts, the trade has been much improved.

Upon the whole, forts seem absolutely necessary to preserve this trade: If we had no settlements there, the Dutch would soon subdue the natives, and drive all other nations from that rich coast; and therefore it is but highly reasonable the Separate traders should contribute

Remarks on the trade to Guinea by a Company.

CHAP.
VI.

contribute sufficiently towards maintaining such forts: If Ten per Cent. is not enough, they ought to allow more. On the other hand, if this be done, I know no reason why any subject of England should be excluded from the trade: To say, that Private traders are better husbands, can afford their goods cheaper, and will always undersell the Company, is a very weak observation: For why don't the Company manage as frugally? They have always their Governors, Factors and Warehouses, upon the spot; and can take all advantages in trade, by laying in commodities, when things are cheapest, at the best hand, and providing freight for their ships against they arrive; and consequently may transact their affairs to greater advantage than the Separate trader can, if they observe as good economy: And the cheaper we afford our goods, and the less profit we are contented with, the greater market we shall have. It is no matter how much we undersell other nations, so as we are not losers in the main. I doubt, if the Separate traders did not get away the trade from the Company, the Dutch would: And surely, it is better our own people should have it, than foreigners. It is very well known, since the African trade has been laid open, it has vastly increased. If the English traded for five or six thousand slaves upon this coast, when the Separate traders were excluded, they now trade (according to GZÆ) for thirty or forty thousand; and so in proportion in other articles perhaps. But there are some gentlemen, I find, not only for supporting our present settlements on the Gold coast, but for sending such a force thither, as might make us masters of the country; by which means we might, they imagine, possess our selves of the Gold mines, and gain an immense treasure by working them. They observe also, that this being about the same latitude as the islands, where the Cloves, Nutmegs, and Cinnamon grow, in the East-Indies, all those spices might be propagated here.

On the project of possessing the Gold mines.

But, as to the possessing ourselves of the Gold mines, I doubt this would require a greater force than ever it will be thought proper to send thither: For not only the natives, who look upon those mountains as sacred, and therefore never pretend to break into them, would unanimously oppose such an attempt; but they would be join'd by the Dutch, and the rest of the European nations, who have forts there; it being their mutual interest to prevent such a monopoly. Besides, those mines are supposed to lie at a good distance from the coast; and the country agrees so ill with English constitutions, that we should lose some thousands by the distempers of the country, before it could be effected, if we had no other enemy to contend with: And I make no doubt, if the thing were feasible, the Dutch would have made such a conquest long before this. We see they were about to attempt it in the reign of King CHARLES II; but the resistance they found they should meet with both from the European nations, and the natives, obliged them to desist, and lay aside the project. As to planting the fine spices here, I very much question whether Cloves or Nutmegs could be transplanted: We have no instance of their growing any where, but in the East-Indies, where they were first found: The Cinnamon indeed has been transplanted from Ceylon, and will thrive here. But, as it will probably grow in other parts of Africa, as well as on the Gold coast, it would be better to make the experiment in some other part of Africa, where such a plantation would be less liable to be disputed: And after all, I am afraid the Cinnamon would degenerate on being transplanted: The tree

On planting the fine spices here.

might appear as well to the eye; but the spice possibly would not be so good: For there are a great many Cinnamon-trees upon the coast of Malabar, very near Ceylon, where the best Cinnamon grows, and the trees seem to flourish as well as in that island; and yet it is but a bastard Cinnamon they produce, and never used where that of Ceylon can be had: And as for transplanting Tea and Coffee thither, which the same gentlemen propose, there is yet no instance of Tea growing any where, but in China and Japan: Coffee indeed the Dutch have raised in Batavia; but, I am informed, it is not comparable to that of Arabia. All which being duly weigh'd, I believe the British Court will never sacrifice the lives of so many men, as such an acquisition must cost, upon such romantic views. I shall conclude this head of trade, with some account of the Negroe Weights: They have Copper, Gold, scales of the form of half an Orange scoop'd; and their weights are either of Copper, Lead, or Tin; and, tho' divided in a different manner from those of the Europeans, upon reduction agree exactly with them. The Gold weights made use of on the Guinea coast are, 1. The Peso; 2. The Angel; 3. The Bendo; 4. The Ounce; 5. The Mark; and 6. The Pound: The Peso is four Angles; the Bendo two Ounces; four Bendo's one Mark; one Mark eight Ounces; and two Marks one Pound weight averdupois. Three Marks of pure Gold, are in England 24 ounces, or two pound troy weight; which, at four pounds sterling the ounce, is 96 pounds: But, as the finest Gold yields some advance, it is generally reckon'd, that three marks of fine gold are worth one hundred pounds sterling.

Weights of Guinea.

The Negroes, like the Hottentots, never exceed-Numbers. ed ten in numbering, till the Europeans taught them to proceed farther: They now lay down a finger for every ten; and, when they have lain down all their fingers, and made one hundred, they begin again, and so on.

In Guinea, there are some sovereign Princes, whose dominions are very extensive, rich, powerful and arbitrary; Monarchs limited by no laws, or any other restraints: And there are a multitude of others, to whom the Dutch and other Europeans have given the name of Kings, whose dominions do not exceed the bounds of an ordinary parish, and whose power and revenues are proportionably mean. But the latter seem to me, to be no more than particular Clans or Tribes, whose Chiefs are permitted to bear some resemblance to Princes; to administer justice in their respective districts, and make war upon one another, when they apprehend themselves injur'd by any neighbour. But these are, in reality, all subject to some of the superior Monarchs first mention'd, and no better than their vassals; obliged to attend them in their wars, to quarter their Soldiers, and to submit to such duties and impositions as are imposed upon them. We find, indeed, the Dutch Factors on this coast boasting, that they are sometimes served by the sons of Kings, and retain them in their pay, in the quality of Footmen: But they might as well be proud of being served by the son of a petty Constable. The vanity of the Dutch may easily be perceived, when they give themselves these airs, as well as the hatred and contempt they have for all Kings. One reason of their denominating every little officer a King, is to shew, that the high and mighty brutes have Kings subject to them. They formerly brought some such petty Princes from the East-Indies, and confined them in a barren island near the Cape, where they were forc'd to work, and make lime for the Dutch-India company, who, in derision of Kings, gave this

The Princes and States of Guinea.

CHAP.
VI.

this wretched place the name of King-Island; and I don't doubt, but they would serve all the Monarchs upon earth in the same manner, if they had them in their power; tho' if it be true, that the same word in the Negroe language signifies a King, and the Governor of a village of twenty huts, they have the more colour for giving the title of King to both: But the Dutch relate farther, that there are some republicks on the Guinea coast like theirs in Holland, and particularly two near their capital fort of Las Minas, or D'Elmina: But of these I shall treat, after I have shewn in what state the great Monarchs on this coast live; and particularly the King of Fidah or Whidah. This Prince, in the words of one of the Dutch Factors, is feared and revered by his subjects as a demi-god, who always appear in his presence, either kneeling, or prostrate on the ground: When they attend him in the morning, they prostrate themselves before the gate of his palace, kiss the earth three times, and, clapping their hands together, use some expressions that look more like the adoration of some deity, than complements paid to an earthly Prince; and they even tremble at the sight of him: He has his Viceroys, Governors, Generals, and other Officers, as European Princes have, of whom he constantly maintains four or five thousand with meat and drink; some of whom frequently are permitted to eat in his presence; but no person whatever is permitted to see his Majesty eat, or to know in what part of the palace he sleeps, unless his wives, of whom the King seldom has less than a thousand. These continually surround him: These are his life-guards, and frequently sent on embassies, and employed in executing such commands and sentences as seem much more proper for men; as to punish criminals, pull down their houses, and the like. BOSMAN relates, that, a little before his arrival at Whidah, a Negroe officer of his acquaintance having been unjustly accused to the King, orders were issued to demolish his house, and destroy all that he had: Of which the man having received some notice, when a detachment of two or three hundred of the king's wives came to execute the sentence, they found him placed near a heap of Gunpowder, with a lighted match in his hand, professing his innocence; but threatening to blow both them, and himself up, if they did not give him time to represent his case to the King; which being agreed to, he had the good fortune to convince his Fidaian majesty of his innocence, and to get the sentence reversed.

When the King goes abroad also, five or six hundred of his wives run before him, or attend him: He has not, 'tis said, a single man in his train; but he spends the greatest part of his time at home in his palace, administering justice to his subjects, and transacting affairs of state; or conversing with the European Factors and Merchants, who find him usually in a stately hall of audience, richly habited in Gold and silver stuffs: His wives also, when they attend him, are richly clothed and adorned with Gold, Coral and glittering trifles, especially their hair; and tho' the King never eats before company, 'tis said, he will drink very plentifully both with the Europeans and his own subjects.

Their Nobility.

The chief Magistrates under the King are: The Cabicero's, whom he consults in state affairs, and concerning peace and war; and, by these, he usually administers justice to the people. Travellers make two classes of Nobility in every government in Guinea: 1. The Cabicero's last mention'd, who are the Grandees of every kingdom or state.

VOL. III.

CHAP.
VI.

2. Their inferior nobility, an order of Knights; who, being possess'd of considerable fortunes, either by descent or purchase, and, having obtained some reputation in their respective countries, are allowed to have seven trumpets, or hollow Elephants teeth, sounded before them when they go abroad. Every one, who is initiated into this order, gives a grand entertainment, and makes presents to the principal men of the country, in order to obtain this honour: After which, he purchases a shield and arms, and performs the ceremony of lying in arms all night, with his family, in the open field; intimating, I presume, his readiness to defend his country: After which, several days are spent in feasting and martial exercises; and the new Knight is afterwards allowed to carry two shields both in peace and war. But to return to the King:

I don't find he wears a crown, or that there is any other ceremony at his accession, than the shewing him publicly to the people, and sacrificing some animals to his gods. The eldest son is always entitled to his father's throne; the females never succeed, unless in one kingdom upon this coast: And there have been instances of a younger brother's usurping the throne, when the eldest has been at a distance from court, by the favour of the people, and taking possession of the palace, and the King's wives; for this, it seems, goes a great way in fixing a Prince upon the throne, where the succession is contested: And the successor makes no scruple of enjoying the same wives his father did, unless his own mother be amongst them; and then she has a separate house and revenue settled on her: And, to his father's wives, the son, soon after his accession, adds many more, being usually presents made him by his Viceroys and Governors, of the most beautiful black virgins in his dominions. On the death of a King, the government seems to be dissolved till the successor is proclaim'd; for the populace are suffered to plunder their wealthy neighbours, and commit all manner of extravagancies with impunity, till the new King assumes his authority; and therefore the Great men use all imaginable diligence to invest him with the regal power.

The descent of the crown.

This country of Fida is so rich, and of so large an extent, that the King's revenues are very considerable. BOSMAN says, there are not less than 1000 officers employed in collecting the several duties and taxes, who are dispers'd through every part of his dominions, there being scarce any thing that is not taxed. There are three Receivers-General purely upon the account of the Slave trade, the King having a Rixdollar (about a Crown) for every slave that is sold: And of the shipping, which comes upon the coast to trade, he receives, one with another, not less than four hundred pounds sterling each; and there sometimes does not come less than fifty in a season. But, as it is in other kingdoms, his officers find means, 'tis said, to defraud their Prince of the best part of his revenues:

Tho' there be no written laws in Guinea, they have particular punishments appropriated to certain crimes by custom. Murder is usually punished with death, if the person killed was a free-man; but, for the murder of a slave, a fine only is exacted. Adultery also is punished with death, where it is committed with any of the King's wives, or the wife of a Great man. BOSMAN relates, that two Negroes having been guilty of murder at Whidah, they were, in pursuance of their sentence, ripped open alive, their bowels taken out and burnt, and afterwards their bodies stuff'd with salt, and fixed

Laws.

19 O

upon

CHAP.
VI.

upon two stakes in the market-place, where he saw them: That another Negroe, having been familiar with one of the King's wives, was fixed to a stake, and there stood as a mark, for the Courtiers to throw their darts and launces at, in the presence of the lady, the partner of his crime, who also saw the offending member cut off and burnt: After which, they were both tied hand and foot, thrown into a deep pit, and, after a pot of boiling water was leisurely poured on them, the pit was filled up, and they were buried alive.

Another young Negroe, who had dress'd himself in the habit of a woman, and lived some time among the King's wives, contriv'd to run away with one of them, and a rich parcel of goods; but they were taken in the attempt: Whereupon the young fellow was tortur'd, to make him confess if he had been familiar with any more of them; but not being able to extort a confession from him, they were both burnt in the same fire.

Thievery is usually punished by a heavy fine and restitution of the stolen goods; and, if the offender has nothing to pay, he is either punished with death, or becomes a slave to the injur'd person: And so in debt, where the party is insolvent, himself, his wife and children are liable to be sold for slaves, according to the sentence in the Gospel.

Two little
republics.

BOSMAN, giving an account of the two little commonwealths of Axim and Ante, near their fort of d'Elmina, says, that the Cabicero's are their Sovereigns, and take the administration of the government upon them in times of peace; but the rest of the people are consulted in making war: That the Cabicero's are guilty of great corruption in the administration of justice; and that the party that bribes highest, usually carries his cause; and it is not uncommon, when a cause is delay'd or given against a man, for him to attempt to do himself justice, by seizing the goods of his enemy or debtor; and this sometimes occasions a war between the tribes or great families, who frequently espouse the interest of their respective friends.

The
Dutch usurp an authority over the natives.

In this republick, the stealing of men, as well as the stealing of cattle, is punish'd with death; and I find the Dutch have usurp'd some sort of authority or dominion over the natives subject to these commonwealths: Whereas no other European nation pretends to bring the people of this coast into subjection to them (the Dutch attempt it not only here, but in every part of the world where they get footing.) Their countryman relates, that two Cabicero's of Axim, men of some figure in this state, having been long engaged in an odd dispute, viz. which of them was slave to the other, the cause came by way of appeal before the Dutch Factor at fort d'Elmina, who took upon him to decide the cause; however, he did it in an amicable manner, by perswading them to lay aside their animosities, and own each other for a free-man; which they agreed to, embrac'd, and seem'd perfectly reconcil'd before they went out of the fort, making the Dutch Judge handsome presents for putting an end to the strife; but, before two months were elaps'd, one of the parties hir'd two assassins to murder the other, which they effected by shooting him through the Head. This the Hollanders looking upon as a contempt of their jurisdiction, in order to assert their authority, sent some of their officers to demand the murderers, that justice might be executed upon them; and, the natives refusing to deliver them up, the Hollanders march'd with an arm'd force into their country, threatening destruction to their state: At which the

Negroes were so terrify'd, that they deliver'd the criminals into the hands of the Dutch; who were contented however with a large fine, at the entreaty of the Negroes. This story, related by the chief Factor of their capital fort of Elmina, shews sufficiently the dominion the Hollanders have usurp'd over the natives: And were not the English and other Europeans possess'd of forts in their neighbourhood, whereby they protect the people and themselves from their insults, the Hollanders would tyrannize as much on the coast of Guinea, as they do in the East-Indies, and in a short time not only make slaves of the natives, but drive the rest of the Europeans out of the country, as they have done from the Spice islands and Java; where the Spaniards, Portuguese, and English had settlements, till they were treacherously and barbarously driven from thence by the Dutch, which the English never can forget, so long as there is such an island as Ambonya in being, and so long as we, and all the other nations of Europe, remain depriv'd of the fine spices by the usurpations of the Dutch. It is amazing to me, that all the Princes of the world should tamely sit down, and suffer the Dutch to monopolize so valuable a branch of trade, and never attempt to recover their rights, or so much as to put in for a share of the fine spices! I proceed in the next place to enquire what arms are used by the Negroes, their military discipline, and way of making war.

CHAP.
VI.

Before the arrival of the Europeans upon their coast, the Negroes knew nothing of fire-arms; bows and arrows, launces, swords, darts and shields constituted a complete set of arms; which were all made by the natives themselves, with no better tools than a stone for their hammer, and another for their anvil: Their swords were very broad; turn'd back like a hanger, had a wooden guard, and were not above a yard in length; and, 'tis said, the inland Negroes us'd to poison their darts and arrows; but this was never done by those we meet with on the Guinea coast. They cover and defend themselves very dexterously with their shields, against swords, launces and darts; but these are of no use against musket-bullets. Their shields are of an oval figure, above 4 foot long and 3 broad, made of light basket-work, cover'd with the skin of a Tyger or some other animal; sometimes with thick leather gilt; and they have copper plates or bosses on them, which contribute to their defence, and adorn the shield. The Dutch have been much censur'd for furnishing the Negroes with fire-arms and gun-powder; but they will sell any thing for money to friend or foe: and this is now one of the best articles in the commerce of the Europeans with Guinea; for, since the Dutch began to sell them guns and ammunition, they have been imitated in it by other nations; and the Negroes are observ'd now to be very good marksmen, having learnt to shoot standing, sitting, lying or running; but they generally attack the enemy under cover, if they can, creeping upon the ground, and firing as they lie upon their bellies, or getting behind some tree. Every Chief of a tribe or family leads on his own people, slaves and dependants; but with very little order: They look like so many crowds or heaps of men, rather than soldiers; tho' sometimes their heroes single out each other, and fight hand to hand with their country weapons. But, if any of the crowd fires a musket, he runs out of the fight to load, and then returns again, if his party is not routed in the mean time. And here give me leave to observe, how the Soldier is habited when

The Arms
of the Negroes.Their
way of
making
war.

CHAP.
VI.
Habit of a
Soldier.

he marches to the wars: He sticks his broad sword in the cloth he wraps about him, and has a belt of bandoleers to load his musket with, and a pouch for his bullets, a cap on his head, made of the skin of a Crocodile, or some wild animal, which is adorned with red shells, a bunch of Horse-hair, and a bright chain bound like a coronet about his head, and his body usually painted white, which makes him a very shocking figure.

Every able-bodied man is obliged to march into the field for the defence of his country, or at the command of his Prince; so that there are as many Soldiers as men: But there are, however, some who make arms their only profession, and let themselves out to the neighbouring nations when their own are at peace. The Princes also form alliances here, as ours do in Europe; and, when any power becomes formidable to the rest, unite in confederacies to reduce him within bounds. But the most frequent occasions of wars are, the depredations of their Great men upon some neighbouring nation: These make excursions frequently into each others territories in time of peace, and carry off a booty; and, if satisfaction is not given upon demand, the injured party makes reprisals, and their respective tribes or nations engage in the quarrel: Nay, if a Great man in one country has a debt owing to him in another, and payment is delay'd, he falls upon any of the tribe the debtor belongs to, and carries off at least as much as will satisfy his debt; and if the debtor represents to the Prince or State he is subject to, that he does not owe any such debt, or that he has been hardly and unjustly dealt with by the creditor, the matter becomes a national quarrel, and they fight it out; and the side that apprehends itself weakest, hires foreign troops, and sometimes whole nations to assist them; insomuch, that in one of these private quarrels four or five tribes, or nations, perhaps engage on each side; and though several of the lesser kingdoms and states can't raise two or three thousand men, there are others that can bring forty or fifty thousand men into the field; and in the inland country, their Kings can raise as many more: But, 'tis observed, they are all forced to quit the field during the rainy season. Plunder and prisoners, on whom they set excessive high ransoms, or the extending their territories, are their principal views in these wars, as well as those of Europe.

Before I dismiss this head, it may be proper to take notice of some wars, in which the Dutch and English have been concerned on this coast, and the occasion of them; which will further evince the design of the Dutch to make a conquest of Guinea, and seize the Gold mines there to the exclusion of other nations; and that they had probably effected it, if they had not been opposed in this project by the English African Company.

An attempt of the Dutch to seize the Gold mines defeated.

BOSMAN, the chief Factor for the Hollanders at the capital fort of St. GEORGE d'Elmina in Guinea, relates, That the Dutch sent Miners thither, in the year 1694, who actually attempted to open a Gold mine, in a certain mountain near the Dutch fort of Vredenburg, in the kingdom of Commany. But the Negroes, observing what the Miners were about, let them know, that this hill was dedicated to one of their gods, and must not be touched. They represented also, no doubt, that they had only given the Dutch leave to erect forts there, for the security of their effects; but never intended to transfer their country to them, and suffer foreigners to dig and carry away their Gold: And, when the Dutch still persisted in their design, the natives rose, and fell upon the workmen, wounding some,

and making prisoners of others. Whereupon the Hollanders complained to the King of Commany of the hostility; and receiving no satisfaction from him, marched a party of Soldiers into his country, in order to compel the Commansians to relinquish their mines, and acquiesce in their being wrought by the Dutch; but they were so warmly received by the natives, that they were glad to retreat to their fort: And the Commansians, justly resenting this attack of the Hollanders, entered into a confederacy with the English, in order to defend their country, and particularly the Gold mines, against any future invasion: For, it seems, the Commansians had given the English leave to erect a fort in their country, about a mile from the Dutch fort (which the Hollanders complain was a great hindrance to the projects they had formed:) And, as the English had reason to believe their good allies would take the first opportunity of depriving them of this fortress, in order to possess themselves of the Gold mines, they very readily consented to come into an alliance with the Commansians for their mutual defence. However, I perceive the English concerned themselves no otherwise in the war, than by influencing some other Negroe powers to join the King of Commany. The Dutch also advanced five thousand pounds, as appears from their own relation; with which they hired two Negroe nations to assist them in subduing the Commansians, not doubting but they should meet with the same success their countrymen had done in the year 1687, when they gained several victories over the Commansians, and obliged them to submit to such terms as the Hollanders were pleased to impose upon them; but, the Dutch Governor very imprudently threatening several other nations at the same time, they united against the Hollanders and their allies, and gave them one of the greatest defeats that ever was known in that country; scarce any of the allies of the Dutch escaping alive out of the field: However, the Hollanders did not yet desist from their project; but, finding means to corrupt some other Negroe powers, and prevail on them to join them, they engaged in a second battle, and received a second memorable overthrow. And now, finding that it was not possible to subdue the Commansians, and dispossess the English of their fort, they thought fit to drop their design of monopolizing those golden mountains, and strike up a peace with the natives.

The Religion of the Guinea Negroes shall be considered in the next place: And, it seems, they generally acknowledge one supreme almighty Being, that created the universe; and yet pay him no manner of worship or adoration, never praying to him, or giving him thanks for any thing they enjoy. They believe he is too far exalted above them, to take any notice of poor mortals; and therefore pray and sacrifice to a multitude of inferior deities; of which they have some in common to whole nations: And yet every man has a god or more of his own chusing. Next to the being of God, no principle seems to be more generally entertained in this and other nations of the world, than that God is too great to be approached and addressed to by men, and has left the government of the world to inferior deities, that are ready to hear and answer their prayers. The chief deity of the Fidaians, a considerable kingdom of Guinea, is a Serpent of a particular species, whose bite is not mortal; and is so well used by his votaries, that he scarce ever attempts to hurt them. They address themselves to this animal on the most important

Religion of Whidah.

A Serpent worshipped.

CHAP.
VI.

tant occasions; as for seasonable weather, the preservation of their state, or whatever else concerns the publick welfare. They have also a grand temple erected in Fida, dedicated to this serpent; and a lesser in almost every village, with Priest and Priestesses to officiate in them. The King annually makes presents and offerings to the great temple, consisting of gold, cattle, pieces of silk, and all manner of meat, drink, fruits, and European merchandize, to obtain a plentiful harvest, and the prosperity of his kingdom; and, if they apprehend any calamity like to befall them, these offerings are frequently repeated.

The Serpent's temple.

In this temple, 'tis said, they always keep a serpent, of a monstrous size, worshipping the creature in person, and not in effigy: And formerly, the King used to go on pilgrimage with his whole Court, annually, to adore this serpent; but, of late, deputed a certain number of his wives to perform this act of devotion in his stead. Once every year it is pretended, that the virgins, and young women of the country, are seized by this species of serpents, and work'd up to a kind of religious frenzy: Whereupon they are carried to the serpents temples in the respective villages, and obliged to remain there for a certain time, till they return to their senses. These are usually the wives and daughters of the principal men of the place, who thereupon make presents to the Priests and Priestesses; but my author looks upon the whole to be a pious fraud to get a little money out of the people: And, it seems, if any one refuses his wife or daughter to go to this idol temple, when they pretend to be thus inspired, he does not only incur the reputation of a prophane person, and an enemy to their religion, but is in danger of being ruined by the influence and suggestions of the Priests: And that they may be supported by the Government in their pretensions, the King, it seems, is allow'd to share the profits which the Priests gain by this pretended inspiration of the females, who, when they are dismiss'd from the serpent's temple, are required not to divulge what has happened to them there, under the severest penalties; but this seems to be needless, because the women are fond of going to these temples on such occasions, being allowed to take greater liberties there, than they could at home. To confirm which, BOSMAN relates, that one of the natives of his acquaintance, having a wife that pretended to be seized with this religious frenzy, humour'd her in it, and offered to conduct her to the serpent's temple; but, instead of it, convey'd her to the house of a European Factor, and gave her to understand, that he would certainly sell her for a slave, if she did not immediately lay aside her mask, and return to her wits: Whereupon she fell upon her knees, and begged his pardon, promising never to trouble him with these humours any more, if he would forgive her; which he readily granted, on her promising she would never divulge what had happened to her Priest; and thus (says my author) he saved the trouble and expence of sending her to that religious mad-house: But, had the matter been discover'd, the man would infallibly have been ruined. Another Negroe, of the Gold-coast, who married a wife at Whidah, laying her in irons for pretending to counterfeit a religious frenzy, was actually poison'd by the Priests, when our author was there, according to his apprehensions at least; the man visibly declining in his health thereupon, of which he could give no other account. But this seems to be only a conjecture of BOSMAN's, who appears to have been an enemy to Priests of all religions, and to every thing that had any relation to

CHAP.
VI.

religion; for his inference is, "From hence you may observe, that, throughout the world, it is very dangerous to disoblige Ecclesiasticks;" not excepting the Priests of his own church: And, indeed, few Dutchmen have any other god, but their gain; at least they generally make their spiritual concerns subservient to their secular interests, witness their renouncing their Christianity at Japan, for a liberty to trade there, exclusive of all other Christian nations. Certain it is, the Japanese will suffer no other Christian, Protestant, or Papist, to trade with them at this day: And, as the Dutch know themselves to have been charged with this scandalous piece of hypocrisy for many years, and have never endeavour'd to clear themselves of it, the world now takes it for granted that they cannot: I wish they would, if they are innocent, take an opportunity of refuting the charge, that I might do them justice; for I would not be instrumental in conveying down such an aspersions on a whole nation to posterity, if I did not think there were too good grounds to believe it. But to return to the Fidaians: Such is the reverence they bear to these ador'd serpents, that, should any person hurt one of them, or but touch him with a stick, our author assures us, he would be condemn'd to the flames: He says, the English, when they first traded thither, being ignorant that these serpents were worshipp'd by the natives, killed one of them they found in their house; and that the whole country rose in arms thereupon, pull'd them in pieces, and burnt their merchandize and all their effects; but I must confess I do not give entire credit to the fact, since our author informs us, it was an old story; and I do not find it mentioned by any other writer. But BOSMAN relates, that, when he was at Fida, a Negroe, who was a foreigner, only took one of these snakes gently on a stick, and carried the creature out of his house without hurting it: Whereupon the natives of Fida set up their great howl, as they usually do in case of a fire, immediately alarmed the whole city; and it was with great difficulty that the King of Fida, being made sensible of the stranger's ignorance, saved his life.

The same writer assures us, that, in hot weather, these serpents creep out of their holes, into their houses, by half dozens, laying themselves upon their chairs, benches and tables, and even getting into their beds when they are asleep; and they have no way of getting rid of the vermin, but by calling the natives to their assistance, who will gently take them up in their hands, and carry them out of doors. The more venomous serpents, it seems, frequently attack these deified snakes, and would be too hard for them, on account of their strength and superior venom; but, the whole country usually rising when they see the ador'd animal attack'd by man or beast, he never fails to conquer, if the battle happens in view of any of his votaries. The largest size of these adored serpents are about two yards long, of the bigness of a man's arm, and adorn'd with white, brown, and yellow streaks. They are great devourers of Rats; but, if a snake of this size seizes one, his throat is so narrow, that it is an hour before he gets the Rat through into his belly.

Such is the veneration of this people for these crawling, and to us terrible animals, that they will not hear any thing spoken in derision of them, stopping their ears, and running away, if any European pretends to laugh at their superstitious reverence for them. BOSMAN relates, that a Hog happening to devour one of these snakes, a proclamation was immediately issued for destroying all the Hogs in the country, and abundance of them

CHAP. VI. were slaughter'd on the occasion; but, at the instance of some of their rich owners, and some presents made to the King, the severe decree was revok'd: But BOSMAN assures us, that so many were slaughter'd, that Hog's-flesh became very dear while he was there.

Lofly trees ador- ed, The next things the Fidaians pay divine honours to, are fine lofty trees and groves. To these they apply in their sickness, or any private misfortune; and I ought to have taken notice, that all the serpents temples are in some grove, or under some spreading tree.

And the Sea. The Sea is another of their principal gods, to whom they sacrifice when the winds and waves are so tempestuous, that no foreign merchants can visit their coast; which usually happens in July and August, and sometimes in other months: Then they throw in all manner of goods, meat, drink, and cloathing, to appease the enraged element.

But, besides these publick objects of adoration, every man has a numerous set of gods, of his own chusing, at Fida. Every thing they meet with on going abroad, animate or inanimate, they introduce into the number, after it has undergone the following trial: They pray to it for something they stand in need of; and, if they obtain their desire by any means, they ascribe their success to the influence of this new god; but if they are disappointed, they conclude that it cannot or will not help them, and treat it with contempt, addressing to it no more: Which puts me in mind of the Portuguese, who are said to pray very zealously to the image of St. ANTHONY, which they carry about them; but, if he does not answer their expectations, they beat the image unmercifully, and drag it through every kennel by way of revenge. But to return:

Both Priest and Priestesses have an uncommon respect shewn them in the kingdom of Fida or Whidah: Their persons, and all that belong to them, are held sacred and inviolable; and tho' the wives of other men are little better than slaves to their husbands, the husband of a Priestess is obliged to be all obedience at his peril: Both the ecclesiastical and civil Government would resent his assuming any authority over such a wife; which makes the natives very cautious of marrying a Priestess. Nor would they ever consent, that their wives should be admitted into the order of priesthood, if they could help it. For, as I apprehend it, there is a certain tribe amongst them, who are Priests and Priestesses by inheritance; but then there are others admitted by that tribe into this order upon special occasions.

They have imperfect and confus'd notions of Heaven and a future State; and some of them mention a local Hell for the punishment of the wicked, but seem to regard it as little as Christians do. Thus, having enquired into the religion of the Fidaians, I proceed to treat of the opinions of the people of the Gold-coast in this article, where our author resided many years.

Religion of the Negroes on the Gold-coast. Here the people also believe in one supreme, almighty Being; but look upon him to be too much above them, to regard their affairs; and therefore address their prayers upon all occasions to some inferior deities or demi-gods, as the Greeks usually did of old: Some of them believe, that both black and white men were created by the supreme God at the same time: while others ascribe the creation to a great spider they call Ananfie. Every thing relating to religion they denominate Fetiche, as has been observed already; but to the

CHAP. VI. idol of their hearts, or favourite god, they give the title of Bossam, and to this god the beloved wife is always dedicated.

Every Priest, or Feticheer, have a different god, to whom the people under his care apply on publick occasions or common calamities. When they are debating on war and peace, they bring sacrifices, and consult the god by their Priest, who sometimes performs the ceremony alone, and returns an answer to those who come to enquire of him; at other times he consults the idol in their presence; from whom however they expect no vocal answer; but the Priest throws up some nuts or small pieces of leather, and, as they fall nearer or further from each other, he foretells good or bad success to the undertaking. They take every solemn oath also before an idol, drinking a draught after it, and praying that their god may strike them dead, or the liquor may burst them, if they do not perform their engagements, or if the thing be not true which they attest: However, it seems, the Priest has power to absolve them from these oaths: To prevent which, upon great occasions they make the Priest swear, that he will not absolve the party, or dispense with his oath, requiring the most dreadful imprecations from the Priest to confirm it: And the Negroes believe that whoever drinks the dreadful cup with such imprecations, and afterwards breaks it, will infallibly burst or die soon after.

When the weather is unseasonable, either excessive wet or dry, the whole town, or country, consult their Priest how the vengeance of Heaven may be appeas'd; and he generally advises them to offer certain sacrifices, which is readily comply'd with: And every village has a sacred grove set apart, where the sacrifices are kill'd, and divine worship perform'd; and these they will not suffer to be profaned or cut down upon any occasion. But, besides the idol that belongs to the Priest, every person has his particular household-god, before which he constantly performs his devotions on the day of the week he was born: This they call their Bossam, as they do the day itself, and drink no wine or strong liquor on that day before sun-set: They are also then habited in white, or their skins colour'd with a whitish earth or paint. There is another day of the week also set apart for divine worship; when the Poor sacrifice Poultry, and the Rich a Sheep, to their god, without the assistance of a Priest, which is eaten by the man and his friends; but the guts and inwards, boil'd in the blood, is reckon'd the most delicious morsel here, as well as in Caffraria: And there are few families in Guinea, but what are obliged, by ancient custom (which they think themselves religiously bound to perform) to abstain from certain kinds of meat; some from the flesh of Goats, others from that of Hogs, and a third perhaps from tame white Fowls; and their respective children and posterity never deviate from the rules prescribed by their ancestors: Among which, at Acra on the Gold-coast, circumcision is one; but, from whence they received it, or how long they have used this rite, none amongst them know; nor is it used by any other nation of Guinea.

What notion they have of the deities they worship is uncertain, any further than that they look upon them as beings vested with great power, and that carefully observe their behaviour, and reward and punish them in this life according to their demerits: They have not any great expectations, or dread of futurity, 'tis said; the rewards they expect, are a multitude of wives and slaves, health and wealth, and other prosperous circumstances in this world: And

CHAP.
VI.

the punishments they apprehend, are a deprivation of these. The greatest calamity that can befall them, and what they dread most, is death: Murder, adultery and theft, according to my author, are venial crimes, and may be atoned for with Gold, &c. But their eating forbidden meats, and drinking prohibited liquors, and a neglect of their holidays, they think can never be pardoned, but will (with deliberate and wilful perjury) be punished with death. Most of them, as has been hinted already, believe little of future rewards and punishments; tho' they seem generally to agree, that the souls of good men survive after death; and some few of them talk of a Paradise not unlike the Elysian fields, whither good spirits are sent; that is, such as have kept their holidays, inviolably abstained from forbidden meats, and observed their oaths: And those that have been deficient in any of these particulars are drown'd in a certain river, and a period put to their existence; but scarce any of them seem to have any notion of a wicked man's being punished eternally. Those that have, are supposed to have learnt it from the Christians, with whom they have conversed upwards of 200 years: And there are those, that imagine their souls, after death, pass into the bodies of white men, and undergo almost an unlimited transmigration.

Tho' all the Negroes worship some creature or other, yet they have not all idols or images in their houses; and some of the natives of the mountainous inland country, 'tis said, worship a living man, as the Tartars near China do; of whom they relate ten thousand miracles, and believe he dooms them to happiness or misery after death, according to their deserts: They are charged also with worshipping the Devil, and keeping a solemn festival, of eight days continuance, annually to his honour. But BOSMAN is of opinion this is a mistake; he acknowledges indeed they hold such a festival; but, he says, it is in order to drive the Devil out of their country.

Seven days are spent in feasting, singing and dancing, and great liberties are taken with impunity at that time: They lampoon their superiors, and make ballads on them, committing all manner of extravagancies; and, on the eighth day in the morning, they hunt the Devil out of every town and village with horrid cries and howling, throwing dirt and stones after him; and, when they have continued the frolick as long as they see fit, they return home, where they find the good woman employ'd in cleaning and scouring all their pots, pans and utensils, and purifying them from all uncleanness they might have contracted by Satan's residing amongst them. They have no other annual festivals but this, and another after harvest, when they sacrifice to their gods for affording them the fruits of the earth: As to their weekly sabbath, some keep it on a Tuesday, and others on a Friday, when no person is permitted to go a fishing; but they don't seem very scrupulous as to other kinds of work. However, they all abstain from Wine on their respective sabbaths, and sacrifice something to their gods on that day.

They certainly believe, that their souls survive after death; not only because some of the gods they worship are thought to have been once great and virtuous persons upon earth, but by the numerous stories they entertain the Europeans with of apparitions or spirits: Nay, they seem to believe spectres and apparitions more firmly than any article of their religion, terrifying themselves and others with an apprehension of being disturbed by them. Never any person dies, especially if he be a man of figure,

but they believe he appears for several nights about the place where he died; which does not consist at all with the notion some have given us of them, that they believe the soul dies with the body: Nay, they ascribe a great power to such unembodied spirits; of which BOSMAN gives the following instance. He says, one of their Kings happening to be killed, who was a professed enemy to the Dutch, and the chief Factor of the Hollanders fort dying some few days after, they concluded he had been snatch'd away by their deceased King, who had a power of punishing him in the other world, tho' he could not subdue the Dutch while he was in this mortal state. They seem to have a great deal of faith in magick or witchcraft, or something like it, endeavouring to revenge themselves on their enemies by charms and spells, which they hire a Priest to use, believing his curses will have the desired effect: They apply to him also for the discovery of stolen goods, which he pretends to help them to by the aid of good or bad spirits, but which of them our author don't inform us; only observes, that their Priests act in a triple capacity, viz. as Prophets, Conjurers and Physicians; and, when medicine does not answer their expectations, they have recourse to sacrifices and charms; and the people have so good an opinion of them, that, if the Priest does not recover the patient, or succeed in what he undertakes, they impute it to some defect in the sacrifice or themselves, or to any thing, rather than the unskilfulness or inability of the Priest.

The next particular I shall enquire into, is the Diet of the Negroes: And, it seems, they eat but poorly upon the Gold-coast (at least in the opinion of the Europeans,) Millet, boil'd to the consistence of bread, is their common food, or Potatoes, Yams, and other roots in the room of it, well drench'd in Palm oil; and, if to this they add a few boil'd herbs and stinking fish (for they always let them lie upon the ground till they stink) the common people think they live luxuriously that day: Nor do their superiors eat better, only they allow themselves a greater quantity of fish and herbs than the poor can afford. They have a dish also much admir'd by them, which is a mixture of corn, paste and Palm oil boil'd together, to which they give the name of Malaget, and is in some esteem with the Dutch, possibly because it may resemble their own Grout. They have also variety of Garden-beans and Pulse, with Banana's and other fruits that serve them for food.

At Benin and the Slave-coast the better sort of people eat Beef, Mutton and Fowls; and are so good to their poor, 'tis said, that they are always welcome to their tables when they want employment, and cannot provide for themselves. They are also extremely hospitable to strangers, being proud of nothing more than the character of generous free-hearted people. Dried fish and roots are the principal food of the common people at Benin: But, how meanly soever the Negroes live as to eating, those near the coast make it up with liquor. There is no part of the Guinea coast where they don't drink drams in the morning, and Palm wine in the afternoon; and their Chiefs of the towns, or petty Kings, as the Dutch call them, will meet the meanest of their subjects in the market-place of an evening, and, forming a circle upon the ground, drink to a very great excess, being attended by their women at the same time, who are no less addicted to drinking than the men, and their conversation is usually as smutty as that of a drunken crew of sailors, which does not at all offend the modesty of the Negroe females,

CHAP.
VI.The Diet
of the Ne-
groes.

CHAP.
VI.

females, who maintain their ground, and sit drinking and smoaking with the men frequently till morning. But, I'm apt to think, the Negroes of the inland country are not so dissolute a people as those upon the coast: If foreigners were to make an estimate of the English, from the people of both sexes they meet with in the sea-port towns, it would not be much to our advantage. But, besides Wine, they have a sort of Beer made of Millet, some of it very strong; few of them drink Water, it being esteemed very unwholesome here: And they have also the milk of young Cocoa-nuts, which is an exceeding cooling and refreshing liquor; but, as for Cow's milk, I perceive they never drink of it.

Diseases of
the Negroes.

Notwithstanding this country is found so unhealthy for European constitutions, the natives have but very few distempers: The Small-pox is the most fatal to them of any. This, indeed, sweeps them away like the Plague, as it generally does all other people in warm climates: And Worms are an epidemical distemper; not such as afflict our people in their stomachs and bowels, but a species that are found between the skin and the flesh, and give the patient inexpressible torment till they are drawn out; and this is an operation that lasts for a month, and more sometimes.

As soon as the head of the Worm has broken thro' the tumour, and is come a little way of itself, they draw it further, winding it about a stick a little at a time; and, when they find it come hard, they desist, for fear of breaking it; and then try at it again another day, and so on till they have got it quite out, and then the patient is at ease: But, if the Worm breaks, he endures a great deal of pain; for the Worm either rots in the flesh, or breaks out at another place: Some of the Negroes have 9 or 10 of these worms in them at once, and the Europeans are not entirely free from them. These Worms are a yard long, and sometimes as much more: Nor is this the distemper of Guinea only, our people, as well as the natives, are afflicted with it in the East-Indies. A greedy ravenous Appetite is also reckoned among the diseases of the Guinea Negroes, which proceeds, as some imagine, from drinking Palm wine to excess. The Venereal distemper is also fatal to many of them, having yet no methods of cure; and few of them escape it amidst such numbers of common women, who make a trade of letting themselves out. Wounds in the wars of Mars are no less dangerous than those of Venus, especially if there be any shattered bones; for they can cure nothing but ordinary flesh-wounds, which they do by applying pulvestes of some salutary herbs to them. But tho' the Negroes are generally healthful, they seldom live to a great age; one of fifty is esteem'd an old man in this country. As to the remedies for these, and other diseases, travellers relate, that they use green herbs in most cases: But what herbs those are, they have not yet inform'd us, possibly few Botanists have made the voyage, it being generally so fatal to Europeans. I proceed therefore to enquire into the distempers Europeans are principally afflicted with on the Guinea coast, and the reasons usually given for their ill state of health here. The distempers Europeans are most subject to, are Fevers, Dysenteries, and the Colick. BOSMAN ascribes them to the excessive heat of the day, and the coldness of the night, the Europeans not being used to such sudden changes. Another reason he assigns, is the thick stinking fogs, that arise from the valleys between the hills, and from the salt-marshes near the sea, and

Diseases
of the Europeans
there.CHAP.
VI.

at the mouths of the rivers where their factories are usually situated: Nor does the stinking fish, which the natives lay to rot upon the shore, contribute a little to infect the air, he thinks: And it is a matter of fact not to be contested, that few arrive here, but are immediately seized with a fit of sickness, of which abundance die. But he ascribes this, in a great measure, to the want of good kitchen physick and good medicines; and tho' a great many hasten their own deaths by intemperate living, yet the most regular men are frequently carried off: Indeed the Portuguese, who come from a warmer climate, and are used to another sort of diet than the English and Dutch, have their healths on all the coast of Africa almost as well as the natives; and therefore discoveries in those warm latitudes seem much properer for them, than for the more northern nations. But, among other causes that BOSMAN assigns for the ill health of the Europeans, is the plague of Flies; such swarms of Gnats or Muskeeto's are perpetually buzzing about and stinging them, so that they can get no rest night or day: And this is the case of all countries that are hot and moist. These and a thousand other insects are perpetually feasting upon the blood and flesh of those that come amongst them; and, as they seem to delight most in that of foreigners, so their stings are attended with worse consequences, than when they attack a native: For the first are so swelled up at their arrival, that they can scarce be known by their friends; whereas the natives, and those who have been used to the country, feel no such effects from their bite or sting. It is observed also, that warm woody countries, that are not cleared, and where the winds have not a free passage, are much the worst.

I shall, in the next place, enquire into their Marriage-ceremonies, and the condition of their women and children: And, I find, the lover or his friends contract with the father of the virgin, and that frequently before the girl is capable of making any choice; so that if matrimony consist in the mutual consent of the parties, there is no such thing here. The parents of the bride and bridegroom make the bargain when they are children, and no son or daughter ever pretends to dispute the authority of the father in this matter, when they grow up. As soon as the bride is deem'd capable of marriage-joys, she is taken home by the husband, without any other fortune to recommend her, than her native charms: For the husband, it seems, presents her with her very cloaths and ornaments, of which he takes a particular account, because, if she misbehaves herself, she is stripped of them, and return'd naked to her friends; but, if the man divorces her without any fault of hers, she carries off her wedding cloaths and jewels. There is an entertainment for the friends and relations when the wife is taken home, and she is suffered to dress and live at her ease for some few days; but then she is forced to work amongst the rest of his wives, to dig, plant, and sow the ground; for the men leave the husbandry, as well as the business of the house, entirely to the women; and there seems to be very little difference between their wives and slaves in this respect: Therefore no man stands upon quality in the choice of a wife; for, as he designs to use her as a drudge, he will as soon take the daughter of the meanest man, as of one of their chiefs. Those that live the easiest amongst them, are the wives of the Merchants, the dealers in Wine, and the Fishermen, who have no lands to manure; for these do something towards bringing in a livelihood, and providing for their families: Whereas the men

of

CHAP.
VI.

of estates make their wives manure and cultivate them; and the more wives they have, the greater is their stock of Corn, Rice and Plants, which makes them multiply their wives as fast as they can; tho' those on the Gold coast, my author says, are limited to twenty; yet, in the kingdom of Whidah, they take some hundreds, and the King several thousands, who are no more exempted from husbandry and other drudgeries, than those of private men, except some few of his favourites. They have also one wife they call their *Bossom*, dedicated to their household-god, who is exempted from working, and enjoys many other privileges in the life-time of her husband; but some say, it is expected she should follow her lord into the other world, when he makes his exit, as is expected also from some Indian wives; but this does not seem to be much practised of late: The *Bossom* is usually some young beautiful slave, purchased with a design of dedicating her to his god, and with whom he seems under some obligation of spending his time on the night of his birth-day, and of the other day of the week appropriated to the service of their gods. There is also another wife, to whom the affairs of the house are entrusted, and the government of the rest is committed, who is exempted from labour: And these two the Negroes are very jealous of, and endeavour to keep to themselves; but, for the rest, they are not so much concerned: The common people will wink at their bestowing their favours on other men; and, indeed, promote their own dishonour, provided they can get money by it: They will, 'tis said, contrive with their wives how to draw young fellows into the snare, for the sake of the damages they are entitled to, when another invades their property; for the meanest man does not recover less than five or six pounds sterling, if he can prove the offence; and they generally find means to have some evidence of the fact, besides the wife's: For, if the man will take a solemn oath that he is innocent, and there can be no witness against him but the wife (as I understand *Bosman*) he cannot be convicted.

Descent of
estates.

Upon the Gold coast, the man and his wife have not a community of goods, 'tis said; but those the man leaves, go to his eldest brother and his children; and those of the women to her eldest brother and his issue: Their respective children do not inherit the goods of either father or mother. However, if the father be a sovereign Prince, or Lord of any town or country, the eldest son succeeds his father in these commands, tho' he has nothing of his effects, but his arms; and at Whidah, and other parts of Guinea, the eldest son succeeds to his father's estate and effects, as well as in the governments and lordships he held: And tho' the Negroes use their concubines and female-slaves frequently, as well as their wives by contract; yet are their children illegitimate, and slaves to the heir, if he does not enfranchise them before his death. The multitude of wives, concubines and slaves these people keep, is for the state and grandeur of the matter, as well as on account of the profit of them: Here, as well as in India, a man is esteemed according to the number of women and slaves he keeps to run before him, and to sing and dance, and divert him when he appears in publick. But there is one inconvenience in a man's having a large family, and numerous dependance, in Guinea; that he is answerable for all the mischief and damage they do any one, and obliged to make it good: Nor do the people here wait, till they can have justice done them in courts of

law; but, where a man's slave has done them any injury, they immediately make reprisals on the master; and this is frequently the occasion of wars among the different tribes, who usually espouse the cause of their several friends and relations, as has been hinted already.

CHAP.
VI.

The Negroes of the inland country are much more jealous of their honour, than those upon the coast: If any one is familiar with their wives, nothing less than his ruin will satisfy them: If the offender be a slave, his death must atone for the crime, in which he usually undergoes the most exquisite torture; and his master is obliged to pay a considerable fine besides. The woman also pays for her wantonness with the forfeit of her life, unless her relations will redeem her with a swinging fine; and where she has committed the crime with a slave, no money will purchase her peace: She is put to death without mercy, and the master of the slave obliged to pay the husband very considerable damages: There have been instances of those who have been obliged to pay two or three thousand pounds for the offence of a slave, where a Prince or Great man is injured; and these usually assemble their subjects and dependants, and do themselves justice, as in other cases, engaging the whole country in the quarrel. But, if the man goes astray, the wife has no redress, she must not murmur whenever he ranges; which seems a little unjust, because the custom of the country allows a man women in abundance of his own: Whereastwenty or thirty females, perhaps a great many more, share but one man amongst them.

They seem to have a great regard to their women when they are with child, and make sacrifices and offerings to their gods when a woman is first found pregnant. At the birth of the child the Priest is sent for, who binds up the head, puts on some rings and spells to protect the infant against enchantments, and performs some religious ceremonies upon the occasion, as our Europeans apprehend at least: And there are two names bestowed upon it, viz. the day of the week on which it is born, the grandfather's name if a boy, and the grandmother's if a girl; and, as they grow up, they gain a third by their employment, or some great action they perform; as the killing a wild beast, signalizing themselves in the wars, and the like. In some places they circumcise their children; but this is not performed till they are five or six years of age, or more. They also imitate the Jews, in obliging their women to live separately from them at certain times; and are so severe upon them in some parts of Guinea, that they make it a forfeiture of their liberties to come into any man's house in such circumstances.

The women that are unmarried, 'tis said, take very great liberties, which is no reproach to them upon this coast, neither does it hinder their getting husbands; but this is to be understood only of the inferior people: And, as these sell their favours as dear as they can, *Bosman* relates, there are others purchased by every township almost, to supply the necessities of unmarried men; and that these are obliged to admit of the men's company, whether slaves or others, for the value of a farthing: That these women have huts by the way-sides, where they entertain those that are disposed to become their gallants: That they generally get an ill disease by their conversing with such numbers of men, and become the most miserable objects in the world; none thinking it worth while to take any care of their cure, or to relieve their wants, tho' these creatures

CHAP.
VI.

tures are mightily caressed while they are in their bloom : and the Dutch tell us, that, when they would bring any of the neighbouring towns to their terms, they seize these ladies of pleasure, and carry them to their forts, being assured the natives will submit to any thing to obtain their liberty. BOSMAN adds, that people here look upon it as an act of charity to purchase such young female-slaves, to relieve the necessities of the publick ; and that the rich Negroe women frequently leave some legacies of this kind when they die ; which brings me to treat of the behaviour of the Guinea Negroes, on the death of their relations, and the solemnity of their funerals.

Their funerals.

When a person of any figure dies, his wives, his relations, slaves, and dependants, immediately set up a dismal howl : His wives shave their heads, cloath such parts of their bodies with rags, as are usually cloathed, and, for the rest, colour their black skins with a white paint or clay, running about the streets, and bewailing themselves like so many distracted creatures ; and this they repeat several days successively : And, it seems, the people of Guinea scarce look upon death to be natural ; but that it is always a punishment inflicted on them by their gods, for some notorious offences. The Priest therefore being sent for, a very strict enquiry is made into the life of the deceased ; as, Whether he was ever perjured ? Whether he was guilty of eating prohibited meats ? Whether he observed their sabbaths and holidays, or the like ? BOSMAN says, the deceased is carried about upon men's shoulders, while, the Priest puts these questions to him ; and, by some circumstances in the position of the body, or its inclining one way or other when the Priest puts the question to him, he conjectures the cause of his death, and communicates it to his relations. There is still another way they usually imagine he may have been taken off ; and that is, by the charms or spells of his enemies : And accordingly, if any of his enemies have been suspected of practising magick, they make no scruple of charging him with the death of their friend, and perhaps endeavour to revenge it.

While the corpse remains unburied, all the relations, friends, and neighbours, attend it, and join in the lamentations of the family : It is customary also to bring presents with them of gold, linnen, good liquor, fruits, and other eatables, which seems the more reasonable, since they are entertained by the heir all the time of their stay. At length the corpse being richly habited, is put into a coffin, with a considerable quantity of gold, coral, and other valuable effects, suitable to the circumstances of the deceased : He is carried to the burying-place, preceded by great numbers of musketeers, who fire their guns all the way, and the rest of the people follow the corpse, making the air ring with their lamentations, but observe no manner of order in the procession.

So soon as the corpse is interred, most of the company return to the house of the deceased, which is now no longer a place of mourning ; for here they drink and feast for several days successively, congratulating the heir probably on his coming to the possession of his estate.

Slaves sacrificed on the death of a King.

When a King is buried, BOSMAN assures us, several of his slaves are sacrificed, in order to serve him in the other world ; as are his Bossums, or wives, dedicated to his gods ; which is another manifest proof, that the Negroes believe the soul survives the body, and that men have much the same necessities, and enjoy the like stations in the other world,

VOL. III.

as they did in this : Though the latter part of this notion is very different from the Christian's belief, who make the virtuous only to be entitled to a place in Paradise : But what is still more to be lamented, than the putting these miserable wretches to death, is the pain they endure in the execution. They pierce and cut them, as in sport, for several hours : BOSMAN says, he saw eleven put to death in this manner ; and amongst them, one who had endured a most exquisite torture, was delivered to a little child to cut off his head, which he was an hour in doing with a heavy broad sword he could hardly lift.

Instead of a tomb, the Negroes usually build a house, or plant a garden over the grave ; and, at Axim, they set images of clay upon it, which they wash and clean every year on the anniversary of the funeral, when the expence is as great, as at the time the person was buried.

They are not less desirous of being interred among their ancestors, than the people of Europe ; and, when they die at too great a distance from home to be removed thither, their relations, however, will bring home their friend's head, and some of his limbs, particularly if he is killed in a foreign war.

There are some other articles that still remain to be spoke to, such as their languages, learning, music and diversions ; but I meet with little on these heads. BOSMAN tells us, that their language is a very disagreeable brutal sound : That though the Europeans have often endeavoured to express their words in writing, they have never been able to do it : From whence I am apt to infer, it is not very different from that of the Hottentots, who express themselves, in many instances, by inarticulate sounds, which travellers compare to the noise of Turkey-cocks : However, of this sort of language, it seems, there are many different dialects, so different from each other, that, in the space of sixty miles, there are six or seven several people upon the Gold coast that don't understand one another, according to the same writer : And, as for learning, where there is neither reading or writing, and they know nothing of the dead languages, or even of the modern of any country but their own, nothing of that kind can be expected from them : They are perfectly ignorant when their country was first peopled, and from what nation they derive their original ; but seem to have a pretty general tradition, that both Black and White men were created so at first by God, and do not ascribe their dark complexions to the heat of the Sun, or to any accident or circumstance in their situation. To which some add another tradition, (viz.) that God, soon after the creation, gave them the choice of wisdom or wealth ; and that their ancestors chose the latter : Whereupon God placed them in Africa ; but was so angry with the option they made, that he doomed them to be slaves to the White men, on whom he bestowed wisdom, learning, arts, and sciences, and gave the Black the treasures of Gold ; for, according to their notion, learning is appropriated to the White men, and Gold to the Blacks : That there is no Gold to be had out of their country, nor any learning amongst those who inhabit it. BOSMAN mentions a Popish Priest, that used great endeavours to set these people right in their notions, and make proselytes of them to Christianity ; and, when all his arguments proved ineffectual, threatened them with the flames of hell for persisting in their superstitions : To which they only answered, that they should be in as good a condition as their ancestors, who had, for time immemorial,

CHAP.
VI.

Language.

AND
II

CHAP.
VI.
Musick.

worshipped the same gods, and observed the same customs.

Their musical instruments at Axim, BOSMAN informs us, are trumpets, made of Elephants teeth, bored through, with which they make a loud, but disagreeable noise; and, it seems, it is more for the honour of the matter, than the musick, that their Great men have these instruments sounded before them. They have also a kind of drum, made of a wooden bowl, with a Sheep's-skin stretched over it in the form of a kettle-drum, having two wooden hammers for drum-sticks; though sometimes they play upon them with their bare hands in comfort with their trumpets, which afford no great harmony neither in the opinion of any but Negroes; nor is the hollow iron bell they beat upon at the same time much more agreeable: The least shocking of any part of their musick, is an instrument made in the shape of a harp, which makes a noise that may be borne with patience. They have also a great variety of other drums and musical instruments, very entertaining in their opinion; but travellers don't think them worth a description. They sing and dance, however, to their musick, such as it is; and seem to be as much charmed with it, as Europeans are with the best voices and instruments, and the finest compositions of the Italians.

Some tribes of the Negroes are mightily given to gaming, and will stake all they have upon the event of the game; but I don't find, that they play'd at any other game than that of Draughts or something like it, in which they used large Beans, till the Europeans taught them to play with Cards and Dice: Their rural sports are either hunting, shooting, or fishing; and game is so plentiful at Whidah, and some other parts of Guinea, that a man may load himself with it in a few hours, 'tis said; but they have no dogs to hunt or spring the game for them, or Horses to ride after it, as with us; Guns, Nets, and Snares are what they use on these occasions: But, in fishing, they want no tackle that the Europeans use, as has been related already: And, indeed, fishing is the principal employment, as well as diversion, of those tribes that lie near the coast.

CHAP. VII.

The present state of NIGRITIA, ZAARA, and BILEDULGERID.

Containing the Present State of Nigritia or Negroeland, Zaara or the Desert, and of Biledulgerid olim Numidia.

CHAP.
VII.

NIGRITIA, or Negroeland, supposed to receive its name from the dark complexion of the natives, or from the river Niger, that runs thro' the middle of it, according to the best information I can get of the country, extends from 10 degrees to 20 north; and, in longitude, about 3000 miles, as Geographers conjecture; bounding it with Cape Verd, 18 degrees west of London, and carrying it to the confines of the Upper Ethiopia, or Abyssinia, 30 degrees to the eastward of London: But, should it be admitted, that some Europeans have gone up the river Niger, and discovered the country for 300 miles, to the eastward of Cape Verd, as they pretend; certain it is, that all the remainder of the 3000 miles to the eastward of that, is perfectly unknown to the European nations, unless what they have gathered from the report of the natives,

who are but poorly qualified to give a description of their country: Neither is the language of several of the Negroe nations, who come down to the mouths of the river Niger to trade with the Europeans, understood by them, or even by the natives on the coast; and consequently all the descriptions we have of the Negroeland, above 300 miles to the westward of Cape Verd and the Atlantick Ocean, must be imperfect; I doubt they can scarce be rely'd on in any one particular: There may be forty kingdoms and nations of different people, for aught we know, comprehended in that vast tract assigned to Negroeland, which our Geographers continue under that name, for no other reason, than that they are very much in the dark as to all beyond the mouths of the Niger.

This mighty river empties itself into the Atlantick Ocean by several mouths; of which the three largest are, 1. The Rio Grande, or Great River; 2. The Gambia; and, 3. The Senegal: And, as the mouth of the river Grande lies in 11 degrees north latitude, and the Senegal in 16, consequently it is upwards of 300 miles between the two most distant mouths of this river; and all the country between, except the rising grounds, are annually overflow'd, as the Delta in Egypt is by the Nile, and much about the same time, the heads of the Nile and the Niger not being very far distant, and the rains that swell them falling at the same time. The Portuguese, on the first discovery of Cape Verd, fixed several colonies and settlements on the river Niger; of which they still retain those of Catheco and Bisseo, on the river Grande: The English have, at this day, two settlements, one on Charles island, and another on James island, in the mouth of the river Gambia, and 100 miles farther north: The French have two settlements, one on the south, and the other on the north of Cape Verd, near the mouth of the Senega or Senegal, and to the northward of them, on the river of St. John: The Dutch also have some settlements; all which formerly belonged to the Portuguese.

The chief Negroe town, which Historians and Geographers frequently make the capital of a mighty empire, is Tombut, situate in 15 degrees north latitude, 6 degrees and a half westward of London: But I can't learn, that this, or any of their towns, consist of any other or better buildings than our ordinary cottages, having clay walls and thatched roofs. Such towns or villages as those, 'tis said, stand pretty thick in that part of the country which the Europeans are acquainted with: And, 'tis thought, if their lands were as well cultivated, they would yield as good crops of grain, as those of Egypt do, which have the like advantage of being overflow'd annually by the Nile, as these are by the Niger. However, as it is, the soil of Negroeland yields great plenty of Rice and Millet, Palm-trees, Cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, herbs, and roots, with flesh, and fowl; so that the natives live very plentifully. As to their persons, they are generally of a good stature, and of hale, robust constitutions; their complexions the deepest black; their hair black, short, and curled like wool; their noses flat; their lips thick; and scarce differing in any thing from those of their neighbours in Guinea; only, as they are much less versed in traffick, it is observed, they are a plainer honest people. There are some Mahometans, and a few Christians, which the Portuguese have made profelytes of, 'tis said, upon the coast, and near

CHAP.
VII.

The river
Niger.

European
settle-
ments on
the mouth
of the Ni-
ger.

Chief
towns of
Negroe-
land,
Tombut.

Fruitful
country.

Persons
of the na-
tives.

at west
end of
the
river

CHAP.
VII.

Trade.

Cape
Verd.An enquiry
into
the reason
of differ-
ent com-
plexions
and fea-
tures.

near the mouths of the rivers: But all the inland Negroes are still Pagans, as those of Guinea are; and probably their customs, rites and ceremonies not very different from theirs. The European nations, that are settled on this coast, deal with the natives chiefly for slaves; tho' they may sometimes meet with Gold, Elephants teeth and Drugs, but in no great quantities. Cape Verd, which lies in 15 degrees of north latitude, near the river Senega, is the most westerly promontory of Africa, as has been observed already, and obtained the name of Verd, from the verdure of the groves of Palm-trees, and other ever-greens the Portuguese found upon it at their arrival on this coast.

Before I take leave of this land of the Blacks (for the nations to the northward are of an olive colour) it may be proper to take notice of the different opinions of the learned, concerning the reason of this dark complexion of the Negroes.

It was long the opinion of the Christians in general, and perhaps of the Jews before them, that all men were white till after the Flood; but that Ham, the second son of Noah, was converted from a white man, to a black man, by his father's cursing him; and that Africa, falling to the lot of this son, all his posterity, who possess'd this part of the world, have remained black ever since.

But that this curse of Noah's was not the occasion of such a change of complexion is pretty evident: For first, the posterity of Cham, or Ham, if they possess'd Africa, are not all black: The entire northern coast, from Egypt to the empire of Fez inclusive, and for several hundred miles to the southward, even as far as the Tropic of Cancer, if not further, are not black, any more than those who inhabit to the southward of the Tropic of Capricorn.

2. The people, in some parts of Asia, particularly in the peninsula of India, on this side the river Ganges, and who are supposed to be the posterity of Seth, the favourite son, are full as black within the Tropic of Cancer, as any of the Negroes in Africa: Nor is there, in the inland country of India, at a distance from the coast, a single person to be found, that is not black; at least I never met with one, tho' I travelled 100 miles in that country, and resided some time in it. It has been reported, indeed, that there are no Blacks out of Africa; but probably those writers, who asserted this, had their information from such Merchants, or Seamen, as had visited only the coast of India; where, 'tis true, there is a tawny mingled breed; but even there the greatest numbers of the natives are black, who lie within the Tropic of Cancer: Indeed the Indian Blacks have not the flat noses, and thick lips, or the short frizzled hair of the Negroes: But these, I think, have never been reckon'd part of Noah's curse.

Another reason assign'd for the blackness of the Negroes, is the heat of the climate; their country being situated within the Torrid Zone. But neither can this be admitted as the sole reason of it; for great part of the continent of America also lies within the Torrid Zone; and yet there never was a black man there, till the Europeans transported them thither from Africa.

Others have suggested, that the people of Africa, being of a tawny complexion, between black and white originally, and not able to make themselves as white as their northern neighbours, took great pains to make themselves black, as a more desirable colour than the olive: That they accordingly rubbed over their bodies with oil or grease, mixed with

CHAP.
VII.

foot, or some other black ingredient; and thereby contributed to render their complexions darker than they were originally; and that the women afterwards, seeing nothing else but black men, brought black children into the world: And these strengthen their opinions by some very notable facts. It is observed by all travellers, that the Negroes grease or anoint themselves, and their children, continually from the hour they are born; and that many of them mix black ingredients with the ointment: That the Caffries and Hottentots, beyond the Tropic of Cancer, who are not naturally of so dark a complexion as the Negroes nearer the Line, do actually darken their skins pretty much, by rubbing them with fat and foot.

Others observe, that not only the complexions, but the very features, hair, make and stature of people differ, as the country and climate differs; wherein they were severally born: And as to the Negroes in particular, their hair, their lips and noses, are not at all like those of Asia or Europe, or even those who live in the north of Africa. The Scythians, of old, and the Tartars and Laplanders, at present, are of a very different make from the people of the southern parts of Europe or Asia: The Tartars are remarkable for their olive complexions, squat make, flat faces, and little eyes set deep in their heads. In some countries the people are tall, in others short; and not only the persons, but the very genius and temper of men differ, as the soil and climate differ where they were born. The Spaniard is grave and sedate, mighty slow and circumspect in his actions; while the French are gay and airy, perpetually dancing and singing: And this difference, no doubt, proceeds from the soil and situation of the respective countries; for, transplant any people from one country to another, they will alter or degenerate into the same kind of men, in a few generations, as the former inhabitants were. If the Spaniards and French were to change countries, they would, in a few generations, alter their persons and humours; the French would be Spaniards, and the Spaniards French.

Does not every body see a remarkable difference between the French and the English, when the French first came over hither? And yet, in two or three generations, 'tis impossible to distinguish the one from the other. And so I take it to be in complexion, as well as in features and in humours: Blacks, in a few generations, would become white, if brought over hither; and possibly White men might become black, or very near it, if they were planted a few generations in the heart of Africa, especially if pains were taken to make them so, by rubbing their children with grease and foot from the time they were born, as the Africans do.

To sum up all: The Sun, no doubt, goes a great way towards the darkening the complexion of the people that inhabit the Torrid Zone; but then the soil they live upon, the pains they take to make their children still blacker, and their women conversing altogether, or chiefly with Black men, every one of these may contribute something towards making them so exceeding black; for the Sun alone, it is certain, will not do it; or the people, who live within the Torrid Zone in America, would be equally black. And, as to Noah's cursing his son Ham, it is evident, this can be of no weight; for, as I have observ'd already, great part of the people of Africa (the country his posterity are supposed to inherit) are not black: And the

CHAP.
VII.

the people of the East-Indies, who are supposed to be the descendants of Seth, the favourite son, are as black as any of the Negroes of Africk; tho' 'tis true, their hair is long, and their features much more engaging than those of the African Negroes.

If it be still doubted, whether the alteration of climate or soil will have any effect upon the features as well as complexion, we may remember, that the Turks, Persians, Indians, and Chinese, all come originally from Tartary (at least the sovereigns and governing parts of those empires); and yet they do not at all resemble the Tartars, from whence they descended, at this day, but the people of those countries they respectively possess'd to the southward of them; which, I believe, will be admitted to amount to a demonstration of what has been advanc'd on this head.

Zaara and
Biledulgerid.

I proceed, in the next place, to the description of Zaara and Biledulgerid, which are supposed to extend from the Atlantick Ocean to the east, as far as Ethiopia Superior; to run all along parallel to Nigritia; and to lie between the 20th and 28th degrees of north latitude; being bounded by the territories of the Emperor of Morocco and Barbary, on the north; by Ethiopia, on the east; by Nigritia, on the south; and by the Atlantick ocean, on the west. The north division of this country, called Biledulgerid in our maps, the Sailors charts denominate the country of Gualata; and to the south-division, which in our maps has the name of Zaara, our Mariners give the name of Arguin, from a town that lies near the mouth of a river of St. John's: However, it is agreed, that both Biledulgerid and Zaara are barren desert countries at this day, with scarce any towns in them; for which reason I have thrown them together.

The principal river is that which the Portuguese have given the name of Dorada to. There are some few lesser streams here, but none of them navigable; and the country is so very far from being well water'd, that, when the caravans cross it from Morocco to Nigritia, they do not meet with water in several days, and are forced to load one half of their Camels with water and provisions for their subsistence.

The natives of a
different complexi-
on from
the Negroes.

What is most remarkable in the people of this country is, that they are most of them tawny: Tho' Nigritia lies contiguous to them, there are few Negroes in it; neither do the inhabitants agree with the Negroes in their religion, manners or customs. The inhabitants of this vast desert, like the Arabs, live in tents, moving from place to place, as they can meet with pasture and water for their cattle; and, like the Arabs, they live chiefly, 'tis said, by plunder and rapine: They are generally Mahometans; and probably the descendants of those Arabs, or Saracens, who over-ran all the north of Africa in the 7th century. Biledulgerid, that now lies waste, and almost uninhabited, was one of the celebrated kingdoms of Numidia, then well peopled and fruitful; and there are still the ruins of ancient palaces and temples to be met with here; but every country is the worse for being possess'd by Mahometans; they neither regard building, or the cultivation of the soil. Thus we find it in Persia; a great part of which country, by the industry of the former inhabitants, in collecting the little rivulets, and flowing of their grounds, rendered them as fruitful as other soils; whereas now great part of the same lands yield nothing but weeds and briars: And even that fruit-

Of a different reli-
gion, &c.

ful country of Natolia, or the Lesser Asia, where were so many flourishing towns and provinces anciently, is now become a desert. It is true, all soils are not alike fruitful; but good husbands will make almost any thing produce a crop by their labour and industry; whereas the careless slothful Turk can scarce subsist upon the richest soil; nor will he trouble himself to improve his country by trade, how advantageously soever it is situated; but this is left in a manner entirely to the Christians and Jews under their dominion. As we know very little more of Zaara and Biledulgerid, than that the country is a desert; and that the few people in it live in tents, ranging perpetually from place to place, and have no settled habitation; I proceed to the description of the empire of Morocco.

CHAP.
VII.

CHAP. VIII.

The present State of the Empire of Morocco:

In which are comprehended the Kingdoms or Provinces of Fez, Morocco, and Suz.

THE empire of Morocco lies between 28 and 36 degrees of north latitude; and between 4 and 9 degrees of western longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London, being bounded by the Mediterranean, on the north; by the river Fulvia, which separates it from Algiers, on the east; by Biledulgerid, on the south; and by the Atlantick Ocean, on the west; being upwards of 500 miles in length from the north-east to the south-west, and about 200 miles in breadth. Some extend this empire as far south as the river Niger, almost making it upwards of 1200 miles from north to south; but all that tract of land from the province of Suz to Nigritia, being only a barren desert inhabited by Arabs, who wander from place to place, and are under no manner of government, is very improperly comprehended in the empire of Morocco.

CHAP.
VIII.Situation
and extent
of the em-
pire of
Morocco.

This empire, now call'd Morocco from a city of that name (on the north part of it at least) was the Mauritania Tingitana of the Romans; and so denominated from the city of Tingis, now Tangier, lying on the south-side of the Streights of Gibraltar. The country is finely diversified with mountains and vast extended plains, most of them very fruitful, and pretty well inhabited. The principal mountains are those of Atlas, which lie almost in the form of a crescent between the kingdoms of Morocco and Suz, and extend from the kingdom of Algier to the Atlantick ocean. There are not many woods in it, and those there are destitute of timber.

Antiently
Mauritania
Tingitana.Face of
the coun-
try.

The chief rivers are, the river Suz, in the kingdom of Suz, at the mouth whereof stands the city Santa Cruz; the river Rabata, at the mouth whereof is the piratical town of Sallee; the river Ceba, at the mouth whereof lies the piratical town of Mamora; the river Lecus, on which stands the port-town of Larrach: None of these rivers are navigable for ships; nor will the ports at the mouths of them admit of large vessels. Arzilla, to the northwards of Larrach, is another inconsiderable port-town; and the Portuguese are yet in possession of Malignan on the same coast to the southward: There are also the bays of Tangier and Tetuan in the Mediterranean, where ships may ride during some winds, but are very unsafe in others; and the Spaniards are yet in possession of Ceuta over-against Gibraltar,

Rivers
and port
towns.

CHAP. VIII. Gibraltar, and of Penon de Veloz further to the eastward : But in none of these is there any safe harbour.

Sallee, a piratical port. Sallee, on the west coast of the kingdom of Fez, is esteemed the best port the Emperor of Morocco hath : And, tho' this appears to be a pretty good harbour when a ship is got into it ; yet, at a full tide, there is not above 12 foot of water ; and the bar, at the mouth of it, is seldom to be pass'd by any thing but boats and very small vessels : And yet from this place, and Mamora, a little to the northward of it, do the Pirates of this country perpetually infest these seas, taking abundance of Christians ships, with their row-boats and small craft, with which they board and overpower merchantmen that have but few hands : And even our East-India-men and stoutest ships are under great apprehensions when they pass near this coast ; for, tho' they have no quarrel with us, they will seize and carry in our ships upon very frivolous pretences, particularly if they find passengers on board of any other nation they are at war with.

The air of the country. The air of this country is generally temperate, especially on the mountains, and near the sea-coasts, where they oftner complain of cold than heat : It freezes sometimes in the winter very hard, and the tops of the mountains are cover'd with snow great part of the year. However, in the valleys, their winter is but short ; and, when it freezes in the morning, the middle of the day is generally warm. It freezes hardest in January, as with us ; February is more moderate, and the weather variable, changing several times the same day.

Seasons. In March the north and west winds blow furiously ; in which month their trees begin to blossom : Towards the end of April they have ripe cherries ; in May, Figs ; and, in the latter end of June, all manner of fruit is ripe, except their latter Figs, which are not ripe till September. The spring (when the weather is very temperate) is reckon'd to begin the latter end of February, and end the latter end of May : Then their summer begins, and lasts to the middle of August. This is a pretty hot season, the air all the while wonderful clear and serene ; and it is usually very unhealthful, if it happens to rain in the summer ; the sun then is parching hot, and occasions malignant fevers. Their harvest begins in the middle of August, and lasts till the middle of November ; when their winter begins, and continues till the middle of February. During this time, and the beginning of the spring, they have hard gales of wind and storms, with snow, hail and thunder ; and the east and south-east winds frequently blast their fruits in the spring.

Their rainy weather begins in October, when they sow their lands upon the hills ; but, in their valleys, their seed-time does not begin till February.

Division of the empire. The empire of Morocco being divided into the three grand provinces or kingdoms of Fez, Morocco and Suz ; I shall give a brief description of each, and of the principal towns contained in them.

Province of Fez. The kingdom of Fez is bounded by the Mediterranean, on the north ; by the territories of Tangier, on the east ; by Morocco, on the south ; and the Atlantick Ocean, on the west : The chief towns whereof are, 1. Fez, the metropolis of the empire, situated in a plain on a branch of the river Cebu or Fez, latitude 33, longitude 4 west of London. This city is rather two cities joined, the one call'd Old Fez, and the other New Fez. Old Fez is situated the lowest, and has a small river running through it : The town is of a round figure, and

VOL. III. NUMB. CVIII.

CHAP. VIII. about three miles in circumference : There are between 50 and 60 mosques, or Mahometan temples, in it : The houses of their Great men here, as in other places, contain several squares : Those of the common people are very mean, and the shops like so many pedlars stalls : The streets narrow and unpaved, miserably dirty in winter, and dusty in summer : Their inns, that have been so much cry'd up, are built in form of a square also, with lodging-rooms on the inside : The traveller buys his own provision, and dresses it, and has the conveniency of feeding his horses and cattle before the door of his lodging in the square : So that I find they pretty much resemble the caravansera's, or places of refreshment, on the roads in Persia and Turkey.

The town of Old Fez is defended by a double wall, and a castle on each side of it, situated upon an eminence ; but lies very much exposed, being commanded by some rising grounds in the neighbourhood : Their best defence lies in their numbers, being able, 'tis said, to arm forty-thousand men.

The new town is separated from the other only by a small river, and has a double wall round it, with square towers, like those of Old Fez : There is also one tolerable bastion on the walls of the new town, said to have been built by an English Renegado. This town was designed as a citadel to command the old town ; and here the King always keeps a good body of horse for that end, whose principal business it is to collect the corn of the neighbouring country, and lay it up in the magazines for grinding ; of which they have several water-mills on the rivers that run by the town : Here are some palaces of the Kings and great men, but run to ruin since the court removed to Mequinez ; and the houses of the common people have only clay, or mud walls and thatch'd roofs. The new town is about a mile and a half in circumference, and very populous : The gates magnificent, and make a grand appearance at a distance ; but a traveller is miserably disappointed when he comes into it, to find little else but thatch'd cottages, besides the mosques, the magazines, and some few ruinous palaces. However, Old Fez is a town of the greatest trade of any town in the empire.

Mequinez. Mequinez, the present residence of the empire of Morocco, is situated in a delightful plain, about a day's journey to the westward of Fez, and two to the eastward of Sallee, on the same river that Sallee stands : The palace and the olive parks about it make a very beautiful appearance at a distance ; but neither does Mequinez answer the expectations of the traveller when he comes into it. It is of an irregular form, about two miles in circumference, and said to contain three hundred thousand souls : The streets, like those of Fez, are dirty in winter, and dusty in summer, meanly built, and their tradesmen have stalls on some of the highest ground in the town, where they sell their goods : Mequinez is surrounded by an ordinary wall, and parted by a road from the Negroe town, which is inhabited by the King's black troops (the cavalry, on which he principally relies) with their families.

The palace lies on the south-side of the city, and indeed is another city interspersed with parks, fields, canals and gardens : In one quarter whereof is the Haram, assign'd solely to the use of the King's women and their guard of Eunuchs : A second contains the rooms of state and audience : In a third quarter are the King's handicrafts, workmen and armoury :

CHAP.
VIII.

armoury: In a fourth his guards are lodg'd, where are the artillery and magazines: And in a fifth the stables: Every part divided into large squares; being in the whole about three miles in circumference. And here the walks and pavements are kept exceeding neat, and the galleries frequently adorn'd with mosaic work. Mr. BLAITHWAIT, who attended Mr. RUSSEL, the English Ambassador to the Court of Morocco in the Year 1727, gives us an account of that Minister's audience at the palace of Mequinez, which affords us a tolerable idea of the place and people, as well as of their prince.

The reception of the British Ambassador at Mequinez. An. 1727.

He says, on the day appointed for the audience, a Spaniard, Alcaide (Governor) of the Christians, and several officers of the palace, came to conduct the Ambassador to Court: That about twelve of them mounted, and rode in the following manner: The Ambassador, between the Bassaw who conducted him to Mequinez, and the Bassaw's brother, preceded by twenty Musketeers: The rest of the English gentlemen accompanied by another of the Bassaw's brother, and some officers of the Court: Two of the Ambassador's servants in liveries on horseback; and after them, the captives and the Moorish and Jewish servants, who walk'd on foot. The whole clos'd with a guard of horse belonging to the Bassaw: However, a drunken Moor of quality, in the abundance of his zeal, rode in amongst them, calling them Christian dogs and rogues, presenting his piece at the English, and it was with some difficulty he was persuaded to go about his business: Nor was this insult taken any notice of; for, it seems, a flaming zeal for their superstition is an atonement for almost any crime.

Being enter'd the first gate of the palace, they all alighted, and in the square within it were found thirteen fine Horses of the Emperor's, richly caparison'd and accoutred, and held by so many Negroe grooms for state. These the Bassaw led them to take a view of. After which, having pass'd through two or three squares more, they came to the Emperor's apartment; but in such a crowd, that it was with a great deal of difficulty they arrived there. After some time they were conducted into a long gallery; the floor and sides whereof were covered with small tiles, an inch square, of various colours. Hither his British Majesty's present was brought, and set out to the best advantage; consisting of a large crystal scone with twelve branches; eleven bales of coarse cloth, each bale containing three pieces; three boxes of superfine cloth, containing fifteen pieces; one box of French linen, call'd Brittanies; two boxes, containing each fourteen loaves of double-refin'd sugar; one box of China ware; one box, containing eighteen pound of tea; one box, containing three large China jars of sweet-meats; one box of toys; one box, with brocades, silver tabbies, thread sattins, and gold lace; one case, containing a gun and a pair of pistols; four chests of Florence; and one box, containing hollands and cambricks.

The present made the Emperor of Morocco by the British Court.

Having waited here about an hour, they were conducted to an open gallery, which gave them the prospect of a fine meadow within the palace; over the middle of which there was a terrace walk from one end to the other, thick shaded with Vines supported by an arch'd frame. Having pass'd in a continual crowd still a great way farther, they were at length stopp'd, and given to understand the Emperor was in the next room. Whereupon the Bassaw, his brothers, and several other great officers immediately pull'd off their Alhagues (their outward

vests) or habits of distinction, as well as their slippers, and each of the Bassaw's brothers took a China jar of sweet-meats, part of the present, to carry in to the Emperor; and all the rest of the present was carried in, and placed in the Emperor's sight, before the Ambassador was admitted: Then two great doors were flung open, and they saw his Majesty sitting under a canopy in an open gallery; and, at his feet, his favourite brother MULEY AMSTEDDY, with his Prime Minister Bassa EMP-SAEL, a great fat Negroe.

CHAP.
VIII.

The Ambassador, being led up to the throne, pull'd off his hat, and made three bows; and, having deliver'd the King of Great-Britain's letter, tied up in a handkerchief, into the Emperor's own hand, and a gold watch in another, he put on his hat, and made a speech, expressing the great esteem his Master had for his Imperial Majesty, condoling his father's death, and congratulating the Emperor's accession, which was interpreted (my author observes) to very little purpose; for the Emperor was so drunk, he could scarce hold up his head: However, it seems he understood so much by the speech and the present, as to be very well pleas'd; and answer'd *buono, buono*, ordering the Alcaide of the Christians to see they did not want Wine and roast Pigs every day, charging his Prime Minister to let the Christian Minister (the Ambassador) have whatever he demanded. Then the Courtiers prostrated themselves on their faces, and crawl'd upon their hands and knees to kiss his feet: Soon after which, his Majesty's Eunuchs, finding him much out of order, carried him away, and the Court retir'd. My author says, while the Ambassador waited to be admitted, there was such a noise and disturbance among the drunken Courtiers, that he could compare it to nothing else, but the common side of a Jail; tho', at their audience, things were a little compos'd.

He adds, this Emperor, MULEY HAMET DUBEBBY, was upwards of 6 foot high, about 50 years of age, of a fierce countenance, and much pitted with the small-pox; his face bloated, and his fore teeth out; and, being a Malatto of a tawny complexion, made a very indifferent figure: It being cold weather, he had a black cloak over a white Alhague or vest; his turban was a green silk sash, which hung carelessly about his head, and shewed he was drunk. All he had about him worth admiring was a fine scimiter in a gold scabbard, richly set with precious stones.

The Emperor being carried away, the confusion among his drunken Courtiers was as great as before; neither was there any care taken to conduct the Ambassador back again to his house: They were push'd and shov'd about, and in danger of being trodden under foot; and, instead of being assisted by the Officers of the Court, the gates were shut against them, and extravagant sums demanded for permission to go through them. In the mean time the throng was very great, and their very buttons were cut off their cloaths before they could get away, and they expected every minute to be stripp'd by the mob: However, by bribing the Porters very handsomely, they were so fortunate at length to escape out of the palace, and get to their house. But to return to the Emperor: It was usual with him, it seems, to drink with his Ministers, till he fell down dead drunk; and then he was carried to bed by his Eunuchs: And, when he waked again, he was sure to give some examples of his cruel and fierce disposition; insomuch, that his servants fled, and dreaded to come near him; and happy was the Minister who could make an excuse to be absent.

The Ambassador finds great difficulty in getting out of the palace.

Some character of the Emperor.

While

CHAP.
VIII.
He murders several people.

While the English Ambassador was at Mequinez, he shot two men that waited on him, and he endeavoured to kill his Prime Minister with his own hand: But this Courtier, keeping out of the way till his fury was over, was then taken into favour again: He commanded two young Jewish women to be brought to his bed; and, when he sent them home again, hearing that their husbands had presumed to go to bed them, he ordered their husbands to be put to death: Another of his mistresses disobliging him, he ordered all her teeth to be drawn out; and, enquiring for her afterwards, and being told she was not recovered from the illness that operation had occasioned, he ordered the man's teeth, who drew them, to be pulled out, and sent her by way of satisfaction. For any trifling offence, or for his humour, would he order a man to be tossed, that is, thrown up into the air by four lusty slaves, as high as they could, and then let fall again; whereby sometimes the person was killed, and others made cripples of: And such feasts as these, it seems, were his sport and diversion. From such a court as this, no wonder, therefore, if the English Ambassador hastened to be dismissed.

The demands of the British Court.

The demands Mr. RUSSEL was instructed to make at the Court of Morocco were, To get all such captives released, as had been taken under British colours: To get restitution made to such Merchants, whose ships had been robbed by the Sallee pirates since the last peace; and to confirm that peace with the present Emperor. But he was soon given to understand, that there was no restitution to be expected from this Court; and, for the captives, they did consent to release about a dozen of them, of which four were English: And for these the Ambassador paid a great deal more than their ransom could have been valued at. The Prime Minister, the favourite Women, and every Officer concerned in his dispatches, were bribed again and again; nor was there a servant about the Court, but was perpetually begging something of him, under pretence of some good offices they had done him: However, at a vast expence, and with abundance of difficulty, the following articles of Peace were agreed on; and those made by Admiral STEWART with the same Court, in the reign of King GEORGE I. were confirmed.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES of Peace and Commerce,

BETWEEN the most high, and most renowned Prince GEORGE II. by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. and the most high and glorious, mighty and right noble Prince, MULEY HAMET DAHEBBY, BEN MULEY ISMAEL, BEN MULEY ZERIPH, BEN MULEY ALY, King and Emperor of the kingdoms of Fez, Morocco, Taffilet, Suz, and all the Algarbe, and its territories in Africa, &c. concluded, agreed, and adjusted by JOHN RUSSEL, Esq; on the behalf of his Britannick Majesty; and by his Excellency Bassaw HAMET, BEN ALY, BEN ABDALLA, and his Imperial Majesty's Admiral of Sallee, HADGE, ABDELCADEK, PEREZ, on the behalf of the Emperor of Fez and Morocco.

The Articles of Peace and Commerce.

ARTICLE I. That all Moors and Jews, subject to the Emperor of Morocco, shall be allowed a free traffick, viz. to buy or sell for

thirty days in the city of Gibraltar, or island of Minorca, and not to reside in either place, but to depart with their effects, without lett or molestation, to any part of the said Emperor of Morocco's dominions.

ARTICLE II. That the King of Great-Britain's subjects, residing in Barbary, shall not be obliged to appear before the Cadi, or Justices of the country; but only the Governor of the place, and his Britannick Majesty's Consul, are to take cognizance of, and adjust the differences they may have with the natives of the country.

ARTICLE III. That the menial servants of his Britannick Majesty's subjects, tho' natives of the country, either Moors or Jews, be exempt from taxes of all kinds.

ARTICLE IV. That all his Britannick Majesty's subjects, as well passengers as others, taken by any of the Emperor of Fez and Morocco's Cruisers, on board any foreign ship or vessel whatever, shall immediately be set at liberty, and sent to the city of Gibraltar.

ARTICLE V. That there be permission for buying provisions, and all other necessaries for his Britannick Majesty's fleet, or city of Gibraltar, at any of the Emperor of Fez and Morocco's sea-ports, at the market-prices; and the same to be shipped off without paying custom, as has been extorted lately, contrary to the treaty of peace subsisting.

ARTICLE VI. All other Articles, being fifteen in number, concluded, agreed, and adjusted by the honourable CHARLES STEWARD, Esq; on the behalf of his Britannick Majesty, and by his Excellency Bassaw HAMET, BEN ALY, BEN ABDALLA, and his Imperial Majesty's Treasurer, Mr. MOSES BEN HATTAR, a Jew, on the behalf of the said King of Fez and Morocco, shall stand good, and be of the same force, as in the reigns of the most high, and most renown'd Prince GEORGE I. King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, &c. of glorious memory, and the high and glorious, mighty and right noble Prince, ALBUMAZAR MULEY ISMAEL, late Emperor of Morocco. And it is farther agreed, that all the Articles aforementioned, as well the fifteen, as these additional ones, shall in twenty days after the date hereof, be publish'd in the Arabick language, and affix'd on the gates of all the sea-port towns in his Imperial Majesty's dominions.

Sign'd and dated at the Court of Mequinez, January 14. 1727-8.

Soon after the signing this treaty, the Ambassador took leave of the Court of Mequinez, and begun his journey for Tangier under a Moorish guard commanded by officers, who had money allowed them, by their superiors, to defray the whole expences of the journey; however, they put it in their pockets, made the Ambassador pay his own and their charges upon the road, and yet forced the country people to furnish provisions, without allowing any thing for them: and, when the Ambassador came to Tangier, he was under apprehensions of being detain'd there by the Bassaw, under pretence of some further demands: But the Bassaw, being then treating with the Governor of Gibraltar for powder and other warlike stores he wanted, was so good as to permit the Ambassador to embark for Gibraltar, where he

CHAP. VIII. he arriv'd the 7th of February 1727-8. He had been promis'd two fine Barbary Horses, and a Lion, by the Court of Mequinez; but, it seems they never intended to gratify him in this particular, unless he would have paid double the price of them, as he did for every thing else: And he was very glad to make his escape from that barbarous Court without them.

The several quarters of the city of Mequinez.

Jews the only Merchants.

A Convent at Mequinez.

The condition of Christian slaves here.

But to return to the description of Mequinez: This city, as has been observ'd, is divided into several quarters, or rather is several cities united: The palace is a distinct town: The quarter of the Moors is another: The Negroe town a third; and the Jews have a quarter to themselves, in which there does not less than fifteen thousand of them inhabit, being allowed a Shiek, or Governor, of their own nation: And, tho' the Princes and Great men insult them sometimes, yet the Government take a particular care of their protection; for, when Mr. RUSSEL was there, five Moors were crucified for murdering a Jew; and indeed they are so useful here, that the Government cannot do without them. All money affairs, and all foreign trade, are negotiated and carried on in this country by the Jews; their principal employment at Mequinez, is working in Gold and Silver, changing of money, and lending it upon usury: And not only the Jews, but the Christian slaves, have their Alcaide, who is a Christian and their Protector, and are allowed to carry on any business almost. Several Christian slaves get money here, and are allowed a property in it; in which respect their condition is to be prefer'd to that of the Moors themselves.

Here also is a Convent of Spanish Friars allow'd, that is endow'd with a revenue of five hundred pistoles a year, for the relief of captives, both with food and physick, for preventing their turning Mahometans: These also are under the Emperor's protection, on account of their taking care of his sick slaves, and the presents they annually make him: They have an Infirmary capable of entertaining an hundred persons; and to these the captives apply when they are sick, lame, or in any other distress.

My author adds, that in the late Emperor MULEY ISMAEL's time the case of the Christian slaves was a great deal worse than it is at present; for he employ'd many of them in his buildings: However, their work was not harder than that of our day-labourers. And he gave several of them licences to keep taverns, on condition of subsisting their poor brethren; to whom he also order'd a daily allowance of bread: Nor were masters of ships, or those who had a little money to bribe the Alcaide, forc'd to work at all. But further, the Canute, where the Captives are lodg'd, is a much better place than any of our common prisons: Here every nation has a distinct apartment, in which are taverns and a market of all manner of fruit and eatables: Nor are any of the Moors suffer'd to disturb them, or indeed to come into their house but upon permission. My author adds, that he saw several captives at Mequinez, who liv'd much better than ever they did in their own country; and they have not only the Spanish convent to go to in their distress, but whatever money their friends send over for their subsistence, is faithfully deliver'd them, unless they defraud one another; nay, several captives have grown rich here, and carried money out of the country; and some of them, that were at Mequinez when Mr. RUSSEL was there, kept their mules and their servants. Where-

upon our author observes, it is not so insupportable a slavery as has been represented. There may have been some instances of cruelty towards the captives, but not many; and they have themselves sometimes, by needless provocations, drawn on them the ill usage they met with. They have also this farther satisfaction, to be slaves only to the Emperor; for he reserves all the Christian captives that are taken to himself, and very rarely parts with any of them to his subjects.

The most wretched and abandon'd people at Mequinez, are the Renegadoes, who have renounc'd Christianity, and turn'd Mahometans: These are despis'd by the Moors to the last degree, and deserve to be so by every body else, not only on account of their changing their religion, but because they prove the most vicious, treacherous, dissolute mortals that the country affords. They are generally entertain'd in the army, where they are half naked and half starv'd; unless some few of them, who understand engineering or gunnery, or such as can be useful to the Moors in fitting out their piratical vessels at Sallee: These are pretty much caress'd, and perhaps contribute more to the making prizes of the shipping and merchandize belonging to the Christians than the Moors themselves: They have their own Alcaide, or Governor, as the Christians and Jews have theirs.

The next town I shall describe in the province of Fez is Tetuan, which is situated on the ascent of a rock, about eight miles from a Bay of the Mediterranean sea, call'd from this place Tetuan Bay, and is between 20 and 30 miles south of Ceuta, and about 50 south-east of Tangier. The Town is about a mile long, and half a mile broad, and has a fine prospect of the sea and the country beneath it: The streets are narrow, unpav'd and full of dung-hills, which makes it a filthy place in winter; and yet this is said to be one of the best towns in the country, on account of its being better built than most others. Their houses are usually built about a little open square, with piazza's supporting galleries above them; and in the middle of the square people of substance always have a fountain. There are commonly four rooms on a floor, one on every side of the square, which have no other light than what they receive from the great folding-doors that open into the piazza.

The town of Tetuan contains about thirty thousand inhabitants, of which five thousand at least are Jews, who have seven synagogues here; but, tho' their numbers are so great, they have not two hundred houses amongst them, several families living under the same roof. They are said to be very poor, tho' all the trade of the place passes through their hands; for they are the only brokers between Christians and Moors. One thing which seems particular to this town, is, that the people walk on the tops of the houses, and visit one another from thence, more than by the streets. The town is surrounded with an ordinary wall, and defended by an old castle, consisting of two squares; the outward square flank'd with towers, but the walls not cannon proof, and it is commanded by hills about it. They have a burying-place, on a hill above the town, adorn'd with such numbers of cupola's and pyramids, that it looks like a town itself; but what is best worth seeing in Tetuan, is the Bassaw's palace.

The entrance into this palace is by a cloyster, which leads to a spacious square, surrounded by a piazza, and in the middle a marble fountain; the pavement of the area and the piazza being of a mosaic

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Renegadoes.

Tetuan describ'd.

The Bassaw's palace.

CHAP.
VIII.

saic work: On each side the square is one large room, and in each of the angles a square tower of a considerable height above the building; in two of which are stair-cases, that lead to the grand apartment above: In the third is a door that leads to a mosque; and in the fourth another, through which they go into the gardens. On each side of the galleries above, which run over the piazza, are fine apartments for the Bassaw's four wives; each apartment consisting of five rooms, namely, one large room, cover'd with a cupola, in the centre of four lesser rooms; and through these are doors, that lead to the bagnio's of the women, and the lodgings of the female slaves; but the inner rooms have no other light, than what they receive by the door of the great outward room: Both the doors and ceilings of the house are very lofty; and over the women's apartment are four noble terrace walks, that overlook the town, a frightful vale beneath it, the river, and part of the Mediterranean sea; and at the end of each terrace, is a turret with latices, where the women sit to work, and can see all that passes without being seen: In the evening the ladies usually walk in the garden, where several of the walks are shaded with Vines turn'd over arches: the walls of the garden being so high, that they cannot be overlook'd from any part of the town. This description of Tetuan, and the palace, is taken from Captain BLAITHWAIT, who has also describ'd another elegant seat of the same Bassaw in the neighbourhood of Tetuan: And, as these may serve as a model of all other houses of the Moors of any quality (for they scarce ever vary in their form) and will give us the most advantageous idea of them, I shall take leave also to subjoin the following account of his country seat.

His country seat.

This palace stands in a pleasant valley, about two miles from Tetuan, and consists of two large squares surrounded by piazza's, and galleries over them: In the middle of the outward square is a fountain, and the area, as well as the piazza, pav'd with Dutch tiles: The inner square is much larger than the first, to which there is a descent by several steps: In the middle of it is a fine square parterre, and in the centre of that a circular basin, with Orange-trees and flower-pots about it: There are four openings to descend by steps into the fountain on one side, and over-against these four alcoves; in one of which the Bassaw frequently sits to see his women bath themselves: Beyond both these squares is a very large garden, and a wilderness, consisting of Orange-trees, Lemon-trees, Figs, Pomegranates, Dates, Tamerinds, and other fruit: in which are two bowers; and by the side of the garden runs a river, which altogether make it a most agreeable retirement. My author observes, that the Moors of quality in Barbary have scarce any pleasures, but what they take in their women, their houses, gardens and horses: Conversation with men is what they do not relish at all; the reason of which is supposed to be, that their law prohibits them wine, without which, good humour, and a sprightly conversation, cannot be long kept up: And this may be the case with some people possibly; but I cannot help being of opinion, that most men are in reality better company without strong liquor, than with it.

Tangier.

The next town I shall describe is Tangier, because it was once ours; tho' there is scarce any thing in it worth mentioning at present. This town is situated on a bay of the sea near Cape Spartel, just at the entrance of the streights of Gibraltar, on the African side: It is built on the declivity of a hill, which makes it excessive hot in summer, the after-

noon sun lying full upon it. When the English had it, the walls were upwards of a mile in circumference, and they had lines and redoubts that took in the neighbouring hills, with two castles, the upper and lower, for its defence; in the former whereof lived the English Governor, and the Bassaw at present: And there was a mole built for the security of shipping, the heads whereof run out 300 fathom into the sea, and were defended by three batteries of cannon; but these and most of the works were blown up, or demolish'd by the English, when they abandon'd the place, and it is now not very strong: There is but one single mosque in the town, and another in the castle; however, it makes a tolerable appearance from the sea, the houses being white, and all in view; but they have scarce any trade. This, as has been observ'd, was the Tingis of the ancients; and from it this part of Africa was call'd Mauritania Tingitana. ALPHONSUS the fifth King of Portugal, took it from the Moors in the year 1463; and, in 1662, the Court of Portugal transferr'd it to CHARLES II. King of England, on his marriage with the Princess CATHERINE, Infanta of Portugal. The English kept it twenty-two years, and laid out a great deal of money on the mole and fortifications; but the parliament refusing to let the King have money to maintain the garrison, he found himself obliged to quit the place; though, 'tis agreed, it would have been of very great service to the nation, if we had been masters of it in the last wars with France and Spain.

CHAP.
VIII.

The kingdom of Morocco, the next division of this empire, is bounded by the kingdom of Fez towards the north; by the mountains of Atlas, on the east; and by the same mountains, which separate it from the province of Suz, on the south: The chief town whereof is Morocco, a large old city, situated in a fine plain about the centre of the kingdom, latitude 31 and a half, west longitude 7 degrees. This, in some of our old writers, is said to be one of the greatest cities in the world; to contain an hundred thousand families; to be elegantly built, especially their mosques and palaces; But all these matters appear to have been wonderfully magnified; and, since the seat of the empire has been removed from thence, the town is extremely declin'd; and as to the fortifications so much talk'd of, they would not be able to hold out twenty-four hours against an army prepared for a siege. The rest of the towns mention'd by Geographers in this province are, Elgiamba, Imegiagen, Imizimzi, Delgumba, Agmet, Tenessa, which have little in them that deserve a particular description, and are most of them, indeed, no better than open villages; tho' some writers have dignified them with the name of cities.

The province of Suz, in which I comprehend that of Tafilet, is bounded by Morocco, on the north; by Biledulgerid, on the east and south; and by the Atlantick ocean, on the west: The chief towns whereof are, Taradant and Tafilet; the former the capital of Suz, and the other of the province of Tafilet: The rest of the towns mention'd in the province of Suz are, Messa Guargesen, Tejeat, Gare, Tagovost, Tedli, Santa Cruz (a sea-port) and Illec: But the only town travellers mention in Tafilet, is the capital of the same name, situated in latitude 26 and a half, longitude 2 degrees west of London. The present imperial family came from the province of Tafilet; MULEY ISMAEL, the late Emperor, was of that country; which, lying the farthest south of any

Suz.

CHAP.
VIII.
The complexion of the natives.

of the territories belonging to this empire, and his mother being a Negroe, the complexion of the royal family is exceeding dark; for the inhabitants of this empire differ much in their complexions according to their situation; those to the southward are very tawny, as are also the Arabs, who range about the plains, and live in tents like the Arabs of Asia; the Moors and Jews, who live in towns and on the sea-coast, are many of them fair; and those that inhabit the villages on the mountains, are not of so dark a complexion as the Arabs: As to the Blacks, that of late years have had the administration of the Government, and compose their best cavalry, these being brought from Negroland, or descended from parents who came from thence, differ very little from the Guinea Negroes.

Habits.

The habit of a Moor is a linen shirt or frock next his skin, a pair of drawers, a sash, and over all a loose coat, or vest, of silk or cloth, with small buttons of gold, silver, or other metal: Their arms are bare to the elbow, as well as their legs; but people of distinction sometimes wear Turkey-leather buskins, and most of them sandals or slippers: They shave their heads all but one single lock upon the middle of the crown, and wear a turbant, which is never pull'd off before their superiors, or in their temples; they express their reverence, both to God and Man, by putting off their slippers, which they leave at the door of the mosque or palace, when they enter either; and, when they attend their Prince in the city, they run bare-foot after him, if the streets are never so dirty: Their Turbants are of silk or fine linen, some of them five or six ells long, and in their sash or girdle, under their outward garment, they usually carry three fine knives in a silver scabbard about a foot long, adorn'd with precious stones: Their handkerchiefs, and such things as we carry in our pockets, they have in their bosoms: They never shave their beards, but clip them into form, and keep them very neat.

The habit of a woman is not very different from that of a man, except that she wears a fine linen cloth, or caul, on her head instead of a turbant, and her drawers are much larger and longer than the mens: The women also, when they go abroad, have a linen cloth over their faces, with holes in it for their eyes like a mask: Those of quality wear pendants in their ears, and bracelets on their arms; but wrap themselves up in a white cloth, several ells in length, when they walk in the streets; so that little of them is seen: They paint and colour their hair and eye-brows with burnt Antimony, endeavouring to make them look as black as possible, and the ends of their fingers are painted blue.

Furniture.

I have already described the houses of the Moors, but not their furniture, which is but mean: They have neither wainscot nor hangings, neither beds, chairs, stools, tables or pictures; they sleep upon a mattress on the floor, which, in the houses of persons of quality is cover'd with carpets, and the meaner people have mats: On these they sit cross legg'd also at their meals, having pillows and cushions to lean on. They wash always before and after they eat, wiping on their handkerchief; but have neither table-cloth or napkin. Rice seems to be a great part of their food here, as well as in the east; tho' they eat also bread, beef, mutton, veal, fish and fowls: Their favourite dish is Cuscufou, which is fine flour grain'd as large as hemp-seed, and stew'd with mutton, fowls and roots: When it is enough, they put the flour thus grain'd into a large

Diet.

dish, leaving a vacant space for the meat and fowls in the middle, and then pour in the broth. This dish is very high season'd with Garlick, Onions and spices, and garnish'd with whites of eggs. Their meat is all boil'd and roasted to rags, so that they can pull it to pieces with their fingers; and this is very necessary, because they use neither knives nor forks; but, having wash'd their hands, every man tucks up his sleeves, and, putting his hand into the dish, takes up and squeezes together a good handful of all the ingredients, as much as his mouth will hold; and consequently their food is neither very hot when it is brought before them. Their cups and dishes are of brats, pewter, earth or tin, the law prohibiting their using gold or silver vessels; and, as wine also is forbidden, they drink nothing but water, sometimes mixing it with honey: If they have a dish of soup or other liquids, they eat it with a great wooden spoon, which is handed round the company. At an entertainment the desert usually consists of the fruits of the country, such as Grapes, Oranges, Figs, Pomegranates and Melons.

They smoke pretty much, and play at draughts and chess; but never for Money; this being another prohibition of their law: And I should have remember'd, that they are as scrupulous of eating blood as the Jews; and therefore cut the throat quite through of every beast they kill, and drain all the blood from it. The company are sometimes entertain'd with musick and dancing; but people of any fashion never dance themselves; and tho' their musick is not very agreeable to an European ear, they seem extremely pleas'd with it themselves.

The Moors are said to be a covetous, inhospitable people, intent upon nothing but heaping up riches; to obtain which they will be guilty of the meanest things, and stick at no manner of fraud; and, as they know themselves to be such treacherous, deceitful wretches, they are very suspicious of foreigners. The Arabs also have always had the character of a thievish pilfering generation; and, 'tis said, will even rob and destroy one another, when they have no body else to prey upon; and, as they perpetually lead a rambling life, are observ'd to be of a more tawny complexion, and much thinner and leaner than the Moors. The people, who inhabit the hills, and who have the least to do with the Court or with traffick, are much the plainest, honestest people amongst them, and still retain a good share of liberty and freedom, the Government using them rather as allies than subjects, lest they should entirely disown their authority. But to proceed in the character of the Moors: They are observ'd with all their bad qualities to be very dutiful and obedient to their parents, their princes and every superior; but, under an arbitrary government, where none dares resist on peril of his life, this may rather be the effect of their fear, than their virtue. Another thing however they are certainly to be commended for; and that is, their Reverence for God and Religion, and whatever is esteem'd sacred amongst them: They will not suffer these to be burlesqu'd, and made a jest of by prophane fools, which is too often conniv'd at among Christians, and sometimes encourag'd by those who ought to give a better example; neither do they imitate us in fashionable murder, destroying each other, like fools of honour, in duels. 'Tis acknowledg'd they do not want courage; and yet their quarrels rarely proceed

CHAP.
VIII.

Diversion.

Genius and temper of the Moors.

Arabs.

CHAP.
VIII.

proceed to blows, and scarce ever to the taking away each others lives: Tho', 'tis observ'd, they have not the same tenderness for Jews and Christians, and the enemies of their religion: It seems to be an universal opinion among them, that the cheating, robbing, and even killing of these is meritorious; and did not the Government, for political reasons, restrain their subjects from these outrages, there would be no living amongst them for one of a different faith. And this leads me to consider their Laws and the Constitution of their Government.

Laws and
Govern-
ment.

Here, as in all other Mahometan countries, the Alcoran, and their comments upon it, are their only written laws; and their Cadi's, and other Ecclesiasticks, their only civil magistrates: And tho' these seem to be, in some instances, controll'd by the arbitrary determinations of their Princes, Bassaws, Generals and military officers; yet the latter have a very great deference and regard for their law: And indeed, if their Princes or Governors are found to despise and slight their law in any notorious instances, how loyal soever the Moors may be in all cases where their religion is not concern'd, this would be look'd upon as a sufficient ground for renouncing their authority. The present Emperor, by his drunkenness, which their law forbids, has lost the hearts of the best part of his subjects, and is maintain'd on the throne purely by the power of his Negroe troops, who probably profess themselves Mahometans, only because it is the Court religion, and are as great lovers of wine as the Prince they serve.

Succession
of the
crown.

The late Emperor MULEY ISMAEL sat upon the throne sixty years; his mother, as has been already observ'd, was a Negroe, which possibly might make him less acceptable to his Moorish subjects, and put him upon establishing the Blacks, and giving them in a manner the dominion of the country for his own security. As the crown seems to be in the disposal of the reigning Prince, MULEY ISMAEL appointed the present Emperor MULEY HAMET, his son by his favourite wife, to succeed him, tho' he had an elder son by a former wife, named ABDELMELECK, who being Governor of the Province of Suz at the death of MULEY ISMAEL, disputed the title of MULEY HAMET, and, obtaining a victory over an army of his Negroes, possess'd himself of the kingdom, or province of Morocco, as well as that of Suz; but impolitically declaring, that he would extirpate all the Blacks, when he came to the throne, they united against him as one man, and the country has been in a state of civil war ever since; the Blacks adhering to MULEY HAMET, and the Moors, that dare declare themselves, to ABDELMELECK. As to the more ancient history of this country, I shall defer it till I have describ'd the rest of Barbary, and then give it entire.

Their Magistrates, as has been observ'd, are either Ecclesiasticks, or military officers: Their Cadi's are judges of all religious and civil affairs; and their Bassaws, Governors, Alcaldes, and military officers, of what concerns the State or the Army. If a Moor should turn Christian, or a Renegado, after he has profess'd Mahometanism, apostatize from it, he is burnt without mercy. Murder, theft and adultery, also are generally punish'd with death; and their punishments for other crimes, particularly those against the State, are very cruel: As impaling; dragging the prisoner through the streets at a mule's heels, till all his flesh is torn off; throwing him from a high tower upon iron hooks;

hanging him upon hooks till he dies; crucifying him against a wall; and indeed the punishment, as well as condemnation of criminals, is in a manner arbitrary. The Emperor, or his Bassaws, frequently turn executioners, shoot the offender, or cut him to pieces with their own hands, or command others to do it in their presence.

As to their military forces, were they assembled in one place, they would certainly constitute a very numerous and formidable army. It is computed, that the Black cavalry and infantry do not amount to less than forty-thousand men, and the Moorish horse and foot may be as many; but, being dispers'd in several parts of this large empire, are not seen in such numerous bodies as the Negroes, who live at Mequinez, and have the guard of the Emperor's person: The Blacks are esteem'd their best horse, and the Europeans have been sensible of their bravery and military skill, both at Oran and Ceuta: They have fire-arms, as well as swords and lances: Their Troopers ride very short, and their saddles have long peaks before and behind: Their stirrup-irons are shap'd to the foot, so that they can stand up and strike when they make their blow; and no men shew more dexterity in riding, wheeling or firing: Their horses are very swift, and beautifully made; but not so heavy and strong as ours.

It is their cavalry they chiefly rely upon, both in their civil wars, and those with foreigners. Their infantry indeed are numerous, and carry fire-arms; but are not disciplin'd, and observe no manner of order; and, as their country is generally open, know not how to defend themselves against a body of horse; five hundred of their foot will fly before a troop of fifty horse: Nor do they understand how to attack, or defend a town; which may be the reason they have scarce one place of any strength in the country, and but few guns mounted on the walls of their towns. They seem very ignorant in the management of great guns and bombs. These are altogether left to the skill of renegado Christians, of whom there are some thousands in their armies. They have a train of an hundred and fifty brass guns in the palace of Mequinez, besides several mortars, which are sometimes drawn out in times of danger; but I do not find there are any mounted upon the walls.

As to their shipping: Captain BLAITHWAIT Strength relates, that, when he was there in the year 1727, their whole naval force consist'd but of two twenty gun ships, the biggest not above 200 tons, and a French brigantine they had taken, with some few row-boats; and yet with these, being full of men, do they issue out from Sallee and Mamora, which lie on the Atlantick Ocean, near the Straights mouth, and make prizes of great numbers of Christian merchant-ships, carrying their miserable crew into captivity. Tho' they are at peace with Britain, they make no scruple of seizing and carrying their ships into Sallee, if they find a passenger on board belonging to a nation at war with them; however, they are usually so good as to dismiss the ships, and their crews, after they have robb'd them of some of their merchandize. The charge of these piratical cruizers is borne entirely by private adventurers; tho' the Emperor has a tenth of all the prizes they make, and all the captives that are taken; which leads me to enquire into the Revenues of this Prince.

These arise either from the labour of the husbandmen, and the fruits of the earth; or by duties upon goods imported and exported: The Emperor has a tenth

CHAP.
VIII.Land-for-
ces.Strength
at sea.Revenues
of the em-
pire.

CHAP.
VIII.

tenth of all corn, cattle, fruits and produce of the soil, as well as the captives; and a tenth of all the prizes that are taken. The port-charges of ships, that trade to the dominions of the Emperor of Morocco, are one barrel of powder for entrance, twelve ounces for loading and anchorage, and twelve to the Captain of the port: Vessels, trading to and from Gibraltar, pay but half this duty for loading and discharging.

Customs,

The duties on goods exported are, on Wax, per hundred weight, twenty-five ounces; Tangoult, six ditto; old Copper, twelve; red Morocco skins per half dozen, one; ditto other colours, two blanquils; Hides tanned or raw, each two ditto; Wool, Dates, Almonds, Gums, Soap, great quintal, three ounces; Tallow, per small quintal, six ounces; Mats, per bale, six; Goat-skins in hair, per bale, six; Calves-skins dress'd or raw, one blanquil; Sheep-skins, per half dozen, two: His whole revenue being estimated at 500 quintals of silver, each quintal worth three hundred and thirty pounds sterling.

Coin.

The Coins of this Empire are, 1. A Fluce, a small copper coin, twenty whereof make a blanquil of the value of two-pence sterling. A Blanquil is a little silver coin, which is made still less by the Jews clipping and filing it. The Moors, therefore, who have always scales in their pockets, never fail to weigh them; and, when they are found to be much diminished in their weight, they are re-coin'd by the Jews, who are masters of the Mint, by which they gain a considerable profit, as they do also by exchanging the light pieces for those that are full weight. Their Gold coin is a Ducat, resembling the ducat of Hungary, worth about nine shillings sterling, and they usually give three of them for a moidore. Merchants accounts are kept in ounces, an imaginary coin, ten of which make a ducat in Merchants accounts; but, in payments to the Government, 'tis said, they will reckon seventeen ounces and a half for a ducat.

When Gibraltar was besieged by the Spaniards, the Moors and Jews, at Tetuan and Tangier, lower'd the price of the moidores and other gold coins the English paid them for provisions, and raised their own silver. They also frequently put light money on the seamen, and then got money of them for exchanging it again: And, tho' they will give but thirty-seven ounces for a moidore upon the sea-coast, when foreigners come to traffick with them, they will give forty-five ounces for a moidore at Mequinez and the inland towns. Four blanquils, or two-penny pieces, when full weight, pass for an ounce; but their blanquils, being so very thin, clipp'd and crack'd, make payments very troublesome; for scarce any other money passes, their gold being generally hoarded up.

Animals.

The Animals of this part of Africa, whether wild or tame, are much the same we meet with to the southward, except the Elk, the Elephant, and Rhinoceros, which no travellers pretend to meet with in the empire of Morocco; and, as they want these, so they have some others, that are not to be found in the south of Africa, particularly Camels, Dromedaries, and that fine breed of horses call'd Barbs; which, for their beauty and swiftness, can scarce be parallel'd in the world: As to Buffaloes, Cows, Oxen, Sheep, Goats, Deer and Hares, they have great plenty of them: Their desarts also are very much infested with Lions, Tygers, Leopards, and Serpents of a prodigious magnitude. But, as to their Dragons and flying Serpents, that travellers and voyage-writers of the last age talk'd so much of,

these may be put into the list of their monsters that never had any existence in nature. They have also great numbers of Ostriches, Pheasants, Partridges, Turkeys, and other fowls wild and tame; and their seas and rivers abound with fish. As for domestick animals, they keep the greatest number of Dogs of any people, which make such a barking in their towns all night, that there is no resting for them: And as these are their favourites; so Hogs are the aversion of Moors, Arabs and Jews, being prohibited by their respective laws to eat swine's flesh: These, therefore, are left entirely to the Christians. On the other hand, 'tis said, the Moors and Arabs will eat the flesh of Camels, and of many other animals, which we refuse.

Camels,
their usefulness.

The most useful creature they have, is the Camel, which serves them not only for meat and drink, but will carry a burthen of a thousand weight, and travel eight or nine days without water, and with very little food: Some few balls, made up of barley paste, is all they give them on a journey. These animals are extremely proper for their sandy plains, several of which are many days journey over, and not a drop of water to be met with; infomuch, that they are forced to load one half of the Camels with water, for the use of the merchants and people belonging to the caravans they send into the east and south: But, tho' the camel carries his burthen with ease over a level sandy plain, he is very ill made for going up hill or down; nor does stony or slippery ways suit with his soft tender feet; a mile in such a road wearies him more than ten upon the dry sand; and sometimes after rain, when the ways are slippery, their caravans are forced to lie still till they are dried again, lest their Camels should slip down and lame themselves: Nor are their Horses to be admir'd only for their beauty and speed, but their use in the wars; being extremely ready to obey their riders upon the least sign in charging, wheeling or retiring; so that the Trooper has his hands very much at liberty, and can make the best use of his arms. The Roman historians relate, that the Numidians and Mauritians, who possess'd the coast of Barbary formerly, made no use of bridles, even in an engagement; but that their cavalry were manag'd altogether by signs, or the voice of their masters. But I don't find they ever put their Horses to drawing, or carrying burthens. In their husbandry they plow with Oxen, and the Camels and Mules are the beasts of burthen; and they have Mules to draw their carriages: The Arabs also live pretty much upon the milk of their Camels, as well as that of Cows and Goats.

Horses.

As to the produce of the soil, they have or might have vast quantities of corn, wine and oil: No country affords better Wheat, Barley or Rice; both the French and Spaniards fetch these from the Barbary coast when they have a scarcity at home: And our garrisons of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon have been supplied with provisions from the African coast, tho' I think the natives of Fez and Morocco make some scruple of sending corn out of their country, it being prohibited by their law; but the Turkish ports to the eastward are not so squeamish, it being one of the best articles in their trade. The plains of Fez and Morocco are well planted with the finest Olives, that yield delicious oil; and there are no better Grapes for making wine in the world, as the Jews at Tetuan experience; tho' the cultivation of Vines is not encourag'd, wine being prohibited them: However some of their Great men, who do not stand in awe of their Priests, will drink wine when they can get it, and that pretty openly. The Jews also

Produce
of the
soil.

CHAP.
VIII.

also distil spirits in Barbary, for which they meet with a quick market, even among the Mahometans, who do not, possibly, look upon this as wine. However, I find sobriety to be still a very advantageous character among the Turks: The less a man drinks, the more he is esteem'd; and therefore most of them chuse to confine themselves to Sherbet, Coffee and small liquors; and, when they have a mind to intoxicate themselves, do it with Opium. But to return to the produce of the soil: Besides the fruits already mention'd, they have Dates, Figs, Raisins, Almonds, Apples, Pears, Cherries, Plums, Citrons, Lemons, Oranges, Pomegranates, with plenty of roots and herbs, in their kitchen-gardens; and their plains produce excellent hemp and flax: As to forest-trees, I find they have but few, and scarce any good timber; possibly their soil is not proper for timber, or they take no care to preserve it, having very little use for any. Here are some mines of very fine Copper, but it is not very plentiful; and, as for the Gold and Silver mines mention'd by some writers, I cannot learn that any such have ever been open'd in this country.

They have no shipping to carry on a foreign trade by sea: But the Europeans bring them whatever they want from abroad; as Linen and Woollen cloth, Stuffs, Iron wrought and unwrought, Arms, Gunpowder, Lead, and the like; for which they take in return, Copper, Wax, Hides, Morocco leather, Wool (which is very fine) Gums, Soap, Dates, Almonds and other fruits.

Trade by
land.

Their trade by land is either with Arabia or Negroeland: To Mecca they send caravans, consisting of several thousand camels, horses and mules, twice every year, partly for traffick, and partly upon a religious account; great numbers of Pilgrims taking that opportunity of paying their devotions to their great Prophet. The goods they carry to the East, are woollen manufactures very fine, Morocco skins, Indigo, Cochineal and Ostrich feathers: And they bring back from thence, Silks, Mullins and Drugs. By their caravans to Negroeland, they send Salt, Silk and Woollen manufactures, and bring back Gold and Ivory in return, but chiefly Negroes; for from hence it is, that their Emperor chiefly recruits his Black cavalry, tho' there are also great numbers born in the country, for they bring those of both sexes very young from Negroeland; the females for breeders, and the males for soldiers as they grow up: They first carry a Musketeer and serve on foot, and after some time are preferred to be Cavaliers. And as these have no other hopes or dependence but the favour of the Emperor, they prove much the most dutiful and obsequious of all his subjects; and indeed support the Prince in his tyranny over the rest, who would not probably have borne the barbarous cruelties of the two last reigns, if they had not been govern'd with a rod of iron in the hands of these Negroes; who, like other foreign mercenaries, never enquire into the reasonableness of their Prince's commands, but execute his most inhuman decrees without remorse. But to return to their caravans: They always go strong enough to defend themselves against the wild Arabs of the deserts in Africa or Asia; tho', notwithstanding all their vigilance, some of the stragglers and baggage often fall into their hands: They are also forc'd to load one half of their camels with water, to prevent perishing with drought and thirst over these extensive deserts; and there is still a more dangerous enemy, and that is, the sand itself: When the winds rise, the caravan is perfect-

VOL. III.

ly blinded with the dust; and there have been instances, both in Africa and Asia, where whole caravans, and even armies have been buried alive in the sands. There is no doubt also, but both men and cattle are sometimes surpriz'd by wild beasts, as well as robbers in those vast deserts. But what I had almost forgot to mention, tho' I have frequently suffer'd by them myself, are the hot winds: These, blowing over a long tract of burning sand, are equal almost to the heat of an oven, and have destroy'd abundance of merchants and pilgrims: In short, if it was not for devotion, or in expectation of very great gains, no man would undertake a journey in these deserts; so great are the hazards and fatigues they must of necessity undergo, and many of them frequently die in the voyage. However, as those that go to Mecca assure themselves of paradise if they die, and have uncommon honours paid them at home if they survive, people crowd to be taken into the eastern caravans: And the Gold that is found in the south, makes them no less eager of undertaking that journey.

CHAP.
VIII.

As to the religion of this country: Having given a very full account of the Mahometan superstition, in treating of Persia, Arabia and Turkey, in the first volume of *Modern History*; I shall take but a short view of it here. They are of a different sect from the Mahometans of Turkey and Algiers, and have also a Mufti or High-priest of their own, who resides at Mequinez: And under him are Priests and Ecclesiastics in every city and town, who determine civil as well as ecclesiastical causes, and officiate in their mosques. But besides these, they have their Saints or Marabouts, that live retir'd in the mountains and unfrequented places, for whom they have such a veneration, that, if a criminal can escape to their abodes, the Officers of Justice dare not seize him, and the Saint frequently procures the offender's pardon: These have a very great influence on all degrees of men; and some of them, I perceive, are temporal as well as spiritual Lords, having whole towns and countries that are their vassals; indulging themselves in a reasonable number of wives and concubines, and all the pleasures that the world affords. But then there are others that live the life of Hermits, and use great austerities, going about in rags and a neglected dress; who are, however, no less reverenc'd and ador'd than the others. The people prostrate themselves before these Marabouts, esteeming it a great favour to kiss their feet, or but the hem of their garments; tho' Captain BLAITHWAITE, who attended the English Ambassador to the Court of Morocco, in the year 1727, says, he could observe nothing extraordinary in these Marabouts, but an affected gravity and reservedness, with some uncommon agitations, distorting their countenance, and rolling their eyes, that people might imagine they were inspir'd; which seems to be pretty near the character we have of the first Quakers, and their successors in hypocrisy the French Prophets: However, the people adore them, and never presume to suspect the pious fraud; which is the better to be borne, since these pretended Saints make use of their influence to do good offices, and not to oppose their weak brethren, or to fleece them of their money: And it is much easier for a Protestant to live under the government of Morocco, in one respect, than in any popish kingdom or state; and that is, that they compel no man to be of their religion, but allow every one the free and open exercise of divine service, according to their respective forms of worship: Nay, they suffer their very slaves to have

Religion.

CHAP.
VIII.

their priests and their chappel in the capital city of the empire; whereas it is reported, that the Spaniards, and some other Roman catholick kingdoms and states, where the Inquisition is establish'd, have been very severe upon such Moors as have happen'd to fall into their power, in order to force them to turn Christians: Nor is it possible for the people of Barbary to forget how their ancestors were used in Spain, and how many hundred thousand of them were depriv'd of all they had in the world, and transported to Africa, on account of religion, or rather through the avarice of the Spaniards to possess their estates. I say, considering all these things, we cannot but admire the moderation of those Mahometans, in suffering the Spaniards and other Christians that fall into their hands, to profess the Christian religion in that country, when nothing less than a total extirpation of Mahometans would satisfy the Catholics of Spain; and, as some have observ'd, the cruelties of the Turks on the Barbary coast, which are so much complain'd of, are not more to be dreaded than those of the Inquisition: Nor are there near so many instances of the former, as of the latter.

Marriages.

As the religion of this Empire is the same with that of other Mahometan countries, so are their marriages celebrated in the same manner. The parties and their friends having agreed upon terms, they come before the Cadi, or Civil magistrate, who records the contract; after which, an entertainment is made, and the bride carried home in great state to her husband's house, which is the whole of the ceremony: And we may be sure it is no part of the contract, "That the man shall keep no other woman," as with us; because he is allowed four wives, and as many concubines as he pleases; and the greater the husband's quality is, the greater number of women he keeps; more for ostentation, and the state of the matter, than for any thing else. But whether it be part of the contract, that the man shall let every wife take her turn in his bed, or whether the law requires this of him, I can't tell; but it is held a great piece of injustice to defraud any of his wives of their due: However, I find they make no great scruple of keeping boys, as well as concubines, and often deal unnaturally by their wives: But the latter is held to be a sufficient ground for a divorce; and, 'tis said, a divorce is not difficult to obtain on either side: Only, if the fault be in the man, the wife is suffer'd to go off with her cloaths and jewels; and, if the woman goes astray, she is turned out naked, and indeed seldom escapes with her life; for death is the punishment of adultery, if the man will be satisfied with nothing less than the rigour of the law; while sodomy with boys is scarce deem'd a crime amongst them.

Funerals.

Their funerals also are solemniz'd here, as in other Mahometan countries: Women are hir'd to lament and howl over the corpse, who tear off their hair, and cut themselves till the blood follows. After some time, the corpse is carried to the burying-place, with the head first, in the usual dress, the Priests singing as they go, *Lailla illalab Mahomet resfoul Allah*; "God is a great God, and Mahomet his Prophet;" and, having set the corpse upright in the tomb, with the face towards Mecca, they leave it in that posture.

As to their burying-places: Every person, according to his quality, purchases a piece of ground, a little out of town near the highway-side, which they enclose with a wall, and make a kind of flower-garden of it, erecting a dome, or a spire, sometimes over the graves of their deceas'd friends; and those who can do no more, place a stone at the head, and

another at the feet, as in our church-yards; but they never bury in their mosques, or within the walls of a town. The women piously visit the tombs of their husbands, or other relations, every Friday (their sabbath) carrying thither meat and fruits, which the poor eat when they are gone: And here, or at home, the women perform their devotions on that day; for they are never suffer'd to enter into a mosque, nor are they visited by their Priests. Possibly the men don't trouble themselves much what religion they are of, or whether they have any; for they expect a seraglio of virgins in paradise, form'd on purpose for them, whose charms will never decay, or satiate the appetite.

CHAP.
IX.

CHAP. IX.

The present State of Algiers.

Containing the present state of the kingdom of Algiers.

THE kingdom of Algiers is bounded by the Mediterranean sea, on the north; by Tunis on the east; by the mountains of Atlas, which separate it from Biledulgerid, on the south; and by the river Zea, or Mulvia, which divides it from the kingdom of Fez, on the west; extending along the coast of the Mediterranean about 600 miles from west to east, the breadth various, and very uncertain; tho' our best Geographers place it between the 30th and 37th degrees of north latitude.

CHAP.
IX.

The situation and extent of the kingdom of Algiers.

The principal rivers, which rise in mount Atlas, and run northward into the Mediterranean, are 1. The river Aresgola, or Hartegol, which falls into the Mediterranean; about seven leagues to the westward of Oran. 2. Assafran, which discharges itself into the sea, five leagues to the westward of Algiers. 3. Chilef, which falls into the sea, near Mostagan. 4. Sofaya, which runs into the sea, to the eastward of the city of Algiers. 5. Sef Gomar, which runs by Constantina, into the Mediterranean. 6. Zinganor, or Major, which falls into the sea, near Bugia. And, 7. Mira, which discharges itself into the Mediterranean, near Arcea. None of these have a very long course, rising but in the mountains of Atlas, or other hills in this kingdom; nor do I find that any of them are navigable, at least that there is any navigation upon them; tho' there are some of them large enough, and would probably be made navigable, if any other people but the Turks were possess'd of them; and indeed they appear so very indolent here, that they have not one bridge or ferry over any river in the country, but go about frequently some miles to find a ford; and if there happens to fall heavy rains, travellers are forced to wait till the waters are down again, before they can pass them.

Rivers.

This kingdom is usually divided into five provinces, viz. 1. Tremesen, or Telenfin; 2. Tenez; 3. Algiers; 4. Bugia; and, 5. Constantina.

The province of Tremesen is bounded by the Mediterranean, on the north; by Tenez, on the east; by Biledulgerid, on the south; and by the kingdom of Fez, on the west: The chief towns whereof are, Tremesen, Marfalquivir, or Almarfa, and Oran.

Tremesen.

Towns.

1. Tremesen is situated in 34 degrees north latitude, under the same meridian that London lies, and is about 60 miles to the southward of the Mediterranean sea, formerly the capital of a kingdom of the same name; but has been under the dominion of the Turks of Algiers these hundred years and more: Historians describe it to have been a most magnificent

CHAP. IX. magnificent city, large, rich and populous, while it was in its glory, and govern'd by its native princes. But there seems to be scarce any thing in it remarkable at present.

Marfalquivir. 2. Marfalquivir, or Almarfa, lies on a bay of the Mediterranean sea, three or four miles south-west of Oran, and is esteem'd one of the safest roads on this coast. It was possess'd by the Spaniards, till the Algerines took Oran from them; but surrender'd to the Spaniards again, immediately after their retaking Oran, in the year 1732.

Oran. Oran is situated on another bay of the Mediterranean sea, latitude 36 degrees, east longitude 1, about 250 miles west of Algiers. It lies partly in a plain, and partly upon the ascent of a hill, and is about a mile and a half in circumference, as well fortified as the ground about it will permit; but, it being commanded by some of the neighbouring hills, if there be not a garrison of ten or twelve thousand men to defend the avenues, distant castles, and redoubts, as well as the town itself, it cannot sustain a long siege.

The Spanish coasts and merchant-ships suffering much from the Corsairs or Rovers of this town, Ferdinand, King of Spain, sent over an army, under the command of his Prime minister, Cardinal Ximenes, in the year 1509, to besiege it; who, having a correspondence with some of the inhabitants, when the Moors sallied out with the best part of the garrison against the Christian army, their friends in the town shut the gates against them, and the Cardinal obtain'd an easy conquest, killing above 4000 Moors, and delivering at the same time 20000 Christian slaves out of captivity: The Turks of Algiers made several attempts to recover this town from time to time for near 200 years; but were always repuls'd till the year 1708, when they made themselves masters of it, by the treachery or cowardice of the Governor, as the Spaniards give out, and remained in possession of Oran till the year 1732. But King PHILIP, having at this time no other enemy to contend with, and a fine army of veteran troops, that had no other employment, embark'd a good body of them at Alicant, about the middle of June 1732, under the command of the Conde de Montemar, who landed near Oran, on the 29th of the same month, with very little opposition; and, having afterwards gained the height of the mountains above Oran, the garrison abandon'd the place, without waiting to be besieg'd in form: of which transaction we receiv'd repeated advice in our common news-papers; but the account the Turks give of this enterprize affords some further particulars.

Oran taken by the Spaniards, Ann. 1732. They say, that the Dey of Algiers, believing that this armament of the Spaniards was intended against his capital, did not send such reinforcements to Oran as he would have done, if he had expected they would have attempted that city: However, the Bey or Viceroy of Oran had assembled an army of twenty thousand men, for the defence of the place, most of them horse; with which he did endeavour to hinder the descent of the Spaniards; but his troops were disorder'd by the continual fire of the cannon of the enemy from their men of war and galleys. He attack'd them also after they were landed; but, the ground being unfit for cavalry, and his horse still galled by the Spanish artillery, he was oblig'd to retire; and thereupon determin'd to wait for a reinforcement of four thousand Turks, and six thousand Moors, which he daily expected from Algiers, before he engaged the Christians again: And, in the mean time, for fear of the

CHAP. IX. worst, removed all his effects, his treasure, and his women, out of Oran to a place of security: Whereupon the garrison and inhabitants were in the greatest consternation; imagining they should be soon abandon'd by the Governor, and sacrific'd to the Christians; and thereupon pack'd up all that they had, after the Bassaw's example, and kindly quit- ted the town to the Christians without a blow; leaving in it an hundred and forty-six pieces of cannon, besides mortars, and at least fifty ship-loads of provisions, which contributed very much towards the preservation of the conquest; for the sea was so tempestuous they could receive nothing from their fleet for several days.

However, the Bassaw attack'd the Spanish army as they were marching into the place; and, tho' he found it impossible then to save the town, so obstinate was the engagement, that the Spaniards lost near five thousand men; and were afterwards so harass'd by the Turks, before they could put the place in a posture of defence, that great part of their army was cut off, and amongst them their new Governor the Marquis of Santa Cruz, and several of their best Generals. But to proceed:

The next province to the eastward of Tremesen is that of Tenez, bounded on the north, by the Mediterranean; on the east, by the province of Algiers Proper; on the south, by the mountains of Atlas; and on the west, by Tremesen; extending about an hundred miles from west to east, along the coast of the Mediterranean; but the breadth from north to south is very uncertain: The chief towns are Mustagan, Tenez, and Ser- Towns. celli.

Mustagan is situated at the mouth of a river that falls into the Mediterranean, in the mid-way between Oran and Tenez; of which I meet with no particular description.

Tenez, the capital of the province, is situated also on the sea-coast, in 36 degrees odd minutes north latitude, about 100 miles to the eastward of Oran; and is supposed to be the Julia Casarea of the antients.

Sercelli, or Serfela, stands near the sea, latitude 37 degrees, between Tenez and Algiers; anciently a large populous city, but not very considerable at present.

The province of Algiers proper is bounded by the Mediterranean, on the north; by the province of Bugia, on the east; by Biledulgerid, on the south; and by Tenez, on the west; extending, from west to east, along the coast of the Mediterranean, upwards of two hundred miles, and about four hundred miles from the same sea to the southward: The chief Towns whereof are Algiers, the capital, and Metafuz, or Temendast.

The Town of Algiers is situated in latitude 37, west longitude three and a half, on a bay of the Mediterranean sea, a little to the eastward of the river Safran: It is built on the side of a mountain; the houses flat-roof'd, terrass'd, and white-wash'd; and, rising gradually from the sea-shore up the hill, forms a kind of amphitheatre, and appears very beautifully on the approaching it by sea; but this, like most other Turkish towns, looks better at a distance than when we are in it: The mosques, the domes, the spires, the castles, and palace standing in full view, give us a great idea of the place; but, as the streets are extremely narrow, and the private houses but mean, our expectations are not answer'd when we come to examine it closely: However, there is this convenience, that the Inhabitants can visit each other from the tops of the houses

CHAP.
IX.

houses almost all over the town, without going into the streets. The walls are about a league in circumference, defended by some bastions and square towers between them: The port is secured by a pier or mole, in length about five hundred paces, extended from the continent to a small rocky island, where stands a castle, call'd the Lantern, with three tier of brass cannon, besides other fortifications, lately erected for its defence, since the French bombardment: The town has five gates; and in it are ten great mosques, or Mahometan temples; fifty lesser mosques, three colleges, and abundance of schools, where the children are brought up with the utmost prejudice to Christianity. It is computed, there are about an hundred thousand souls in the town.

On the side of the bay, opposite to the mole, is a fort defended by about twenty great guns, call'd Fort Metafuz, from the cape near which it is situated; built to command that part of the bay where the French gallies lay when they bombarded it: There are also two other forts on that side, where the English lay when they bombarded the town, well furnish'd with cannon: So that Algiers is much better prepared to defend itself against a bombardment, than it was formerly.

On the land side there is a fortress at the very top of the hill, above the town, call'd Al Casabba; and without Bebalweyd-gate are three other forts; and a little farther a fourth, called the Emperor's castle, being situated upon the hill, where the Emperor CHARLES the Vth had his head-quarters when he besieged Algiers: But the greatest strength is the numbers and resolution of the natives, brought up and enur'd to daring and hazardous enterprizes; being in a manner in perpetual war with all mankind.

The houses are very close throng'd together in the town, no gardens or vacant spaces, and many families in one house; but their gardens extend a great way beyond the walls, both on the hills and in the valleys, affording a most agreeable prospect; the soil extremely fruitful, and well planted, by the labour of the Christian slaves, who have the cultivation and management of them for their high and mighty lords the Janizaries and Burghers of Algiers.

Metafuz.

The town of Metafuz lies upon the sea, about four leagues to the eastward of Algiers, and is not remarkable for any thing that I can meet with, but being the place where the Emperor CHARLES V. embark'd, when he was forced to raise the siege of Algiers, and the giving name to a certain cape or promontory on that coast.

Province
of Bugia.

The next province to the eastward of Algiers is Bugia, extending from west to east about thirty miles along the Mediterranean, and upwards of an hundred to the southward of that sea; the chief towns whereof are, Gigeri, or Gergel, and Bugia.

Towns.

Gigeri.

Gigeri is situated 14 or 15 leagues north-east of Algiers, upon the Mediterranean sea, remarkable for little but an old castle, that stands upon a mountain of very difficult access. Here the French were fortifying themselves in the year 1666; but were driven from thence by the Algerines, and compell'd to leave their cannon and most of their effects behind them.

Bugia.

Bugia, now the capital of the province, and formerly of a kingdom of the same name, is situated at the mouth of the river Major, about twenty leagues to the eastward of Algiers. The town lies upon the side of a hill, and is defended by a castle that stands above it, but not able to protect ships in the river; for I find, the English Admiral,

Sir EDWARD SPRAGUE, in the year 1671, took or destroyed nine Algerine men of war here.

CHAP.
IX.

Near the mouth of the river Major, lies the little island of Tabaria, in the possession of the Genoese; and which they have so well fortified, as to bid defiance to all the power of the Algerines.

The province of Constantina is the most eastern province of the kingdom of Algiers, being bounded by the Mediterranean, on the north; by the river Guadilbar, which divides it from Tunis, on the east; by Biledulgerid, on the south; and by the province of Bugia, on the west: The chief towns whereof are Constantina, and Bona.

Constanti-
na pro-
vince.

Constantina is situated on a river, about ninety miles south-east of Bugia, latitude 35. There are some noble ruins found in and about this town; but it is remarkable for very little else at present.

Bona, or Hippon, lies on the Mediterranean, latitude 37, about ninety miles north-east of Constantina; and near it is a coral fishery. This town, among others, was taken by CHARLES V. in his expedition against Tunis, but recover'd by the Turks not long afterwards. It is said to be the place where the famous St. AUSTIN died.

Having given a description of the situation of the provinces and great towns of the kingdom of Algiers, I proceed to consider the face of the country; and I find, that mount Atlas runs through the south part of it, from east to west, from the kingdom of Tunis to the kingdom of Morocco: It is also very mountainous towards the Mediterranean sea; but both hills and valleys are exceeding fruitful where they are cultivated, abounding in corn and fruits; such as Dates, Olives, Figs, Grapes and Almonds: They have also good store of Wax and Honey, and their coasts afford great quantities of Salt.

Face of
the coun-
try.

The Government of Algiers is, in reality, an absolute monarchy at this day, tho' it has some appearance of a mix'd Government; because the Dey, or Sovereign, sometimes assembles a Divan, consisting of the chief officers of the State and the Janizaries, and demands their advice in matters of importance; but this, it seems, is only to screen him against popular discontents; for he acts, by his sole authority, whenever he pleases. The Dey is, indeed, elective; his son never inherits by descent, and this election is by the Turkish army: Those, who have no relation to the sword, have nothing to do in the election. There are frequently several candidates nam'd upon a vacancy; and, when they have fixed upon one, they all cry out, "Allah Barick, God prosper you, and shower down his blessings upon you;" and, whether the person is willing to accept the honour, or not, he is immediately invested with the Castan or robe of sovereignty: Then the Cadi is call'd, who declares, that God has vouchsafed to call him to the government of that kingdom; and that he is to maintain his subjects in their liberties and properties, and duly administer justice to them; and exhorts him to employ his utmost care for the prosperity of his country: And, 'tis said, he sits daily, administering justice from five in the morning till noon, and from one till four, hearing and determining all causes that are brought before him, without any associates or assistants but four secretaries. However, matters relating to lands of inheritance, to religion, or the breaches of their ecclesiastical and civil laws (which are the same among the Turks) are determin'd by the Cadi's, or Ecclesiastical judges; so that these causes, determin'd by the Dey, seem to relate chiefly to the government of the State and the

Govern-
ment of
Algiers.

CHAP.
IX.

the Militia, or to personal debts, and other controverted matters; for which the Alchoran has made no provision: His judgments are arbitrary, not regulated by laws; nor is there any appeal from his tribunal. But, as the military men do not only elect their Sovereign, but depose, or put him to death, whenever they apprehend he does not consult their interest, he is oblig'd to be very cautious in the decree he makes.

Of the six Deys that have reign'd since the year 1700, four have been murder'd, and a fifth resign'd his government to save his life. The want of success in any instance, almost infallibly occasions a rebellion; and 'tis well if the Dey is not sacrific'd to the fury of the Janizaries, and another elected, in whose hands they hope their affairs will prosper better.

Land-
forces.

The Militia who elect their Dey, are all natural Turks or renegado Christians, admitted into those troops generally denominated Janizaries, and amount to about twelve thousand men: These are, by some, styl'd the nobility of Algiers; and certain it is, that the frequent revolutions that happen at Algiers, are brought about by this class of people chiefly: They are but few in number indeed, compar'd with the native Moors; and yet do they tyrannize over the natives in a most insolent manner. On the contrary, in the empire of Morocco, the Moors govern every thing, and will not suffer the Turks to have any share in the Government. The Moors here are said to be a cowardly and mean-spirited people, in comparison of the Turks; who have defeated armies of them, both in Morocco and Tunis, of six times their number, and storm'd and plunder'd both their capitals within a very few years, compelling their respective Princes to accept of such terms as the Deys of Algiers were pleas'd to impose on them. The reason of which superiority is suppos'd to proceed either from that submission the Turks have always exacted from the Moors, whereby the latter are in a manner dispirited; or that the Algerine Turks, being all men of the sword, engag'd perpetually in the most desperate services by sea and land, and, dreading no dangers, are an over-match for all their neighbours, who endeavour to live in peace: But, from what cause soever this superiority proceeds, it is surprizing to observe, that less than ten thousand of the Algerine Turks should dare to march through great part of the empire of Morocco, and make themselves masters of the capital city of Fez one year, and afterwards of Tunis the next. But, 'tis certain, the native Moors have as great a dread of these Pirates by land, as our defenceless Merchants have of them at sea, and tremble at the very name of an Alger Turk: And, tho' this kingdom consisted at first of little more than the lands within view of the city, by what they have taken from the Kings of Tunis and Bogia on the east, and the Emperor of Morocco on the west, we see it extended, at this day, 600 miles and upwards in length, and 3 or 4 hundred in breadth, to the southward, except some few inaccessible hills, where live a wretched sort of people, that are not worth their conquest. But to proceed:

Three
Beys or
Viceroy's.

In these extensive territories the Dey has three Viceroy's, or Beys; one in the east, another in the west, and a third in the south; who, in the latter end of the summer, assemble each of them a small army, with which they make the tour of their respective Governments, to gather in such taxes, as the Dey is pleas'd to impose upon the people; and, in case any of them refuse payment, the Bey seizes

VOL. III.

CHAP.
IX.

or destroys their whole crops of grain and fruits. In collecting these taxes, the respective Beys are employed three or four months every year; and whatever the whole country can raise, is brought to Algiers for the support of the Government, and particularly the payment of the Janizaries, which must be prefer'd to all other services, it being very dangerous disoblighing that body: But, as money is pretty scarce in this country, I find great part of the taxes are taken in kind, that is, in corn, cattle, and such other goods as may be most useful to the Turks at Algiers; and the prizes they make at sea some years, equal the revenues they exact from the natives at land. These Pirates seem to look upon the whole world as their tributaries; or rather, that the rest of mankind were only made to be slaves to their pleasures, and ought not to expect justice, or common humanity, at their hands. They agree with our Fanaticks, that dominion is founded in grace: That true believers have a right to every thing this world affords, and, according to CROMWELL's notion, ought not to be subject to laws, human or divine, at least in their commerce with reprobates, and infidels, as they esteem all men but themselves. But, as has been observ'd, the Turks here do not only treat the Christians and Jews with insolence, but even the Moors, who are of the same faith: The meanest Turkish soldier will make the wealthiest Moor give him the way: They are used more like men of quality, than common soldiers: They have their quarters in spacious squares, where they are maintain'd, and serv'd by slaves, at the publick expence: They are duly paid every other moon, and have the privilege of buying their provisions one third cheaper than any other of the inhabitants. Besides these, the Dey of Algiers has several thousand Moors in his service, horse and foot, and every one of his Beys commands an army of the same people, as has been observ'd already; but these have no share in the election, or deposing their Princes; or are entitled to any of the privileges the Turkish soldiers enjoy.

The Algerines are more formidable at sea, than any other power on the coast of Barbary; and the sea-faring people are in great esteem, on account of the prizes they frequently bring in; but still they have no share in the election of a Dey: The fathers of the Trinity assure us, that the Algerines have no less than five and twenty ships of war, from eighteen to sixty guns, besides a multitude of smaller cruising vessels; and, as they have very little timber in the country, nor any naval stores whatever, their ships are either those they take as prize, or built, and rigg'd out of the materials of such ships as are taken: However, they never suffer the number of their ships of war to be diminish'd; but, if any of them are lost, or decay'd, they immediately add as many more.

Force of
the Alge-
rines at
sea.

The English have been at peace with the Algerines ever since the year 1682: But the Dutch could not obtain a settled peace 'till very lately; in negotiating which, their good friends (the English) assisted them, or they would probably have been in a state of war with Algiers at this day: And surely this must be ascrib'd to an excess of goodness in the English nation on many accounts: For first, the Dutch are every where their rivals in trade; there is scarce any part of the world where the Hollander has not endeavour'd to supplant them, and in too many succeeded. In the next place, while the Dutch were at war with Algiers, they were forced to send strong convoys with their merchant-ships into the Levant; nor could these always protect their ships: They found it necessary to employ the English in carrying

19 U

their

CHAP.
IX.

their goods thither, and consequently the English were gainers by this war between Holland and Algiers; and yet were we so very kind and disinterested, as to make their peace for them, and let them into the trade again. Whether the Dutch will ever make any returns for so signal a favour, we shall see, if we live long enough; but their usual way of requiting a British kindness, is by acts of treachery and injustice. I question whether the Hollander has not done the trade of England more mischief, than ever the Algerines have, particularly in depriving us by violence of the Spice Islands, which they keep possession of to this day: Nor were their cruelties at all short of those the Turks exercise on their Christian slaves; for, to deter the English Merchants from ever coming to the Spice Islands again, they burnt off their flesh by inches, and exercis'd all the tortures upon them they could invent. Let them never therefore cry out of the piracies of the Algerines, when they themselves took not only our ships, but our lands (the invaluable Spice Islands) from us, and have never made restitution to this day; tho' they have often promised it by solemn treaties: And what aggravates the injury is, that this was done at a time of full peace, and in the very next reign after the Queen of England had rescued them from the oppressions of the Spaniards. But to return to the Government of Algiers:

It has been already observ'd, that the Dey is an absolute Sovereign, and in reality knows no superior; however, the Grand Signior still styles him Lieutenant, and the people, under his jurisdiction, subjects to the Porte, as appears by the letter written to the Dey by the Grand Signior in behalf of the Dutch, in the year 1719; a translation whereof follows.

To the Dey and Bassa of Algiers, MEHEMED Bassa, a Prince chosen to enjoy the dignity whereof he is possessor, who has been preserv'd by the help of the most High; and to the most learned Musti, and you Cadi's and Judges abounding with eloquence and equity; as likewise to all others among you, who are replete with knowledge; and to all the Chiefs of your Militia fighting for the faith; and also to all our faithful Algerine subjects, Health.

A letter from the Grand Signior to the Dey of Algiers in behalf of the Dutch.

“WE give you to understand by the tenor of this noble and sublime Order, that the Holland Ambassador, who is now at our High Porte, having represented to us, that you have declared war with Holland without any cause, and that the same was unjust, and contrary to the articles of those treaties which have been granted them by our Porte, with which they are in peace. All which, having been examined with attention, we have been informed, that the unjust war, by you declar'd against the Hollanders, is repugnant to those articles the said Dutch Ambassador has exhibited; by which articles it is specified, That, while they shall be in peace with our High Porte, no injury shall be done to their persons, or their effects, by our subjects of Algiers, Tunis or Tripoli: Nevertheless, you have transgress'd the treaties, taken from them to the value of fifty thousand dollars, and their Consul has been oblig'd to retire into France.

“Having a regard to those respectful remonstrances, made by the Holland Ambassador at the threshold of our happy Porte, we have heretofore dispatch'd to you our order and intentions

“upon this matter; and the effect, not having answer'd what we ought to have expected from loyal and obedient subjects, we now send this present order, whereto you are to conform; which order will be deliver'd you by HASSAN AGA, one of our Capiji Bassis. Our intention is, that you send to Constantinople two officers, who being commission'd to negotiate a peace with the said Hollanders, shall exhibit their allegations; you knowing that such subjects as disobey their Emperor are criminals, and frequently expos'd to chastisements sent them down from the most High, as it is express'd in the noble Koran: Wherefore, it is better that you preserve to yourselves love and applause, than that you incur hatred and reproach. For which reason you are to put in execution what is enjoin'd you by the present order, at the top whereof is the noble signet, to which it behoves you to give credit.”

While this was reading in the Divan, the whole audience kept a most respectful silence; and, being ended, the Bash-Chiaus cried out, fatha, fatha, expressing thereby the respect and submission wherewith the Emperor's Firman, or Order, ought to be receiv'd: And it appears, that the Algerines have indeed a great veneration for the Grand Signior, as the head of their religion; but have a still greater for their own interest, and are not to be moved by any threats of the Porte, when it pretends to debar them from exercising that piratical war with the European nations, which is the foundation of all their wealth and grandeur; for it was not till some years afterwards they made peace with Holland; and that, at the instance of the English, as has been observ'd already, as well as in consideration of very rich presents distributed among their leading men; and indeed, the Algerines, like other people, are govern'd chiefly by interest, nothing else inclines them either to peace or war; if they think they shall get most by peace, they prefer that; and, if they propose greater advantages by war, they will never listen to a peace.

The Grand Signior had, 'till very lately, a Bassa always residing at Algiers, to whom he expected the Dey and his subjects should pay a great regard; but, finding his authority slighted, and that they would not permit his Bassa to intermeddle in their affairs, or even allow him a vote in their Divan, he was pleas'd to constitute the Dey himself his Bassa, that he might seem still to retain some authority over the Algerines: And accordingly we find the preceding letter directed, To the Dey and Bassa of Algiers, MEHEMED Bassa, who indeed are the same person with two different titles.

The next temporal officer to the Dey, and who has the greatest influence in the Algerine Government, is the Aga, or General of the Turkish Militia. This is the oldest officer in the army, who continues in this post but two months, and then is succeeded by the next senior officer. While he remains Aga of the Militia, the keys of the city are in his custody, all military orders are given out in his name, and in his palace only, the Turks are punish'd (according to the decrees of the Dey) whether by bastinado, imprisonment, or death.

The three chief Ecclesiasticks are extremely revered by all; and these are the Musti, the Cadi, and the Grand Marabout: The first, the High Priest, of their religion: The second, the supreme Judge in ecclesiastical causes, and such civil matters, as the military power does not interpose in; and

They have little dependence upon the Grand Signior.

The Aga of the Janizaries the next officer to the Dey.

The Musti, Cadi, &c.

CH A P. IX. and the Grand Marabout, their great living Saint, or Hermit, or rather the General of that Order, who profess themselves Hermits or Marabouts; the last have an inconceivable influence both on the Government, and the affairs of every private man in the kingdom of Algiers: The three Ecclesiasticks may be distinguish'd by the largeness of their turbans: They sit in the Divan, a little below the Dey, on his right hand; and, when they enter the assembly, he rises up, and embraces them; but, tho' they are advis'd with on important occasions, they have no vote here: The Divan, I perceive, consists of near two thousand officers and soldiers, and of none but the Turkish soldiery. In the electing the Dey, if I am not mistaken, every man of the Turkish Militia has a vote: As to the deposing him, this is done generally by tumults of the populace: They are not govern'd by laws, or precedents, in these revolutions; but by interest, revenge, ambition, or perhaps mere caprice; so that the reign of the Dey is generally short, and always precarious, notwithstanding all the arts they use to secure their dominion: And, what is still more unfortunate, there is no descending from that dignity, without running an apparent hazard of his life: There is scarce any medium between the throne and grave.

The Dey chosen by the soldiers only.

Administration of justice.

Descent of estates.

Punishments.

The Dey, as has been related already, sits on his tribunal several hours every day, to hear the complaints of his subjects, and administer justice: The plaintiff, it seems, always makes his complaint in person (there are no Council, Proctors, Attornies, or Solicitors, to manage their causes for them;) and the defendant or wrong-doer is immediately summon'd to answer the complaint. Upon his appearance, both parties are examin'd upon oath, as well as the witnesses; and, if either of the parties appear to have been guilty of perjury, he immediately receives 300 bastinadoes with a cudgel, and is oblig'd to make the injur'd person satisfaction forthwith. If a person appears to be indebted to another, he is decreed to pay the debt in such time as the Dey awards: In which if he fails, an officer is order'd to sell his effects by auction, and make the creditor satisfaction; and this is done without any manner of charges. If the creditor have no effects, or real estate, he is imprison'd; and, if he have a real estate, and satisfaction is to be made out of it, the matter is refer'd to the Cadi, or ecclesiastical Judge, who only can determine matters in relation to lands and inheritances. And, since I have mention'd lands, these always descend to the eldest son; and where a person leaves no heirs, all his lands and effects, or, in other words, his whole real and personal estate, are seiz'd and possess'd by the Government.

The usual punishment at Algiers for offences not capital, is the bastinado, which consists often of some hundreds of blows over the soles of the feet, the calves of the legs, the buttocks or belly, with an unmerciful cudgel. In capital cases the Turks are strangled with a bow-string, which two people pull different ways with all their strength: But the various deaths the poor Christian slaves are put to, that offend these barbarous Pirates, are almost innumerable; impaling, and burning, or rather roasting, the unhappy sufferers alive, are but too frequent on their attempting to make an escape, especially if any Turk is kill'd in the scuffle; but the worst of all deaths, is the throwing them off the walls of the town upon iron hooks, on which they are catch'd by the jaws, by the ribs, or some other part of the body, and hang in the most exquisite torture for several days before they expire; but

this, 'tis said, has not been executed for many years: However, I find there have been instances of the crucifying Christians, and nailing their hands and feet to the walls within these few years; to which they have been provok'd by reports that were spread of some of their Christian neighbours having been equally cruel to the Turks they had taken. And this leads me to give some account of the condition of the Christian slaves at Algiers.

The Corsair or Pirate, it seems, no sooner takes a prize, but he examines into the quality and circumstances of all his prisoners; and, if he imagines they do not give him a just account of themselves and their comrades, he orders them to be bastinado'd on the soles of their feet till they do. Having got what information he can, he brings them on shore after he has stripp'd them almost naked, and carries them to the Dey's house, whither the European Consuls immediately repair, to see if there be any of the prisoners who belong to their respective nations, who are at peace with Algiers; for, in that case, they reclaim them, provided they were only passengers: But, if it be proved the prisoners serv'd for pay on board the ships of any nation at war with this Government, there is no way to get them releas'd, but by paying the full ransom.

The matter being settled between the Dey and the Consuls, which of the prisoners shall be set at liberty, and which of them deem'd slaves, the Dey has his choice of every eighth slave, and generally takes the Masters, Surgeons, Carpenters, and most useful men belonging to the respective prizes: And, besides his eighth, he lays claim to all such prisoners as are of any quality, for whom a swinging ransom may be expected: The rest are left to the Captor and their Owners, and usually carried to the Bessistan, or Slave-market, where the Crier proclaims the quality, the profession and circumstances of each of the unhappy captives, and the respective prizes set upon them. They are led afterwards to the court before the Dey's palace, and sold by auction in his presence to the best bidder; but whatever is given beyond the first price set upon them belongs to the Government: The Captors and Owners have no more than the first price, which is divided equally between them.

Those slaves, which belong to the Dey and the publick, who have no particular profession, and cannot be serviceable to the State in the building and rigging of ships, or in any art or manufacture on shore, are put to the most laborious employments; as in drawing carriages with materials for building, removing stones or rubbish, cleaning the streets and houses, carrying the soldiers baggage, and the like, and are lock'd up at night in the prisons belonging to the State; of which there are three that have obtained the name of Bagnio's: They have each of them a ring of iron on one ankle, and those they apprehend inclin'd to make their escape, are sometimes loaden with chains, in which they are forced to work all day. However, there are others, it seems, when they have got a little money from their friends, or by way of charity, or can borrow any of the Jews upon an extravagant interest, are permitted to keep taverns, paying a certain duty to the Dey, in proportion to the wine they vend: And these, it seems, are oblig'd to contribute towards the maintenance of their brethren in servitude, and to the Christian chappels that are allow'd in these prisons: And yet, with all the duties and interest they are forced to pay, the slaves that keep these taverns usually get money: There have been instances of some that have got enough to purchase their

Taverns kept by Christian slaves.

CHAP.
IX.The Turks
of Algiers
drink
wine.Slaves to
private
men.Female
slaves.The story
of a virtu-
ous Spanish
slave, as re-
lated by
the Fa-
thers.

their liberties, and carry money away with them; for the Government allow their slaves a property in what they get, and protect them in it. These taverns are no better than cellars, and dark warehouses, that have no other light than what they receive from the door; and in the same room stand the butts of wine, the beds and the tables where the company sit; but people will make a shift, with very poor accommodations, for the sake of a little good wine; and hither Turks, Moors and Christians resort promiscuously. Very little regard is paid to their great Prophet's prohibition in Algiers; only the good Mussulman has so much respect for the Alchoran even here, that he will not keep a tavern and distribute the forbidden liquor to others for the world, tho' he makes little scruple in drinking it. The management of these houses therefore is left entirely to the Christians, or Jews; and the man that keeps a tavern, tho' a slave, is empower'd to strip any of his guests, even the Turks themselves, if they refuse to pay their reckoning; and in this he is protected by the Dey. Every slave belonging to the Government also is allowed three loaves a day, about the bigness of a penny-loaf, besides what he earns himself, or is given him in charity; for, when the Government have no other employment for them, they are allowed to work in any manufacture they are masters of, and take the profit of it. Every Friday particularly (the Mahometan Sabbath) they are allowed to work for themselves, or to rest from their labour as they see fit.

The condition of those, who are slaves to private men, depends very much upon the temper of the master, and their own behaviour. They are employ'd in the business of the house, in trade, husbandry, or gardening, according to their qualifications, and the business the master has for them to do: Ship and House-Carpenters, Sail-makers, Smiths, and the like, are very useful, and much encourag'd; and a European Surgeon is a notable Physician among them. Notwithstanding the dread our people are in of being taken by Turkish Rovers, many of them live better in their masters houses at Algiers, than ever they did in their own countries, being entertain'd rather as companions than servants, where they happen to be good for any thing: Tho' 'tis true, some barbarous masters use their slaves ill, giving them ill language, and beating them unmercifully, that they may oblige them to redeem themselves at an extravagant price, especially where they are inform'd they are people of substance. As to female slaves, unless their masters expect a considerable ransom for them, they make them their concubines, or sell them to those who want to purchase such conveniences, if they are young. The Popish Priests, who are employ'd for the redemption of captives, entertain their readers with abundance of tragical stories upon this head; of which I shall present the reader with one, in the very dress the fathers have introduc'd it; which, tho' it may be true in the main, I will not be answerable for every circumstance these good men are pleas'd to transmit to us. They relate, that ANNA MARIA FERNANDEZ, a native of Toledo, aged sixteen, being taken captive with her mother, and a sister named FLORA, was brought by a Chiaus to the palace, September the 1st, 1715, while ALI Dey was superintending the pay of his Militia. This young maid being in the court-yard, prepossess'd with sentiments of her holy religion, and foreseeing that her youth and beauty were on the point of exposing to very great perils both her faith and her innocence, took advantage of the confusion, occasion'd by those multitudes of Janizaries, and daub'd her face all over

with dirt, beginning withal to lacerate her cheeks and arms, having first recommended herself to God, and, with showers of tears, invocated the powerful aid of our blessed Lady. The pay being over for that day, this poor victim was presented to the Dey, who made her go up into his apartment: There he endeavour'd to bring her into temper by great promises, exaggerating the happiness she might hope for, in case she submitted to his pleasure; and as, amidst these protestations, he attempted to caress her, this young creature generously repell'd all his caresses, and all his violences, telling him, that she would not purchase his protection, nor the advantage he offer'd her, at the price of her soul: That she was his slave, and he might condemn her to hard labour, which she was ready to undergo; but that she could not consent to any criminal actions, because she was a Christian. She still persever'd in resisting with a constancy equal to the violence ALI Dey continued offering her, till, at last, to find himself thus baffled, after having given her several kicks and buffets, he retir'd much incens'd. This was but the prelude to what other trials he made her undergo. That very evening he return'd to the charge, and found her no less inflexible than before: Her cries, which resounded even without the palace, made such as heard them judge what violence was offering her; and it evidently appear'd that her constancy was not vanquish'd, when the Dey was seen all in a rage, drawing her by the hair from the top to the bottom of his stair-case.

Finding himself unable to succeed in this first assault, he changed his battery: He lodg'd her in a handsome chamber, with a Negroe slave to attend her, and went often to see her, making her abundance of fruitless protestations; to which he joyn'd what is most capable of dazzling young persons of that sex, magnificent apparel, costly jewels, &c. But this virtuous maid, more curious to preserve her nuptial garment without a stain, refused them all, spite of the Dey's intreaties, earnest remonstrances and commands, daily repeated for more than a month. To remove her scruples, he caus'd a Christian girl, of her own country and acquaintance, to be brought her as a companion; and who, in her presence, made no difficulty of taking from the Dey's hands such things as he offer'd to our virgin, and therewith adorn'd herself. But this generous maid made her blush with confusion, bitterly reproaching her base compliance, and criminal forgetfulness of her baptismal vows. ALI Dey could not but admire the one, and heartily contemn'd the other, who yielded so easily: But that admiration did but add fuel to his passion; he imagin'd, that the country-air might work some effect on her, and that amidst those rural pleasures she might lose some of her austerity, and become more tractable: Spite of all her resistance, he forced her to put on a suit of fine cloaths, and mount on a mule, after that country fashion, in a Racabia, a sort of cage, most sumptuously cover'd after their manner; and therein she was conducted to his uncle's garden-seat. As she was persuaded, that the amorous Dey would not fail following her, and that abroad in the country her cries would not be heard, she made loud lamentations as she pass'd the streets of Algiers, that all people might be witnesses of the violences she underwent; and that such Christians, as were within hearing, might be excited to succour her, at least with their fervent prayers to the Almighty; which she ceas'd not calling on them to do for her, imploring with great outcries for God's assistance, and our blessed Lady's intercession.

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CHAP.
IX.Either the
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CHAP.
IX.

The Dey's uncle could not, with all his efforts and artifices, make any impression on the heart of this young virgin; all this was much less dangerous to her, than the presence of her persecutor: Nor had menaces and promises much force to stagger her, after the attacks she had actually sustain'd. She there found herself, as it were, under shelter; nor did she begin to tremble, till the Dey, after a three weeks interval, sent for her home, where he had already got her mother and sister, in order to try if he could not, through their means, bring her to a compliance. He flatter'd them with hopes of their liberty, in case they could engage her to be more condescending: But all was in vain; and this bringing them together served only to make all three firmer in their sentiments of virtue and religion. Our apostolick Vicar, and the Father administrator of the Gospel, touch'd at this maiden's situation, went to our Consul, M. CLAIRAMBAULT, to confer on the means to put a stop to so cruel and so dangerous a persecution, and in what terms to attack ALI Dey on the affair: They knew what an answer he had return'd to the complaint brought him against a certain patron, who used the like compulsion to a Christian female slave of his; he said, she was his own proper goods, which he might use just as he pleased. M. CLAIRAMBAULT however undertook speaking to him, and did it with his usual discretion: The Dey reply'd, that he did not offer to force his slave to change her religion. Our consul return'd very sorrowful, as judging from this answer, that BOBBA ALI design'd not to quit his pretensions; and, in effect, he pursued her with more artifices and greater violence than ever. This continued till such time as the Omnipotent, vouchsafing to put a period to the combats of his servant, suddenly changing the Dey's fury into admiration; and that, touch'd with the constancy of his slave, he frankly set her, together with her mother and sister, at liberty. May the 10th, 1717, they were all three embark'd on a vessel, wherein our Spanish fathers of the redemption carried off two hundred and thirty captives, whom they had ransom'd. Of such estimation is persevering virtue, since it casts a lustre, which makes it admir'd and recompens'd even by a passionate enamour'd Barbarian.

Admini-
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justice far-
ther confi-
der'd.

But to enlarge a little further on the administration of justice among the Algerines; for pirates and usurpers must observe forms of justice for the preservation of their lawless governments, whatever rapine and injustice they are guilty of towards the rest of mankind. The Moors, Jews and Christians, who are freemen, have their respective Judges of their several nations assign'd them, who are permitted to administer justice among their people (unless the crime affects the State) and these are judged by their several laws. Traitors, House-breakers and Highway-men, are put to the most cruel deaths here, tho' their State is supported by robbery: And a Moor, who has been guilty of theft, has his right hand cut off; which, being hung about his neck, he is set upon an ass, with his face to the beast's tail, and led about the streets, a cryer going before him and proclaiming his offence. Adultery and robbery are always punish'd with death; apostates from the establish'd religion are burnt here, as in other Mahometan countries: And tho' the Popish Priests, that are slaves at Algiers, are used better than other captives generally, their brethren taking care constantly to remit money to their several masters, to excuse them from labour; yet, if any Christian nation is at war with Algiers, the Priests

Popish
Priests,
how us'd.

are always made the first sacrifice. When the French bombard the city in the next year 1688, the Turks fir'd no less than forty Frenchmen at the Fleet, from the mouths of their great guns or mortars; among whom were the French Consul, and the apostolical Vicar, who had the management of the Christian-hospital at Algiers; but, 'tis said, the French Admiral set them an example, by firing several Turkish slaves from his mortars into the town: However, these are extraordinary cases; generally Christian slaves are treated very well at Algiers, they neither tempt, or force them to change their religion; it is not for their interest: Their masters had rather they would not turn Mahometans, for then they lose the benefit of their ransom; neither can they sell them to others. Indeed, when a Christian slave has committed some crime that deserves death, the Dey will sometimes offer him his life, if he turns Mahometan; and if they have any slaves under twelve years of age, some rich Musselman will endeavour to bring them up in their superstition, cloath them handsomely, and even adopt them for their children; but, as for those that are grown up, they never attempt to make them change their religion. 'Tis true, some purchase young girls, on purpose to make concubines of them; and there are others that buy up young boys for their unnatural lusts: But for the most part, it is observ'd, Christian slaves are used better than those Christians that are at liberty: The latter are insulted and abused frequently both by Turks and Moors; but they take care how they meddle with slaves, as their masters will resent the affront, and they are forced to make satisfaction if they do them any injury.

French
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mortars.

The
Turks do
not force
their slaves
to turn
Mahome-
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There is much more danger of falling into the hands of the mountaineers on the coast, than of the Algerines; for the former are not content with making Christian slaves, but make them serve with rigour, frequently taking away the life of a Christian prisoner, which those barbarians look upon as a meritorious action. But even here I find the people much more inclined to preserve their prisoners, where a good ransom may be expected, than to destroy them; as may be collected from the Relation LAUGIER DE TASSY has given us of the captivity of young Miss DE BOURK, daughter of the Count DE BOURK, which I chuse to recite, because it gives us some notion of the mountaineers of the kingdom of Algiers, and how very little authority the Dey has over them.

Monsieur DE TASSY relates, that the Countess DE BOURK embarked at Cette in Languedoc, on the 23d of October, 1719, in a Genoese bark, with her son, her daughter, M. L'ABBE DE BOURK her brother-in-law, another Irish gentleman, with six domesticks, two of them men, and four of the other sex: She was going for Spain to her husband Chevalier TOBIAS, Count DE BOURK, a gallant Irish officer, then in his Catholick Majesty's service, and who had followed King JAMES into France. On the second day of their voyage, being on the Catalan coast near Barcelona, the bark was made prize of by a small Algerine: But the Countess having a pass from the French court, the Captain treated her with the utmost civility and distinction, recovering her from the fright she was in, by assuring her, that no injury should be offer'd either to herself, or any of her retinue. She desired to be left with her family on board the Genoese bark; which request the Corsair readily granted. He took into his own ship the Genoese equipage, and put in their stead a few Turks and Moors to conduct the

The cap-
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Miss DE
BOURK a-
mong the
mountai-
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CHAP.
IX.

bark, which he took in tow, steering away for Algiers. But, on the 30th of that month, being near the Barbary coast, and attack'd by a most furious tempest at N. W. the Corfair was oblig'd to cut away the bark, in order to govern his own vessel; that prize not able to keep up with the Algerine, and the wind forcing her towards land, she was dash'd in pieces. The Cabails, who, whenever the northerly winds blow tempestuously, are extremely attentive to observe from the tops of their mountains what passes upon the coast, having seen the approach of this vessel, ran down to the sea-side in great numbers to wait for and pillage her: The Algerines, who saved themselves by swimming, acquainted the chief of those Moors, that there was in the bark a French Princess. Immediately several Cabails threw themselves into the water, to save her at least; but could only save Miss DE BOURK, her uncle L'ABBE DE BOURK, a chamber-maid, with the two men-servants; the Countess, with her son, three women servants, and M. ARTHUR, her gentleman, were all drown'd: They made L'ABBE carry the child on his shoulders, and conducted them all to a place the least accessible in certain mountains, some days journey from the sea. Being arrived there, Miss DE BOURK, her uncle, and one domestick, were carried to one tent; the chamber-maid and second domestick to another. Next day the Shieks, or Chiefs of the Adouars or villages, assembled to consult on what was to be done with the prisoners, whether they should write to the Aga of Jeil, to send information to the French Consul at Algiers, that he might ransom the lady and her retinue? or whether it would not be better they should wait till the said Consul claimed them, and so get a sum more considerable? It was determined to stay till they were claimed, which obliged Miss DE BOURK (then only in her tenth year) to write a very moving letter (November 4.) to the Consul at Algiers; wherein she acquainted him with her misfortunes and condition: She conjur'd him to redeem her at any price whatever, and deliver her from the horrors she underwent. The Moors sent this letter to a certain Marabout near Bujeya, who passes for a great saint, and is held in such veneration, that when any one of that country asks a favour, he does it in the name of God and of the said Marabout. This saint immediately dispatch'd away to Algiers a courier, who deliver'd the letter to the Consul, by whom it was communicated to M. DUSAULT, lately arriv'd there from France, in quality of his most Christian Majesty's Envoy-extraordinary.

During this interval, the son of one of the most considerable Shieks demanded Miss DE BOURK in marriage of his Father, who propos'd it to the other Shieks. These imagin'd he might thereby acquire vast riches; and therefore several others of the most powerful disputed her with him; but none obtained her: And it was finally resolv'd in their council, that she should be ransom'd.

His most Christian Majesty's Envoy went instantly to MEHEMET, Dey of Algiers, of whom, in the strongest and most pressing terms, he demanded the liberty of Miss DE BOURK and her retinue: The Dey answer'd, that the Cabails acknowledg'd not his sovereignty, by reason he could not reduce them to obedience in a mountainous country, which was inaccessible to all but its inhabitants; and, when any Algerine forces were sent thither, in order to their reduction, they always laid ambuscades, into which the Turks could not possibly avoid falling.

He added, that all he could do, was strictly and precisely to enjoin his Agas of Jeil and Bujeya, to use all practicable means to get those Christians released, and then ransom them on the easiest terms they were able to obtain. He immediately sent away his orders to that purpose, joining therewith letters for the Marabouts of those places, requiring them to act in concert with his said officers. On the 24th ditto, M. DUSAULT order'd to sea a French vessel then in the port of Algiers; whereon embark'd IBRAHIM HOJA, our nation's Interpreter, to carry those dispatches to the Aga's and Marabouts: On their receipt thereof they instantly took horse, and rode to that Adouar where Miss DE BOURK was detain'd: There they negotiated the ransom of her, and those with her, and procured the release of all five for 1300 Algiers current dollars. But to return to the Christian slaves at Algiers.

LAUGIER DE TASSY observes, that the French and Spanish slaves have each of them their Priests and chappels at Algiers, where divine service is perform'd after the mode of their respective countries: That the Jews also, who are computed to be five thousand families in the town, have their synagogues and their Priests; but that Britain, and the several Protestant nations of Europe, have neither chappels or ecclesiasticks to perform divine service, tho' they have Consuls here to take care of the interests of their respective nations, and transact their affairs: But one reason the English have no chappel or Priest here may be, that there are not many English slaves in the place. We have been at peace with Algiers these fifty or threescore years, and no Englishman can be made a slave, unless he serves in the fleets of foreigners, who are at war with the Algerines, for pay; of which indeed there are some, but they are redeemed from time to time, either by the Government, or by private charities. Queen ANNE redeem'd several in her reign; King GEORGE I. redeem'd 37; and his present Majesty 150, and upwards.

Something should be said of the trade of the Algerines; but in truth their trade, by which they principally subsist, is piracy and man-stealing. In their prizes they find all the merchandize of Europe; and this, as well as the prisoners, the Captain of the pirate and his crew divide equally with the owners, after the Dey has taken the eighth share he claims in every prize. The Jews are the principal merchants at Algiers, as they are in every town upon the Barbary coast, tho' there are in some Moorish merchants also; but, as to the Turks, they trouble themselves with no kind of merchandize but slaves, arms and ammunition: They are all of them men of the sword, and look upon traffick to be beneath them. The Jews buy the goods found in the prizes, and retail them at home, to export them again to foreign markets; and there are some few European ships that come to Algiers on account of trade, but meet with little encouragement, unless there have been no prizes made in a great while; for the pirates, who come by their goods without paying any thing for them, must certainly be able to afford better penny-worths than the Merchant, who buys his goods.

Turkish vessels, and those of the Moors, pay twenty Piasters, in the port of Algiers, for anchorage, whatever burthen the ship is of; and those of Christians, at peace with that nation, pay forty Piasters; while those, who are at war with Algiers, pay fourscore piasters for anchorage: For they take all foreign ships into their protection, when they have

CHAP.
IX.

No Protestant Ecclesiasticks at Algiers.

English slaves redeem'd of late years.

Trade of Algiers.

CHAP.
IX.

have enter'd any of their ports, whether they are at peace with them, or not; but, if they meet with the same ships at sea, even in their return from Algiers, they look upon them as lawful prize.

The duties on all merchandize imported by Turks, Moors or Jews, are twelve and a half per Cent.; and the duties on exportation, two and a half per Cent. The English, by their treaty in the year 1703, are to pay but five per Cent. on goods imported, and two per Cent. on those they export; and, 'tis said, the French have had the same favour shewn them: They make even money pay five per Cent. on importation, except that which is sent for the redemption of captives, and this pays but three per Cent. Wine, Brandy and Spirits pay four Piasters the piece on importation; and the company of the Bastion de France (a little island the French are possess'd of on the coast of Algiers) are allowed to send two vessels to Algiers every year, without paying any duties, 'tis said.

Goods im-
ported.

The merchandizes imported, are wrought Silks, Gold and Silver Stuffs, Damasks, Linnen and Woollen Cloths, Spices, Copper, Brass and Tin-ware, Quick-silver, Arms, Powder and other Ammunition; Sails and naval stores, Cochineal, Copperas, Sugar, Cotton, Galls, Brazil-wood, Red-wood, Alums, Vermillion, Wine, Brandy, Spirits, Opium, Gums, Paper, dried Fruit, and other less considerable articles.

Goods ex-
ported.

In return for which, the Europeans receive Wax, fine Wool, Ostrich-feathers, Skins of wild Beasts, Dates and Christian slaves: Nor is there any kind of merchandize, but what may be met with here sometimes, when they bring in rich prizes.

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munition
and naval
stores.

The English Consul, says LAUGIER DE TASSY, is the only Merchant of that nation at Algiers, and carries on a more advantageous trade than any other person; for he furnishes the Dey with powder, bullets, bombs, arms, anchors, cordage, and all manner of naval stores, and takes in return corn and oil, which are of great service sometimes to the British garrisons of Port-Mahon and Gibraltar; and, 'tis said, no other nation is suffer'd to carry any corn out of the country: But there is more than one reason for this indulgence, and for keeping fair with the English; for they do not only furnish the Government of Algiers with such things as are most wanted there; but, if there should happen to be another rupture with England, the Algerines would not be able to stir out of their ports for our Cruisers from Port-Mahon and Gibraltar: They will therefore ever have as much respect for Britain, as for any power in Europe, while we retain those two places.

The foun-
dation of
the Turk-
ish govern-
ment at
Algiers.

That famous, or rather infamous, Pirate BARBAROSSA, laid the foundation of the Turkish dominion at Algiers, and was the first that styl'd himself King of it: Of which usurpation I meet with the following account. The Moors of Spain, having been driven from that country in the year 1492, and transported to the coast of Barbary, took all opportunities of retaliating the injury that was done them, and revenging themselves on the Spaniards, by taking their merchant-ships, and plundering the towns on the coasts; which they were very successful in for some years, being well acquainted with the country; and they found means, in these excursions, to surprise and carry multitudes of people into captivity: Whereupon Cardinal XIMENES, prime Minister to FERDINAND V. King of Arragon, in order to restrain these outrages, fitted out a fleet in the year 1505; on which having embark'd a body of land-forces, under the command of PETER, Count of

CHAP.
IX.

Navarre, he besieg'd and took the town of Oran on the coast of Barbary, then inhabited by Moors who had been driven from Grenada and Valentia. The Count afterwards made himself master of Bugia, and several other towns upon the same coast, together with the little island that lies before the bay of Algiers; whereby he prevented the Moors shipping going in or out of that port, and gave the town apprehensions of falling suddenly under the dominion of the Spaniards.

In this distress Prince SELIM, then Sovereign of Algiers, having heard of the fame of BARBAROSSA, the successful Turkish Corsair, sent to desire his assistance against the Spaniards: The Pirate was cruising in the Mediterranean, when he received the invitation; and, glad of the opportunity, sent away 18 galleys, and 30 small barks to Algiers, marching thither by land himself with such forces as he could assemble on a sudden. The Algerines, receiving advice of his approach, march'd out of town with Prince SELIM at their head, to welcome their Deliverer; and, having conducted him to Algiers, amidst the loud acclamations of the people, he was lodg'd in the Prince's palace. But their joy was not long-liv'd; for the Pirate, who, for many years had made no scruple of seizing whatever came in his way, immediately form'd a design of making himself Sovereign of Algiers; and, having found means to assassinate Prince SELIM privately, caused himself to be proclaim'd King, massacring all those he imagin'd might oppose his designs: Whereupon most of the natives abandon'd the place, and left the usurper in the peaceable possession of the city; but, upon his promising them his protection, and the enjoyment of their ancient laws and liberties, they returned to their habitation, and acknowledged him their Sovereign. They soon found themselves, however, under the dominion of a barbarous tyrant, who, after he had fortified the place, and secured his possession, treated them no better than slaves.

This revolution happen'd at Algiers in the year 1516; and the son of Prince SELIM, flying to Oran for protection, prevail'd on the Spaniards the year following to fit out a strong fleet, with an army of 10000 landmen on board, to assist him to recover his right, promising to acknowledge the King of Spain for his Sovereign, if he succeeded: But the Spanish fleet being arrived near Algiers, was dispers'd or shipwreck'd in a violent storm, and most of their forces drown'd, cut in pieces, or made slaves by the Turks. BARBAROSSA, puff'd up with this success, continued to treat the Moors, both in town and country, with greater insolence than ever, which induced the rest of the Moorish Princes to enter into a confederacy against the usurper; and, having chosen the king of Tenez their General, and assembled 10000 Horse, and a good body of Foot, they took the field, in order to lay siege to Algiers. BARBAROSSA, having intelligence of their motions, march'd out to meet them with no more than 1000 Turkish musketeers, and 500 Moors he could confide in, and had the good fortune to defeat the numerous forces of his enemies; who, being without fire-arms, were soon disorder'd by his musketeers, especially their horse, on whom they most relied: After which, the Conqueror enter'd the city of Tenez, the King being fled to Mount Atlas, and caused the Inhabitants to proclaim him their King.

There happen'd, about the same time, an insurrection in the kingdom of Tremesen, which lies still more to the westward; and the rebels hearing of the surprizing successes of BARBAROSSA, invited him

CHAP.
IX.

him to come and deliver them from the oppressions they pretended to have suffer'd under their native Sovereign, a message extremely acceptable to the ambitious Turk, who, having sent for a reinforcement of troops, and his artillery from Algiers, immediately advanced towards Tremesen; and, engaging that King in the plain of Aghad, obtained a compleat victory, to which his artillery and small arms very much contributed, the Moors having neither the one or the other, but still fought with their old weapons, lances, bows and swords. The King of Tremesen, it seems, escaped out of the battle, but his traitorous subjects afterwards murder'd him, and sent his head to the Conqueror; who thereupon enter'd the city of Tremesen in triumph, and was proclaim'd King. The citizens acknowledg'd him their Sovereign, and took the oath of allegiance to BARBAROSSA, who now saw himself master of three kingdoms within the space of a year, which he had acquired with the assistance of a handful of men only; but as Tremesen was in the neighbourhood of Oran, he justly apprehended the Spaniards would not long permit him to enjoy his conquests in quiet. He enter'd therefore into an alliance with MULEY HAMET, King of Fez, the most powerful of the African Princes, who was no less an enemy to Spain than himself; and, thus supported, he did not doubt but he should be able to defend the extensive territories he had conquer'd against all the power of the Christians: And he might have judg'd right, possibly, if his ally, the King of Fez, had been as ready to oppose the efforts of the Spaniards, as he was. But CHARLES the Vth, coming to take possession of the throne of Spain about this time, and being implor'd by the prince of Tremesen, to assist him in the recovery of his father's kingdom out of the hands of BARBAROSSA, he sent over 10000 men from Spain, under the command of the governor of Oran; who immediately took the field, and, being join'd by a good body of Moors and Arabs, march'd towards Tremesen. Whereupon BARBAROSSA immediately sent to his ally, the King of Fez, to hasten to his assistance, and march'd in person, with 1500 Turkish musketeers, and 5000 Moorish horse, to attend the motions of the Governor of Oran, 'till he should be join'd by the King of Fez; but, being hemm'd in by the Spaniards, and endeavouring to break through them in the night-time, he was cut in pieces with all his Turkish infantry. Whereupon the Governor of Oran continued his march to Tremesen, and, the citizens opening their gates to him, the young Prince was restored to his throne. Some days after the battle, the King of Fez arriv'd in the neighbourhood of Tremesen, with an army of 20000 men; but, hearing of the success of the Spaniards, he return'd with more haste into his country than he came: Whereby the Spaniards had an opportunity of recovering both Tenez and Algiers, if they had followed their blow, and might with ease have expell'd the Turks from the coast of Barbary at that time; but the Governor of Oran contented himself with what he had done, and sent back the forces to Spain that had been employ'd in this expedition, at a time when the Turks of Algiers had given themselves over for lost. But, finding the Spaniards made no preparations to attack them, they proclaim'd CHEREDIN, the brother of BARBAROSSA, their King, who met with no disturbance 'till the year 1619, when he understood there was a general conspiracy of the Moors and Arabs, to free themselves from the Turkish yoke, and recover their ancient liberties: And, as he was conscious he was too weak to resist their united

forces, especially if they shou'd be join'd by the Spaniards, whom he apprehended to be at the bottom of this conspiracy, he dispatch'd an express to SELIM, the then Grand Signior; representing, that all Africa wou'd soon fall under the dominion of the Spaniards, if the Turks shou'd be driven from Algiers; and desiring he wou'd send him a strong reinforcement of troops, promising to resign his kingdoms to the Porte, and that he would act for the future, as Basha, or Viceroy, to the Grand Signior.

The Ottoman Emperor accepted CHEREDIN's offer, and sent 2000 Janizaries to his assistance; publishing a proclamation at the same time, that all Turks who should resort to Algiers, should enjoy the same privileges there, as the Janizaries did at Constantinople; whereupon all people of desperate fortunes, and whose crimes had render'd them obnoxious to the Government, immediately enter'd themselves in the service of CHEREDIN BARBAROSSA; and, with these reinforcements, he was soon in a condition to defeat all the conspiracies of the Moors, and render himself absolute master of that part of Barbary: He also subdu'd the island the Spaniards had possess'd themselves of at the mouth of the bay of Algiers, and by a mole join'd it to the continent; and, having erected a strong fortress on the island, he enlarg'd his piratical fleet, and so infested the coasts of Spain and Italy, that a merchant-ship could not stir out of any port without falling into the hands of his Corsairs. He also made frequent descents upon the coasts, carrying multitudes of Christians into slavery; and this, at the time when CHARLES the Vth, then Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, was at the height of his glory.

This Prince, now Sovereign of the best part of Europe, incens'd to see his dominions insulted, and his subjects daily carried into slavery by these rascally Pirates, and being incited to extirpate them by Pope PAUL III. as enemies not only to the Christian faith, but to all mankind; the Emperor, in the year 1541, having assembled a fleet of 500 sail, including transports and gallies, embark'd with an army of 20000 men and upwards, in Spain; and arriving before the bay of Algiers the latter end of October, landed about two thirds of his army, and summoned the place; which was upon the point of surrendering to him, when a sudden storm happen'd, in which great part of his fleet was shipwreck'd, his provisions all destroy'd, and such heavy rains at the same time fell on the shore, that his forces could no longer keep the field; whereupon he found himself oblig'd to abandon the enterprize, and reembark what forces he had left, having lost, at least, one third of them, either by shipwreck or the sword of the enemy, in his retreat; tho', had this enterprize been undertaken sooner in the year, in all probability it had succeeded, and CHARLES the Vth had added Africa to his empire, which was already extended over the best part of Europe and America.

But I should have taken notice, that some little time before this memorable enterprize of CHARLES the Vth, the Grand Signior had prefer'd CHEREDIN BARBAROSSA to the honourable post of Captain Basha, and commander in chief of all the territories of Algiers; but thought fit to appoint HASAN Aga, the Eunuch, Basha of the town of Algiers, probably to be a check upon CHEREDIN, and prevent his setting up again for himself. And, after the death of BARBAROSSA II. the Porte govern'd the kingdom of Algiers by their Basha's (as other provinces of that empire are govern'd) till the

CHAP.
IX.

CHAP. IX. 17th century, when the Janizaries, or militia of Algiers, 'tis said, represented to the Grand Signior, that his Basha's tyranniz'd over the country, squandered away the soldier's pay, and rendered the government of the Turks so odious there, that the Spaniards and Moors were about to unite against them, and would infallibly drive the Turks from the coast of Barbary, if that Government was not better regulated: They desired therefore, that they might elect one of their officers, with the title of Dey, to be their Governor; promising thereupon, to raise supplies sufficient to maintain their forces, which would save the Porte an immense charge; and that they would however always acknowledge the Grand Signior for their Sovereign; in which proposal, it seems, the Porte acquiesced. They elected a Dey, and under the government of such magistrates of their own electing they remain at present; but in no part of the world there are such frequent instances of the people's deposing and murdering their Princes, scarce any of them dying a natural death. They reign with absolute authority for a few years, months, or weeks, and sometimes a few hours puts an end to their dominion and their lives; nor are the Algerines, at present, any otherwise subject to the dominion of the Grand Signior, than as they acknowledge him the head of their religion: His orders are very little regarded in their territories.

It is amazing that this large kingdom of Algiers should be kept under the most slavish subjection by a body of 12000 Turks only, composed of the vilest and most abandoned wretches on the face of the earth; being chiefly such who, to avoid the punishment due to their crimes, have fled from Constantinople, and other Turkish towns and provinces in the Levant: none of the better sort of Turks ever resorting hither. And when the usual number of their militia happens to be lessened by mortality, or the being made slaves to the Christians, they send to the Levant, to pick up all the Banditti and Desperadoes they can meet with to recruit their piratical troops; taking also the renegade Christians, and the sons of the soldiery, which they have by Moorish or Arabian wives, into that body; for no Turkish women ever came to Algiers, looking upon it, as it really is, a nest of Pirates and Robbers, insolent daring villains, who are only fit for the conversation of people like themselves. Neither Moors or Arabs are ever admitted into this militia, lest they should endeavour to free their country from this insupportable tyranny of the Turks, and drive out their domineering masters. And though the son of a Turk and a Moorish and Arabian wife is admitted into their militia, these are never suffered to enjoy any preferment or post in the Government; it being suspected they may entertain too great a regard for their friends and relations by the mother's side.

To every private soldier of this body, it seems, they give the title of Effendi, or lord; and indeed these Jordains demand a respect from the natives equal to that of Princes; and out of them are elected their Deys or Kings, their Aga's, their Beys or Viceroy's. The Governors of towns, and all officers of state, and this militia, are exempted from all taxes and duties whatever, seldom punished for any crimes unless those against the State: Nor is any justice to be obtained against them, where the native Moors, Arabs, Christians or Jews, are parties: These are forced to submit to all manner of injuries and affronts from the soldiery. They

fly the streets, if they see a Janizary coming, or stand close up to the wall in the most respectful posture, till those high and mighty robbers pass by them.

While the Dey is successful, pays the soldiers duly, and does not attempt to invade their privileges, no Prince is obey'd with more alacrity by his troops; they refuse no hazards in his service: But if things go never so little amiss, the fault is immediately charged upon the Dey, and it is well if he be not sacrificed to their fury; which makes most of their Princes so cautious, as not to enter upon any thing of consequence, without the concurrence of the Divan, or great Council of the soldiery.

Those Janizaries who are unmarried, have much the greatest privileges: They are lodged in spacious houses provided by the Government, attended by slaves, and have the privilege of buying their provisions one third under the market-price, and a great allowance of bread every day, besides their pay; but the married men are excluded from all these advantages, being obliged to find their own houses, and their own provision for their families out of their pay: One reason for discouraging the soldiers marrying, is supposed to be, because the Government is entitled to all the estates and effects of all those that die or are carried into slavery without children: But the principal is, that the married men are supposed to have more regard to the natives with whom they intermarry, than the unmarried soldiers; and for the same reason, the sons of the married Janizaries are not allowed the privileges of the natural Turks, or ever preferred to any post in the Government, as has been observed already; which are such discouragements to their taking wives, that scarce any Janizaries marry, unless the renegadoes that are admitted into that body, who are not very numerous: However, all of them are allowed to purchase female slaves, and keep as many concubines as they please, without any restraint.

The greatest crime here, next to treason, if it be not held a branch of it, is the expressing any compassion or tenderness for the natives: However, they employ armies of Moors in several parts of the country, who assist in oppressing their fellow-subjects, and levying the tributes the Dey imposes. And notwithstanding the tyranny the Turks exercise over the Moors and Arabs; yet if any Christian power makes an attempt against their country, they now seem ready to unite their forces against such invaders, as dreading the government of Christians more than the usurpations of those of the same faith.

But to be a little more particular as to the election of the Dey: He ought, by their constitution, to be chosen by the Turkish militia, without one dissenting voice. When the throne is vacant, they assemble at the place, and the Aga of the soldiery demands who shall be their Dey; whereupon every one calls out for the person he is best affected to; but till all agree in the choice, they are directed to name others, till they pitch upon one who is universally approved; and it is not uncommon for them to draw their sabres, and for the strongest to force the rest to agree with them: In which contentions, many are killed or wounded. And there are instances of a powerful faction electing another Dey, while the former has been living, and murdering the reigning Dey as he sat upon his tribunal: And in this case, the usurper seldom fails to murder all the great officers and members of the Divan that oppose him.

CHAP. IX.

The election of the Dey, further treated of.

CHAP.
IX.

HALY Dey, who was plac'd upon the throne on the murder of **IBRAHIM Dey**, surnam'd *The Fool*, ann. 1710, caus'd no less than seventeen hundred persons to be murder'd the first month of his reign, whom he apprehended to be in a different interest. When the Dey happens to be kill'd, his women are plunder'd of all they have, and reduced to their primitive state, and his children have nothing more allow'd them than the pay of a private soldier, and excluded from all preferment in the State: But if the Dey dies a natural death (which rarely happens) they suffer his women to remain possess'd of what he leaves them. **HALY Dey** had the good fortune to reign eight years, viz. from 1710 to 1718, and died in his bed at last: However, he was no sooner given over by the Physicians, but a powerful faction made choice privately of a successor before he was dead; and the moment **HALY** expired, proclaim'd **MAHOMET Dey**, who was before High-Treasurer, and he was immediately invest'd with the royal robes: And thereupon, all the officers of State and the soldiery kiss'd his hand, and congratulated him on his accession, knowing it would have been fatal to them to have insisted on another election; though it has happen'd, that a Dey has been no sooner chosen and placed upon the throne, but he has been murder'd there by the opposite party. There were, it seems, some few years since, no less than six Dey's assassinated in four and twenty hours, whose tomb still form a circle without one of the gates of Algiers.

The war
between
the Eng-
lish and
the Alge-
rines.

The English Merchants, as well as those of other nations, have suffer'd very much by the depredations of the Algerines. **Sir WILLIAM MONSON**, in the reign of King **JAMES I.** burnt some few of their ships; **Admiral BLAKE** more in the year 1655; and **Sir THOMAS ALLEN**, in 1668, lay before their town, 'till he compell'd them to make peace; but they broke it again in the following year. In 1670, **Captain BEACH** forced seven of their frigates on shore, and burnt them. **Sir EDWARD SPRAGGE**, in 1671, took and destroy'd nine of their ships of war; and at several times, 'tis computed, the English may have destroy'd forty or fifty of these rovers; but one ship is no sooner lost, than they fit out another; and, 'tis said, not less than three or four hundred English vessels fell into their hands in a few years. The English and Dutch had agreed, a little after the restoration of King **CHARLES II.** to fall upon the Algerines with their united fleets; and a Squadron of each nation failed to the Streights for that purpose: But, when they arrived there, the Dutch Admiral treacherously separated from the English, and went and destroyed their settlements on the coast of Guinea and in the West-Indies, without any provocation; whereby the Hollanders appear'd to be a more dangerous kind of Pirates than the Turks of Algiers, inasmuch as the Dutch robb'd us, while the two nations were at peace, and at a time when they had just enter'd into a confederacy with us; while the Algerines were so fair, as to declare themselves our enemies, giving us an opportunity to prepare for our defence. In 1682, the Algerines were so harass'd by the Squadrons the English sent from time to time into the Mediterranean, that they thought fit to make peace with us, which they have kept pretty well ever since: While the treacherous Hollander suffer'd sufficiently many years after, by the depredations of the Algerines, who never kept any peace they made with the Dutch two years together, 'till very lately, and that they obtain'd by the mediation of the good-natured forgiving English, as has been observ'd al-

ready, or they had been in a state of war with those rovers to this day, and perhaps would have been forced to have relinquish'd their Turkey trade; which, in that case, must have devolved upon us.

The substance of the principal articles of peace, made by **Admiral HERBERT** in the reign of King **CHARLES II.** anno 1682, with the **Basha** and **Dey** of Algiers, were:

CHAP.
IX.
Articles of
peace con-
cluded
with Al-
giers, ann.
1682.

That the ships, belonging to Great-Britain, might come to any port in the kingdom of Algiers, and traffick there, paying the usual custom of ten per Cent.; and for powder, arms, ammunition, iron, timber and planks for shipping, cordage, and all other naval stores, no duty was to be paid.

That as well the ships belonging to Great-Britain, as those of Algiers, might freely pass the seas, and traffick, without any search, hindrance or molestation from each other; and that all persons and passengers, of what country soever, with their money, goods and moveables, to what people or nation soever belonging, on board the said ships, should be wholly free, and not be stopp'd, taken, or plunder'd, or receive any damage whatever from either party.

That the Alger ships of war, meeting any British merchant-ships out of the seas belonging to his Majesty's dominions, might send on board one single boat, with two fitters only, besides the ordinary crew of rovers: And that only the two fitters should enter such ship without leave from the Commander thereof; who, upon producing a pass under the seal of the Admiralty of England or Scotland, should be permitted to proceed freely on his voyage, and the said boat should immediately depart: And, in case any British man of war should meet with any ship of Algiers, if the Commander of such ship should produce a pass firm'd by the Governors of Algiers, and a certificate from the English Consul residing there, such ship of Algiers should be suffer'd to pass freely.

That no Algerine Commander should take out of any British ship any persons whatever, to carry them to be examin'd, or on any other pretence; or should use torture or violence to any persons that should be on board a British ship.

That no British ship, wreck'd on the coast of the kingdom of Algiers, should be seiz'd, or its crew made slaves; but the Algerines should use their best endeavour to save both men and goods.

That no ship of Algiers should serve the Corsairs of Sallee, or any other power at war with Great-Britain, and be made use of against his Majesty's subjects.

That no ship of Algiers should cruise in sight of Tangier, or any other country or place belonging to his Majesty, or disturb the peace or commerce of the same.

That if any ship of Tunis, Tripoli, or Sallee, or of any other place, should bring any ships, or goods, belonging to his Majesty's subjects, into the territories of Algiers, they should not be permitted to be sold there.

That if a British man of war should bring a prize to any place on the coast of Algiers, it might be freely sold or disposed of there, without paying any custom; and, if the Commander wanted any provisions, or other things, he might buy them at the market-price.

When any British man of war should appear before Algiers, proclamation should be made to secure all Christian captives; after which, if any Christian whatever should escape to such ship of war, they should not be requir'd: Nor the British Consul,

or

CHAP.
IX.

or the Commander of such ship, or any other subject of Britain, be oblig'd to pay any thing for such Christians.

After the ratification of the said treaty, no British Subject should be bought or sold, or made a slave in Algiers, on any pretence; and the King of England, or his subjects, might, at any time, redeem such as were slaves at Algiers at the time of this treaty.

If any subject of Britain dies at Algiers, the Government shall not seize his money or effects, but suffer his heirs or executors to enjoy them; and if he die without will, the English Consul shall possess himself of the goods and money of the deceased, for the use of his heirs and kindred.

That no British Merchants, trading to, or residing at Algiers, shall be oblig'd to buy any merchandise against their wills; nor shall any of their ships be oblig'd to carry goods, or make a voyage to any place, against their consent: Nor shall the English Consul, or any British Subject, be oblig'd to pay the debts of any other of his Majesty's Subjects, unless bound for them by a publick Act.

That no British Subject, in the territories of Algiers, shall be liable to any other jurisdiction, but that of the Dey, or Divan, except differences between themselves, which shall be determin'd by the Consul only.

That if any British Subject happen to kill, wound or strike a Turk or Moor, he shall be punish'd in the same manner, and with no greater severity, than a Turk ought to be (guilty of the same offence); and, if he escape, neither the British Consul, or any of his Majesty's Subjects, shall be question'd or troubled for it.

That the English Consul shall enjoy entire freedom and safety in his person and estate; shall be permitted to choose his own Terjiman (Interpreter) and Broker, to go on board ships in the road; to have the liberty of the country, and be allow'd a place to pray in: And that no man shall do him any injury by word or deed.

That if any war should happen between the King of Great Britain, and the kingdom of Algiers, the English Consul, and all his Majesty's Subjects residing there, shall, at all times, both in peace and war, have liberty to depart to their own country, or to any other, in any ship or vessel of what nation soever, with their effects, families and servants.

That no subject of Britain, being a passenger, and coming or going with his baggage to or from any port, shall be molested, tho' he be on board a ship or vessel in enmity with Algiers: Nor shall any Algerine passenger, on board any ship in enmity with Great-Britain, be molested in his person or goods he may have on board such ship.

That when any British Man of War, with his Majesty's flag at the main-top-mast-head, shall come to an anchor in the road of Algiers, the Dey and Regency shall cause a Salute of twenty-one cannon, and such ship shall answer it with the same number.

That, after the signing these articles, all injuries and damages, sustain'd on either part, shall be forgotten, and this peace shall continue in force for ever; and, for all damages committed on either side, before notice of this peace, satisfaction shall be made, and whatever remains in kind shall be instantly restored.

In case any thing shall be committed hereafter, contrary to this treaty, it shall subsist notwithstanding, and such contraventions shall not occasion a breach of the peace; and, if the fault was com-

mitted by private men, they alone shall be punish'd as breakers of the peace, and disturbers of the publick quiet: And our faith shall be our faith, and our word our word.

Confirm'd and Seal'd, in the presence of Almighty God, April the 10th; of Jesus, 1682; of the Heigira, 1093; Abdir, 11.

This treaty has been renew'd several times; in April 1686, by Sir WILLIAM SOAME, Bart. in his voyage to Constantinople, whither he went Ambassador, from King JAMES II. to the Grand Signior. It was renew'd again, in 1691, by THOMAS BAKER, Esq; and, in 1700, by Captain MUNDEN, and ROBERT COLE, Esq; then Consul of Algiers, jointly with some additional Articles (viz.)

I. The peace, made in 1682, is confirm'd, and more particularly the eighth article; wherein it is express'd, That no ship, belonging to Algiers, should cruise in sight of any port or place belonging to Great-Britain, or any way disturb the peace or commerce of the same: Nor shall any Algerine vessel enter the English channel.

II. No passes shall be requir'd from any English ship till the last of September 1701: But, after that time, if any English ship shall be seiz'd, not having a pass, the goods in such ship shall be prize: But the master, men and ship shall be restor'd, and the freight immediately paid to the master.

III. Whereas Captain MUNDEN has complain'd, that he was affronted some years past by some rude sailors at the Mole: It is promised, that at all times hereafter, when any British Man of War shall come to Algiers, order shall be given to an officer to attend at the Mole all day during their stay, to prevent any such disorder; and, if any disorder shall happen, the offender shall be punish'd with the utmost severity.

In the Reign of Queen ANNE, anno 1703, Admiral BYNG, the late Lord Viscount Torrington, renew'd the said peace with MUSTAFA Dey, and the two following articles were added (viz.)

I. That whereas the subjects of England, by the said articles, were to pay ten per Cent. custom for such goods as they should sell at Algiers: That from thence-forwards they should pay but five per Cent.; and for powder, arms, ammunition and naval stores, they should pay nothing (as was stipulated by the first treaty.)

II. All prizes taken by any subject of Britain, and all ships built and fitted out in her Majesty's plantations in America, that have not been in England, shall not be molested, tho' they have no passes: But a certificate, under the hand of the commanding Officer, that shall take such prizes; and a certificate, under the hands of the Governors or Chiefs of such American colonies or places where such ships were built or fitted out, shall be sufficient passes.

In the year 1716, Admiral BAKER, being order'd to renew the treaties with Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers, visited the two former in person; but despatched Captain CONINGSBY NORBURY, Commander of the Argyll; and Captain NICHOLAS EATON, Commander of the Chester, in conjunction with Mr. THOMAS THOMPSON (who then acted as Consul in the Absence of his brother SAMUEL THOMPSON, Esq;) to ratify the former treaties with Algiers, and conclude the following articles, (viz.)

I. If any demands or pretensions shall be depending between the subjects of either party, they shall be amicably redress'd, and full satisfaction made.

II.

CHAP.
IX.

CHAP. IX. II. That as the island of Minorca and city of Gibraltar have been yielded and annex'd to the Crown of Great Britain; from this time the said island and city shall be deem'd, by the Government of Algiers, part of the British dominions, and the inhabitants thereof look'd upon as his Majesty's natural subjects; and with their ships and vessels, wearing British colours, and furnish'd with proper passes, shall be permitted to trade freely in any part of the dominions of Algiers, and have the same liberties and privileges as any other subjects of the British nation: Nor shall any of the cruisers of Algiers, cruise within sight of the island of Minorca and city of Gibraltar.

III. That if any English ship shall receive passengers and goods on board belonging to the kingdom of Algiers, the English shall defend such passengers and goods, as far as lies in their power, and not deliver them to their enemies, the said passengers and goods being register'd in the books of the British Consul.

CHAP. X.

The present state of Tunis and Tripoli.

CHAP. X. THE kingdom of Tunis is bounded by the Mediterranean sea, on the north; by the same sea and Tripoli, on the east; by mount Atlas, on the south; and by the river Guadilbarbar, which separates it from the kingdom of Algiers, on the west; lying between 30 and 37 degrees and a half north latitude, and extending about 200 miles from west to east.

Rivers. The chief rivers are, 1. The Guadilbarbar, already mention'd, which rising in mount Atlas, runs northwards, and discharges itself into the Mediterranean near the island of Tabarca, separating the kingdom of Tunis from that of Algiers.

2. The Capes, or Capitla, which rises also in the mountains of Atlas, and runs north-east, falling into the sea near the town of Capes.

3. Megerada, which rises in mount Atlas, and running northwards, divides the kingdom of Tunis almost in two equal parts, discharging itself into the Mediterranean near the town and island of Goletta.

Chief towns. The chief towns are, 1. Cairoan, situated on the river Megerada, latitude 32, said to be the first town the Saracens built in this country, and most remarkable at present for being the burying-place of the Mahometan Princes and Great men.

2. Urbs, situated in a fine plain, on a river that falls into the Guadilbarbar, latitude 35, about 150 miles south-west of Tunis; chiefly remarkable at present for the marble pillars, images, and other Roman antiquities found here.

3. Africa, or El Melidia, situated on the Mediterranean, in latitude 35, 90 miles south-east of Tunis, said to be the Adrumetum of the Romans.

4. Sufa, or Ruspina, situated partly on a flat, and partly upon the ascent of a rock on the Mediterranean, 25 miles to the eastward of Tunis: It lies in ruins at present, and is said to contain more antiquities than any town in the kingdom: Here is a small harbour, where the galleys and small ships belonging to Tunis frequently lie.

Tunis city. 5. The city of Tunis, the capital of the kingdom, situated on a fine plain near a spacious lake, in 36 degrees and a half north latitude, almost over-against the island of Sicily, and but a few miles from the place where the famous city of Carthage stood.

CHAP. X. It is about three or four leagues distant from the Mediterranean, a large, populous city, and a place of some trade; the walls about a league in circumference, but of no great strength. The Bascha's palace, the mosques and bagnio's are the most remarkable things in it. The houses of the better sort of people are built about little squares, adorn'd with pillars, galleries and fountains; but have no other light than what they receive from the doors that open into the squares; and the roofs of the houses are flat and terrass'd, as in other Mahometan countries. When CHARLES V. took it in the year 1535, it is said to have contained an hundred thousand men, besides women and children; but this, I presume, must comprehend all such Moors as fled thither for protection on this invasion of the Christians: Certain it is, the numbers are not near so great at present.

6. Goletta, situate on a little island of the same name, three or four leagues to the eastward of Tunis, may be looked upon as the port-town to that capital. It is defended by two castles; one of them built by CHARLES V. who took Goletta before he advanced to Tunis. It was held by the Christians till 1574, and was of great use for restraining the excursions of the Turkish Corsairs or Rovers, after they made themselves masters of Tunis again.

7. Carthage, now a small village, situate near Cape Carthage (a promontory in the Mediterranean) supposed to have obtained its name from being situated near, or on part of the ground whereon the city of Carthage stood, latitude 36 degrees 40 minutes, three or four leagues north-east of Tunis. Here are still some ruins of marble and other stones, and several arches of the Aqueduct standing, that conveyed water to Old Carthage from a hill 30 miles distant: But I shall enlarge further on the description of Ancient Carthage, when I come to give the history of that empire.

8. Byferta, said to be the Utica of the Antients, is situated in 37 degrees north latitude, on a fine lake near the sea, about 30 miles to the northward of Carthage; said to be one of the best harbours the Tuniscens have for their galleys; but not capable at present, of receiving ships of any great burthen.

9. Porto Farino, situated on the Mediterranean, about the midway between Byferta and Carthage; latitude 37.

The kingdom of Tripoli, in which I shall include Barca (for if Barca be not subject to the Bascha of Tripoli, it is subject to no body) is bounded by the Mediterranean on the north, by Egypt on the east, by Nubia and Beledulgerid on the south, and by the kingdom of Tunis on the west; extending along the Mediterranean from the north-west to the south-east (that is, from Tunis to Egypt) at least 1000 miles, and is about 200 miles broad where broadest, but in others scarce 100, lying between latitude 30 and 33 and a half.

There are no rivers in this country worth mentioning. That part of it contiguous to Tunis is tolerably fruitful; but all the rest to the eastward, as far as Egypt, is only a parched barren desert. The chief towns taken notice of by Geographers, Chief towns, are, 1. Old Tripoli; 2. New Tripoli; 3. Zaara; 4. Tachore; 5. Macellat; 6. Elhama; and 7. Mahara.

New Tripoli, however, is the only town of any note; which is situated in a sandy plain near the Mediterranean sea, latitude 33, about 60 leagues south-east of Tunis. It is a populous town, and surrounded with a wall and outworks; but the fortifications

CHAP. X. tifications very mean. Its greatest strength are in the desperate Pirates that inhabit it; consisting of the same sort of people as inhabit Algiers and Tunis, very formidable to the honest trader by sea and land. The Government of the country resembles that of Tunis; the Dey being very much under the influence of the Basha the Grand Signior sends thither, who levies annually a very considerable tribute on the natives of this country (as the Basha of Tunis does on the natives of that kingdom) which is remitted to the Porte: However, in all cases where the Basha does not interpose, the Dey may be looked upon as Sovereign of Tripoli.

And as the Government of Tunis and Tripoli is the same with that of Algiers (only in that one instance, that the Dey in the two former, is under some subjection to the Basha; whereas the Dey of Algiers acknowledges no superior:) So are the religion, laws, and customs of the people of Tunis and Tripoli the same with those of Algiers. The governing part are Turks, natives of the Levant, and Renegadoes, clothed like other Turks, in vests and turbants; their vests frequently made of English cloth, and their turbants of silk or linnen: Nor is the cloathing of the Moors, who live in towns, very different from theirs. But the Arabs have scarce any cloathing, more than a cloth about their waists, and ramble from place to place perpetually, to find herbage and water for their cattle: And therefore, not to trouble my readers with a repetition of these articles, I shall confine myself in treating of Tunis and Tripoli, to the three following particulars.

Bagnio's.

1. Their bagnio's, which were not mentioned in treating of Algiers; 2. The produce of their soil and their trade; and 3. The modern history of these countries.

1. As to their baths, there are in Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli, a great number of bagnio's mightily frequented by the Turks, as well upon a religious account, as for health and pleasure; their religion obliging them to wash before they enter their temples, or perform their devotions. And to these bagnio's foreigners also resort, where they are well accommodated, sweated and rubbed for a very moderate consideration. These bagnio's differ in their dimensions, and the beauty of their building, according as they are frequented by the better, or lower rank of people; but their form and management are much the same in all. A gentleman is first brought into a handsome large room, where he is undressed, and a towel tied about him; from whence he is led into another room, moderately warm, and, after some little time, into the grand hall (covered with a cupola) in the middle whereof is the bath. The floor is paved with white marble, as are the little rooms or closets in the sides of it, where people are washed and rubbed: The person who comes to be bathed, is first set down upon a marble bench that runs round the hall, and is soon sensible of an extraordinary heat, which makes him sweat plentifully; then he is carried into one of the side rooms or closets of a moderate heat, where a linnen cloth being spread upon the floor, and his towel taken off, he lies down at his full length, perfectly naked; then two lusty slaves, as naked as the patient, come in, and kneeling down, wash and rub his arms, legs, and every part of him with a flesh-brush, taking off all the scurf and roughness of the skin; then they wash him all over again, and after that dry him with clean towels. They also rub the hairy parts (if they are

not directed otherwise) with the powder of a certain earth, which immediately fetches off all the hair; and this serves instead of shaving: Then they wash and dry the party again, pair his nails, squeeze and mould his flesh, and stretch and pull his limbs with that violence, that his bones crack again, and those who are not used to it, would be apt to think them all dislocated. This is looked upon to be exceeding wholesome; but if a gentleman don't like this rough management, he may be more gently dealt with. The women have their several baths, where they are attended by she-slaves, and no man is permitted to enter these, under the severest penalties, upon any pretence whatever: And indeed persons of distinction always have bagnio's for themselves and their women, in their own houses.

As to the produce and traffick of Tunis and Tripoli: These countries breed abundance of Camels and fine Horses, and produce Corn and Olives plentifully. In Tripoli they have exceeding fine wool, and in Tunis a good manufacture of Soap; and as Mulberry-trees thrive prodigiously in both kingdoms, no country is more proper for silk, though very little cultivated; the reason whereof may be, that the Turks encourage scarce any manufactures, and can come by these a much easier way than by breeding Silk-worms; namely, by robbing honest Merchants that traffick in those seas. However, the Europeans do trade with the people of Tunis and Tripoli for Corn, Oil, Wool, Soap, Dates, Ostrich-feathers, skins of wild and tame Beasts; but one of the best branches of their commerce here, is Slaves; the European Christians, taken by their piratical ships, they set very high ransoms upon, or force them to serve at sea and land in all manner of employments and drudgery. They have also some traffick for Negroe-slaves to the southward. The Camels they usually sell in Egypt, and their fine Horses to the French: But they get much more by their piracies than by trade; and indeed this furnishes them with every manufacture of Europe, as has been observed already, which the Jews, who are very numerous here as well as in the rest of the towns of Barbary, know how to make their advantages of, by trafficking with such goods in the country, or exporting them again to places where there is a demand for them.

Produce and traffick of the country.

The Turks have been masters of Tunis ever since the year 1532, when HEYRADIN BARBAROSSA, Dey of Algiers, a brother and successor of BARBAROSSA I. obtained the dominion of this kingdom in much the same manner as his brother acquired that of Algiers. The people of Tunis, it seems, invited him thither to deliver them from the oppression they suffered (or pretended to suffer) under the administration of their lawful Prince: Whereupon HEYRADIN having made a voyage to the Porte, and procured a large fleet and a strong reinforcement of Janizaries, from thence made a descent near Goletta, the port-town to Tunis, and advancing towards the city MULEY HASSAN, their King thought fit to quit his capital without striking a stroke, and suffer BARBAROSSA to take possession of it. The usurper remained pretty quiet in his new acquired dominion for about three years: But the deposed Prince applying himself to the Emperor CHARLES V. imploring his assistance to restore him to his throne, and representing also of what dangerous consequence it would be, to suffer the Turks to settle at Tunis, which lay so near Italy and Sicily; his imperial Majesty embarked in person, in the year 1535, with a considerable army,

Modern history of Tunis and Tripoli.

CHAP.
X.

and make a descent on the coast of Tunis, where he took the castle of Goletta by storm, and the city of Tunis thereupon open'd her gates to him, BARBAROSSA abandoning the town when he found himself too weak to resist the numerous forces of the Christians. Before the usurper left Tunis, he had order'd some renegadoes to set fire to the gunpowder, and blow up all the Christian slaves which were lodg'd near that magazine; but in this he was not obey'd, and the Emperor, 'tis said, on taking of the city, set at liberty no less than twenty thousand Christian slaves, which these pirates had carried into captivity during the three years they were masters of the place.

His imperial Majesty having restor'd MULEY HASSAN to his throne, reembark'd his troops, leaving only a strong garrison of Christians in the castle of Goletta: But MULEY, it seems, was again deposed by his rebellious subjects the Moors, and forced to take refuge a second time in the Emperor's court. Some few years after, the Turks retook both Goletta and Tunis, and still remain possess'd of them, the Tuniseens being always in a state of war with Spain and Italy: Those coasts have ever since been miserably infested by them, and multitudes of the natives carried into captivity. They are also frequently at war with the rest of the nations of Europe, and make prize of all they meet with; but the English had the good fortune to clap up a peace with them in the year 1682, which has been renew'd from time to time; and, in the year 1716, the following Articles were agreed on, which are still in force.

Articles of peace and commerce between his most sacred Majesty GEORGE, by the grace, &c. and the most excellent Lords ALI Basba, HASSAN BEN ALI Bey, CARA MUSTAFA Dey, the Aga and the Divan of the most noble city of Tunis, and the whole body of the Militia of the said kingdom, renew'd and concluded anno Domini 1716, by JOHN BAKER, Esq; Vice-Admiral, &c.

Peace
with
Tunis.

I. **T**HAT all former grievances and losses and other pretensions between both parties, shall be void and of no effect, and from henceforward a firm peace for ever; free trade and commerce shall be, and continue between the subjects of his most sacred Majesty GEORGE, King of Great-Britain, &c. and the people of the kingdom of Tunis, and the dominions thereunto belonging: But that this article shall not cancel, or make void any just debt, either in commerce, or otherwise, that may be due, from any person or persons, to others of either party; but that the same shall be liable to be demanded, and be recoverable as before.

II. That the ships of either party shall have free liberty to enter into any port or river belonging to the dominions of either party, paying the duties only for what they shall sell, transporting the rest without any trouble or molestation, and freely enjoy any other privileges accustom'd; and the late exaction, that has been upon the lading and unlading of goods at Goletta, and the Marine, shall be reduced to the ancient customs in those cases.

III. That there shall not be any seizure of any ships of either party at sea, or in port; but that they shall quietly pass, without any molestation or interruption, they displaying their colours: And, for prevention of all inconveniencies that may happen, the ships of Tunis are to have a certificate, under the hand and seal of the British Consul, that

they belong to Tunis; which, being produc'd, the English ship shall admit two men to come on board them, peaceably to satisfy themselves they are English; and, altho' they have passengers of other nations on board, they shall be free, both they and their effects.

IV. That if an English ship shall receive on board any goods or passengers, belonging to the kingdom of Tunis, they shall be bound to defend them and their goods, so far as lies in their power, and not deliver them unto their enemies: And the better to prevent any unjust demands being made upon the Crown of Great-Britain, and to avoid disputes and differences which may arise, all goods and merchandizes, that shall from henceforward be shipp'd by the subjects of this Government, either in this port, or any other whatsoever, on board the ships or vessels belonging to Great-Britain, shall be first enter'd in the office of Cancellaria, before the British Consul residing at the respective ports, expressing the quantity, quality and value of the goods so shipp'd, which the said Consul is to certify in the clearance given to the said ship, or vessel, before she departs; to the end, that, if any cause of complaint should happen hereafter, there may be no greater claim made on the British nation, than by this method shall be proved to be just and equitable.

V. That if any of the ships of either party shall, by accident of foul weather or otherwise, be cast away upon any coast belonging to either party, the persons shall be free, and the goods saved, and deliver'd to their lawful proprietors.

VI. That the English, which do at present, or shall at any time hereafter, inhabit in the city, or kingdom of Tunis, shall have free liberty, when they please, to transport themselves with their families and children, tho' born in the country.

VII. That the people, belonging to the dominions of either party, shall not be abused with ill language, or otherwise ill-treated; but that the parties, so offending, shall be punish'd severely according to their deserts.

VIII. That the Consul, or any other of the English nation residing in Tunis, shall not be forced to make their addressees, in any difference, unto any court of justice, but to the Bey himself, from whom only they shall receive judgment; this, in case the difference should happen between a subject of Great-Britain, and another of this Government, or any other foreign nation: But, if it should be between any two of his Britannick Majesty's subjects, then it is to be decided by the British Consul only.

IX. That the Consul, or any other of the British nation, shall not be liable to pay the debts of any particular person of the nation, unless obliged thereunto under his hand.

X. That as the island of Minorca in the Mediterranean sea, and the city of Gibraltar in Spain, have been yielded and annex'd to the crown of Great-Britain, as well by the King of Spain, as by all the several Powers of Europe engag'd in the late war: Now it is hereby agreed, and fully concluded, that, from this time forward for ever, the said island of Minorca, and city of Gibraltar, shall be esteem'd, in every respect, by the Government of Tunis to be part of his Britannick Majesty's own dominions, and the inhabitants thereof to be look'd upon as his Majesty's natural subjects, in the same manner, as if they had been born in any part of Great-Britain; and they, with their ships and vessels, wearing the British colours, shall be permitted freely to trade and traffick in any part of the kingdom of Tunis, and shall

CHAP. X. shall pass without any molestation whatsoever, either on the seas, or elsewhere, in the same manner, and with the same freedom and privileges as have been stipulated in this and all former treaties, in behalf of the British nation and subjects.

XI. And the better and more firmly to maintain the good correspondence and friendship, that hath been so long and happily establish'd between the Crown of Great-Britain, and the Government of Tunis; it is hereby agreed and concluded by the parties before mention'd, that none of the ships or vessels belonging to Tunis, or the dominions thereof, shall be permitted to cruise, or look for prizes of any nation whatsoever, before or in sight of the aforesaid city of Gibraltar, or any of the ports of the island of Minorca, to hinder or molest any vessels, bringing provisions and refreshments for his Britannick Majesty's troops and garrisons in those places, or give any disturbance to the trade or commerce thereof; and, if any prize shall be taken by the ships or vessels of Tunis, within the space of ten miles of the aforesaid places, it shall be restored without any dispute.

XII. That all the ships of war belonging to either party's dominions shall have free liberty to use each other's ports for washing, cleaning or repairing any of their defects, and to buy and to ship off any sort of victuals alive or dead, or any other necessaries, at the price the natives buy at in the market, without paying custom to any officer: And whereas his Britannick Majesty's ships of war do frequently assemble and harbour in the port of Mahon in the island of Minorca; if at any time they, or his Majesty's troops in garrison there, should be in want of provisions, and should send from thence to purchase supplies in any part of the dominions belonging to Tunis, they shall be permitted to buy cattle alive or dead, and all other kind of provision, at the prices they are sold at in the market, and shall be suffer'd to carry them off without paying duty to any officer, in the same manner as if his Majesty's ships were themselves in the port.

XIII. That in case any ships of war, belonging to the kingdom of Tunis, shall take, in any of their enemy's ships, any Englishmen serving for wages, they are to be made slaves; but, if Merchants or Passengers, they are to enjoy their liberty and effects unmolested.

XIV. That in case any slave in the kingdom of Tunis, of any nation whatsoever, shall make his escape, and get on board any ship belonging to the dominions of his sacred Majesty the King of Great-Britain, &c. the Consul shall not be liable to pay the ransom, unless timely notice be given him to order that none such be entertain'd; and then, if it appears that any slave has so got away, the said Consul is to pay to his patron the price for which he was sold in the market; and, if no price be set, then to pay 300 dollars, and no more.

XV. And, the better to prevent any dispute, that may hereafter arise between the two parties, about salutes and publick ceremonies, it is hereby agreed and concluded, that whenever any Flag-officer of Great-Britain shall arrive in the bay of Tunis, in any of his majesty's ships of war, immediately upon notice given thereof, there shall be five and twenty cannon fir'd from the castles of Goletta, or other the nearest fortification belonging to Tunis, according to custom, as a royal salute to his Britannick Majesty's colours, and the same number shall be return'd in answer thereto by his Majesty's ships; and it is hereby stipulated and

CHAP. X. agreed, that all ceremonies of honour shall be allow'd to the British Consul, who resides here, to represent, in every respect, his Majesty's person, equal to any other nation whatsoever, and no other Consul in the kingdom to be admitted before him in precedence.

XVI. That the subjects of his sacred Majesty of Great-Britain, &c. either residing in, or trading to the dominions of Tunis, shall not for the time to come, pay any more than three per Cent. custom, on the value of goods or merchandize, which they shall either bring into, or carry out of this said kingdom of Tunis.

XVII. It is moreover agreed, concluded and establish'd, that, at whatsoever time it shall please the Government of Tunis to reduce the customs of the French nation to less than they pay at present, it shall always be observ'd, that the British customs shall be two per Cent. less than any agreement that shall for the future be made with the said French, or than shall be paid by the subjects of France.

XVIII. It is moreover agreed, concluded and establish'd, that in case any British ship or ships, or any of the subjects of his Majesty of Great-Britain, shall import, at the port of Tunis, or any other port of this kingdom, any warlike stores; as Cannons, Muskets, Pistols, Cannon-powder or Fine-powder, Bullets, Masts, Anchors, Cables, Pitch, Tar, or the like; as also provisions (viz.) Wheat, Barley, Beans, Oats, Oil, or the like; for the said kinds of merchandize, they shall not pay any sort of duty or custom whatever.

We, the Parties before-mention'd, having seen and perused the preceding Articles, do hereby approve, ratify and confirm the several particulars therein mention'd, and they are to remain firm for ever, without any alteration: In testimony of which, we do hereunto set our hands and seals, in the presence of Almighty God, in the noble city of Tunis, the 30th day of August, O. S. and in the year of our Lord JESUS CHRIST 1716, being the 26th day of the moon Ramadam, and the year of the Hejira 1128.

(L. S.) J. BAKER (L. S.) (L. S.) (L. S.)

CHAP. XI.

The present state of the African islands.

THE islands of Africa still remain to be describ'd; of which the principal are, 1. Badmandel; 2. Zocotara; 3. The islands of Comorro; 4. Prince Maurice's island, or the Mauritius; 5. The island of Bourbon; and, 6. Madagascar; all which lie in the Indian ocean, eastward of the continent of Africa.

On the south-west part of Africa lie, 1. The island of St. Helena; 2. Ascension; 3. St. Matthew; 4. Annabon; 5. St. Thomas; 6. Princes island; and, 7. The island of Fernando Po.

On the north-west part of Africa lie, 1. The islands of Cape Verd; 2. The Canary islands; 3. The islands of Madera; and, 4. The Azores.

The island of Bab, or Babelmandel, olim Diosdorus, lies at the entrance into the Red-sea, and forms one side of the famous streight of Babel, or Babmandel: It is situated in 13 degrees north latitude, and is about five miles in circumference. The Ethiopians and Arabians formerly contended with great fury for the possession of it, being a place of the last importance, as it commanded the entrance into the Red-sea, and preserv'd a communication

CHAP. XI.
Islands east of Africa.

Islands south-west of Africa.

Islands on the north-west part of Africa. Babmandel.

CHAP.
XI.

cation between Ethiopia and Arabia; but since the Turks have possess'd themselves of both shores, the island is in a manner deserted, being a sandy barren soil, and affording scarce any sustenance for man or beast.

Zocotora.

The island of Zocotora, or Socotra, is situated in the eastern ocean in 12 degrees north latitude, 30 leagues to the eastward of cape Gardesoy, being about 25 leagues long, and 18 broad. There is but one town in the island, where the Shiek, or Sovereign resides; the rest of the inhabitants live in cottages dispers'd about the country. There are two pretty good harbours on the coast, where European ships formerly used to put in, when they were disappointed of their passage to India by the monsoons; but this seldom happens now, our Mariners are so well acquainted with the winds and seasons in this part of the world. The people of this island are a mixture of Pagans and Mahometans, and have scarce any foreign traffick. Their usual food is milk, dates, roots, and some flesh: The country affords scarce any merchandize fit for exportation, unless it be Frankincense, Aloes, and the gum call'd Dragons-blood.

Comorro
islands.

The islands of Comorro are five in number, and lie between the coast of Zanguebar, and the north-end of the island of Madagascar, from 10 to 15 degrees of south latitude: That which is most frequented, and consequently best known to the Europeans, is the island of Johanna, where ships touch for refreshments in their passage to Bombay, and the Malabar coasts of India. This island lies in 12 degrees and an half north latitude, and is 30 miles long, and 15 broad. The people are Negroes of the Mahometan religion, extremely hospitable, especially to the English. They live under a monarchical form of government; from which, it seems, the females are not excluded. They have great plenty of black Cattle and Goats; of Poultry, Rice, Potatoes, Yams, Honey, Wax, Bananoes, Tamarinds, Lemons, Oranges, Pine-apples, Cocoa-nuts, and other fruits. And I find the women, as in other parts of Africa, are employ'd in husbandry, and other laborious works, while the men indulge their ease. They are a very plain, inoffensive people; but do not abound in wealth, and scarce know the use of arms, or what war means. Neither do their Kings take state upon them, but converse familiarly both with their subjects, and foreigners. They have but two towns; to one whereof our Mariners have given the name of King's-Town, from its being the residence of their Kings; and to the other Queen's-Town, some of their Queens having made it the seat of their Government. These towns are built with stone and timber; but the rest of their houses are only mean cottages dispers'd all over the country: Their usual food is Rice boil'd, Meat, Milk, Roots, and Cocoa-nuts; and the Milk of the young Cocoa-nuts serves them for drink, as the shells do for cups. They are under strange apprehensions of mischief from the Devil, and burn him in effigy once a year, 'tis said: They seem also to abhor the place where any one happens to die; either out of a dread of departed spirits, the universal foible of the common people; or, as others suggest, because they look upon the place where any man dies to be polluted; but, after some time, they return to the place again, and inhabit the rooms where their friends happen'd to draw their last breath.

The rest of the islands of Comorro are much about the same dimensions, inhabited by the same

kind of people, and produce the like plants and fruits; and therefore it is perfectly unnecessary to enter upon a particular description of them.

The next island I am to describe, is that of Prince Maurice, or the Mauritius, belonging to the Dutch, who gave it this name in honour of their Stadtholder Prince Maurice, under whose administration they made themselves masters of it. This island is situated in 20 degrees south latitude, 100 leagues east of Madagascar; being of an oval form, and about 50 leagues in circumference, abounding in woods of various kinds, particularly Ebony. There are also abundance of very high mountains, from whence their rivers fall in torrents. The Dutch have a fort, and a garrison of 50 men in the island; besides which, there may be three or fourscore families of Hollanders, who keep abundance of Negroe slaves that are employ'd in husbandry, and other laborious work. The Dutch found this island uninhabited, and consequently uncultivated; nor was there any other cattle upon it but Deer and Goats; the Dutch have now introduc'd almost all the plants of Asia and Europe, and well stock'd the island with cattle and poultry: Rice and Pulse, Sugar-canes and Tobacco also are rais'd here, but in no great quantities; nor does the soil seem proper for corn or wine. The Hollanders touch here in their passage from the Cape to Batavia; and, as neither of these colonies abound in good timber, it is probable they are supplied with it from the Mauritius; for, 'tis said, they have a great many saw-mills erected on the rivers in this island; but the reason the Dutch first possess'd themselves of the Mauritius, was for a bating-place between Europe and India, having no other place to touch at in that long voyage, before they were masters of the Cape of Good Hope.

I come, in the next place, to treat of the island of Bourbon, call'd England's Forest by the English, who first discover'd it. This island is situated in 21 degrees south latitude, about 40 leagues south-west of Mauritius. It is of an oval figure, and about 30 leagues in circumference; finely diversified with mountains and plains, forests, and champain-fields, has plenty of wood and water, and a fruitful soil, except one part of the island, which has been burnt up and render'd barren by a volcano, or subterraneous fires. The Portuguese first discover'd it, anno 1545, and stock'd it with Hogs and Goats, as if they intended to have made a settlement here; but afterwards deserted it again. Captain CASTLETON, an English Commander, touch'd here in the year 1613, and was so taken with the beauty of the island, that he gave it the name of the English Forest: But our East-India Company did not think it worth while to fix a colony here. The French afterwards took possession of it in the year 1654, and gave it the name of Bourbon, and left some few people and slaves there, who afterwards came away in an English ship; however, the French still lay claim to the island, tho' they make little or no use of it, there being no harbour upon the coast, or any thing to induce them to visit it, but the fresh provisions they meet with here, on their voyage to and from India; such as black Cattle, Hogs, Goats, Tortoises, tame and wild Fowls, Oranges, Lemons, and other fruits, roots and herbs.

The largest of the African islands, and indeed of Madagascar the whole world, except that of Borneo, is that of Madagascar, call'd by the Portuguese St. Laurence, from its being discover'd on St. LAURENCE's day, anno 1506; tho' others say, it obtain'd this name from

CHAP.
XI.The island
of Prince
Maurice:
or, the
Mauritius.Bourbon
island.

CHAP. from LAURENCE ALMEIDA (son of ALMEIDA, XI. the Portuguese Viceroy of the East-Indies) who discovered it: But however that be, Madagasc, or Madagascar, is the name the natives give it, and by which it is most commonly known at this day.

The island of Madagascar is situated between the 12th and 26th degrees of south latitude, 40 leagues east of the continent of Africa, being about 1000 miles in length from north to south, and generally between 2 and 300 miles broad; only towards the north it grows much narrower, and terminates in a point: It is a fruitful country, abounding in cattle, corn, fish, fowl, herbs, roots and flowers; and almost all manner of animals and vegetables, that are to be found on the neighbouring continent of Africa may be met with here; and there are scarce any plants of Asia or Europe, except the fine spices, but will flourish here, as the French inform us, who made the experiment at their settlement of Fort Dauphin. As to the face of the country; it is universally agreed, that it affords a pleasing variety of hills and valleys, woods and champain, and is well water'd with springs and rivers; and that there are several good harbours upon the coast: But still it is found not to produce any kind of merchandize; which, for quantity and quality, can induce any one European nation to attempt the conquest of it, or fix any considerable colonies here. The Portuguese, English, Dutch and French, have successively endeavour'd to discover something that might turn to account: They were long amused with hopes, that there were gold and silver mines in the island; but there seems now to be little hopes of finding these tempting minerals, or the precious stones that our voyage-writers talk so much of, in any quantity. We purchase scarce any thing here but Negroe slaves, which the natives barter with the European nations for cloathing, hard-ware, tools or toys; and here the shipping, bound to and from India, sometimes furnish themselves with water, fresh provisions and fruits: The natives, especially in the inland country, are generally Negroes, like those on the neighbouring continent; but there are both White men and Malatto's upon the coast, who speak Arabick, and therefore are supposed to come from Arabia, as well as because their religion is a mixture of Mahometism, Judaism and Paganism: But, tho' they retain circumcision, and some other Mahometan rites, those who have visited the island, relate, they have no mosques or temples, or any regular publick worship, tho' they acknowledge a deity, and perform some acts of adoration.

The country is still divided amongst several petty princes or monarchs, which would make it an easy conquest, did their soil produce any thing to incite the avarice or ambition of the European powers to attempt it; and here, as on the continent, the several tribes being frequently at war with each other, make slaves of their prisoners, whom they barter away, and exchange, with such merchants as visit their coasts, for cloathing, strong liquors, and such utensils and necessaries as they want: But I don't find they wear any other cloathing, than a piece of Cotton, Calicoe, or Linnen cloth about their waists, adorning their arms with bracelets, their necks with necklaces, and their hair with some glittering trifles. Their arms are still bows and arrows, darts and lances, with a shield for their defence: They seem terribly afraid of fire-arms: Their houses are only round little huts, 30 or 40 of which form a village: There is not any thing that can be call'd a town in the whole country.

VOL. III.

They go a fishing in their seas and rivers in canoes, CHAP. made of the bodies of large trees hollow'd; and XI. and they have also larger boats, 'tis said, of boards sew'd together with cordage made of the Cocoa-nut-tree, but no ships.

The places where the Europeans have attempted to establish settlements in Madagascar, are either at the bay of St. Austins, on the south-west part of the island; or at Fort Dauphin, on the south-east part of the island. The Portuguese, English and Dutch, have successively sent detachments to the bay of St. Austins, to explore the country, and then abandon'd it again; and the French, on the other side of the island, built Fort Dauphin, placed a garrison there, and penetrated far into the country, proposing not only to make themselves masters of this island, but of the navigation of the Indian seas; but they seem at length to be convinc'd, that their project was impracticable, and only make use of Fort Dauphin at present, as a place of refreshment, in their voyages to and from India.

It was once expected, that the Pirates would have made a settlement in this island, and usurp'd the dominion of it, having six or seven sail of ships, with which they used to infest the Indian seas, and carry their prizes into a place of security, on the north-east part of Madagascar, where they possess'd themselves of a harbour of difficult access, and defended from storms by the little island of St. Mary's, which lies before it in 17 degrees south latitude. Some account of Avery and the Pirates at Madagascar.

The Court of England, about the year 1700, sent a squadron of four men of war, commanded by Commadore WARREN, to drive the Pirates from thence; but he, finding it impossible to come at them, publish'd a proclamation, in pursuance of his instructions, offering a pardon to all that would come in (except AVERY their leader); but not a man came over to him. The Commadore afterwards proceeded to Fort St. George in the East-Indies, where the writer of these papers saw him. This gentleman used his utmost diligence to meet with the Pirates in the seas of India, but to no purpose; and, having left one or two of his ships on the shoals near Malacca, return'd with the rest to England: However, his expedition had this good effect, that the Pirates durst not stir out from Madagascar; and, finding they were so narrowly watch'd, they agreed to divide what they had got, and disperse themselves. Two of them were afterwards taken by the Dutch at Malacca; and, being sent to Fort St. George, were brought over to England in the Fowland, being the same ship the author came home in the year 1701: What became of AVERY himself I could never learn; but 'tis probable he is dead, or remains conceal'd in the island of Madagascar to this time; for he can expect no mercy from any of the Powers of Europe, if he should fall into their hands; but, as for his being in such circumstances, as to lay the foundation of a new state or kingdom in this island, this report possibly deserves but little credit: We should have heard more of him after so many years elaps'd, if he had made any figure there.

I shall now repass the Cape of Good Hope, and Islands take a view of the islands on the south-west part of Africa; and the first we meet with in the Atlantick ocean, in sailing from the Cape, is St. Helena, so St. Helena named by the Portuguese, who discover'd it on St. HELEN's day, in the year 1502. This island is situated in 16 degrees south latitude, about 600 leagues north-west of the Cape of Good Hope, almost in the mid-way between the continents of Africa and America, but nearer to that of Africa, from whence

20 A

it

CHAP.
XI.

it is distant about 1200 miles: The winds blowing always from the south-east a moderate gale, it is an exceeding pleasant voyage from the Cape to St. Helena, and performed in less than three weeks, without handing a sail, or giving the least trouble to the seamen. But there is no sailing to this island directly from the northward, the winds always blowing from the south-east in these seas. When a ship therefore is sent from England to St. Helena, it first sails as far southward as the Cape of Good Hope, and then returns to St. Helena: I question whether three ships ever made the island in going directly from Europe, since it has been discovered. The island is about 21 miles in circumference, and high land, for it may be discerned at sea above 20 leagues distance: It consists indeed of one vast rock, steep on every side as a church-steeple, and looks like a castle in the middle of the ocean, whose natural walls are of that height, that there is no scaling them, or indeed any landing on the island, but at a small valley, called Chappel-valley, in a bay on the east-side of it, which is defended by a battery of forty or fifty great guns, planted even with the water; and the waves dashing perpetually on the shore, it is at all times difficult landing even here. There is also one little creek besides, where two or three men may land at a time; but this is now defended by a battery of five or six guns, and rendered inaccessible. There is no anchorage any where about the island, but at Chappel-valley bay; and as the wind always sits from the south-east, if a ship overshoots the island never so little, she cannot recover it again.

A little beyond the landing-place in Chappel-valley, is a fort, where the Governor resides with the garrison; and in the same valley there is a pretty town, consisting of forty or fifty houses, built after the English way, whither the people of the island resort when any shipping appears, as well to assist in the defence of the island, if they happen to be enemies, as to entertain the seamen, if they are friends: For the Governor has always sentinels on the highest part of the island to the windward, who give notice of the approach of all shipping, and guns are thereupon fired, that every man may resort to his post. It is impossible for any ship to come in the night-time, but what has been discovered the day before, and preparations made for her reception, if an enemy.

Notwithstanding the island on every side appears to be a hard barren rock, yet on the top it is covered with a fine staple of earth a foot or a foot and a half deep, which produces all manner of grain, grass, fruits, herbs, roots, and garden-stuff: And the country, after we have ascended the rock, is prettily diversified with rising hills and plains, adorned with plantations of fruit-trees, and kitchen-gardens, among which the houses of the natives are interspersed; and in the open fields are herds of cattle always grazing, some of which are fatted to supply the shipping that touches here, and the rest furnisheth their dairies with milk, butter, and cheese: They abound also in Hogs, Goats, Turkeys, and all manner of poultry; and their seas are well stored with fish. The greatest misfortune is, that amidst all this affluence of other things, they have neither bread nor wine of their own growth; for tho' the soil is extremely proper for Wheat, yet the rats, which harbour in the rocks and cannot be destroyed, eat up all the seed before the grain is well out of the ground: And though the Vines flourish and afford them Grapes enough, yet the latitude is too hot for making wine: As I have ob-

served already, there is no country within the Torrid Zone, where good wine is produced; neither cold nor very hot countries agree with this liquor.

All the wine they spend therefore, they have from the Canaries, the Madera's, or the Cape, which is brought to them in European shipping, as well as their flour and malt: And their very houses are some of them brought ready framed from England, there being no timber on the island, trees not taking deep root here for the rock that lies so near the surface. However they have underwood enough for their necessary uses, in this warm climate.

Besides Grapes, they have Plantans, Bananas-figs, Lemons, and such other fruits as hot countries usually produce; and they make shift to raise Kidney-beans, and some other kinds of pulse in their gardens; though they cannot preserve their grain from the Rats: And, to supply the want of bread, they eat Potatoes or Yams.

There were upon the island, when I was on shore there, in the year 1701; about two hundred families, most of them English, or descended from English parents; though there were some French refugees amongst them, brought thither to cultivate their vines, and teach them to make wine; but in this, it seems, the heat of the climate prevented their succeeding, as has been observed already. Every family has its house and plantation on the higher part of the island, where they look after their cattle, their Hogs, Goats, and poultry, fruits, and kitchen-gardens: They scarce ever come down to the town in Chappel-valley, unless it be once a week to church, or when the shipping arrives, when most of the houses in the valley are converted into punch-houses, or lodgings for their guests, to whom they sell their cattle, poultry, fruits, or garden-stuff. But the inhabitants are not suffered to purchase any merchandize of the ships that touch here: Whatever they want of foreign growth or manufacture, they are obliged to buy at the Company's ware-house, where they may furnish themselves twice every month with Brandy, European, or Cape wines, Batavia Arrack, Malt, Beer, Sugar, Tea, Coffee, China and Japan ware; Linnen, Calicoes, Chints, Mullins, Ribbands, Woollen-cloth and stuffs, and all manner of cloathing; for which they are allowed six months credit. The coin chiefly current here, is Spanish dollars, or English money.

There is no place out of England, where the natives have such fresh ruddy complexions, and robust constitutions, as we meet with here. The children and descendants of white people, in any latitude among the Tropicks, look like a piece of dough-paste, without any manner of colour: But the natives of St. Helena have generally a good mixture of red and white, attended with a good degree of health; which may be ascribed to the following causes. They live on the top of a mountain always open to the sea-breezes that constantly blow here: They are usually employed in the most healthful exercises of gardening and husbandry, and their island is frequently refreshed with moderate cooling showers, and there are no fens or salt-marshes about it to annoy them. They are used also to climb the steep hill between the town in Chappel-valley and their plantation, which is so steep, that they are forced to have a ladder in the middle of it, from thence called Ladder-hill; and this cannot be avoided without going three or four miles about; so that they seldom want air or exercise, the great preservers of health. As to the genius and

CHAP.
XI.Persons of
the natives of St.
Helena.

CHAP.

XI.

The genius and temper of the people.

temper of the natives; they seem'd to me the honestest, the most inoffensive and hospitable people I had met with of English extraction, having scarce any tincture of avarice or ambition. I asked some of them, if they had no curiosity to see the rest of the world, of which they had heard so many fine things; and how they could confine themselves to a spot of earth, scarce seven leagues in circumference, and separated from the rest of mankind? To which they answer'd: They enjoy'd all the necessaries of life in great plenty: They were neither parch'd with excessive heat, or pinch'd with cold: They lived in perfect security, in no danger of enemies, of robbers, wild beasts, or rigorous seasons, and were happy in a continued state of health: That as there were no rich men amongst them (scarce any Planter being worth more than a thousand dollars) so there were no poor in the island; no man hardly worth less than four hundred dollars, and consequently not oblig'd to undergo more labour than was necessary to keep him in health.

That, should they transport themselves to any other country, they understood their small fortunes would scarce preserve them from want, and they should be liable to innumerable hazards and hardships, which they knew nothing of here, but from the report of their countrymen: And indeed there is but one inconvenience that I can conceive the natives of St. Helena are liable to; and that is, the oppression of their Governor, which has sometimes been their case; and this is not easy to be redress'd, as the inhabitants have no opportunity of making their grievances known to those who are able to relieve them. However, as far as I could learn, they are generally govern'd with an equal and impartial hand; and while they are so, St. Helena to me is a paradise, compar'd with any other part of the world. The reader will pardon me, therefore, that I have dwelt so long upon this little spot of earth, and the rather as it is inhabited by one of the best colonies of our countrymen, who still retain the old English hospitality and sincerity, the unaffected simplicity and benevolence our country is so remarkable for; and yet are endow'd with courage and skill sufficient to defend their natural fortification (whose walls are rocks of a surprizing height, and whose moat is the vast Atlantick ocean) against all the Powers of the known world.

A certain diminutive writer has indeed charg'd the females of that island with some gallantry with the officers of our East-Indians that go ashore there; but, I believe, there is less of this practis'd at St. Helena, than in any other port-town whatever: Nor did any person ever suffer here by the sharpening and pilfering tricks of the inhabitants, as the sea-faring men and passengers do in almost every other island belonging to foreigners; especially those of the Spaniards and Portuguese, where those that lie on shore, scarce ever escap'd being robb'd, and are sometimes murder'd: On the contrary, I question whether there be any town either in England or out of it, where there are fewer disorders and outrages committed than at St. Helena. Here, tho' the people appear with an air of freedom not known in other governments, yet an exact order and discipline is observ'd, and an universal quiet and satisfaction seems to reign in this fortunate island.

The Portuguese, who discover'd it in 1502, stor'd it with Hogs, Goats and Poultry, and us'd to touch at it for water and fresh provisions in their return from India; but I don't find they ever planted a colony here; or if they did, having deserted it afterwards, the English East-India company took pos-

session of the island in the year 1600, and held it 'till 1673, without interruption, when the Dutch took it by surprize. However, the English, commanded by Captain MUNDEN, recover'd it again within the space of a year, and took three Dutch East-India ships that lay in the road at the same time. The Hollanders had fortified the landing-place, and planted batteries of great guns there to prevent a descent; but the English being acquainted with a small creek where only two men could go a breast, climb'd up to the top of the rocks in the night-time, and, appearing the next morning at the backs of the Dutch, they threw down their arms, and surrendered the island without striking a stroke. But this creek has been since fortified, and a battery of great guns planted at the entrance of it; so that there is now no place where an enemy can make a descent with any probability of success.

The island of Ascension lies in 8 degrees south latitude, and 200 leagues and upwards north-west of St. Helena. This also was discover'd by the Portuguese, on Ascension-day, whereupon they gave it the name it bears: But I don't find that they, or any other nation, have yet thought it worth the planting. The island is 8 or 10 leagues in circumference, some of it pretty high land, but very barren. There is scarce any wood, fruit-trees, plants, or herbage upon it: However, the European shipping usually call here in their way from India, and refresh their half-starv'd crew with the flesh of Tortoises; for abundance of these animals frequent that island, and the Sailors going on shore in the night-time, will turn two or three hundred of them on their back before morning, and are so barbarous, sometimes, as to turn a great many more than they use, leaving them to die and stink on the shore; for the creature can never get up again if he is once turn'd upon his back on level ground: The flesh is white, and looks like veal, being a very great refreshment to our Seamen, after they have fed a year or two upon salt meat, and perhaps have little or none of that left by that time they arrive here. The ship I came home in, had neither meat nor biscuit for a considerable time before we made the island of Ascension, nothing but Rice for the sailors to eat, who were mightily rejoiced therefore when they approach'd that island. But the Captain however refus'd to come to an anchor here: He saw fires upon the shore, and fancied some Pirates had made them to draw us in, and therefore made the best of his way for England; where we had not been long arriv'd, but we heard it was the famous DAMPIER and his crew, that made those fires upon the Ascension, as a signal of their distress, having been cast away upon that island, and lost their ship; and they were, some few days after, taken up by an English man of war who came that way, and brought to London, after they had been out several years in attempting insignificant discoveries; for I take DAMPIER to have been a man of no great judgment, and but meanly qualified for such an enterprize, by the account he gave of his voyage; and indeed the charges the Government was at in equipping him out for this expedition was entirely thrown away, for want of some person of more skill and experience to conduct the design.

The island of St. Matthew is situated in two degrees of south latitude, 100 leagues north-east of Ascension, and is about 8 leagues in circumference. This island also was discover'd by the Portuguese, who planted it and kept possession of it for some time,

CHAP.

XI.

These Tortoises have fins instead of feet, and are three times as big as a land Tortoise.

Dampier cast away on this island.

St. Matthew.

CHAP.
XI.

time, but have since deserted the island, and it now remains uninhabited, having very little to invite other nations to settle there, unless it be a small lake of fresh water.

Islands in
the Gulph
of Guinea.

The next four islands I proposed to take notice of, viz. Annabon, St. Thomas, Princes Island, and Fernando Po, are situated in the Gulph of Guinea, between Congo and Benin, and having been all discover'd by the Portuguese, are still in possession of that nation.

Annabon
island.

Annabon is situated in 2 degrees of south latitude, 200 miles to the westward of Congo, being about 10 leagues in circumference, and mountainous. The name of Annabon, or happy Year, was given it by the Portuguese, who discover'd it on New-year's day, 1571. The Portuguese have still the government and propriety of the Island; but most of the inhabitants are Negroes, brought hither from the continent of Africa, and their descendants. There are also a mingled breed, call'd Malottos, and some Portuguese: The island abounds in Cattle, Hogs, Poultry, Oranges, Cocoa-nuts, and such other fruits as are usually found in hot countries, with Indian Corn and Rice; and there is a convenient road for ships on the lee-side of the island.

St. Tho-
mas's
island.

The island of St. Thomas is situated just under the Equator, between 40 and 50 leagues to the westward of the continent of Africa, and 30 north-east of Annabon, being of a round figure, and about 40 leagues in circumference; discover'd by the Portuguese the same year 1571, on St. THOMAS's day. This is the most considerable island in the Gulph of Guinea: It is well supplied with wood and water, and there is a high mountain in the middle of it, almost always cover'd with a cap of clouds. The heat and moisture of the air render it extremely unhealthful to northern constitutions; but the Portuguese Negroes and Malottos who inhabit it, 'tis said, live to a good old age: They have plenty of Indian Corn, Rice and Fruits, and make a good deal of Sugar. And among other exotick plants the Portuguese have introduced here, is that of the Cinnamon-tree; but, 'tis said, they are afraid of planting this and the other fine spices in any quantity in these islands, lest the Dutch should come and take their country from them; for the Hollanders, it seems, would make the world believe, that no nation can have a right to the fine spices but themselves; tho' they acquir'd them by treachery and violence, driving the Spaniards, Portuguese and English from them by the most unjust and barbarous practices that ever any people were guilty of. The Spaniards, it seems, claim'd all the discoveries in the West, by virtue of a grant from the Pope; and the Portuguese those of the East, by the like authority: But the Dutch, by an uncommon strain of insolence, piratically seiz'd the Spice-islands; and to this day, by high and mighty violence, actually exclude all other nations from them, to the everlasting reproach of the English, and the rest of the European nations, who tamely suffer'd themselves to be expell'd by that encroaching people. The chief town upon the island, is call'd St. Thomas, and sometimes Pavosan; containing five or six hundred houses, and is the See of Bishop.

Princes
island.

Princes island is situated in 2 degrees of north latitude about 40 leagues north-east of St. Thomas, and as much to the westward of the continent of Africa, and is said to be the least of the islands in the Gulph of Guinea. It affords Rice, Indian-corn, plenty of fruits, roots and herbs; they have no want of Cattle, Hogs or Goats; but what they abound in most is Sugar-canes.

The island of Fernando Po, is situated in three and a half degrees of north latitude, 10 leagues to the westward of the continent, being about 30 miles long and 20 broad; and as it is inhabited by the same sort of people, so the soil produces much the same kind of plants, corn and fruits, as the rest of the islands in the Gulph of Guinea do. The Portuguese usually call at some of them for refreshments in their voyages to and from India, and in their passage from Brazil to Africa. The Dutch finding them conveniently situated for trade, and affording plenty of provisions, twice attempted to drive the Portuguese from St. Thomas, and easily made themselves masters of the island; but losing almost all their Officers, Seamen and Soldiers, engag'd in those expeditions, by malignant fevers, were oblig'd to abandon it again, and the Portuguese still remain in the peaceable possession of these islands; the unhealthfulness of the climate being their best protection against the avarice and ambition of the greedy monopolizing Hollanders.

CHAP.
XI.Fernando
island.The Dutch
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drive the
Portu-
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these
islands.

The islands of Cape Verd, so named from their being situated over-against that Cape in Negroeland, tho' they lie upwards of 120 leagues to the westward of it, were discover'd by ANTONY NOEL, a Genoese, in the service of Portugal, anno 1460, and are about twenty in number; but some of them only barren rocks uninhabited: The chief of them are Bravo, Fogo, St. Jago, Mago, Bonavissa, Sal, St. Nicholas, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, St. Cruz, and St. Antonio, situated between 14 and 19 degrees of north latitude. The largest of them, St. Jago, is of a triangular figure, 50 or 60 leagues in circumference, rocky and mountainous; but the valleys produce Indian-corn, Cocoa-nuts, Oranges, and such other fruits, plants and roots as are common to hot countries: and here we are supplied, in our voyage to India, with Hogs, Goats and Poultry in great abundance. Their seas also so abound with fish, that I have seen as many dragg'd to shore at one haul, as would fill two boats. Hither the English shipping usually resort for water and fresh provisions, in their voyages outward bound to the East Indies: They come to an anchor in a bay beneath a ruinous fort, situate on a high rock, near which there is a pretty large village of Portuguese Malottos and Negroes; but the chief town, which is a Bishop's see, and the residence of the Governor, or Viceroy, as some title him, is three or four leagues from thence. None of their towns or forts are of any great strength: And tho' there are men enough upon the island, and particularly abundance of Negroes of a good stature, arm'd with swords, daggers, and lances, who look upon themselves to be no ordinary Cavaliers; I question if an hundred Grenadiers would not be a force sufficient to subdue the whole island, if it was thought worth the while. The Portuguese, who reside here, are such as necessity or poverty has driven hither, and live a lazy indolent life, subsisting on the fruits and other produce of the country. Some have represented them as a treacherous and thievish generation; but from the usage I met with amongst them, I must say they do not seem to deserve that character in general: for my part, I look'd upon the Portuguese here, to be a harmless inoffensive people, and, without any apprehension of danger, went ashore, at St. Jago with two or three friends, and lay in one of their villages all night, where we were entertain'd with all the good humour and hospitality imaginable, at a private house. After we had sup'd, a carpet was spread for us to sleep on: They sung and play'd upon their country

Cape Verd
islands.St. Jago,
the chief
of the
Cape
Verd
islands.

CHAP. country musick, and in all things shew'd themselves
XI. so ready to oblige us, that I could not help retaining the good opinion I at first conceiv'd of them; tho' Governor PITTS, and the Officers of the ship, reprov'd us very sharply for lying on shore, telling us, it was a thousand to one, but our throats had been cut before morning; and indeed, as to the Negroes, we had some instances afterwards of their being given to thieving and pilfering what they could get: but I look upon it, we were pretty safe under the protection of their masters, the Portuguese.

Great caution to be used when we go on shore in foreign countries.

'Tis true, our Seamen too often get drunk, and abuse the inhabitants where they land; and then the next Europeans that come on shore are ill-treated, and perhaps made prisoners, or murder'd by way of retaliation. A friend of mine, Mr. ALEXANDER, and a dozen more, were cut in pieces on going ashore in another East-India voyage, without giving any offence to the people; but this was certainly to revenge some outrages that had been committed by others, or to defend themselves against some mischief they might apprehend from the boat's crew. I was myself in the extreme danger from the Negroes here, upon a difference that arose concerning a little matter we were trafficking for; twenty of them, at least, drew their ponyards, and were about to strike, when one, who seem'd to have some authority amongst them, persuaded them to desist, and accommodated the matter, otherwise I had receiv'd as many wounds as CÆSAR in the senate: But this made me very cautious ever after, of giving the natives, where we came, any provocation, or trusting myself too much in their power: And, indeed, it behoves every man to be very much upon his guard, that visits distant countries: We may escape nineteen times, and miscarry the twentieth: And there is no concluding, that people may be trusted in a second voyage, because we have met with good usage from them in a former. We don't know what provocations they may have had from other travellers in the mean time; or in what light their Priests, or other designing people, may have represented us: We know there are Mahometans, that think they do honour to their Prophet, by insulting and murdering of Christians: And there are Roman catholic Priests that teach their votaries we are infidels, and deserve to be extirpated from off the face of the earth. At these very islands of Cape Verd, the people were surpriz'd to find we believed in JESUS CHRIST; their Priests having assured them, we were as great enemies to Christianity, as Turks or Jews: and, under such prejudices, we must not wonder at any ill usage we meet with from the natives.

West-India ships take in Salt at Sal and Mago.

I have observ'd already, that our outward bound East India ships touch at the island of St. Jago for water and fresh provisions: It may be proper to observe also, that abundance of English ships call at the islands of Sal and Mago, in their way to our plantations in America for Salt; but I don't know any thing else these islands are remarkable for, unless it be a volcano in one of them; which from thence has obtain'd the name of Hogo: And I must not forget the great number of Grampus's, a species of Whales, we met with here, 70 or 80 foot in length. These lay very quietly close by our ships while we were at anchor under St. Jago, and might easily have been taken, if we had been prepared for such sport. Give me leave to mention another particular in this voyage to the Cape Verd islands, and that is, the sudden alteration of

Grampus, or Whales, about Cape Verd islands.

the weather we experienc'd here. We sail'd out of the Thames the 30th of January, 1698-9, being an extream cold winter; the river full of ice; and within the space of a month arriv'd at St. Jago, in 15 degrees of north latitude; where we found it so warm, that the men all lay naked upon their chests, not being able to endure any cloaths on: And when we came ashore, we found groves and gardens of ever-green and ripe fruits; a serene air; and every thing almost that could afford delight to people just arriv'd from a frozen region. The sudden change from a cold to a warm country; from winter to summer, from naked trees destitute of leaves and fruit, and a land cover'd with snow and ice, to a place where Oranges and all the fruits of the earth display'd their beauties, and were ready for gathering, was such an agreeable change in a little more than the compass of three weeks, that it exceeded any metamorphosis that is to be met with in the most romantick relations. An unusual gaiety seem'd to possess all the ship's company; nothing but mirth and good-humour reign'd amongst us; even our surly Tars seem'd transform'd into sociable creatures.

CHAP. XI. The sudden alteration of the weather and seasons we perceiv'd here, in our voyage to Indis.

I come in the next place to describe the Canaries, The Canaries, anciently call'd the Fortunate Islands, being seven in number, and situated between the 27th and 29th degrees of northern latitude, and between the 12th and the 21st degrees of western longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London; the most easterly of these islands lying about 50 leagues west of Cape Non, in the empire of Morocco.

They are said, by some, to be call'd Canes, or Canaries, from the great number of Dogs found here when they were discover'd: Others derive the name from the Canaanites, the ancestors of the Carthaginians, who are supposed to have first planted them, and given them the name of their mother country; but whether either of these ought to be accepted, is much to be doubted: I look upon them to be uncertain guesses, that we have very little foundation for; and therefore proceed to the description of the particular islands. And first of Ferro, the most westerly island of the Canaries, Ferro, situate in 27 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and, 'till lately, made the first meridian by most nations. It is about seven or eight leagues in circumference and high land, but has some fruitful valleys that afford plenty of corn, good pasture, sugar-canes and fruits, but there are no springs or rivers; all the fresh water the natives have, is preserv'd in cisterns, or fetch'd from the neighbouring islands: The romantick story of a tree here, that sheds incredible quantities of water, has been long exploded.

2. The island of Palma, situated 10 or 12 leagues north-east of Ferro, and about the same dimensions, but remarkable for affording large quantities of the best wine of all the Canaries, usually call'd Palm-Sack.

3. Gomera, another small island, about 10 leagues to the eastward of Ferro, said to abound in corn and delicious fruits, but affords very little wine.

4. Teneriffe, situate in 28 degrees north latitude, about 20 leagues to the eastward of Ferro, and is about 40 leagues in circumference. This island affords corn, wine and fruits, in great abundance, tho' 'tis pretty much encumber'd with rocks and mountains; of which the most remarkable is, the famous Pico of Teneriffe, supposed to be one of the highest mountains in the world: Some writers have made it 15 miles, others 5 miles high perpendicular; but

The height of the Peak.

CHAP. XI. but those, who make it about two miles in perpendicular height, seem to come nearest the truth. Certain it is, that the upper part of it, which is in the form of a sugar-loaf, and white, may be seen plainly above the clouds, at 120 miles distance. I think I can affirm, I have seen it thus far at least, as distinctly as if I had been at the top of it. When the ship lay close to the island, indeed the clouds intercepted our sight of the top; but after more than four and twenty hours sail from it, with a brisk gale of wind, whether it was from the purity of the air, or other causes, we all saw it with the naked eye, as plainly as if it had lain within half a mile of us.

Some English gentlemen, that had the curiosity to visit this amazing mountain, relate, that they set out from Oratavia, one of the principal towns in the island; and that, having passed over several rugged hills and sandy plains, they came at length to the foot of the Peak, where they found vast pieces of rocks and stones, that seemed to have tumbled down from the upper part of it: That having ascended the mountain about a mile, they were obliged to quit their horses, and climb up the hill on foot: And having traversed a steep black rock about a mile, they found the top of the rock as flat as a pavement; and here the air was so cold, that they were forced to keep great fires all night. The next morning they travelled from the black rocks up that part of the mountain call'd the Sugar-loaf, which is exceeding steep, and the soil a deep white sand, which made it very difficult travelling: That when they came near the top of the Peak, the wind was very high, and a continual breathing of a hot sulphureous vapour issued from the hill, which scorched their faces, and made them fore. That on the top of the Peak was a large basin or caldron, as 'tis usually called, about a musket-shot over, and four yards deep; the brim whereof, on which they stood, not above a yard broad: That within this vase were small loose stones, mixed with sulphur and sand, that sent out a hot suffocating steam: That from the Peak, they had a clear view of the Grand Canary, Palma, Gomera, and even of Ferro, which is 20 leagues distant from the Peak. They relate, that there was a great deal of snow and ice about two thirds of the way up, but at the very top none at all, which is ascribed to the heat that issues from the caldron and adjacent earth. They met with no trees, shrubs or bushes, in their passage, only some Pines. Others, who have had the curiosity to view the Peak, tell us, that in the first day's journey, they came to a lodge about two thirds up the hill, and rested there all night: That the second day, they went up to the top of the Peak, and returned to the same lodge; and that the third day, they came back to the city of Oratavia, from whence they set out, making the whole journey an adventure of three days spent in continual labour and fatigue, and no small hazard, in passing so suddenly from excessive heat, at the bottom of the hill, to extreme cold on the black rock; and then again into the hot steams that issued from the top of the mountain.

The Peak supposed to be raised by an earthquake.

In Dr. SPRAT's history of the *Royal Society*, he gives us an account of a Merchant, who was also a Physician, and had lived upon this island twenty years, who declared it as his opinion, that the whole island, being mightily impregnated with brimstone, did formerly take fire, and blow up most part of it, there appearing several mountains of huge stones, calcined and burnt about the island, especially in the south-west part of it; and these, he thinks, were

CHAP. XI. raised out of the bowels of the earth, at the time of that conflagration. He adds, that the greatest quantity of sulphur, lying about the centre of the island, occasioned the raising of the Peak to the present height; for these calcined rocks lie 3 or 4 miles round the bottom of it: That from the Peak, to the south-west, almost as far as the shore, are still the tracts of the rivers of Brimstone and melted oar that ran that way, and have so ruined the soil where they flowed, that it will produce nothing but Broom: That some of the calcined rocks resemble Iron oar, some Silver, and others Copper oar: That in the south-west part of the island are high mountains of a bluish earth, and stones which have a yellow rust on them, like that of Copper and Vitriol; and that there are several springs of vitriolate water here. This Physician relates also, that while he was at Teneriffe, a vulcano broke out in the island of Palma, which occasioned a violent earthquake in Teneriffe, where they heard the noise of flaming Brimstone, and that it resembled thunder: That they saw the fire very plainly in the night-time for six weeks together. Certain it is, that about Christmas 1704, several vulcano's burst out in this island of Teneriffe, which did not only occasion a most terrible earthquake, but whole towns were swallowed up, or overturned, with many thousands of people in them, by those torrents of sulphur and metallick oar that issued from those vulcano's, and the finest country in the world, great part of it by that means converted into a barren desert.

The chief towns in Teneriffe are, 1. St. Christopher's, Chief town. stoal de la Laguna, or St. Christopher's of the Lake; 2. Oratavia, already mentioned; and, 3. Santa Cruz.

St. Christopher's is, by some stiled the capital of the Canary islands, and the seat of the Viceroy. It stands partly on the side of a hill, and partly on a plain, and is a pretty large compact town, having two parish-churches, and several convents, hospitals and chappels: The houses of people of condition have large gardens and orchards of Palms, Oranges, and Citrons, and other fruits belonging to them, and the whole country about it abounds with vineyards: On one side of the town is a fine plain of 3 or 4 leagues in length; and on the east a lake, from whence it receives its name, and it is constantly refreshed with fine cooling breezes from the sea.

Oratavia is a port-town on the north-west part of the island, said to be a place of the greatest trade; and, on that account, the residence of the foreign Consuls and Merchants: It has one parish-church, and several convents and chappels, and is a town of the best trade in the island.

Santa Cruz is a little town, situated in a bay on the east-side of the island, defended by two forts, and several batteries of great guns; which could not, however, prevent Admiral Blake's destroying 16 Spanish galleons, lying here in the year 1657, then looked upon to be one of the most hardy enterprizes that ever was executed, no Sea-officer before him having attempted to attack a fleet under the protection of castles and batteries on shore, though nothing was more frequent in the late wars with France and Spain.

5. The island, called the Grand Canary, lies The Grand Canary. about 13 or 14 leagues south-east of Teneriffe, between 27 and 28 degrees of north latitude, and is about 50 leagues in circumference, being a more level and a more fruitful country than that of Teneriffe. The chief town is called Palma, and by some,

CHAP. XI. some Canaria, and is situated a little distance from the sea, in the north part of the island, said to be a large, clean, pleasant town, and to enjoy a serene temperate air: It is the residence of the Governor, the see of a Bishop, and has a beautiful cathedral, richly adorned, besides several other churches and convents; the country about it abounding in corn, wine, fruits, cattle, game, fine pastures, fish and fowl. Their fields also afford a great variety of flowers, and their groves echo with the musick of those birds we so much admire here, and from this island called Canary-birds, being preferable to those of the same kind in Germany, though the latter are more likely to live in England, as they come from a climate not so warm as that of the Canaries.

6. Forte Ventura, or the island of Good Fortune, situated between the Grand Canary and the continent of Africa, a long island, stretching from west to east, but very narrow. It abounds in corn, fruits, cattle, fish and fowl, but chiefly in Goats, which serve them for food, and they drive a great trade with their skins; but I find this island affords little or no wine.

7. Lancerota lies a little to the northward of Forte Ventura, and is said to produce plenty of all things but wine: It is one of the least of the Canaries, and has no town of any note in it: That which is the most considerable, bears the same name with the island. Besides these, there are some other small islands in these seas, particularly one call'd the Salvages, in 30 degrees; but travellers have not thought them worth a particular description.

These islands were very properly called, the Fortunate islands, by the ancients; for, by the concurrent testimony of travellers, there never was a richer soil, or a more agreeable situation: There is nothing desirable in life, but what is to be met with in the terrestrial paradise; corn, wine, and oil, flesh, fish and fowl, abound in them, and that the most exquisite in every kind. As to the richness of their wines, they are not to be paralleled, as every one can testify, who has ever tasted of the genuine Canary and Palm-sack; and of these, 'tis computed, they do not send less than ten thousand hogshheads annually to Great-Britain.

But this is not all: The natives of these islands generally enjoy a clear serene sky and temperate air; for, tho' they lie in a warm climate, they are so constantly refreshed with breezes from the sea, that the noon-day heats are very tolerable, and their evenings and mornings inexpressibly pleasant. They are never sensible of pinching cold, or rigorous seasons. The poorest people here know no want of cloathing, firing, fruits, or wine: And if fields, covered with a variety of beautiful and fragrant flowers, and the musical notes of those birds, which all the world admire, afford an agreeable pleasure; these are what every native of the Canaries enjoy, and without any expence or trouble to procure them.

But still it must be confessed, there are some things to be met with even here, that are a great alloy to this seeming happiness. They that have seen or heard of those terrible vulcano's and earthquakes, those rivers of brimstone, and melted oar, that have swallowed so many towns and villages, must ever live in dread of the direful catastrophe: The more pleasant and delightful the present scene appears, the quicker must their apprehensions be of the terrible destruction these islands are ever subject to: And, perhaps, there is no part

of the earth that appears very desirable, but has something to balance the pleasure it affords, and put us in mind that we are not to expect unmix'd or durable pleasures on this side the grave. The beauties of the creation are sufficient indeed to convince every man, that God can make us exquisitely happy. But the uncertain tenure, by which we hold all we enjoy in this world, is also sufficient to inform us, we must look for happiness somewhere else.

These islands, it is generally believ'd, were first discover'd and planted by the Carthaginians; and it is held by some, that the Romans also were well acquainted with them: But of this I make some doubt; for certain it is, the people of these islands had no manner of communication with the continent for many hundred years; and it is evident the Romans, who never minded navigation or forcing commerce, neglected many of the Carthaginian plantations and settlements, even upon the continent of Africa, and much more those in distant islands. The Romans either despised traffick, or had no genius for it. The distant parts of the world had not so long remain'd strangers to each other, if the Romans had not unfortunately destroy'd the Carthaginian state, and discouraged all remote discoveries. We are taught, indeed, to look upon the Romans as a great people; but what did their greatness consist in? Was it not in carrying war and devastation into every country? in putting fetters upon the rest of mankind, and destroying all manner of commerce? Instead of applying themselves to the improvement of trade and manufacture, they enrich'd themselves by rapine and robbery, plundering the industrious part of mankind of what they had acquir'd by their labour and ingenuity. But to return. It is a further argument, that the Romans were never acquainted with the Canary islands; that they lay conceal'd or unknown to the rest of the world for several centuries after the decline of the Roman empire; and, on their being discover'd again in the 15th century, there were found no Roman antiquities: Nor had the customs and manners, or language of the inhabitants, any resemblance to those of the Romans. Their custom of preserving their dead friends in caves, and keeping them from generation to generation entire and uncorrupted, would much rather incline us to believe they descended from the Egyptians, or some other people of Africk: But however that be, JOHN, King of Castile, having intelligence that there were such islands, it seems, employed JOHN DE BETANCOUR, a French gentleman in his service, to take possession of them, about the year 1405, who succeeding in this expedition, the propriety of three of them was conferr'd on BETANCOUR by that King, and he resided there all his life-time as Sovereign of the Canaries; but the posterity of BETANCOUR afterwards reconvey'd them to the Crown of Castile; and, when they were found to be of consequence, the King of Castile procur'd a grant from the Pope of them, and the Spaniards remain in possession of them to this day.

The Madera islands are situated between 32 and 33 degrees of north latitude, and in 16 degrees of western longitude, about 100 leagues north of the Canaries, and as many to the westward of Saltee, in the kingdom of Fez.

The largest of them, call'd Madera by the Portuguese, from its being cover'd with wood when it was discover'd, is about 40 leagues in circumference, consisting of fine rising hills and fruitful valleys, well watered by the rivulets that fall from the mountains; tho' abounding much more in wine than corn;

CHAP. XI.
The first discovery of these islands.

The Madera islands.

CHAP.
XI.

corn; for of wine, they annually export to the West-Indies, or Europe, several thousand hog-heads; but of corn, they have frequently a very great scarcity: They make several sorts of wine, one call'd Malmsey, a very rich wine; a white sort; and a third like Tent, not fit to be drank unmix'd; but of these they have no great quantities. The Madera wine we usually drink, and which this island yields most of, is a pale wine of the colour of Champagne, or good Small-beer, and is not very strong. The climate here is more temperate than that of the Canaries; but they do not enjoy so clear a sky, or that plenty of corn and fruits: However, in one respect they are to be prefer'd to the Canaries, that they are not so subject to vulcano's and earthquakes; and, 'tis said, no venomous animal will live here. The chief towns are Funchal, Santa Cruz, and Manchico. Funchal, the capital, is situated in a bay, at the south-east part of the island: It is the seat of the Governor, a bishoprick, and has a cathedral and three parish-churches in it, besides several convents and chappels, of which the Jesuits (who seem to influence all affairs in these islands) is much the most beautiful and magnificent: So bigotted are the Roman Catholics here, that they will not allow a Protestant any burial, without paying very dear for the permission, as our Merchants and Factors, who reside here, have experienc'd: And however pleasant the Canary islands and Maderamay be, the Inquisition, that reigns in both, must make them no very desirable residence for any, but those who can resign their consciences and understandings entirely to the direction of the Jesuits. The vulcano's of the Canaries are not more terrible to the natives, than these Fathers, arm'd with the authority of the Inquisition, are to the Protestants that reside amongst them. 'Tis certain, we meet with better quarter among Turks and Pagans, than we do amongst bigotted Roman Catholics: And 'tis observ'd, that the further they are removed from Rome, the more zealous and cruel they are. In Rome, and the great towns of Italy, we converse with all manner of liberty and freedom, and are scarce in any danger of the Inquisition; but where the Jesuits find themselves remote from the seat of the Government, and in a manner out of the eye of the world, there is not a more insupportable tyranny upon the face of the earth than those are subject to that refuse to submit to their usurp'd dominion over the consciences of men. But to return from this digression. The town of Santa Cruz is situated on the north-east part of the island, and that of Manchico on the south-west; but I meet with no further description of them: The rest of the natives live at their plantations and vineyards, that are dispers'd all over the country, and make it look like one continued garden.

Santa
Cruz.Madera
said to be
discovered
by Cap-
tain Ma-
sham of
Bristol.

This desirable island, according to the most of our English writers, was discover'd by one ROBERT MANCHIN, or MASHAM, a native of Bristol, and Captain of a merchant-ship of that port, in the year 1344; but the story is told so many different ways, and has so much the air of a romance, that I cannot give much credit to it; tho' I could not avoid mentioning the tale, because it is found in every author almost that has written of this country. Some relate that this Captain had a beautiful mistress at Bristol, whose relations being against his marrying of her, they agreed to go over to France together; but were driven by distress of weather to this island, where the Captain and his Mistress being on shore, their ship was forc'd to sea in a storm, and taken by the Moors of Morocco, who made the

crew slaves; and that some of the English Seamen giving an account of the adventures to a Portuguese Pilot, who was then also a slave in Morocco, and afterwards redeem'd, the Court of Portugal, upon information, fitted out some ships, and took possession of the island, where they found a tomb or monument that Captain MASHAM had erected to the memory of his Mistress, who died before him: Others relate, that the Lady was the Captain's wife, that she fell sick and was buried here, and that afterwards the Captain himself, being taken prisoner by the Moors, acquainted a Portuguese Pilot with the discovery he had made himself; who, upon his return home, put the Court of Portugal upon fitting out a fleet to take possession of the island. But however that was, it seems to be agreed, that the Portuguese did not plant this island, or send any colonies thither till the year 1425 (which was above fourscore years after the pretended discovery of it by Captain MASHAM) and that when they came thither, they found the island cover'd with thick woods, and without inhabitants; but burning down the woods, the ashes render'd the soil exceeding fruitful and proper for vineyards, which have been cultivated with great care and industry ever since: Corn also, 'tis said, yielded at first an increase of sixty or seventy bushels for one; but after the virtue of the ashes, with which the ground was at first so well improv'd, was spent, it yielded but indifferent crops of grain, and of late years there is often a scarcity of it in the island.

The next in magnitude, of the Madera islands, is Porto that of Porto Sancto, situate 6 or 8 leagues N.E. of Madera Proper. It is about 5 or 6 leagues in circumference, abounds in the same kind of wine and fruits as the former. There are several other small rocks or islands lie about it, which go under the name of the Madera's; but I don't find they are either inhabited or cultivated. The Madera's still remain under the dominion of the Portuguese.

The last islands I shall describe here, are the Azores, or Western Islands; not that they are properly African, but rather European islands; but, lying in the same sea with the Madera's, and belonging to the Portuguese as the former, they may very properly be describ'd here, especially since they were omitted in the second volume of *Modern History*, which treats of the present state of Spain and Portugal.

The Azores, sometimes call'd the Tercera's, and at others the Western Islands, are nine in number, situated between the 36th and the 40th degrees of latitude, and between the 23d and 32d degrees of west longitude, 300 leagues to the westward of Portugal, and upwards of 300 leagues to the eastward of Newfoundland; and, consequently, lie almost in the mid-way between Europe and America: They stretch from east to west, St. Michael's and St. Mary's lying the most easterly. St. Michael's is the largest of all the Azores, being about 30 leagues in circumference. This island, like the rest, is pretty mountainous, but produces plenty of corn, fruits, cattel, fish and fowl, and they have a thin sort of wine: Their greatest wants are Oil and Salt. This island was plunder'd, and several Spanish and Portuguese ships taken here, in the wars between England and Spain, in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, particularly by the Earl of CUMBERLAND, and afterwards by the Earl of ESSEX, in the year 1589, when the latter plunder'd the enemy of four thousand dollars, besides a great deal of rich merchandize; and Sir WALTER RALEIGH also brought home a considerable booty from hence in the same war.

CHAP.
XI.The
Azores.Situation
of the
Azores.St. Mi-
chael's.

CHAP. XI. St. Mary's is a small island to the southward of St. Michael's, and produces much the same animals and vegetables.

Tercera, said to be so named from its being the third island in the passage from Portugal to America, is esteemed the chief of all the islands, on account of its having a tolerable good harbour, and being the seat of the Governor, tho' it is not so large as that of St. Michael's, being not more than 18 or 20 leagues in circumference: It is pretty much encumber'd with rocks and mountains; but affords, however, plenty of good corn, pasture, and an excellent breed of cattle; and has also pretty many vineyards. The chief town, the capital of all the islands, is call'd Angra, and situated on a bay of the sea, that forms the harbour on the south-side of the island, being defended by a castle situated on a rock at the entrance of the bay. This is said to be the only tolerable harbour in these islands; and here the Portuguese fleets constantly call, in their passage to and from their plantations in Brazil, Africa and India, and meet with plentiful supplies of provisions, which is the only reason of their keeping them; for I don't find they have any kind of merchandize to export, but corn or cattle, which they barter with their countrymen, that call here for cloathing and other necessaries. Angra is a Bishop's see, as well as the seat of the Viceroy or Governor. The islands of Gratiôsa, St. George, Pico and Fayall, lie south-west of Tercera; but have nothing in them that deserves a particular description, unless it be, that Pico received its name from such another peak or pyramidal mountain as has been describ'd in Teneriffe, and is supposed to have been rais'd by the like means, namely by earthquakes, to which these islands are subject, as well as the Canaries.

The most westerly of all the Azores, and the least, are the two islands of Flores and Corvo, which were long uninhabited after the rest were planted: Nor would the Portuguese ever have possess'd them, but to prevent other nations getting them into their power, and disturbing their enjoyment of the rest; for there is very little upon these islands to invite any nation to settle there, unless a fine surface, adorn'd with a variety of beautiful flowers, from whence the most southerly of them obtained the name of Flores. The air of these islands is said to be very warm by some, and by others very sharp. If I may judge of it, from what it seem'd to be the latter end of April, in our return from the East-Indies, it is exceeding cool. The cold blasts that came off of them, had a very extraordinary effect upon our ship's company: They shiver'd, and wrapp'd themselves up, as in the depth of winter; and, tho' a little before our Seamen appear'd to have fresh hale complexions, they lost them on a sudden, and appear'd of a dead yellowish cast, as if they had the jaundize: But possibly the having sail'd so long in the Torrid Zone, made us the more sensible of the alteration of the air; and indeed we were so softened by living in a hot climate, that we never enjoyed ourselves after we came into the latitude 40. It was the middle of May, when we arriv'd in England; and tho' every body had left off fires, and began to complain of heat, we were ready to starve with cold: Nor did this extreme tenderness wear off for several years. Give me leave to make another observation on my voyage to and from India; and that is on the uncertainty our best Seamen are under in long voyages: We had some of the most skilful artists on board, and those that had gone the same voyage several times; and yet it was common

with them to be mistaken 100 miles and more in their accounts. We had not been out much above a fortnight, when one morning, to our great surprise, we found ourselves between the Grand Canary and Teneriffe; and we might as well have been cast away on one of those islands, for no-body dream'd we had been within 40 leagues of them: Indeed, we had been driven over the Bay of Biscay in a storm, and it continued dark weather, with hard gales of wind afterwards, so that we could take no observation by the sun; and nothing is so deceitful, as the log, in stormy weather; for the wind drives it after the ship, and there is no guessing what way she makes. But we were still more mistaken, when we came near the coast of India: Those, who pretended to most skill in navigation, assured us, we were not within 100 leagues of the island of Ceylon, when we plainly smelt the Cinnamon groves upon it in the night-time, and the next morning saw the island with the naked eye; but this also happened at a time when we had cloudy weather, and could have no observation, and we had seen no land after we had pass'd the Cape of Good Hope, from whence we took our departure for India. This the reader, I hope, will not look upon as a useless digression in treating of the African islands, which lie so much in our way to and from the East-Indies.

CHAP. XII.

The ancient History of Africa.

I Proceed in the next place, to give an abstract of the ancient history of Africa, according to my method in treating of other parts of the world.

The ancient history of Egypt has been already given in the first volume of *Modern History*. The next people that made a figure in Africa, were the Phenicians or Canaanites: There is no doubt but all the north coast of the Mediterranean, as far as the Atlantick ocean, was first peopled from Egypt, to which it lay contiguous; for it is agreed by all, that when the Phenicians arriv'd on the African coast, after they were driven out of their country by Joshua and the Israelites, they found inhabitants there before them, and entered into treaties with that people, obtaining leave of them to traffick and settle in that part of the country where Carthage afterwards stood, now call'd the kingdom of Tunis, and by the Romans Africa Proper.

Hither the Tyrians or Phenicians first sent a colony, that built the town of Utica. The foundation of Carthage, by another colony of Tyrians or Phenicians, is supposed to be much later (viz.) about the year of the world 3120; 135 years before the building of Rome, and 883 before CHRIST.

Carthage is generally held to have been built by Dido, or ELISHA, a Tyrian Princess, who fled from her brother PYGMALION, King of Tyrus, to Africa, on the following occasion: She had married a near relation, call'd ACERBAS, and sometimes SICHÆUS, who was very rich; and PYGMALION, as the story goes, caus'd him to be assassinated, in order to possess himself of his great wealth: But his sister Dido defeated his principal design; for, having provided several ships to carry her off, she fled, with all her late husband's effects, to Africa, before PYGMALION had an opportunity of getting them into his hands; and very probably made choice of this part of Africa to reside in, because there was a colony of Tyrians settled at Utica already. But, however that was, she purchased lands

CHAP.
XII.

lands here of the natives, on which she built a city, calling it Carthada, Carthage, or the New town (as the word signifies in the Phenician or Hebrew languages) in opposition to Utica, which had been built some time before by her countrymen, and in this respect might be called, the Old town. The remaining part of the story (in which I doubt there is a mixture of romance) informs us, that JARBAS, King of Getulia, afterwards made love to DIDO, and threaten'd war in case she refused to marry him: But she, having made a vow to SICHÆUS, her first husband, never to marry again, prepared her funeral pile; and ascending it, when JARBAS came again to make his addresses to her, she drew a ponyard, and gave herself a mortal wound, as the only means she had left to put an end to his detested courtship. But whatever of novel there may be in this, there is no doubt to be made, that VIRGIL exercised his poetical vein, when he made his hero ÆNEAS cotemporary with DIDO; the destruction of Troy being generally held to have happened three hundred years before the building of Carthage.

The first
wars of
Carthage.With the
Africans.

The first wars Carthage was engaged in, 'tis said, were occasioned by their refusing the annual tribute they had agreed to pay the Prince of the country, when they obtained leave to build their city; but in this they had such ill success, that the Africans obliged them to enter into new engagements to pay it: However, upon receiving fresh supplies and reinforcements from Tyre, their mother-country, they were not only enabled to dispute the tribute again with the Africans, but to carry their arms still farther.

With the
Cyrenians.

Their next wars were with the city of Cyrene, which stood between Carthage and Egypt, in that part of the country now called Barca. Carthage and Cyrene, it seems, were at a variance about the limits of their respective territories, which occasion'd a war between the two states; till at length both sides agreed, that their bounds should be ascertain'd in the following manner; viz. That two men should set out at the same hour from either city, and wherever they happened to meet, that should be the boundary of their several States: The two Carthaginians, pitched upon for this service, were brothers, named PHILÆNI, who being swifter of foot than their adversaries, the Cyrenians pretended there was foul play, and would not stand to the agreement, unless the two brothers, as an evidence of their fair dealing, would be content to be buried alive in the place where they met; which, 'tis said, they consented to, and the Carthaginians erected a pillar upon the spot, and two altars, on which they sacrificed and paid divine honours to the heroic brothers: But whether we are to give entire credit to this story or not, certain it is, two altars were erected and remained many years on the borders of the two states, which were called "The altars of the PHILÆNI:" And we may observe, both from sacred and prophane history, that nothing was more common among the ancients than the erecting altars, and sacrificing upon them at the conclusion of a treaty, or on any memorable event; and therefore 'tis probable the substance of the story is true, whatever foundation there may be for that part of it relating to the burying the two brothers alive near these altars. This war being ended, the Carthaginians carried their arms to the west-ward, and subdued all the nations as far as the Atlantick ocean, or made them tributary to their state; so that they were in reality Sovereigns of all the northern coast of Africa, to the westward of Cyrene or Barca;

Their wars
with the
Mauritians
and
Numidians.

and, in the opinion of some writers, of the west coast of Africa, as far as Cape Verd, which lies in 15 degrees north latitude: Nor were the conquests of the Carthaginians confined to the continent of Africa; they made themselves masters of Sardinia, and the Balears, or the islands of Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica, from whence they found an easy passage into Spain, where they were first invited by the city of Cadiz, an ancient colony of the Tyrians their countrymen. This city, it seems, was at war with the Spaniards, and, being hard pressed, called in the Carthaginians to their assistance, who not only defended their allies, but carried on an offensive war in the Spanish territories; and that people, being divided into several little kingdoms and states, became an easy conquest to their enemies; great part of South Spain became subject to the Carthaginians, and even the city of Cadiz, that call'd them in, was obliged to submit to their dominion; the usual fate of those who introduce armies of foreigners into their country.

CHAP.
XII.They conquer
Sardinia, and
the islands
of Balears.They carry
their arms
into
Spain.Their wars
in Sicily.

The time when the Carthaginians first attempted to make conquests in Sicily, is not exactly known: But it appears from a treaty they made with the Romans, the same year Kings were excluded from that Government, and Consuls instituted, that the Carthaginians were then in possession of part of Sicily, as well as of Africa and Sardinia; and, by this treaty, the Romans agreed not to sail further westward than the fair promontory near Carthage, which the Carthaginians, even then, insisted on, as being under an apprehension the Romans might one day encroach upon their territories, and give them some disturbance.

About 264 years after the building of Rome, and 484 years before CHRIST, the Carthaginians enter'd into an alliance with XERXES, King of Persia, against Greece. And while XERXES marched with a prodigious army to attack the Greeks upon the continent, the Carthaginians transported an army of three hundred thousand men into Sicily (if the numbers be not enlarged) in expectation of reducing the remainder of the Grecian cities in that island under their dominion: But this great army was defeated and cut to pieces, 'tis said, on the same day that memorable action happened at Thermopylæ, where three hundred Spartans disputed the passage into Greece, with that numerous army of Persians commanded by XERXES, and put a stop to his progress, tho' most of them lost their lives in the defence of that pass.

Their confederacy
with Xerxes
against
Greece.

The Carthaginians made another attempt to subdue the Grecian cities in Sicily, in the 336th year of Rome, and met with great success, being upon the point of taking Syracuse, the capital of the Grecian cities in Sicily, when the plague broke into their army, and destroyed the greatest part of them, the remainder perished by the swords of the Syracusians; which occasioned an insurrection in Africa; no less than two hundred thousand of the malecontents laid siege to Carthage itself; but the rebels being destitute of provisions, and disagreeing about the command of this body, soon dispersed, and deliver'd the Government from the ruin that threatened them.

An insurrection
of the Africans
suppressed.

In the year 400, after the foundation of Rome, we meet with another treaty between that city and the Carthaginians, for their mutual defence: And about the same time the Carthaginians made further attempts to reduce the Grecian cities in Sicily; but TIMOLEON coming with a body of Corinthians to their assistance, obtained a victory over them, and again defeated their design: After which, AGATHOCLES, the Syracusan General, carried the

Carthage
and Rome
in alliance.A further
attempt to
reduce the
Grecian
cities in
Sicily.

war

CHAP.
XII.The
Greeks
carry the
war into
Africa.
Tyre de-
stroy'd by
Alexander
the Great.The Car-
thaginians
sacrifice
their chil-
dren to Sa-
turn in
their dis-
tress.A rebel-
lion in
Carthage
suppress'd.The
Greeks
abandon
Africa.An alli-
ance be-
tween
Carthage
and Rome,
against
Pyrrhus.
Pyrrhus
oblig'd to
abandon
both Italy
and Sicily.

war into Africa, and, in confederacy with some of the African Princes, laid siege to Carthage, and bid fair for the total subversion of their State. While the Carthaginians were in this distress, it was that an Ambassador arriv'd from Tyre, to negotiate for a reinforcement of troops, to enable them to defend themselves against ALEXANDER the Great, who not long after laid that city in ashes, and destroy'd every man in the place; and all that the Carthaginians was to do for their mother city, was to remove the women and children, send them from Tyre, and afford them a refuge in their country. In the mean time, the Carthaginians looking upon the calamities that befel them to proceed from the wrath of heaven, for some omissions in their religious worship, and particularly in not sacrificing a certain number of children of the best quality annually to SATURN, as their superstition requir'd, and substituting the children of slaves and poor people, purchased for that end, in their stead: To appease the anger of that god, therefore, they sacrificed two hundred children of the best rank; and three hundred persons more, 'tis said, offer'd themselves voluntarily to be sacrificed, to atone for the pretended neglect. This is a farther evidence, that the Carthaginians were descended from the Canaanites or Phenicians, who used to sacrifice their children to MOLOCH, particularly in their distress; sacred history taking notice of a King that sacrificed his eldest son upon the walls, when the city he was Sovereign of, was in danger of being taken. But to return to the history. Notwithstanding this bloody sacrifice of so many children and innocent men, the affairs of the Carthaginians grew still more desperate; BOMILCAR their General, taking advantage of the distress of the State, in order to raise himself to the Sovereign power, fomented an insurrection within the city while their enemies press'd them from without: But they had, at length, the good fortune to disperse the rebels by offering a pardon to all that would return to their duty; and BOMILCAR being thereupon deserted, was crucified, and put to the most exquisite torture: And while he hung upon the cross, 'tis said, he reproach'd the Government with breach of faith, in punishing him after they had proclaim'd an indemnity; and with ingratitude, in putting to death many of their bravest Generals, after a long series of eminent services; which, it seems, was frequently done, if success did not attend their arms, unless the General prevented the disgrace by being his own executioner; of which there are also several instances in the history of Carthage.

This rebellion being fortunately suppress'd, a misunderstanding happen'd about the same time, between AGATHOCLES the Grecian General, and his African allies: Whereupon he rais'd the siege of Carthage, and transported himself to Sicily; after which, the Carthaginians recover'd all the places they had lost, and establish'd their empire again over the African Princes. And now Sicily, as well as Italy, being threaten'd with an invasion by PYRRHUS, King of Epirus, the Carthaginians renew'd their confederacy with the Romans for the preservation of their territories in that island. PYRRHUS, however, made a descent with his forces in Sicily, and reduc'd all the towns belonging to the Carthaginians, except Lilybaeum; but this place making a vigorous defence, and the Romans gaining some advantages over the force of PYRRHUS in Italy, he was forced to abandon all his conquests in Sicily, and return thither: Nor was he able to restore his affairs on the continent, being afterwards defeated

in several engagements there by the Romans, and oblig'd to quit that country also.

And now the Romans, having no enemies in Italy, began to think of enlarging their empire by foreign conquests. It is very probable they had for some time cast their eyes on the fruitful island of Sicily, separated from the continent by a narrow strait, and only waited for a pretence to invade it; when some Sicilian rebels seizing on the important city of Messina, and offering to deliver it up to the Romans, that people, notwithstanding their mighty pretences to honour and justice, did not scruple to break through their alliance with the Carthaginians, and send over a reinforcement of troops to support those rebels which occasion'd that war between the Romans and Carthaginians, usually call'd "The first Punick war," begun Ann. M. 3738; after the building of Rome, 488; and before CHRIST, 266 Years.

As the Roman people made arms their profession, and, from the infancy of their State, had been engaged in warlike contests with their neighbours, they are universally acknowledg'd to have been excellent Soldiers. We find, in the Sicilian war, the Carthaginians were not able to keep the field against them, but retir'd into such strong towns as were situated near the sea, which they could relieve from time to time with their fleets, the Romans having yet no shipping to oppose them; and thus the war was like to prove endless. The Carthaginians abounded in wealth as well as shipping, and were able to defend the maritime places against the whole power of the Romans, who found themselves exhausted both of men and money by the continuance of the war, while Carthage rather grew rich by trafficking with every nation.

The Romans, therefore, saw it absolutely necessary to dispute the dominion of the sea with Carthage; without which, they found their foreign conquests must remain at a stand; and, collecting naval stores from every quarter, offer'd the highest rewards and encouragements to such Ship-builders as would afford them their assistance: And, as they were at that time possess'd of several cities and port-towns in Sicily, and in alliance with many Grecian States, such crowds of workmen offer'd their service, and their own people used such application and diligence, that within a very few months, they built or hired a fleet almost as numerous as that of the Carthaginians, and engaged abundance of foreign Mariners in their service: But, still conscious that the Carthaginians must have a considerable advantage of them by their skill and dexterity in sailing, whenever they came to an engagement they contriv'd a machine or engine, by which they might grapple with the enemy's ships, and deprive them of all advantages of their sails. This, it seems, was a great piece of timber, arm'd with hooks and chains, which they let down with pulleys into the enemy's ships on approaching them, and which it was impossible for a vessel to disengage itself from, without mauling the ship's crew that attack'd her.

Thus prepar'd, the Romans, under the Command of DULLUS, put to sea with an hundred and twenty gallees (the only shipping of those days) and being met by the Carthaginian fleet, consisting of an hundred and thirty vessels, commanded by HANNIBAL their Admiral, near Myla, they soon came to a close engagement; for the Carthaginians looking upon the Romans as a very contemptible enemy at sea, advanc'd towards them with an assurance of victory: And the Romans, on the other

CHAP.
XII.The Ro-
mans assist
the Sici-
lian rebels
against the
Carthagi-
nians.The first
Punick
war.The Ro-
mans
build a
fleet.Their ma-
chine for
grappling
with the
enemy's
ships.

CHAP. XII. hand, having no hopes but in their new invented grapples, made equal haste to join battle.

The Carthaginians were a little surprized to see the Romans advance so resolutely, and still more when they began to play their engines; but when they found themselves so fastened to the enemy's ships, that they could make no use either of oars or sails, but were forced to fight as upon firm land; they were confounded and dispirited, and the Romans gain'd an easy victory over them, taking no less than fourscore sail, and among them the Admiral's galley, HANNIBAL himself narrowly escaping in his Boat.

This victory was the more acceptable to the Romans, as it was in a manner unexpected. They were overjoy'd at the success of their fleet, and immediately decreed their Admiral DULLUS a naval triumph; which was the first of that kind that had been seen in Rome. They also erected a Rostral pillar to his honour, with an inscription containing the particulars of the engagement. (These pillars were styl'd Rostratæ, from the heads or beaks of ships that adorn'd them.) But to return to our history. The Carthaginians were so discourag'd by this defeat, that they suffer'd the Romans to lord it in the Mediterranean for two years without controul: But being informed, that their enemies were about to bring the war home to their own doors, and make a descent on the coast of Africa, they exerted themselves once more, and equip'd a fleet consisting of an hundred and fifty galleys, mann'd by an hundred and fifty thousand men, with which they put to sea in order to recover the dominion of the Mediterranean: But being met by the Romans, who, according to their accounts, had not so many galleys by twenty, they received another memorable defeat; no less than sixty of their vessels being taken by the Romans, who, on their side, had twenty-four galleys destroy'd; which shews, that this victory was not obtain'd so easily as the former; tho' the Romans had now more experience in maritime affairs, and probably had more Grecian Mariners in their service. The Carthaginians were better provided against the grappling-irons of the enemy in this fight than in the last, which made their loss the less; for no stratagem in war, has that effect the second time as it has the first: The novelty and surprize the engine gave on the first trial, contributed, no doubt, in a great measure, to the defeat of the Carthaginians.

Before I proceed further in this history, give me leave to take notice of the partiality of the Roman Historians, and of such Grecians romaniz'd, as have wrote the history of these wars; who insinuate, that the Romans themselves, without foreign assistance, in the space of a few months, built and mann'd that fleet with which they obtain'd the first victory over the Carthaginians; when it is evident, from their own writings, that the Romans were then in possession of the best part of the island of Sicily, and in alliance with several Grecian States, that would, no doubt did, furnish them with great part of the Ships and Mariners in their service. It is pretended, indeed, to serve a turn, and reflect the greater honour on the Roman State, that there was at that time no other naval power but that of Carthage: But the very same writers, in other parts of their works, take notice, that the Greeks in Sicily, assisted by their countrymen on the continent, had often engaged the Carthaginians at sea with success, before the wars happen'd between them and Rome. It does not seem so strange and miraculous, therefore, that the Romans, in confederacy with the Syracu-

siacs and other Grecian cities (who were alone a match for the Carthaginians) should, when united with them, gain an advantage of the Carthaginian fleet. But to proceed. The Romans, after their second naval victory, embark'd a numerous army under the command of M. AILIUS REGULUS, and L. MANLIUS their Consuls, who had commanded as Admirals in the last sea engagement, and made a descent on the coast of Africa: Whereupon the Carthaginians quitting the field, and retiring into their strong towns, the Romans laid siege to Clypea, one of their sea-ports, and took it; after which, they ravag'd all the open country, and took twenty thousand prisoners, besides vast flocks and herds of cattle; of which, advice being sent to Rome, the Senate order'd, that REGULUS should remain in Africa with a body of fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, with forty galleys to attend his motion, and that the rest of the fleet and army, with the other Consul, should return to Italy: Such a contempt did the Romans entertain for the Carthaginians at this time, that they thought an army of fifteen thousand men sufficient to make head against all the forces of that State: And with these, did REGULUS venture to form the siege of Adis, one of the strongest fortresses in Africa, and actually defeated an army sent to the relief of the place. He afterwards made himself master of near two hundred towns, and among the rest, of Tunis, situated within 2 or 3 leagues of Carthage; and the Numidians invading the Carthaginian territories at the same time, they were reduc'd to the last extremity, and offer'd the Roman General very advantageous terms of peace: But he, puff'd up with his success, 'tis said, would hear of no other conditions than their being made a province of Rome; insolently telling their Ambassadors (as 'tis said) That they "ought either to conquer like brave men, or learn to submit to the victor."

During this treaty, according to LIVY, the Roman army encountered a monster of a Serpent in passing a river, which terrified them more than all the forces of the Carthaginians; several Soldiers being devour'd by this terrible animal, whose skin, 'tis said, no dart could penetrate; and it was long before they could destroy him with stones thrown from their military engines; adding, that the river was dy'd with the blood of this Serpent when he was kill'd; and that the stench of his dead carcase so infected the air, that the army was oblig'd to remove their camp; and that the skin of the creature being sent to Rome, was 120 foot long: A relation which it is impossible for any man to give entire credit to; and yet, perhaps, we ought not to reject every part of the story. It is very probable from the creature's being found on the banks of a river, and having an impenetrable skin, that, instead of being a Serpent, it was a Crocodile; which is an amphibious animal, and his scales impenetrable by darts or arrows: But instead of being 120 foot in length, I must beg leave to reduce it to 20 foot, the usual length of a full-grown Crocodile, and omit the Figure of 1, which was very probably inserted by mistake: Besides there are several undeniable instances of a Crocodile's devouring a person whole, but not one of a man's being swallow'd by a Snake, which has the least throat, in proportion, of any animal whatever, except a Whale.

To return to our history. REGULUS refusing to grant Carthage any other terms than those of an absolute submission to Rome; they prepared for a vigorous defence, and, having received a small reinforcement of troops from Greece, under the

CHAP. XII.

The Romans invade Africa.

The Romans overrun that country.

Carthage desires peace.

Regulus rejects their offers.

The fable of a monstrous Serpent.

Regulus defeated and made prisoner by the Carthaginians.

CHAP. XII. command of XANTIPPUS, a celebrated Spartan General, they took the field, and, giving battle to the Romans, entirely defeated them: REGULUS, with five hundred more, were made prisoners; about two thousand escaped to Clypea, and all the rest were killed on the spot; the greatest execution being done by the Elephants, of which the Carthaginians had an hundred in their army.

The Romans, having received this defeat in Africa, sent no more forces thither, notwithstanding they obtain'd a third victory over the Carthaginians at sea, and took an hundred and fourteen of their ships: They contented themselves with bringing off the two thousand Romans that had retired out of the battle to Clypea. In the mean time the Carthaginians permitted REGULUS to go to Rome and propose an exchange of prisoners, upon his taking an oath to return and surrender himself again if he did not meet with success. And here the Roman historians take an opportunity of applauding the courage and sincerity of REGULUS beyond measure; and, from him, would have us make an estimate of the resolution and veracity of his countrymen. They tell us, that notwithstanding REGULUS knew he must undergo the greatest torments on his return to Carthage, if he did not succeed in this negotiation, and must never see his family or his country more; he advised the Senate not to consent to an exchange of prisoners; for that it would be an ill example to shew so much favour to their troops, who had cowardly surrender'd themselves prisoners to the enemy; that they were unworthy the compassion of their country: And for himself, who was in the decline of life, his loss was nothing, if compar'd with the number of the Carthaginian Generals and Officers, in the flower of their age, who were in their hands, and might be capable of doing Rome abundance of mischief if they were permitted to return home. And the Senate agreeing with him in that opinion, REGULUS return'd to Carthage, where he was crucified, and underwent the most exquisite tortures, if we may credit some writers.

The story of the cruelties exercised on Regulus very doubtful.

But I find it is very much doubted, whether the facts on which the Roman historians lay the greatest stress in this relation are true; for that POLYBIUS, esteemed the best author that writes of these wars, says not one word of the sufferings of REGULUS after his return to Carthage: And DIODORUS SICULUS, another historian, speaking of the captivity and death of REGULUS, only says, that his wife was incens'd when she heard of his death, because she thought it might be occasioned by ill usage, and therefore incited her sons to revenge their father's fate on two noble Carthaginian captives the Senate had put into her hands to exchange against her husband: And that one of them was actually kill'd by the severities exercis'd upon him; which the Senate express'd their abhorrence of, and took the survivor out of her custody, which, it is presumed, they would not have done, if REGULUS had suffer'd those tortures which their historians and poets feign: And indeed, 'tis conjectur'd by some, that the wife of REGULUS invented these stories, to excuse her cruelty to the captives under her power; and that they obtain'd credit on very slender evidence, since they tended to asperse the Carthaginians, with whom the Romans had a perpetual national quarrel. Another thing that weighs with me, is, that REGULUS is made to say in his speech to the Senate, That "the Roman captives did not deserve their compassion, because they had surrender'd cowardly to their enemies"; whereas it appears,

VOL. III.

that the Romans fought it out to the last; and did not surrender 'till all but five hundred of them were cut in pieces, and these in the company, and very probably by the command, of that very General, when he found all further resistance vain, and to no purpose. Besides, it must be the most impolitic thing in the world, to torture their prisoners, while so many prisoners of the first quality of their own people remain'd in the hands of the Romans, on whom their enemies might have gratified their revenge. But this is not the only partial relation we meet with in the Roman historians, framed to calumniate their enemies, and reflect honour on their nation.

The war in Sicily was still carried on with great vigour on both sides; notwithstanding the Romans obtain'd a great victory there, and took above an hundred and twenty Elephants from the Carthaginians in one engagement. They defended Lilybæum, and some other port-towns for several years; but finding themselves at length over-powered, AMILCAR, surnamed BARCAS, the Carthaginian General in that island, was order'd to make the best terms he could; and accordingly he concluded a peace with Rome, A.M. 3762, upon the following terms, (viz.) "That the Carthaginians should evacuate Sicily, and no more make war upon the Syracusians, or their allies: that they should release all the Roman prisoners that they had taken, without ransom, and pay them three thousand two hundred Euboic talents of silver (something more than half a million sterling) within the space of ten years." And thus ended the first Punic or Carthaginian war, which had lasted four and twenty years.

Articles of peace between the Romans and Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians treasure being pretty much exhausted by so many years expence, and the vast losses they had sustain'd, and being still oblig'd to pay prodigious sums to the Romans, they were very backward in paying and disbanding the mercenary troops in their service; but, putting them into quarters of refreshment on their return from Sicily, desired they would be content with a bare subsistence, 'till the State was in a condition to discharge them; and even propos'd, 'tis said, their accepting a part of their pay instead of the whole; which incens'd the Soldiery to that degree, who expected to have been dismiss'd with honour, and to have return'd to their respective countries after so many years of hard service, that it occasion'd a general mutiny amongst them: They assembled to the number of twenty thousand men, and, having taken possession of Tunis, invited the rest of their brethren to join them. The States of Carthage, now too late seeing their error, deputed GISOO, one of their most popular Generals, to offer the malecontents any manner of satisfaction; and, tho' their demands appear'd very high, he was upon the point of concluding a treaty with them, when SPENDIUS and MATHO, two of the most active mutineers, despairing of a pardon, represented to the multitude, that there was no trusting to their Governors on these occasions: If they once laid down their arms, they must expect to be called to a severe account: There was no medium between death and victory, as the case stood. Which seditious harangue, had such an effect upon the multitude, that they immediately broke off the treaty, chose SPENDIUS and MATHO their Generals, and, having seiz'd the treasure that GISOO brought with him to pay off the army, made him and his attendants prisoners: And, not long after, all the towns in Africa, except Utica and Hippacra, declared for the rebels; to which they were provok'd by the heavy taxes they had long borne, and of which they

The wars of the Carthaginians with their mercenary forces in Africa.

20 D

could

CHAP.
XII.

could not hope to see an end, while the state was obliged to make such large payments to foreigners as well as other domestick creditors.

The Carthaginians, on the other hand, having still a reserve of treasure, armed all their citizens, and took other mercenaries into their pay; and, constituting the celebrated AMILCAR (BARCAS) their General, compell'd the rebels to raise the siege of Utica, which they had invested: AMILCAR, afterwards, defeated a considerable body of the rebels forces, making great numbers of them prisoners; but instead of exercising the severity that was expected upon the captives, he endeavoured to reclaim them by an unexampled clemency, lifting many of them in his own troops, and suffering the rest to return to their dwellings. The Chiefs of the rebels fearing this gentle usage might occasion a general desertion of their forces, incited them to commit such barbarous actions as might make them despair of ever being reconciled to the State; and particularly upon torturing GISGO the General, and the rest of the prisoners they had in their hands, whom they put to the most cruel deaths, under pretence of their holding a correspondence with Carthage. Utica and Hippacra also revolted at the same time, and sacrificed their Governors to their fury, which encourag'd the rebels to lay siege to Carthage; but they were forced to raise it by AMILCAR, who also defeated a great body of their forces, and, cutting off their provisions, reduced them to the fatal necessity of eating one another: Whereupon the multitude compelled their Chiefs to enter into a treaty with AMILCAR, who agreed, That upon surrendering their arms, they should be suffered to return home, except ten of them, who were to be left to the mercy of the State. But the Carthaginians refusing to confirm the treaty, the rebels resolved to sell their lives as dear as they could, and a battle ensuing, most of them were cut in pieces, or trodden under foot by the Elephants: Part of the rebels, however, made good their retreat to Tunis, which they determined to defend to the last extremity. Whereupon AMILCAR investing the place, caused SPENDIUS, one of their Chiefs, and several other prisoners he had taken, to be crucified in sight of the town: On the other hand MATHO, the other Rebel Chief, who commanded in Tunis, having in a sally surpriz'd HANNIBAL, one of the Carthaginian Generals, and several of his men, ordered them to be crucified on the walls, by way of retaliation, in the sight of AMILCAR and his army. But MATHO himself being soon after taken, together with the town of Tunis, he paid dear for all the treachery and barbarity he had been the occasion of, suffering the most exquisite torments before he was put to death. Thus an end was put to the African war, one of the cruelest that ever was known in any age, after it had lasted three years and upwards: This war was not finished, when the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia mutined also for their pay, and calling in the Romans to their assistance, actually expelled their masters from that island. And when the Carthaginians sent forces thither to recover it again, the Romans declared, they should look upon such acts of hostility as a declaration of war against their State; and, taking advantage of the low circumstances the Carthaginians were then in, compelled them not only to make a cession of that island to Rome, but to pay them two hundred talents for a confirmation of the peace, which the Carthaginians, on their part, had never violated. This is another notorious instance, that the Ro-

The Romans seize Sardinia,

And compel the Carthaginians to confirm it to them.

man faith was no more to be relied on than Punic honour, when interest prompted them to break through their treaties.

Nor were the Carthaginians insensible of the outrage that was done them by the Romans, in protecting their rebel troops, and taking their country from them: From this time, therefore, they made preparations to recover the losses they had sustain'd, and revenge the repeated affronts they had receiv'd from that haughty nation.

And, as it was necessary in the first place to secure their territories in Spain, and form alliances with the Princes in Gaul as well as Spain, before they could think of attacking the Romans, AMILCAR, father of the celebrated HANNIBAL, was constituted Viceroy of the European dominions, who subdued several Princes that had entered into an alliance with the Romans, and brought over others to the side of Carthage by his insinuating address: But while he was thus employed in promoting the interest of Carthage, he was unfortunately killed in an engagement with the enemy. To him succeeded ASDRUBAL, his son-in-law, who was no less successful in enlarging the Carthaginian territories in Spain than his predecessor; and built the town of New Carthage, or Carthage, in Spain, almost over-against Old Carthage: Nor were the Romans idle all this time, but endeavoured to draw over the Gauls and the Spaniards to their party; and, in a manner, secured all that part of Spain to the advantage of the river Ebro in their interest. At length the two States of Rome and Carthage came to the following agreement, (viz.) That the river Iberus, or Ebro, in Catalonia, should be the boundary between the Carthaginians and Romans, and their respective allies; only the city of Saguntum, on the west-side of the Ebro, being in alliance with the Romans, was included in this treaty.

ASDRUBAL, having acted as General in Spain with great honour eight years, was assassinated by one of the Gauls, who had received some affront from him. Whereupon HANNIBAL, the son of AMILCAR, now about three and twenty years of age, having serv'd in Spain some years under ASDRUBAL, was constituted General on that side. This great man, for some time, kept his army in perpetual action by invading and reducing such of the Spanish Princes as were not in alliance with Rome: But having formed a design of humbling that proud State, he afterwards laid siege to Saguntum, on pretence of their encroaching on the Carthaginian allies.

The Saguntines, apprehensive of their danger, immediately dispatched an express to Rome, imploring speedy succour; but the Romans contented themselves with sending a deputation to HANNIBAL, requiring him to raise the siege, and, in case he refused, ordered their Ambassadors to go to Carthage and complain of this hostility: But while they spent their time in fruitless negotiations, HANNIBAL took the city by storm, and gave the plunder of it to his soldiers, which was very considerable: However, some writers relate, that the principal inhabitants, before the enemy entered the town, burnt themselves, their wives and children, together with all the rich effects, in one common fire, rather than fall into the hands of the Carthaginians. But however that was, the Romans immediately demanded that HANNIBAL might be delivered up to them, for having violated the peace between the two nations. And when the Senate of Carthage justified the conduct of their General, the Romans

Who meditate revenge.

Amilcar makes great additions to the Carthaginian territories in Spain.

He is killed, and succeeded by Asdrubal.

Hannibal made General in Spain.

Successful in his wars with the Spanish Princes. Besieges Saguntum.

Saguntum taken by storm.

CHAP.
XII.

The second Punick war.

Hannibal begins his march for Italy.

He passes the Alps.

His army mightily diminished.

He takes Turin by storm.

The Gauls join him.

Hannibal defeats P. Scipio.

declar'd war against them: And thus began the second Punick war, in the year of Rome 535, being 201 years before CHRIST.

HANNIBAL assembled an army of an hundred thousand men the following spring, and declar'd his intentions of marching through Gaul directly to Italy; and accordingly, leaving his brother ASDRUBAL with fifteen thousand men in Spain, he began his march from Carthage; but spent most part of this summer, in making alliances with the Princes of Gaul, or subduing such of them as oppos'd the enterprize, and did not arrive at the foot of the Alps, which divides France from Italy, 'till the middle of October, when his army appears to have been so lessen'd by the detachments he had made, or the losses he had sustain'd, that it scarce amounted to forty thousand men; tho' it does not appear that the Romans once attempted to obstruct his march, no not at the passage of the Alps, which took him up fifteen days. Perhaps they imagin'd, that HANNIBAL had no further view than to enlarge the Carthaginian empire, by adding to it that part of Spain to the eastward of the Ebro, or perhaps some part of Gaul. And this seems the more probable, because they made great preparations to dispute East-Spain with him; and were surpriz'd when they heard he had pass'd the Rhone. It is said also, that the marching an army over the Alps was, 'till that time, held to be impracticable; which might be a further reason for their making no provision to receive him on that side. But to return to the history. HANNIBAL, having pass'd the Alps, and muster'd his army in the plains of Piedmont, found it still more diminish'd. He had here but twelve thousand African foot, eight thousand Spaniards, and six thousand horse, most of them Numidians, in all, six and twenty thousand men; a small army to invade the most powerful nation then in being. Having given his army some refreshment after their fatigues in passing the Alps, he propos'd an alliance with the Gauls, who then inhabited Piedmont, which being slighted, he laid siege to their capital city (Turin) and took it by storm in three days, giving the plunder of it to his soldiers. Whereupon all the neighbouring Gauls came in and made their submission, and several of their Princes enter'd into a confederacy with the State of Carthage, which gave him an opportunity of recruiting and encreasing his army to forty thousand men and upwards, and provisions were afterwards brought to his camp in great plenty. The Romans, finding the Carthaginian army daily encreased by the addition of fresh forces from Gaul, order'd P. SCIPIO the Consul to advance with all diligence, and give the enemy battle; and the other Consul SEMPRONIUS, was commanded to return from Sicily, whither he had transported his army with an intention to have made a descent in Africa from thence.

P. SCIPIO hereupon pass'd the Po, and advanc'd within sight of the Carthaginian army, which lay encamp'd on the banks of the Tesin: And as both sides had their reasons for coming to a speedy engagement; the Carthaginians, to encourage their new allies, and confirm them in their interest; and the Romans, to prevent the enemy's penetrating into their country, and making it the seat of war; a battle soon after was fought, wherein P. SCIPIO receiv'd a dangerous wound, and his army was defeated; which the Romans imputed chiefly to the superiority and dexterity of the Numidian horse, which surrounded their troops, and fell upon them in flank and rear. SCIPIO, however, made good

his retreat over the Po, and, by breaking down the bridges on that river, put a stop to the pursuit of the enemy for some time. SCIPIO, it seems, was once taken prisoner in this battle, but released by the bravery of his son SCIPIO, afterwards surnamed AFRICANUS, then seventeen years of age.

And now SEMPRONIUS, the other Consul, having join'd SCIPIO, and their united army amounting to about forty thousand men, another battle was fought in the middle of winter near Placentia, in which the Romans were again defeated by falling into an ambuscade which the enemy had prepar'd for them, and the Consuls, with their broken troops, consisting of about ten thousand men, retreated into Placentia; but, by the hardships of this winter's campaign, HANNIBAL, 'tis said, lost great numbers of his Horses, and all his Elephants but one, on which he himself usually rode. HANNIBAL also lost one of his eyes about this time, occasion'd, as 'tis said, by the constant fatigue and hardships he underwent night and day in this rigorous season.

Early the next spring, HANNIBAL attempted to pass the Appennine mountains, with a design to have penetrat'd as far as Rome, before his enemies were recover'd from their consternation; but the snows were yet so deep, and the weather so tempestuous on those mountains, that he was compell'd to return with his army to Placentia, where he fought another battle with SEMPRONIUS, in which neither side gain'd any great advantage; tho', 'tis probable, the Carthaginians had the advantage; for CN. SERVILIUS and C. FLAMINIUS being chosen Consuls, HANNIBAL soon after advanced into Tuscany, and having drawn the Consul FLAMINIUS into an ambuscade near the lake of Trasymene, obtain'd another victory over the enemy, the Consul, FLAMINIUS, being kill'd upon the spot with the greatest part of his forces; only six thousand of them made their retreat in a body, and these were oblig'd to surrender prisoners the next day. In this battle sixteen thousand Romans were slain, and only ten thousand run-aways made a shift to escape by different ways to Rome.

As to the Latins, who were made prisoners in this battle, HANNIBAL gave them their liberty, and was so happy in cultivating a friendship with this people, and the rest of the allies of Rome, that he was enabled to support himself many years in Italy, when scarce any supplies or reinforcements were sent him from Carthage.

HANNIBAL, after the victory of Trasymene, march'd his troops into that fine country, call'd the Campania of Rome, which he plunder'd from one end to the other, and laid in a good stock of provisions against the ensuing winter; but, as he was retiring with his booty, the celebrated FABRUS, now constituted Dictator (a General of the most consummate prudence and conduct, who would never engage an enemy, but where he had a manifest advantage) surrounded the Carthaginians in an enclosed country, and possess'd himself of all the passes, so that it appear'd almost impossible for them to extricate themselves. But HANNIBAL surmounted this difficulty, 'tis said, by the following stratagem: He caus'd torches and firebrands to be fastened to the horns of two hundred Oxen, and ordering them to be driven up the adjacent mountains in the night-time; the Romans imagin'd, that the enemy's army was making their retreat that way; and quitting the passes to follow them, HANNIBAL gain'd an opportunity of getting out of those defiles.

CHAP.
XII.

He gains another victory over Sempronius.

Hannibal loses his Elephants and some Horses.

He is prevented passing the Appennine by storms. A third battle.

Hannibal obtains another victory.

He courts the Latins.

Hannibal surrounded by Fabius. Extricates himself by a stratagem.

The

CHAP.
XII.

The Romans raise great forces to drive Hannibal out of Italy.

The battle of Cannæ.

The great loss of the Romans.

Hannibal censur'd for not pursuing his victory.

The next year, being the third campaign after HANNIBAL's entering Italy, the Romans determin'd to make one grand effort to drive the enemy out of their country; when (TERENTIUS VARRO and L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS being Consuls) they raised eight legions instead of four, their usual number, consisting of five thousand foot and four hundred horse each: To which were added about ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot of their allies, making in all near an hundred thousand men; whereas the Carthaginians were not computed to amount to more than forty thousand men: Which superiority, 'tis said, gave VARRO, one of the Consuls, such an assurance of victory, that he declared, before he left Rome, he would fall upon the enemy wherever he found him, and put an end to the war at once. Accordingly, on a day when it was his turn to command (for the Consuls commanded alternately) coming up with HANNIBAL's army, which he found drawn up in battalia, on a fine plain near Cannæ, he gave the signal of battle, and a very fierce encounter followed, in which the Romans received a memorable defeat; which is generally ascrib'd to two causes, the goodness of the Carthaginian horse, and the dust that drove in clouds in the faces of the Romans: For the sagacious HANNIBAL, 'tis said, observing that the wind Vulturus rose from the south-east constantly at a certain hour every day, and that the plain, on which the engagement happen'd, was a deep sand, he drew up his forces in such a manner, as to have the wind in his back, and consequently in the faces of his enemies, who were blinded and disorder'd by the dust, not being able to discern friends from foes. But to whatever cause this important victory is to be ascrib'd, Rome never received so great an overthrow: For ÆMILIUS, one of the Consuls, was kill'd on the spot; as were two Quæstors, one and twenty Military Tribunes, several others that had been Consuls or Prætors, fourscore Senators, and between forty and fifty thousand Officers and Soldiers besides, according to those who speak most modestly of the loss; and above ten thousand more, that had been left to guard the camp, surrender'd themselves prisoners immediately after the battle. 'Tis related, that HANNIBAL sent to Carthage a bushel (some say three bushels) of gold rings, which were taken off the fingers of the Roman Nobility and Knights that fell in this engagement: Nor was this victory obtained without loss, there being kill'd of HANNIBAL's infantry six thousand five hundred, of which four thousand were Gauls, and fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans; but he did not lose above two hundred horse. VARRO, the surviving Consul, fled with seventy horse only to Venusia, and about four thousand more escaped to other towns.

HANNIBAL is censur'd by some writers, for not advancing immediately to Rome on the obtaining this victory, it being suggested that that city would probably have surrender'd in the consternation they were in on the loss of this battle. But HANNIBAL was certainly a better judge of the matter, than any of those that take upon them to censure him: Nor is it to be conceived how any man, who was not upon the spot, and acquainted with the circumstances of the case, should be able to pass judgment on his conduct, especially if it be consider'd, that few Generals (much less Historians) are qualified to correct so great a proficient in the art of war.

And indeed, at this distance of time, a man of ordinary sense may suggest a great many things, that will sufficiently justify the conduct of that

General in this particular: As that his army required some rest and refreshment after so obstinate an engagement: That, as between six and seven thousand of his men were killed in the battle, according to the usual way of computation, there must be twice as many wounded; and consequently he had not above twenty thousand effective men remaining, with which it was scarce practicable to invest a city of that magnitude, and so compleatly fortified as Rome then was, especially if we reflect, that its inhabitants are supposed to amount to above a million of souls: That their Nobility, Gentry, and Citizens, were all bred to arms from their infancy, and most of them had no other profession. If we consider Rome in this light, it is not to be supposed, that they would have been so terrified at the approach of twenty thousand men, as to have surrendered immediately; and, if they had not, it is still more absurd to suppose, that twenty thousand men could have reduced such a city.

HANNIBAL therefore, instead of attempting what he knew to be impracticable, made use of his present good fortune to influence the allies of Rome to join him; and marching to the southward, Capua, and most part of what is now called Naples, with several towns of Sicily, declared for him, and renounced their alliance with the Romans; which gave him an opportunity of importing corn, and other provisions from Sicily, for the use of his army during the winter, which would otherwise have been reduced to great distress, all the country about Rome having been destroyed: HANNIBAL also dispatched his brother MAGO to Carthage with the news of his victory, and to desire a further reinforcement of troops to compleat the conquest of Italy. In the mean time, he sent his army into winter-quarters in the Campania of Rome and Naples, taking up his own residence in the city of Capua; which is severely censured also by some writers, who tell us, that his army was so softened and enervated, by living luxuriously this winter in that charming country, that they had no longer the air or resolution of soldiers, but became perfectly effeminate, and unfit for the fatigues of war; which is surely the most ridiculous charge that ever was brought against a General, and shews how unqualified studious men sometimes are to pass a judgment on military affairs.

Can any man believe, that a Soldier's lying in a warm lodging, and eating and drinking well two or three months in the winter season, should make him less fit for service than he was before? Did not the Officers and Soldiers of the Allies, as well as those of France, do the same thing every winter during the two last long wars? And yet I believe no man will pretend they were the less fit for action the ensuing campaign: Want and hardship frequently destroy the Soldiers in a rigorous winter; but 'tis very seldom they are hurt by too great plenty.

Besides, we find HANNIBAL had a double reason to quarter his army in the Campania of Rome and Naples; first, to keep both Naples and Sicily firm to his interest; and, secondly, that he might receive supplies from those countries, which were not exhausted by the marches and counter-marches of the respective armies, as the more northern parts of Italy had been. The reader will forgive my dwelling on these particulars, when he reflects how gentlemen are taught to declaim against this great man, for quartering his army in a plentiful country, and not storming Rome immediately after the battle of Cannæ.

CHAP.
XII.

But his conduct seems rather to deserve applause.

Hannibal treats with the towns of Naples and Sicily.

He quarters his army in the Campania of Rome and Naples.

For which he is also unjustly censured.

CHAP.
XII.

Both the Scipios defeated, and killed in Spain. Asdrubal marches into Italy.

Asdrubal defeated, and killed in Italy.

The Romans increase their forces in Spain.

Syphax enters into alliance with the Romans.

Deserts them again.

Masinissa enters into alliance with the Romans. Scipio reduces Spain. Mago marches into Italy.

Scipio carries the war into Africa; and, by the assistance of Masinissa, gains a great victory. Syphax taken by the Romans.

I shall not relate every action between the Romans and the Carthaginians; only observe, that as HANNIBAL expected his brother ASDRUBAL with a greater reinforcement from Spain, to enable him to finish the conquest of Italy; so the Romans sent large detachments thither under the command of CNEIUS and PUBLIUS SCIPIO, to put a stop to ASDRUBAL's march; which they did for some years, but were afterwards both defeated by the Carthaginians, and lost their lives in that service: Whereupon ASDRUBAL, in the eleventh year of the war, marched with an army of seventy thousand men and upwards, through France into Italy, passed the Alps, and advanced as far as Placentia, in order to join HANNIBAL; but, while he was engaged in the siege of that city, the Romans intercepted an express he had sent to that General; and being thereby fully acquainted with the number and condition of ASDRUBAL's troops, the two Consuls suddenly united their forces, and fell upon him before HANNIBAL had any notice of their motions. ASDRUBAL was killed in the battle, with upwards of fifty thousand of his men, according to the Romans account of the action; and HANNIBAL, who just before expected to have finished the conquest of Italy this campaign, now found it difficult to maintain his ground in that country: However, he did not yet despair; but, sending for fresh reinforcements from Spain and Africa, so disposed of his troops, that he might be able to wait their arrival: And, it seems, he took care to post his army in such a manner, and was so much superior to any of the Roman Generals in point of military skill, that, though their forces were double the number of the Carthaginians, they found the driving him out of Italy impracticable. Whereupon they determined to increase their army in Spain, and appointed PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO (the son of PUBLIUS SCIPIO, who lost his life there a little before) General of their forces on that side, proposing by that means to put a stop to the Carthaginians making any further levies there, and recruiting HANNIBAL's army from thence.

SYPHAX, an African Prince, apprehending himself ill used by the Carthaginians, about this time, offered to enter into an alliance with the Romans; whereupon SCIPIO went over to Africa, and signed a treaty with him, and he proved very useful to this General in the Spanish war for some time: But the Carthaginians finding means to reconcile SYPHAX to them, he afterwards became one of the most formidable enemies the Romans had; however, this loss was amply made up by the revolt of MASINISSA (a much more potent Numidian Prince) to the Romans, by whose assistance SCIPIO reduced all the places belonging to the Carthaginians in Spain.

That which gave SCIPIO the greatest advantage in Spain, I perceive, was MAGO's marching from thence to Italy, in the 13th year of the war, with a great reinforcement of troops, to join HANNIBAL; for that General foresaw, if he subdued Rome, that Spain, and all other places the Romans possessed themselves of, must return again to the obedience of Carthage. SCIPIO, on the other hand, believing, that the readiest way to relieve his country, was to make Africa the seat of war, transported his army thither; and, being joined by MASINISSA and his Numidians, gained a memorable victory over the Carthaginians, and SYPHAX their confederate, who was made prisoner in the engagement. SCIPIO afterwards took the important town of Utica: Whereupon the Carthaginians thought fit to make the Roman General some overtures of

peace. But SCIPIO, elated with his successes, would grant them no other terms, but those of withdrawing their forces out of Italy; never intermeddling again in the affairs of Spain; delivering up all their shipping, except twenty vessels, to the Romans; paying down fifteen thousand talents, with some less material articles. And the Carthaginians seemed to acquiesce in them, only desiring they might have a truce, 'till they could send to Rome, and try to get some alteration of the terms in their favour; and in the mean time sent orders to HANNIBAL to evacuate Italy, and return home: Which, it seems, he received with the utmost regret; for, being joined by MAGO, he looked upon himself, at this time, to have been in a condition to have completed the conquest of Italy, and probably had effected it, if the Carthaginian army in Africa had stood upon the defensive, and not received that terrible defeat, when SYPHAX was made prisoner. HANNIBAL, however, thought fit to obey his masters, and return, quitting that fine country he had been contending for near sixteen years, and abandoning his allies, the Gauls, as well as the Italians who had joined him, to the mercy of the Romans, which gave him a most sensible mortification; inasmuch that, 'tis said, he was scarce master of himself, when he embarked his troops.

During the cessation of arms (as the Romans relate) a great fleet of theirs happening to be driven on the coast of Carthage, many of their ships were taken by the enemy, and carried into that port; which being reclaim'd by SCIPIO (after the arrival of HANNIBAL) that State refused to restore them. Whereupon hostilities were again renewed; and a battle being fought not long after, SCIPIO obtain'd a complete victory by the assistance of MASINISSA: HANNIBAL, however, made good his retreat to Carthage, having lost twenty thousand men in the engagement. The Romans afterwards continued their march to invest that capital, and in their way were met by Deputies from Carthage with fresh overtures of peace; and were content, after some debate, to submit to the following mortifying terms.

That they should deliver up all their ships to the Romans, except ten: That they should deliver up all their allies that were in Carthage, as well as all deserters and prisoners: That they should deliver up their Elephants, and tame no more: That they should not make war out of Africa, nor in it, without the leave of the Romans: That they should restore to MASINISSA all that he, or his ancestors had been possessed of: That they should pay ten thousand Euboic talents of silver at fifty annual payments, and give an hundred hostages for performance of these conditions; in consideration whereof, the Romans granted they should remain a free people, governed by their own laws, and enjoy all the towns and territories they possessed in Africa before the war.

Upon the conclusion of this treaty, the Carthaginians deliver'd up five hundred ships to SCIPIO, which he burnt in view of the town. He also struck off the heads of the Chiefs of their Italian allies, and hang'd up all the deserters: After which, he return'd to Rome with his army, where a most magnificent triumph was decreed him, together with the surname of AFRICANUS. And thus ended the second Punick war, after it had lasted seventeen years. On the conclusion of this peace, HANNIBAL was employ'd in reducing some parts of Africa that had revolted from Carthage: But the Romans, still jealous of his being at the head of an army, requir'd he should be recall'd, and not inter-

CHAP.
XII.

A truce between Rome and Carthage.

Hannibal commanded to evacuate Italy.

The Carthaginians break the truce.

Scipio obtains a victory over Hannibal.

The Carthaginians make fresh overtures of peace.

The mortifying terms imposed on them.

The Carthaginian fleet burnt.

The end of the second Punick war.

CHAP.
XII.

Hannibal reforms the civil government of Carthage. He is charged with corresponding with the enemies of Rome. Takes refuge in the Court of Antiochus.

Who engaging to deliver him up to Rome, he escapes to Crete. Where he is in danger of being murdered. He resorts to the Court of Prusias. Who promising to deliver him to the Romans, he takes a glass of poison. Scipio dies in banishment the same year. The wars of Carthage with Masinissa.

He is supported by the Romans.

Carthage begins to revive.

The Romans resolve to destroy their State.

Make a descent in Africa with a great army.

meddle with military affairs. Whereupon returning to Carthage, he was constituted Prætor; and the reformation of the civil government, and of the treasury, was committed to his care: In which charges he acquitted himself no with less honour than he had obtain'd in the field. But his enemies charging him with holding a correspondence with ANTIOCHUS, King of Syria, against the Romans, the Senate of Rome sent a deputation to Carthage, requiring that General should be deliver'd up to them: Whereupon he embarked suddenly for Phœnicia, from thence he went to the Court of ANTIOCHUS, and prevented his being seiz'd; for the Carthaginians would have delivered up HANNIBAL and half their Nobility, rather than have hazarded another war with the Romans. HANNIBAL was at first received with great marks of esteem by ANTIOCHUS, who was then entering into a war with the Romans; but he afterwards entertain'd a jealousy of this great man, and meeting with ill success in that war, in order to procure the better peace of Rome, he stipulated to deliver up his guest to the Romans; which HANNIBAL receiving timely notice of, retir'd to the island of Crete; and carrying a considerable treasure with him, was in danger there of being murder'd for it by those inhospitable islanders, from whom he made his escape by an ingenious stratagem.

He afterwards fled for refuge to the Court of PRUSIAS, King of Bithynia, who being then engag'd in a war with EUMENES, King of Pergamos, HANNIBAL was exceeding useful to him: However, upon the application of the Romans, PRUSIAS promised to deliver up HANNIBAL to them; which, when the old General understood, he put an end to his life by drinking a glass of poison, being then seventy years of age. The same year also died his great rival SCIPIO, in a kind of voluntary banishment; being obliged to fly his country, to avoid malicious impeachments, notwithstanding the important services he had done the Roman State. But to return to Carthage: The Romans not only oblig'd that State to restore to MASINISSA all the territories he possess'd before the war, but conferr'd on him also those of SYPHAX, with which, however, his ambition was not satisfy'd, but he seiz'd several cities belonging to the Carthaginians: Whereupon they appeal'd to the Romans, who promised to redress the injury; but under-hand encourag'd MASINISSA in his encroachments, in order to keep the Carthaginians low, and prevent that State's rising to its former grandeur; and observing, at length, that notwithstanding all oppressions and discouragements, Carthage still increas'd in wealth and power, it was determin'd by the Romans, absolutely to destroy their State, and raze the city, they so much dreaded, to the ground: They remember'd, with horror, how HANNIBAL, for sixteen years, had ravag'd their country, and brought them to the brink of ruin, and could not be easy while Carthage was in being. For many years were speeches made in the Roman Senate against the imprudence of suffering that State to rise again; and it is observ'd of CATO, that he scarce ended a speech in relation to that debate for many years, without these memorable words, *Delenda est Carthago*: Carthage must be destroy'd. Nor was that State ignorant of what was intended against them. They endeavour'd, therefore, by the most abject submissions to avert their ruin; but all to no purpose: The Romans assembled a numerous army, which was transported to Africa, under the command of L. MARTIUS and M. MANLIUS NEPOS, their Consuls; who having whetted them to

deliver up all their arms and engines of war, under pretence of granting them the peace they demanded, the Roman Generals then inform'd them, That it was the pleasure of the Senate they should evacuate Carthage, and remove to some other part of their territories, at a distance from the sea, for they were commanded to destroy their city; which throwing the Carthaginian Ambassadors into the utmost consternation, they only desired they might return to the city and consult their principals, before they gave a peremptory answer. This request the Roman Generals thought fit to indulge them in, not imagining, after they had parted with their arms, they would think of defending themselves: But the Carthaginians, being now reduced to despair, and resolving to hazard their lives, and all that was dear to them, rather than see their city destroy'd, fell immediately to forging of new arms, and providing all manner of instruments of war; infomuch, that when the Romans approach'd the city, they found it would be a work of some time to reduce it: And indeed, the first year very little was done towards taking the town, several brisk sallies being made, in which the Romans suffer'd much.

The following year SCIPIO, grandson, by adoption, of the celebrated SCIPIO AFRICANUS, who put an end to the second Punick war, being elected Consul, and commanding the Roman army before Carthage, batter'd the town with great fury, and gave the besieged little rest. However, they held out two years more against all the power of the Romans, and the stratagems of their ablest Generals; but the third year, the city was taken by storm, when SCIPIO resign'd every thing to the plunder of the Soldiers, except the plate and ornaments of the temples; and afterwards commanding it to be set on fire in several places, it continued burning for seventeen days, and orders were given by the Senate of Rome, that it should never be built or inhabited again; and that the cities also should be razed that had continued in the interest of Carthage during this war. Dreadful imprecations also were made against those who should rebuild Carthage; to avoid which, 'tis said, when AUGUSTUS CÆSAR erected the new town, to which was given the name of Carthage, it was built upon another spot of ground near the former; and this afterwards arriv'd to be a noble populous city, the capital of Africa, and so remained for 700 years, till destroy'd by the Saracens; but not comparable either in dimensions, strength, or beauty, to the old town; of which we meet with the following particulars relating to the description of it.

That it was situated on three hills in a peninsula, almost surrounded by the sea, and was in reality three towns united in one; the whole 22 miles in circumference, and contained two harbours within its works; one for their men of war, and another for the merchant-ships; and that it was on all sides surrounded by rocks: That on the isthmus, towards the continent, stood the citadel, called Byrsa, defended by a triple wall, and towers at proper distances: That the walls were two stories high, built upon arches, and that in the lower arches were kept three hundred Elephants, with their provisions and warlike accoutrements: In the upper arches were store-houses and stables for four thousand horse, and barracks for twenty thousand foot: That the city, properly so called, lay almost round the citadel, and was named Megara; and the harbour, which was a double one, as has been observed already, being divided by a little island, called Cothon, was inhabited chiefly by Seamen: That the whole town contained seven

CHAP.
XII.

Persuade the Carthaginians to deliver up all their arms, then declare they would destroy their city.

Which occasions the third Punick war.

Scipio takes Carthage by storm, and burns it.

Rebuilt by Julius, or Augustus Cæsar.

Some description of Old Carthage. Three towns in one.

Byrsa.

Megara.

Cothon.

CHAP.
XII.Carthage
destroyed
about 146
years be-
fore
Christ.The ge-
nius and
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the Car-
thagini-
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of the
Carthagi-
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their chil-
dren to
Saturn.

seven hundred thousand souls, when the Romans invested it; and that there was found in the place, when it was taken, four hundred and seventy thousand pound weight of silver, besides what was plunder'd by private soldiers, and consumed in the fire. Carthage was destroy'd 609 years after the building of Rome, and before CHRIST 146 years.

And now, before I dismiss the history of the Carthaginians, it may be proper to enquire into the genius and temper, the religion and policy, of that once famous nation.

The character which the Romans, their enemies, give of them, is not to their advantage; nor can it be expected it should: They charge them with craft, covetousness and treachery; inasmuch, that Punick faith was become a proverbial phrase at Rome: They will not allow this people one good quality, except industry. But it appears, however, that they had a mighty genius for navigation and foreign countries, made more discoveries, and settled more colonies, than all the nations in the world besides; and one would think the Romans might have allowed them courage in military skill, when they suffered so much from these talents, and could never think themselves safe, till Carthage was destroy'd: As they were a trading people, they might put up many affronts, rather than engage in war, which must interrupt their commerce; but, when they found themselves oppress'd, and did exert themselves, Spain, Italy, and Sicily, as well as Africa, were witnesses of the bravery and conduct of their Generals; and the noble defence of their capital for three years after the Romans had treacherously seiz'd their arms, sufficiently manifests, that they were not so dispirited upon every misfortune, as to neglect their defence, as the Roman authors insinuate: And indeed they appear to me to have been a brave, wise, frugal and diligent people. 'Tis true, their great commerce, and active genius, render'd them the most powerful nation in Africa; and they had an ambition of keeping the neighbouring powers under their subjection; but this is no more than what all other people in the like circumstances have done, especially the Romans: And this may be observed in favour of the Carthaginians, which cannot be said of the former, that they improved the trade and manufactures of every country where they came, and supplied one part of the world with what the other wanted; whereas the Romans destroy'd all trade and commerce, and subsisted chiefly on the spoils of others.

The religion of the Carthaginians appears to have been the same with that of the Canaanites or Phœnicians, from whom they descended: They worshipped a multitude of deities, as Monsieur ROLLIN observes from the preamble of a treaty they concluded with PHILIP of Macedon; wherein it is recited to be made, In the presence of JUPITER, JUNO and APOLLO: In the presence of the Demon or Genius of Carthage: In the presence of HERCULES, MARS, TRITON and NEPTUNE, and all the confederate gods of Carthage: In the presence of the sun, moon, and earth, rivers, meadows, waters, &c. But the gods chiefly invoked by them, were the MOON (called Cælestis, and sometimes Urania) and SATURN, called Molock in sacred history; to which last they sacrificed their children, sometimes burning them in fires, and at others in a brazen statue of SATURN, heated for that purpose, sounding at the same time drums and trumpets, that they might not hear their cries; and it was looked upon as a piece of heroism in their mothers to assist at these sacrifices with dry

eyes, and even without a groan or sigh, the sacrifice not being thought acceptable to SATURN, if offered with any reluctance. But, as the longest custom could not perfectly eradicate the horror these unnatural rites created, they were usually contented with making their children pass through the fire; in which, however, they sometimes perished: And still, in any great distress, they actually burnt them, making choice of the finest and noblest youths their nation bred.

In a dubious battle, or in expectation of a city's being taken and stormed, they have sacrificed children, to this infernal fury, from morning till evening; a cruelty so detested by the rest of mankind, that we find Princes, in their treaties with this nation, insisting, they should offer no more human sacrifices: And this was probably one of those horrid crimes for which the Canaanites, their ancestors, were extirpated; and which brought down that terrible ruin on the Carthaginian State.

The chief Magistrates in this common-wealth, were the two Suffetes, said to resemble the Roman Consuls, and sometimes stiled Kings: They were elected annually, it seems; but it does not appear by whom. These assembled the Senate, and presided in it, and had sometimes the supreme command in military, as well as civil affairs; and, when they resigned that office, they were Prætors of course, and thereby retained a very great authority, even that of calling both the Judges and Officers of the publick revenues to an account, and of proposing new laws. The Senate consisted of men of the first quality; but whether they sat there by election or inheritance, or what their numbers were, does not appear any further, than that several hundreds enjoyed this dignity. The Senate was the last resort in all appeals; here laws were framed; Ambassadors had their audience, and resolutions taken as to peace and war: But, when the Senate could not agree, the matter was brought before the People, or rather a representative of the people; but by whom appointed or elected does not appear.

There was also another member of this State, called the tribunal of one hundred, though it consisted of an hundred and four persons elected out of the Senate. These were empowered to call their Generals to account, whose power for a great while was almost unlimited; and of these hundred, were five that formed a kind of secret committee, and acted very arbitrarily. They had also a power to fill up all vacancies that happened in the council of an hundred, or in their own number.

No person was admitted to any post in this Government, who had not an estate that might be supposed sufficient to set him above all temptations to do a mean thing, or betray his trust: Nor was any one suffered to purchase a place, it being presumed, that those that bought would sell again, and reimburse themselves perhaps by some failure in their duty. As to the rest of the Powers of Africa, who had been tributaries to Carthage, namely MASI-NISSA, SYPHAX, and their successors, Kings of Numidia, and JUBA, and the rest of the Princes of Mauritania, who had called in, and assisted the Romans in destroying Carthage; these were for some time suffered to enjoy a kind of independency; but at length, with the rest of the then known parts of Africa, became subject to Rome, and received the Christian religion very early. There were several hundred bishopricks in Africa in the 3d and 4th centuries, of which the Archbishop of Carthage was Primate; the celebrated ST. AUSTIN, TERTU-

CHAP.
XII.The go-
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of Car-
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The Suffe-
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nate.The Peo-
ple.The coun-
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hundred.

Of five.

Qualifica-
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Powers of
Africa
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Rome.Christia-
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LIAN,

CHAP.
XII.

The Vandals subdue the Roman territories in Africa.

Of the sect of the Arians.

The Romans recover Africa from the Vandals.

The Saracens conquer Africa and Spain.

The north of Africa now under the dominion of the Emperor of Morocco, the Dey of Algiers, and the Beys of Tunis and Tripoli.

Guinea.

LIAN and ST. CYPRIAN, with many other Prelates renowned in ecclesiastical history, adorned this church: But the Vandals, a barbarous northern people, with their neighbours the Suevi and Alans, having forced their way into France and Spain, and being afterwards driven from thence by the Goths, another northern nation, transported themselves from Spain into Africa, about the year of our Lord 427 (GENSERIRAS being their King) and subdued great part of the country possessed by the Romans. The Vandals appear to have been Christians indeed, but of the Arian sect; and therefore expelled all the orthodox Christians. They had the dominion of this part of Africa till the year 534, when BELISARIUS, the Emperor JUSTINIAN'S General, obtained a complete victory over GILIMAR their last King, and thereby recovered all the Roman provinces. Whereupon JUSTINIAN made Africa a Præfecture; whereas formerly it used to be subject to the Præfectus Prætorio of Italy, and it remained united to the Roman empire. OTHMAN, the third Caliph of the Saracens, in the year 1647, subdued all the north of Africa from the Red sea to the Atlantick ocean. The Saracens afterwards conquered almost all Spain; and both there, and in Africa, erected abundance of petty kingdoms. Those in Africa were at length almost all reduced under the dominion of the Emperor of Morocco, the most potent of all the Saracen Sovereigns in Africa: But since the erecting the kingdom of Algiers by the Turks, in the manner already related, the empire of Morocco is reduced into very narrow bounds, extending no farther along the Mediterranean, than from the streights of Gibraltar, to the river Mulvia: All the rest of the Barbary coast, from thence to Egypt, is subject to the Turks of Algiers, Tunis or Tripoli.

A further continuation of the history of Africa.

THE next grand division of Africa, I am to review, is that of Guinea, which is generally held to extend from the mouth of the river Senegal, situate in 15 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and 16 degrees west longitude, to the south-east as far as Cape Negro, situate in 18 degrees south latitude, and 11 degrees east longitude: but then we must include Congo and Angola. In the former edition of this work, indeed, I extended the coast of Guinea but from 10 degrees north latitude to 4 degrees north latitude; but observing since, that the same merchants trade both to the north and south of those limits, and deal in almost the same articles, it seems very proper to stile the whole coast, from the river Senegal in the north, to Cape Negro in the south, the Guinea Coast. The most northerly settlements the Europeans have in this tract, are those of the French, situate near, or in the river Senegal, in 15 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. The next are those of the English, in the river Gambia, situate in 13 degrees 20 minutes north latitude; and further south were heretofore other settlements belonging to the royal African company, in the river Sherbro, situate in 7 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. The coast from the river Sherbro, round Cape Palmas, to the river Ancober, near Axim, is about 250 leagues in length, and commonly called the Windward Coast, on which there is no settlement or factory of any European nation. From the river Ancober eastward to Acra, is about 50 leagues: this part is usually called the Gold Coast, on

which are several English and Dutch forts and factories. From Acra eastward, to Jaqueen, is about 60 leagues, in which the only places where the English, French, and Dutch, had factories, were Whidaw and Jaqueen; and this is called the Slave Coast. From Jaqueen to the bay of Benin, and so round to the Callibars, Camarone, and Cape Lopez, 1 minute south of the line, is 300 leagues, in which long tract is no settlement of any European nation. The coasts of Congo and Angola, to the southward of Cape Lopez, extend to Cape Negro, in 18 degrees south latitude, as has been observed already. I proceed now to review the state of the said several countries on the south-west of Africa, to which the Europeans trade.

The French are absolute masters of the mouth of the river Senegal, which lies in 15 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, in which they have several forts and factories, as they have also on the sea-coast to the north and south of that river, and for a great while monopolized the trade of that gum, which from the river Senegal obtained that name; but the English royal African company begin now to share the gum trade with them, having found a way to the woods where it is produced, from their settlements in the river Gambia.

And here it is necessary to observe in the first place, that the river Gambia, in most of our maps, is called the river Niger; and the Senegal seems to be a branch of that river; and that the source of the river Niger is placed upwards of two thousand miles east of the mouth of it; whereas it is evident to me, that the Senegal and Gambia are two distinct rivers, running from east to west almost parallel to each other, and that neither of them are navigable above 600 miles, which is not more than 300 miles by land, if we make the usual allowances for the winding of rivers: from whence we may very well conclude, that those who pretend to have penetrated into the heart of Africa by these rivers, have never travelled above three or four hundred miles from the sea-coast.

Mr. Moor relates, that sailing into the mouth of the river Gambia, the shores appeared very beautiful, being for the most parts clothed with woods, and between the woods pleasant green rice grounds: that James Island, the chief settlement belonging to the royal African company, lies ten leagues up the river, almost in the middle of it, being three miles from the nearest shore: that at low-water, the island is about three quarters of a mile in circumference, upon which there is a square fort of stone, regularly built, with four bastions, upon each whereof are seven cannon mounted, which command the river all round. Under the walls of the fort, facing the sea, are two round batteries, and on each of them four large cannon mounted; and between those are nine small guns mounted for salutes.

In the fort are some very good apartments, in which the governor, chief merchants, factors, writers, and ensign, lie; and under some of these apartments are very good storehouses.

One officer, one serjeant, two corporals, one gunner and gunner's mate, and thirty soldiers, are by establishment the garrison of this fort: but sickness, occasioned chiefly by the excessive drinking of distill'd liquors, often reduces it to a very weak condition, till such time as recruits can be raised in England, and by the company sent

CHAP.
XII.

River Gambia.

sent over hither. The foldiers, and tradesmen, and other servants, lie out of the fort in barracks, built as the fort is, with stone and mortar. The whole is surrounded with pallisadoes, and the river forms an excellent mote, being three miles wide in the narrowest part. There are also other barracks, built opposite to those of the foldiers, for the use of the company's castle-slaves and black servants. Under them are store-houses, and under those of the foldiers are slave-houses.

This fort preserves the right of trading to the river Gambia for the company, and consequently for the subjects of England.

Besides the fort, there are several factories up the river, settled for the convenience of trade. They are all under the direction of the governor and chief merchants at this fort, to whom the factors remit all their trade. For this purpose the company have here 3 or 4 sloops, of about thirty tun each, and about the same number of long-boats: some of them are constantly employed in fetching provisions and water from the main, for the use of the garrison, and the rest are employed in carrying goods up to the factories, and bringing from them slaves, elephants teeth, wax, or whatever trade they have, down to James Fort, from whence most of it, except slaves, is sent home by the governor and chief merchants to the company in England.

According to the same writer, the mouth of the river Gambia lies in 13 degrees 20 minutes north latitude, and 15 degrees 20 minutes west longitude, and is formed by some broken islands on the north, and by Cape St. Mary's on the south. On the north-side of the river, the first kingdom is that of Barrah, which extends twenty leagues along the river; and in this country the African company have two factories, one at Gillsfree, over against James Fort, and the other at Colar, upon a river of the same name, which discharges itself into the Gambia, eight leagues above James island.

The next kingdom is Gadibu, which extends twenty leagues. Further east, on the north-side of the river, is the kingdom of Sanjally, which extends fourteen leagues. In this kingdom the African company have their chief factory of Joar, being about two miles distant from the river.

Next to Sanjally lies the kingdom of Barfally, extending about fifteen leagues along the river, to which most of the other kingdoms are tributary; and beyond Barfally lies the kingdom of Yany, which extends eighty leagues further up the river. And the last kingdom on the north-side of the river, to which our author travelled, is that of Wolly, which extends seven leagues beyond Yany. In this kingdom the company have the Factory of Fatatenda, which is about five hundred miles from the mouth of the Gambia. Here the river is as wide as the Thames at London-bridge; and hither sloops of forty tuns come up with their cargoes, and the tides rise three or four foot.

On the south-side of the river, the first kingdom we meet with is that of Cumbo, which commences at Cape St. Mary's, and extends eleven leagues to the east-ward of it, affording plenty of neats, cattle, goats, and fowls; and here the company have a small factory, which purchases provisions for the garrison at James Fort.

The next kingdom on the south-side is Fonia, extending seven leagues, in which the company have two factories employed in buying up elephants teeth and bees-wax. The next country

to Fonia is Caen, extending twenty three leagues along the river, in which is a large town called Tancrowall, where the company have a factory, near which lives SIGNIOR ANTONIO VOSS, a famous black Portuguese, who trades largely with the English separate traders, and sometimes with the company. He is reckoned to be worth 10,000 l. sterling; he has got a vast number of house-slaves (viz. slaves who live with him as servants, a grandeur much used both by the Portuguese and Spaniards) which he keeps for service and breed, and are esteemed by him almost as much as his own children. And, as he has got a great many canoes, he sends his own men-slaves with them to all ports of trade up the river, and by that means engrosses a great deal of trade, inasmuch that he has commonly a great many slaves, and good quantities of elephants-teeth, and bees-wax, by him, by which he turns a penny with the separate shipping, and is well skilled in his way of bartering, he being thoroughly master of the prime cost in England of all sorts of goods, taking always care to keep his warehouse well stock'd with goods, and has the upper-hand vastly of some of his neighbours, who are sometimes obliged to stand still half a year together, for want of goods to trade with.

Tancrowall is divided into two parts; one belonging to the Portuguese, and the other to the Mundingos; the former living always in large square houses, the latter in round huts made of a good fat binding clay, which soon hardens: they are twenty feet diameter, and about eight feet high; over them there is a covering like a bee-hive, made either of straw or palmetto leaves, so well fitted that the rain cannot penetrate them, nor the heat of the sun strike through them: they very much resemble some ice-houses in England.

This town of Tancrowall is the residence of a priest, who is yearly sent over from St. Jago. Here is also a church, where, during the priest's stay, is mass almost every day. Here are a great many other Portuguese, who have among them several canoes, which they send up the river to trade once or twice a year, by which means they have made this town a place of great resort, and the richest in the whole river. It is pleasantly situated by the water-side, about half a mile in length, with a woody hill behind, that runs some miles along the river-side, about half a mile from it: between which and the river is pleasant walking in a dry season.

Next to Caen lies the country of Jagra, famous for husbandmen and laborious people, by which means it abounds with corn and rice. In this country is Elephants-Island, being four or five miles long, full of trees and marshy. This kingdom extends itself above twelve leagues; and then begins the country of Yamina, which abounds in corn and fowls; in it is a large pleasant island, and another small island, almost in the middle of the Gambia, called Sea-Horse-Island, full of trees and marshy ground, and abounding in sea-horses, from whence it takes its name. This country extends about fourteen leagues; and then we come to Eropina, a petty kingdom, extending about fourteen leagues along the river side: after which begins Jemarrow, governed by an Emperor, who is a Munding: here the company have a settlement near a large town called Brucoo, which is inhabited by people of the Munding race, but strict followers of Mahomet. About half a mile below this town is a ledge of

rocks dry at low-water, which reaches from the northern shore five sixths of the way over the river, and leaves so narrow a channel under the south shore, that it is very dangerous for large ships to pass it; and our sloops are obliged to take the opportunity of slack-water to go through this place, which is called Pholey's Pass. In the same Empire, about nine miles above Pholey's Pass, are a great many rocks, near a town called Dubocunda, which reach from the south-side two thirds across the river; and about three miles above this is another ledge of rocks, dry at low-water; but there is a deep channel on the north-side. This country runs about thirty-two leagues along the river, and then begins Tomany, which is a very large country, consisting of more towns than any other which I have known on the whole river. The company have a factory at a small town called Yamyamacunda, which makes a considerable trade in dry goods, provided it is well supplied: a little below the town, in the middle of the river, are some rocks, but never dry; and over-against the factory, on the north-side the river, about half a mile from it, is a standing lake about two miles long, which abounds in fish. This country extends up the river-side about twenty-six leagues, and is governed by a Mundinggo, by name HUME BADGY.

Above Tomany begins Cantore, in which is a town called Colar, six miles beyond which is the farthest I have been; all beyond is little known to white people. Colar I believe is about five hundred miles from Cape St. Mary's, the south part of the entrance into the Gambia river.

The sea-horse, the crocodile, and other animals, for which the Nile is famous, abound in the river Gambia, which overflows its banks also every year, as the Nile does, but some months later.

These countries, on the banks of the Gambia, are inhabited by several races of people, viz. Mundingoes, Jolloiffs, Pholeys, Floops and Portugeze: the most numerous are called Mundingoes, as is likewise the country where they inhabit: they are generally of a black colour, and well set. When this country was conquered by the Portuguese, which was about the year fourteen hundred and twenty, some of that nation settled in it, who have cohabited with the Mundingoes, till they are now very near as black as they are; but, as they retain a sort of bastard Portuguese language, called Creole, and as they christen, and marry, by the help of a priest, sent yearly over hither from St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands; they reckon themselves still as well as if they were actually white, and nothing angers them more than to call them negroes, that being a term lately appropriated to slaves.

On the north side of the river Gambia, and from thence in-land, are a people called Jolloiffs, whose country is vastly large, and extends even to the river Senegal. These people are much blacker, and much handfomer than the Mundingoes; for they have not the broad noses and thick lips, peculiar to the Mundingoes and Floops. In short, all the countries hereabout, says the same writer, (and I have seen vast numbers of people from each) cannot come up to the Jolloiffs for blackness of skin, and beauty of features.

In every kingdom and country on each side of the river, there are some people of a tawny colour, called Pholeys, much like the Arabs, which language most of them speak; tho' they

have a vulgar tongue besides, called Pholey. They live in hoards, or clans, and built towns, but are not subject to any Kings of the country, tho' they live in their territories; and, if they are ill treated in one nation, they break up their towns, and remove to another. They have chiefs of their own, who rule with so much moderation, that every act of government seems rather an act of the people than of one man. This form of government goes on easily, because the people are of a quiet disposition, and so well instructed in what is just and right, that a man who does ill is the abomination of all, and none will support him against the chief.

In these countries the natives are not fond of lands, they desire no more than what they use; and as they do not plough with horses or cattle, they can use but very little: therefore the Kings are willing to give the Pholeys leave to cultivate lands, and live in their countries. They plant near their houses tobacco and cotton, which they fence in together; beyond that are their corn fields, of which they raise the four kinds, usual all over this country; that is to say, Indian corn, or maize, which grows in a great head, and is the food of the natives of America, as well as Africa: besides which, they have rice, and the larger and the lesser Guinea corn. In Gambia is no wheat, barley, rye, oats, or any other European grain; but there is a kind of pulse between the kidney-bean and pea, and potatoes, and yams. The larger Guinea corn is round, and about the size of the smallest pease: they sow it by hand, as we do wheat and barley; it grows to nine or ten foot high, upon a small reed; the grain is at the top, in a large tuft. The lesser Guinea corn is called by the Portuguese, manfroke: this likewise is sowed by hand, and shoots to the same height upon a large reed, on the top of which the corn grows on the head like a bulrush: the grain itself is very small, and like canary seed in shape, only larger. --- These are all the bread-kind that are used in Gambia; and, indeed, the natives make no bread, but eat the flour of the various grains, as thickeners, to liquids. The Indian corn they mostly use when green, parching the ear upon coals, and then it eats like green pease: they boil their rice chiefly as the Turks do: by beating the Guinea corn in wooden mortars, they make flour, as they do sometimes of rice and Indian corn. The natives never bake cakes or bread for themselves (as I said before) but those women, who wait on the Europeans, have learned to do both.

The Pholeys are the greatest planters in the country, tho' they are strangers in it. They are very industrious and frugal, and raise much more corn and cotton than they consume, which they sell at reasonable rates, and are very hospitable, and kind to all; so that a Pholey town in the neighbourhood, is by the natives reckoned a blessing: and their behaviour has gained them such general reputation, that it is universally looked upon infamous to violate the laws of hospitality towards them. As their humanity extends to all, they are doubly kind to people of their own race; inasmuch, that if they know of one of them being made a slave, all the Pholeys will redeem him. And as they have plenty of food, they never suffer any of their own nation to want, but support the old. The blind and the lame, equal with the others, and

The nations on the banks of the river Gambia. Mundingoes. Their stature.

Their complexion.

Creoles.

Jolloiffs.

Floops.

Pholeys.

Government.

Husbandry.

Indian corn.

Pholeys further described.

as far as their ability goes, assist the wants of the Mundingoes, great numbers of whom they have maintained in famines. The same writer adds, they are very rarely angry, and I never heard them abuse each other; yet this mildness does not proceed from want of courage, for they are as brave as any people of Africa; and the Jolloffs, nay even the King of Barfally, does not dare to meddle with them. They use their arms very dextrously, which are the lance, a sagay, or dart, bows and arrows, short cutlasses, which they call fongs, and guns upon occasion. They settle commonly near some Munding town, there being scarce one of any note or bigness (especially up the river) but what there is another of these Pholeys not far from it. They are strict Mahometans; none of them (unless here and there one) will drink brandy, or any thing stronger than water and sugar.

They breed cattle, and are very dextrous in managing them; so that the Mundingoes leave theirs to their care: The whole herd belonging to towns feed all the day in the savannahs, and after the crop is off in the rice grounds. They are watched by some herdsmen, who prevent their going into the corn, or running into the woods. They have a place near each town for the cattle, in the middle of which they raise a stage about eight foot high from the ground, and eight or ten foot wide: and over it a roof of thatch, with the sides all open. They drive great numbers of stakes in rings round the stage, and every night they duly bring up the cattle, who are so tame, and well accustomed to it, that they come up with ease: Each beast is tied separate to a stake with a strong rope, which they make of the bark of trees. After the cattle are tied they milk the cows, and four or five men stay upon the stage all night, with their arms, to guard them from the lions, and other wild beasts. The calves they wean from the cows, and keep in a common pen, which is made with so strong and high a fence round it, that no wild beast can pass it. In the morning they again milk the cows, and then let them go into the savannahs, as usual.

They are great hunters; they kill lions, tigers, and other wild beasts, and often go twenty or thirty in a company to hunt elephants, whose teeth they sell, and whose flesh they smoke dry, and eat, keeping it several months together. The elephants (as they say) generally go a hundred or two hundred in a drove, and do great mischief; not only to the small trees, which they pull up by the roots, with their trunks, but likewise to the corn: To prevent which, the natives, on notice or suspicion of their coming, make fires all round their corn to keep them out; for if they get once in, they will with their broad feet trample it down for perhaps half a mile together.

The Pholeys are very particular in their dress, and never wear any other than white cotton clothes, which they make themselves: They are always clean, especially the women; their houses are built in a regular method, a good way distant from each other, to avoid fire, forming very good streets and passages, a thing which the Mundingoes do not regard. They are great admirers of large white and yellow beads, which last are called by their own name, viz. Pholey beads.

These are almost the only people, high up the river, of whom beasts are purchased: We used to

purchase a cow for an iron bar; but of late some of the masters of the sloops in this river have raised the prices; so that now we are obliged to give sometimes two iron bars for one beast.

On the south-side of this river, over-against James-Fort, in the empire of Fonia, and but a little way inland, are a sort of people called Sloops, who are in a manner wild: They border close upon the Mundingoes, and are bitter enemies to each other. Their country is of a vast extent; but they have no King among them. Each of their towns is defended by stakes drove all round, and filled up with clay: They are independent of each other, and under the government of no one chief; notwithstanding which they unite so firmly, that all the force of the Mundingoes (though very numerous) cannot get the better of them.

Gambia river is navigable for sloops two hundred leagues, the tides reaching so far from the mouth of it. The sides of the river are for the most part flat and woody for about a quarter of a mile inland, in some places not so much; and within that are pleasant open grounds, which they use for their rice, and in the dry season it serves their cattle for pasture. Inland it is generally very woody; but near the towns there is always a good large space of cleared ground for corn. The soil is mostly sandy, with some clay, and a great deal of rocky ground. Near the sea, and the lower part of the river, are no hills to be seen; but high up the river are some lofty mountains, from the top of which are pleasant prospects. The hills are of iron-stone; and though they are sometimes little else but a continued hard rock, yet are they full of trees. In every kingdom there are several lords of soils, commonly called Kings of the towns where they dwell. It is their privilege to have all the palm-trees and ciboa-trees, insomuch that no one durst cut any leaves, or draw any wine from them, without their previous knowledge and consent. The men who have the liberty of drawing wine, give two days produce in a week to the lord of the soil, as an acknowledgement; and white men are obliged to make a small present to them before they can have liberty to cut ciboa-leaves, or grafts, to cover a house.

The most general language is Munding, by which name the country people are called. If you can speak that language, you may travel from the river's mouth up to the country of Joncoes (alias merchants) so called from their buying every year a vast number of slaves there, and bringing them down to the lower part of this river, to sell to the white people: Which country I believe cannot, by all report, be less than six weeks journey from James-Fort.

The next language mostly used here, is called Creole, a bastard sort of Portuguese, scarce understood in Lisbon; but it is sooner learnt by Englishmen than any other language in this river, and is always spoken by the linguists, which serve both the separate traders and the company.

The Arabick is spoken by the Pholeys, and by most of the Mahometans of the river, though they are Mundingoes.

The chief trade of this country is gold, slaves, elephants-teeth, and bees-wax. The gold is of a very good quality, and finer than the sterling gold. They bring it in small bars, big in the middle, and turned round into rings, from ten to forty shillings each. The merchants, who

Sloops described.

River Gambia described.

Face of the country.

Soil.

Language.

Produce and traffick. Gold.

bring this and other inland commodities, are blacks of the Munding race, and are called in Munding Joncoes. They are very unwilling to tell much of the inland countries; all that I could gather from them concerning their gold, was, that it is not washed out of the sand, but dug out of mines in the mountains, the nearest twenty days journey from Cower.

Slaves.

The same merchants bring down elephants-teeth; and in some years slaves, to the amount of two thousand, most of which they say are prisoners taken in war: they buy them from different princes, who take them: many of them are Bumbongs and Petcharies, nations each of them of different languages, and are brought from a vast way inland. Their way of bringing them is tying them by the neck with leather thongs, at about a yard distance from each other, thirty or forty in a string, having generally a bundle of corn, or an elephant's tooth, upon each of their heads. In their way from the mountains they travel through very great woods, where they cannot for some days get water; so they carry in skin-bags enough to support them for that time. I cannot be certain of the number of merchants who follow this trade; but there may be perhaps about an hundred, who go up into the inland country with the goods which they buy from the white men, and with them purchasing in various countries, gold, slaves, and elephants teeth. They use asses as well as slaves in carrying their goods; but no camels nor horses.

Besides the slaves which the merchants bring down, there are many brought along the river. These are either taken in war, as the former are, or men condemned for crimes, or else people stolen, which is very frequent. The companies servants never buy any of the last, if they suspect it, without sending for the alcade, or chief men of the place, and consulting with them about the matter. Since this slave-trade has been used, all punishments are changed into slavery: there being an advantage on such condemnations, they strain for crimes very hard, in order to get the benefit of selling the criminal. Not only murder, theft, and adultery, are punished by selling the criminal for a slave, but every trifling crime is punished in the same manner.

Several of the natives have many of their slaves born in their families: there is a whole village near Bruce of two hundred people, who are all the wives, slaves, or children of one man. And tho' in some parts of Africa they sell their slaves born in the family, yet in the river Gambia they think it a very wicked thing; and I never heard of but one that ever sold a family slave, except for such crimes as would have made them to be sold had they been free. If there are many family slaves, and one of them commits a crime, the master cannot sell him without the joint consent of the rest; for if he does, they will all run away, and be protected by the next kingdom to which they fly. The slaves sold in the river, besides those brought by the merchants, may amount in a year to above one thousand, more or less, according to the wars upon the river.

Ivory.

The third great merchandize of the river is ivory, or elephants-teeth, got either by hunting or killing the beasts, or pick'd up in the woods. It is a trade used by all nations hereabouts; for whoever kills an elephant, has liberty to sell him and his teeth: but those traded for in this river, are generally brought from a good way inland,

and a great many of them by the merchants. I never saw a full-grown elephant, so shall not speak concerning them; but the teeth I have had some experience in. Some are found in the woods; but whether they are of elephants long dead, or whether the elephants shed their teeth, I have not been able to learn: but I have known men bring in teeth which they have found in the woods, without any skull or bones fixed to them. The biggest tooth I ever saw, weighed 130 lb. The larger they are, the more valuable by the pound. One tooth which weighs an hundred pounds, is worth more than three teeth which weigh 140 pounds. Many of them are broken pointed; these are considerably less in their value. Some are white, others are yellow; but the difference of colour makes no difference in price.

The fourth branch of trade is bees wax, which may be much increased. The Mundingoes make bee-hives of straw in the shape of ours, and fix a bottom-board into the hive, thro' which there is a hole for the bees to go in at; they then sling them by wyths to boughs of trees.

A bar is a denomination given to a certain quantity of goods of any kind, which quantity was of equal value among the natives to a bar of iron when this river was first traded to. Thus a pound of fringe is a bar, two pounds of gunpowder is a bar, an ounce of silver is but a bar, and one hundred gun-flints is a bar; and each species of trading goods has a quantity in it called a bar: therefore their way of reckoning is by bars, or crowns, one of which does not sometimes amount to one shilling sterling; but that happens according to the goods they are in want of, sometimes dear, sometimes cheap. These five articles, viz. spread-eagle dollars, chrystal beads, iron bars, brass pans, and arrangoes, are called the heads of the goods, because they are dearest. When you agree with the merchants for slaves, you always agree how many of the heads of the goods you shall give him upon each slave, which is three or four, if the slaves are worth forty or fifty; but when slaves are dearer, as they oftentimes are at eighty bars per head, then you must give five, and sometimes six, of the heads upon every slave; and there is an assortment made of the goods by bars of different species, which come out to the price of the slaves. The men and women used to be much dearer than boys and girls; but there have been so many vessels in the river of late years for young slaves, to carry to Cadiz and Lisbon, that there is scarce any difference between the price of young slaves and grown ones.

A bar defined.

Young slaves as dear as full-grown here.

The French have a factory at Albreda, on the north-side of the river Gambia, a mile or two below James-Fort. Whenever their factors want to go up the river above James-Fort for wood, or any thing else, which they cannot so well be provided for below, they are obliged to ask leave of our governor, who seldom or never denies them, but puts a man on board, to see that they do not make any trade; neither are they allowed to go above Elephants Island, which is about thirty leagues above James-Fort.

French factory.

The rainy season commonly begins with the month of June, and continues till the latter end of September, and sometimes the beginning of October: the first and last are the most violent generally. The wind comes first, and blows excessive hard for the space of half an hour or more, before any rain falls; insomuch that a vessel may be

Air and seasons.

be suddenly surprized and overfet by it; but then a perfon may fee it a good while before it comes; for it looks difmal, and very black, and the lightening breaking out of the black clouds as they move slowly towards you, makes it appear awful. During the rainy feafons, the fea-breezes feldom blow, but inftead of them, eafterly winds right down the river, which in the months of November, December, January, and February, do generally blow very frefh, efpecially in the day-time.

Four months in the year are unhealthy, and very tedious to thofe who are come out of a colder climate; but the perpetual fpring, where you commonly fee ripe fruit and bloffoms on the fame tree, makes fome amends for that inconvenience. The air is very pleafant and refrefhing, but it has fomething fo very peculiar in it, that the keys in your pockets will ruf.

The moft exceffive heat is generally about the latter end of May, a fortnight or three weeks before the rainy feafon begins.

The Jolloiffis make the fineft cotton cloths, and that in large quantities: Their pieces are generally twenty-feven yards long, and never above nine inches wide: they cut them to what length they pleafe, and few them together very neatly, to make them ferve the ufe of broader cloths: They make them up into pairs, one about three yards long, and one and a half wide, to cover their foulders and body; the other almoft of the fame width, and but two yards long, to cover from their waift downwards. Such a pair is the clothing either for a man or woman; they only differing in the manner of wearing. I have feen a pair of cloths fo fine and fo bright died, as to be worth thirty-nine fhillings fterling. Their colours are either blue or yellow, fome very lively; the firft is dyed with indico, the latter with barks of trees.

Clothing.

The common people wear a cloth round their middles, which comes down about their knees, and another cloth over their right foulder (the men having generally one arm bare, which the women have not) and the women's clothes are generally down as low as the fmall of their legs. They are very proud of their hair; fome wear it in tufts and bunches, and others cut in croffes quite over their heads: The men commonly wear caps made of cotton-cloth, fome plain, and fome with feathers and goats-tails. The women generally wear handkerchiefs tied round their heads, leaving their crowns bare; and for want of handkerchiefs, they ufe flaps of blue and white cotton-cloth. Others will let their hair hang down on each fide of their heads, plaited like horfes manes, on which they ftring coral, and for want of it pipe-beads. A great many of them (efpecially up the river) wear on the crowns of their heads, a good number of fmall horfe-bells.

Towns.

Their towns are numbers of houfes ftanding together without any order: The huts are generally fourteen or fifteen yards in circumference, built with mud and binding clay, and covered with long grafs or ciboa-leaves, commonly called palmetto. Their doors are very fmall, and do not go upon hinges, but are let into the houfe-wall. They generally keep their houfes very clean; but I cannot fay fweet, by reafon of their ftinking fifh and other things which they keep in them.

Furniture.

Their furniture confifts in a fmall cheft for clothes, a mat raifed upon fticks from the ground

to lie on, a jar to hold water, a fmall calabafh to drink it, with two or three wooden mortars, in which they pound their corn and rice, a bafket or two to lift it in when beat, and two or three large calabafhes, out of which they eat it with their hands. They are not very careful of laying up a ftore againft a time of fcarcity, but chufe rather to fell what they can, and in the time of famine they can faft two or three days without eating (which I myfelf know to be true, there being a very great famine in the year one thoufand feven hundred and thirty-two, efpecially high up the river, where I then was;) but then they are always fmoking tobacco, which ferves to amufe them.

A difh of crocodiles eggs is much admired by Food. them; but their ufual food is crofcrooth, being corn beaten in a wooden mortar, and fifted thro' a fine bafket, till it is about as fine as coarfe flour: Then they put it into an earthen pot full of holes like a cullender, which is luted to the top of an earthen pot, in which is boiling water, and fometimes broth in it, the ftream of which cures and hardens the flour; and when it is done, they mix them together, and eat them with their hands. Fifh dried in the fun, or fmoaked, is a favourite difh of theirs; but the more it ftinks, the more they like it. There is fcarce any thing which they do not eat; large fnakes, guanas, monkeys, pelicans, bald-eagles, alligators, and fea-horfes, are excellent food. And their liquor is palm-wine, ciboa-wine, honey-wine (which is not unlike our mead) brandy, and rum: But when they can get the two laft, they drink but a fmall quantity of the others.

The King of Barfally and his fubjects are Ma- Religion of Barfally. hometans; notwithstanding which both the King and his officers drink to very great excefs when he vifits the Englifh factories; but when he is fober, and not quite fuddled, he frequently prays; and fome of his people will fooner die than drink ftrong liquors. His habit refembles that of other Habits of their Kings. Kings in this country, being a garment like a fuplice, which comes no lower than the knees; a pair of breeches of the fame fort of cloth, about feven yards wide, gathered round the middle: He wears no ftockings, but always a pair of flippers (except when he rides) a fmall white cotton-cap, and commonly a pair of gold earings. His people, as well as himfelf, wear always white clothes and white caps; and, as they are exceeding black, it makes them look very well. The Tyrants. prefent King is a tall man, very paffionate, and fometimes, when any of his men affront him, he does not fcruple to fhoot them, at which I am told he is very dextrous: and fometimes, when he goes aboard a company's floop at Cohone (his own town and place of refidence) he is for fhooting at all the canoes which pafs by him, killing perhaps one man or two frequently in a day. He has got a great many wives, but never brings above two or three abroad with him: He has feveral brothers, to whom he feldom fpeaks, or permits them to come into his company; and when they do come, they pull off their caps and garments, and throw duft upon their foreheads, as every one does who comes into the King's prefence (except white men.) As foon as the King dies, his brothers or fons go to fighting for the crown, and whoever is the ftrongeft is made King.

This King is potent, and very brave: His dominions are large, and divided into feveral parts,

over which he appoints governors, called boomeys, who come every year to pay homage to him. These boomeys are very powerful, and do just what they please with the people; and altho' they are feared, yet they are beloved.

Other Kings generally advise with their head people, and scarcely do any thing of great consequence without consulting with them first; but the King of Barfally is so absolute, that he will not allow any of his people to advise with him, unless it be his chief slave, called Ferbro, viz. (master of the horse) who carries the King's sword in a large silver case, of great weight, and who gives orders for what things the King wants to have, or to be done; and in battle he is the leader of his men.

The King's usual way of living, is to sleep all day, till towards sun-set; then he gets up to drink, and goes to sleep again till midnight; then he rises and eats, and if he has any strong liquors, will sit and drink till day-light, and then eats and goes to sleep again. When he is well stocked with liquor, he will sit and drink for five or six days together, and not eat one morsel of any thing in all that time. It is to that insatiable thirst of his after brandy, that his subjects freedoms and families are in so precarious a situation; for he very often goes with some of his troops by a town in the day-time, and returns in the night, and sets fire to three parts of it, placing guards at the fourth, to seize the people as they run out from the fire: He ties their arms behind them, and marches them to the place where he sells them, which is either Joar or Cohone.

His subjects, however, are very merry fellows, Mr. Moor assures us, and will dance to a drum, or a ballifeu, sometimes four and twenty hours together, dancing now and then very regularly, and at other times in very odd gestures, striving always to outdo one another in nimbleness and activity.

They are very subject to scold one with another, which they call fighting; for if two persons abuse each other very heartily, they call it a great fight, and are generally a good while before they come to blows; which however does sometimes happen, and then they do fight in earnest, either with knives, sagays, or cutlasses, whichever they are provided with; and they very often kill one another; but when that happens, the murderer flies to another kingdom, and that King alway protects him, and looks upon him kindly, and always treats him as one of his own subjects.

Some people, as has been intimated already, have a good many house-slaves, which is their greatest glory; and they live so well and easy, that it is sometimes a very hard matter to know the slaves from their masters or mistresses; they very often being better clothed, especially the females, who have sometimes coral, amber, and silver, about their hands and wrists, to the value of 20 or 30 shillings sterling.

The natives are not so disagreeable in their behaviour as some are apt to imagine; for when I went through any of their towns, they almost all came to shake hands with me, except some of the women, who having never seen any white men, ran away from me as fast as they could, and would not, by any means, be persuaded to come near me. Some of them invited me to their houses, and brought their wives and daughters to salute me, and sit down by me, always finding things about me to gape at and admire; such as

boots, spurs, gloves, clothes, or wig, each of them being to them subjects of discourse and admiration.

The girls would have people think they are very modest, especially when they are in company; but take them by themselves, and they are very obliging; for if you will give them a little coral, or a silk handkerchief, you may take what liberty you please with them. But those who pretend to be of the Portuguese religion, and therefore call themselves christians, are somewhat more reserved than the Mundingoes are. But notwithstanding their religion, and christianity too, if any white man has a fancy to one of them, and is able to maintain them, they will not scruple to live with him in the nature of a wife, without the ceremony of matrimony.

The men commonly wear swords slung over their right shoulder, others carry sagays or spears about three yards long, others have bows and arrows, but all of them wear knives slung by their sides; and indeed I have observed that they are very dextrous at using whatever sort of weapon they carry.

Their manner of salutation is, shaking of hands; but generally, when the men salute the women, they, instead of shaking their hands, put it up to their noses; and nothing can affront them so much as to salute them with your left-hand. When a man has been a day or two from home, the wife salutes him on her knees at his return; and in the same posture she always brings him water to drink.

When a person brings you eggs or fowls to buy, it is imprudent to kill or make use of them before the person you buy them of is actually gone away; for it seems it was a custom in this country (and not yet entirely disused) that whatever commodity a man sells in the morning, he may, if he repents his bargain, go and have the things again, on paying back the money, any time before the setting of the sun.

It is customary, when factories are settled, to put them, and the persons belonging to them, under the charge of people of the nearest large town, who are obliged to take care of it, and to let none impose upon the white men, or use them ill; and if any body is abused, they must apply to the alcade, the head man of the town, and he will see justice done you.

This man is up the river called Tobaubo Mansa, which is in English, The white man's King. But in most parts of the river he is called alcade, and hath a great power: For every town almost having two common fields of cleared ground; one for their corn, and the other for their rice; the alcade appoints the labour of all the people, he being in the nature of a governor. The men work the corn ground, and the women and girls the rice ground: As they all equally labour, so the alcade equally divides the crop among them.

When a child is born, they dip him over head and ears in cold water three or four times in a day; and as soon as they are dry, they rub them over with palm-oil, particularly the back-bone, small of the back, elbows, neck, knees, and hips. When they are born they are of an olive-colour, and sometimes do not turn black for a month or two.

I do not find that they are born with flat noses; but if it be the mother's fancy to have it so, she will, when she washes the child, pinch and press down the upper part of its nose.

Large breasts, thick lips, and broad nostrils, are by many reckon'd the beauties of the country. One breast is generally larger than the other.

The children go naked till they are eight or nine years old; and some of them are pinked in their faces and breasts for ornament.

They give away their daughters when they are very young; some as soon as they are born, and the parents can never afterwards break the match: but it is in the man's power never to come and take his wife, unless he pleases; and unless he is so generous as to give her leave, she cannot marry any other. They generally take their wives very young, when they are obliged to pay the parents of the wife two cows, two iron bars, and two hundred cola, a fruit that comes a vast way inland.

When the man takes home his wife, he makes a feast at his house, to which every body that is willing comes without the form of an invitation; for they don't use much ceremony that way, and there they play and dance for three or four days successively, the woman being brought upon mens shoulders to her husband's house, with a veil over her face, which she keeps on till she has been in bed with her husband; during which they dance and sing, beat drums, and fire their small arms.

Every man is allowed to take as many wives as he pleases; some have no less than a hundred. If they are found lying with any other men but their husbands they are liable to be sold for slaves: they are turned off at pleasure, and he makes her take all her children with her, unless he has a mind to keep any of them himself.

It is usual to see the women abroad the same day, or the morrow after they are delivered; about a month afterwards they name the child, which is done by shaving its head, and rubbing it over with some oil.

Some short time before the rainy season begins, they circumcise a great number of boys about twelve or fourteen years of age; after which they put on a peculiar habit, each kingdom being different in their dress.

When people die, all their friends and acquaintance come and cry over them a day or two, as the Irish do, and bury them in the room in which they die, or else very close to it. Those of the relations that are not upon the spot, do, out of respect to the deceased, cry and howl as much at an hundred miles distant, as tho' they were actually with the deceased at the time of his decease.

I don't find that the African company have now any fort at Sherbro-river, or in the river Sierra Leon, or indeed on any parts of the coast between the rivers Gambia and Sherbro; but there are some private traders, Portuguese and others, who have settlements on this coast, and trade with the natives, and such European shipping as arrives annually upon the coast for gold, ivory, slaves, &c.

Mr. ATKINS, in his remarks on the Guinea Coast, observes, that there are about thirty private traders settled on the river Sierra Leon. That they all keep Gromettas (Negro servants) which they hire from Sherbro river, at two accys or bars a month. The women keep house, and are obedient to any prostitutions their masters command. The men servants work in the boats and periagoes, which go a trading in turns, with coral, brals, pewter, pans, pots, arms, English

spirits, &c. and bring back from the Rio-Nunes, slaves and teeth, and from Sherbro, cam-wood for dyers; a sloop or two is the most that is loaded from the latter place in a year, and that with difficulty, being obliged to go far up the river, narrow and beset with mangroves, which makes it sickly.

That they purchase chiefly ivory and slaves, and when the slaves are brought hither, they chain three or four of them together, committing them to the care of the Gromettas, till they have an opportunity of selling them, which they do for about fifteen pounds a good slave, allowing the purchaser forty or fifty pound per cent. profit on his goods.

As these slaves are placed under lodges near the owner's house, for air, cleanliness, and customers better viewing them, I had every day the curiosity of observing their behaviour, which with most of them was very dejected. Once, on looking over some of old CRACKER's slaves, I could not help taking notice of one fellow among the rest, of a tall strong make, and bold stern aspect. As he imagined we were viewing them with a design to buy, he seemed to disdain his fellow-slaves for their readiness to be examined; and, as it were, scorned looking at us, refusing to rise to stretch out his limbs, as the master commanded; which got him an unmerciful whipping from CRACKER's own hand, with a cutting manate-a-strap; and he had certainly killed him, but for the loss he must have sustained by it: all which the Negro bore with magnanimity, shrinking very little, and shedding a tear or two, which he endeavoured to hide, as tho' ashamed of it. All the company observing his courage, wanted to know of CRACKER how he came by him; who told us, that this same fellow, called captain TOMBA, was a leader of some country villages, that opposed them and their trade at the river Nunes, killing his friends there, and firing their cottages. The sufferers this way by the help of my men (says CRACKER) surprized, and bound him in the night about a month ago, he having killed two in his defence before they could secure him; and from thence he was brought hither, and made my property.

The country about Sierra Leon is so thick spread with wood, that you cannot penetrate a pole's length from the water-side, unless between the town and a fountain, from whence they fetch their water, without a great deal of difficulty. They have paths, however, thro' these woods to their plantations; which, tho' but a mile or two from the town, are frequently the walks of wild beasts.

The shores hereabouts, like those of Sweden, are rocky, and without any colour of earth almost; yet produce large trees, the roots spreading on the surface: the chief of these are the palm, the cocoa, and the cotton-tree.

Other vegetables for food are rice, yams, plantanes, pine-apples, limes, oranges, papais, palm-nuts, wild roots, and berries.

This is their common sustenance, the gift of providence without their care; they might abound, but prefer ease and indolence; he is the greatest man among them, who can afford to eat rice all the year round. Kid and fowl they have some, and these were all the domestick animals I saw.

The

The Negroes here are well-limbed, clean fellows, flat-nosed, and many with exomphalos's, the effect of bad midwifry, or straining in their infancy to walk; for they are never taught, but creep upon a mat on all fours, till they have strength to erect themselves; and notwithstanding this, are seldom distorted. These do not circumcise, but the slaves brought from the northward are frequently so.

The women are not nigh so well shaped as the men; childing, and their breasts always pendulous, stretches them to so unseemly a length and bigness, that some, like the Egyptians, I believe, could suckle over their shoulders. Their being employed in all labour makes them robust; for such as are not Gromettas, work hard in tillage, make palm-oil, or spin cotton, and when they are free from such work, the idle husbands put them upon brading and fetishing out their woolly hair, being prodigious curious in this sort of ornament, and keep their wives thus busied several hours every day.

Their houses are low little huts, not quite so bad as many in Yorkshire, built with wooden stockades set in the ground, in a round or square form, thatched with straw; and for furniture, they have a mat or two to lie down upon, two or three earthen or wooden dishes, with a spoon, all of their own making. They are idle, principally for want of arts and domestick employments; for the women plant, and gather in their corn and fruits, and do every thing without door but hunt and fish.

Whole towns shift their habitations, either when they do not like their neighbours, or in expectation of greater conveniences elsewhere, soon clearing ground enough for what building and culture they propose. Seignior JOSEPH, a Christian Negroe of this place, has lately, with his people, left a clean well-built town, and removed further up the river. Their huts are mostly orbicular, forming a spacious square area, and in this the doors are paved with cockleshells; two or three crosses are erected, and round about it are lime-trees, papais, plantanes, pine-apples, and a few bee-hives. And in the middle of the area is a large tree, with five hundred hanging nests at least upon it. This is a small familiar bird, that builds upon the extreme slenderest twigs of a tree, hanging like fruit; and thus secure their young against monkeys, parrots, squirrels, and other creatures of prey.

Panyarring is a term for man-stealing along the whole coast: here it is used also for stealing any thing else; and by custom (their law) every man has a right to take as much from another, as he can prove afterwards at the Palaaver court, he hath been defrauded of by any person at that place.

Cabaceers are the principal trading men at all towns; their experience, or courage, having given them that superiority: and these gentlemen usually come off to our ships with some English title and certificate, the favour of former traders to them for their honesty and good service.

Their dress is little more than a clout to cover their nakedness; but both sexes take delight in twisting their woolly hair into ringlets with gold, or glittering stones, and shall bestow a great deal of time upon it.

The women are fondest of what they call fetishing, or dress, setting themselves out to attract the good graces of the men. Some make a streak round their foreheads of white, red, or yellow; others make circles round their arms and bodies, and in this frightful figure please. The men also have their ornaments, consisting in bracelets, or marilla's, about their wrists and ancles, of brass, copper, pewter, or ivory; the same again on their fingers and toes: a necklace of monkeys teeth and ivory sticks in their ears.

At Sesthos, most of our windward slave-ships stop to buy rice, exchanged at about two shillings per quintal. The river is about half the breadth of the Thames, a narrow entrance, only for boats, on the starboard side, between two rocks, which on great swells and winds, make the shooting of it dangerous.

The town is large, and built after a different model from those we have left: they run them up (square or round) four foot from the earth: at that height is the first and chief room to sleep in. In the middle of it is a fire-place for charcoal, that serves a double purpose (viz.) driving off insects and vermin, and drying their Indian corn. Of the upper loft they make a storehouse, that runs up pyramidal thirty foot, making the town at distance appear like a number of spires, each standing singly.

This, and every town hereabouts, had a Palaaver room, a publick place of meeting for the people to transact the business of the society. They are large, and built something like our lodges for carts, with a raised floor four foot from the ground; here they meet without distinction, king and subject, smoking from morning to night. At this place it is common to bring your traffick, brass pans, pewter and basons, powder, shot, old chests, &c. and exchange for rice, goats, and fowls. Two or three pipes, a charge of powder, or such a trifle, buys a fowl; a two pound bason buys a goat.

From hence our author proceeds to the company's capital, or settlement of Cape Coast, or Cape Corfe Castle. This factory consists of merchants, factors, writers, miners, artificers, and soldiers; and excepting those of the first rank, he says, all the rest are a company of white Negroes, who are intirely resigned to the governor's commands, according to the strictest rules of discipline, and are punished (garrison fashion) on several defaults, with mulcts, confinement, the dungeon, drubbing, or the wooden horse; and for enduring this, they have each of them a salary sufficient to buy canky, palm-oil, and a little fish to keep them from starving: For though the salaries sound tolerably in Leadenhall-Street, from fifty pounds to ninety pounds per annum a factor, fifty pounds an artificer; yet in the country, the general pays them in crackra, a false money, which is only current upon the spot, and disables them from taking any advantage of buying necessaries from ships casting down; so that for the support of nature, these thin creatures are obliged to take up all necessaries of the company; and, in effect, by it assign over their liberty, none being admitted to depart till he has adjusted all accounts. When the man is too sober to run in debt, there are acts of mismanagement, or loss of goods under his care, to be charged as wanting. They are all liable also to be mulcted for drunkenness,

ness, swearing, neglects, and lying out of the castle; even for not going to church (such is their piety.) And thus by various arbitrary methods, their service is secured durante bene placito.

The same method he takes with the town Negroes, who, inconsiderate wretches, are continually scoring up for goods or drams, and thus become pawns to the company, i. e. liable to be sold when the general thinks fit.

Though the general has but one vote in business, he influences the rest, who sign whatever he proposes. He disposes also of preferments to the factors and writers, who as they please or displease, may be continued or removed. Those who are employed at a distance from the fort, are allowed a commission in trade, additional to their pay; so in some of the outer forts (such as Accra or in a ship) they make considerable profits, while at others again, Anamaboe or Dixcove, they find a great deal of trouble, wet lodging, scarcity of provision, and no profit; and as these last out-number the good, I observed most of our factors to have dwindled much from the genteel air they brought, wear no cane or snuff-box, have lank bodies, a pale visage, their pockets fown up, or of no use, and their tongues tied. One cause of their slenderness indeed, is a scarcity of provision, little besides plantain or small fish, Indian corn, and a great deal of canky to be bought at market. Poor F----- was a youth well recommended, and lived as long as he could. I had once some business in his office, when a Negro woman came bawling about his ears for a plantain he had stole from her: he would fain have concealed the meaning of her musick, but at length I understood it was the only morsel he had eat for three days past, one night's debauch, and several mullets, having run him out of pocket. The next occasion I had of inquiring after him, I heard, that being too narrowly watched in this illegal traffick, he pined with a vacuum of the guts, and died, leaving this advice to his countrymen, rather to run a remote hazard of being hanged at home, than chuse a transportation hither.

The general does not feel this want; for although here be a scarcity of neat cattle, kid, or fowl (nobody having any besides himself) he supplies this want from other parts, by their own trading vessels, and dashes from masters of ships and neighbouring nations; and for vegetables, he has a large garden, first planted by Sir DALBY THOMAS, a former governor, abounding not only with theirs, but fruits of English growth, and intirely for his own use.

The factory have every now and then a large demand for salt, made and brought hither from Accra. The sale appears like a fair in the castle; and many of those Negroes, whose ivory or gold would not purchase half a bushel, I was told had travelled some hundred miles; they chusing to go in bodies when feed-time is over, as a better protection from wild beasts, and their wilder countrymen, who frequently made incursions from several parts of the coast, and seize them for slaves, when few and defenceless.

We sailed from Cabo Corso, and touched in our passage (says the same writer) at Anamaboe, Montford, Barku, Shallo, Accra, R. Volta, the Papau Coast, and arrived at Whydah, July the 4th, where we made a stay of three weeks.

At Anamaboe our private ships finish their slaving, few or none being got downward till you reach Whydah.

At Montford, Shallo, and thereabouts, they make up the deficiency of rice and corn for the voyage, the country appearing fruitful, and with a better aspect than any of those we have passed to windward, intermixed with hills and vales at every league almost a town, many corn-fields, salt-pans, and other marks of industry, particularly about Accra.

At Accra, the English, French, and Dutch have each a factory and fort, and make there great quantities of salt, supplying the windward and the inland provinces, where it is always a precious commodity.

Before we reach hither, we pass by a considerable high mount, which has been seen to smoke like a volcano; from whence, and being the haunt of rapacious wild beasts, they call it Devil's Hill. But the most danger to travellers here, is from a prodigious number of apes (some five feet long) and monkeys that inhabit it, who will attack single passengers, and drive them for refuge into the water, of which these creatures are very fearful. At some places the Negroes have been suspected of bestiality with them, and by the boldness and affection they are known under some circumstances to express to our females, but more from their near resemblance to the human species, would tempt one to suspect the fact; although by the way, this, like other hebridous productions, could never go farther. Our carpenter got one on board from these parts, as near the likeness of a child, without being one, as perhaps was ever seen; a flat and smooth visage, little hair, no tail, would taste nothing but milk or gruel sweetened, and that with difficulty, moaning continually in a tone like an infant; in short, the moans and aspects were so shocking and melancholy, that after two or three months keeping, it was stunned and thrown over-board.

The Ourang Outang, taken now and then in some parts of Guinea, and at the island of Borneo in East-India, has been thought a human savage. Captain FLOWER brought home one from Angola in 1733, disembowelled and preserved in rum; it lived a few months with him, had a smooth visage, little hair, genitals like the human, would frequently walk on its hind legs voluntarily, would sit down in a chair to sip or drink, in the same manner they did; always slept sitting with his hands upon his shoulders, not mischievous like others, and had his hands, feet, and nails more resembling ours.

The river Volta is remarkable for the rapidity of its stream, making a very great sea upon the bar, and carrying itself off for some way unmixed: at two leagues it is only brackish; from hence begins the Papau coast, low and woody.

The whole track from Sierra Leon is without gulphs or bays, of near an equal depth of water at the same distances, little elevation, except at great rivers, where the tides are regular, as with us at home; seldom without breezes. When a storm or tornado happens, they are always off shore; no dews perceptible on board ships in the nights, though large at shore, and a constant misty horizon.

There is a return of vernal and autumnal rains through the whole coast: the former, whether on this or the other side the equator, are longer and more incessant: they begin on this side at Sierra Leon in May, at the Gold Coast and Whydah in April, preceded by south and south-east winds. On the other side of the Line again, the vernal

rains fall at Cape Lopez in October, at Angola in November, &c. And as these seasons are attended with clouds, the air is cooler, and therefore by the stewed inhabitants denominated winter.

Tornadoes, by the Spaniards called *travadoes*, are in no part of the world so frequent as at Guinea. They are fierce and violent gusts of wind, that give warning for some hours, by a gradual lowering and blackening of the sky to windward, whence they come accompanied with darkness, terrible shocks of thunder and lightening, and end in rains and calm. They are always off shore, between the north and north-east here, and most easterly at the Bites of Benin, Calabar, and Cape Lopez; but although they are attended with this favourable property of blowing from the shore, and last only three or four hours, yet ships immediately at the appearance of them, furl all their sails, and drive before the wind.

We have sometimes met with these tornadoes two in a day, often one; and to shew within what a narrow compass their effects are, ships have felt one, when others at ten leagues distance have known nothing of them: nay, at Anamaboe (three or four leagues off) they have had serene weather, while we have suffered under a tornado in Cape Corso road; and vice versa. A proof of what naturalists conjecture, that no thunder is heard above thirty miles. One we felt the afternoon of taking ROBERTS the pirate, that seemed like the rattling of ten thousand small arms within three yards of our heads; it split our main top-mast, and ended as usual, in excessive showers, and then calm: the nearness is judged by the sound instantly following the flash. Lightening is common here at other times, especially with the shutting in of evening, and flashes perpendicularly, as well as horizontally.

Air-mattans, or harmattans, are impetuous gales of wind from the eastern quarter, about Midsummer and Christmas: they are attended with fogs, last three or four hours (seldom thunder and lightening, as the tornadoes) and cease with rain; are very dry, shrivelling up paper, parchment, or pannels of escrutores, like a fire. They reach sometimes the Gold Coast, but are frequentest, and in a manner peculiar to the Bite of Benin.

MR. ATKINS, speaking of the trade of the Guinea Coast, observes, that from the river Gambia, in 21 degrees 13 minutes north, to Angola, about 9 or 10 degrees to the south, the Portuguese were the first Europeans that settled, and built forts here, tho' now the least concerned in it: what remains of theirs is to the southward, on the river Congo, at Loango de St. Paul, and on islands, where they keep priests to teach their language to the natives, and baptize without making christians.

The African company, in its flourishing condition, gained annually to England 900,000 l. whereof in teeth, camwood, wax, and gold, only 100,000 l. and the rest in slaves, which, in the infancy of their trade, were in very great demand over all the American plantations, to supply their own wants, and carry on a clandestine commerce with the Spanish West-Indies. On computation, Barbadoes wanted annually 4000 Negroes; Jamaica 10,000; Leeward Islands 6000; and because the company could not supply this number, having only imported 46,396 slaves, between the years 1680 and 1688, interlopers crept in, and contended for a share.

From this time the company visibly decayed; inasmuch, that in eight following years they only imported to the West-Indies 17,760 slaves, and the separate traders, in that time, 71,268.

Finding their trade under great disadvantages, tho' private traders were obliged to pay them ten per cent. they resolved to make the best share they could in this money, by lessening their expence about the forts: they accordingly withdrew all supplies from the garrison, leaving them to subsist by their own management, or starve; Charles-Fort, at the mouth of the river Gambia, having only twelve men, was taken by a privateer of eight guns in 1709. Sierra Leon had but thirteen men; Sherbo four; and these were not any charge to the company, being possessed by such, as having a long time resided in that service, by help of those fortifications, were capable of doing something for themselves; and so the private traders, by degrees, got entirely quit of this duty, the reason in a manner ceasing for which it was at first allowed.

About 1719, their affairs seemed to revive again, under the auspices of the duke of Chandos, who became a very great proprietor in their stock, and promised from his figure and interest, a renewal of their privileges: more ships were employed than for many years past; but whether it were their too large expence, or corruption of their chief officers, who too often in companies think they are sent abroad purely for their own service, or both, they soon felt, that without a separate act, they were incapable of contending with private traders; they applied to parliament for relief, and now support their forts by an annual allowance from the government of 10,000l.

Those who are the favourers of companies suggest, that if that trade be allowed, it seems better for the publick, that some rich and powerful set of men should have such exclusive powers to encourage and enable them to maintain forts and garrisons, to awe the natives, and preserve the trade from being engrossed by our dangerous rivals here, the French and Dutch, which, as we relinquish it, falls to them, and gives them an opportunity of fixing what price they please upon goods imported from thence.

The company's trade wanting that encouragement, every year grows worse: they buy dearer than in times past, on the Coast, and sell cheaper in the West-Indies; the reason at Guinea is a great scarcity of slaves, and an improved knowledge in the trading negroes, who dispose of them. On the other side, our colonies are now pretty well glutted with slaves, and their call consequently not high so large: 20,000 in a year, perhaps, furnishes all our plantations; and tho' more are imported by private traders, it is in order to transport them again to the Spanish West-Indies, where tho' the *Asiento* ships are of late years only indulged by treaty, all others being liable to confiscation, and the people to slavery, if taken by the Spanish guard de costa, yet the prospect of gain inciting, they still find means to continue on, and maintain a forcible traffick for them, under the protection of their guns. This clandestine method, by the way, hurts the South-Sea company, beating down the price of their slaves, who cannot so well afford it, because bought and brought there at a greater charge.

I now proceed to our method of trade. Private trading ships bring two or three boats with them

them upon this coast for dispatch; and while the mates go away in them, with a proper parcel of goods and instructions, into the rivers and by-places, the ship is making good her trade at others near hand.

The success of a voyage depends, first, on the well sorting, and on the well timing of a cargo. Secondly, in a knowledge of the places of trade, what, and how much, may be expected every where. Thirdly, in dramming well with English spirits, and conforming to the humours of the negroes. Fourthly, in timely furnishing proper food for the slaves. Fifthly, in dispatch; and lastly, the good order and management of slaves, when on board; of each a word or two.

First, on the timing of a cargo: this depends at several places much upon chance, from the fanciful and various humours of the negroes, who make great demands one voyage for a commodity which they perhaps reject next, and is in part to be remedied, either by making the things they itch after pass off those they have not so much mind to, or by such a continual traffick and correspondence on the coast, as may furnish the owner from time to time with quick intelligence, to be done only by great merchants, who can keep employed a number of ships; that, like a thread, unites them in a knowledge of their demands, and a readier supply for them, as well as dispatch for their master's interest, by putting the purchases of two or three ships into one. The late Mr. HUMPHREY MORRICE was the greatest private trader this way; and, unless Providence had fixed a curse upon it, he must have gained exceedingly.

Secondly, of the sorting: this may be observed in general, that the windward and leeward parts of the coast are as opposite in their demands as is their distance. Iron bars, which are not asked for to leeward, are a substantial part of the windward cargoes: crystals, oranges, corals, and brass-mounted cutlasses, are almost peculiar to the windward coast --- as are brass-pans from Rio Sethos, to Apollonia; ---- cowreys (or bouges) at Whidah; ---- copper and iron bars, at calabar; --- but arms, gunpowder, tallow, old sheets, cottons of all the various denominations, and English spirits, are every where called for. Sealing-wax and pipes are necessary in small quantities; they serve for dashees, (presents) and are a ready purchase for fish, a goat, kid, or a fowl.

Where the company's factors are settled, as at Gambia, and along the greatest part of the Gold Coast, they influence the trade something against private ships; so also at Sierra Leon, some separate traders live, who voyage it with boats into the adjacent rivers; and most of what a ship can purchase, is thro' their hands: but those from London seldom strike higher upon the coast than Cape Mount, Montzerado, and Junk, falling from thence down to leeward, many of the places, in their course, being rendered dangerous, from the tricks and panyarrs the traders have first practised upon the negroes; a mutual jealousy now keeping each side very watchful against violence. We trade on board the ship, often keeping our sailors in close quarters abaft, because few, while the slaves are viewing and contracting for at the fore-part; at night also keeping a good watch, some of these negroes attempting now and then to steal with their canoes athwart your hawse, and cut the cable. Captain CUMMINS at Whidah they stranded in 1734.

They again are often diffident of coming nigh us, and will play for hours together in their canoes about the ship, before they dare venture. In this windward part, I have before observed, they have a superstitious custom of dropping with their finger a drop of sea-water into their eye, which they are pleased when answered in, and passes for an engagement of peace and security; and yet, after all this ceremony, they will sometimes return to shore; if hardy enough to come on board, they appear all the time shy and frightened, and from the least appearance of a panyarr, jump all over-board. Downwards to Bassam, Assinee, Jaquelahou, Cape le Hou, Jaque a Jaques, Cape Apollonia, and Three Points, or where they have possibly gained a knowledge of the English factories, there is a better understanding and security: These are places that sell off a number of slaves, managed, however, wholly on board the ships who anchor before the town, hoist their ensign, and fire a gun; or when the natives seem timorous, do it by their boats coasting along the beach, and pay at some of them a small duty to the chief cabiceers.

When a ship has gathered up all this trade, she makes up the deficiency of her freight at Anamaboo, three leagues below Cape Corso, where they constantly stop, and are sometimes two or three months in finishing. It is a place of very considerable trade in itself; and besides, the company have a house and factor, keeping always a number of slaves against those demands of the interlopers, who they are sensible want dispatch, and therefore make them pay a higher price for it than any where on the whole coast, selling at six ounces and a half a slave (in exchange for goods) tho' the poor creatures look as meagre and thin as their writers.

Giving way to the ridiculous humours and gestures of the trading negroe, is no small artifice for success. If you look strange, and are nigardly of your drams, you frighten him; SAMEO is gone; he never cares to treat with dry lips; and as the expence is in English spirits of two shillings a gallon, brought partly for that purpose, the good humour it brings them into, is found discounted in the sale of goods.

A fifth article is, the wholesome victualling and management of slaves on board.

The common, cheapest, and most commodious diet is with vegetables, horse-beans, rice, Indian corn, and farine, or flour, the former ships bring with them out of England; rice they meet to windward about Sesthos; Indian corn at Momford, Anamaboo, &c. and further supplies of them, or farine, at the islands of St. Thomas and Prince's, masters governing themselves in purchasing, according to the course they design to steer.

This food is accounted more salutary to slaves, and nearer to their accustomed way of feeding, than salt flesh. One or other is boiled on board at constant times twice a day into a dab-a-dab (sometimes with meat in it) and have an over-seer, with a cat-of-nine-tails, to force it upon those that are sullen and refuse.

When there was that great trade for slaves at Whidah, the commanders, with their surgeons, always attended on shore, where they purchased them, in what they called a fair and open market.

The mates kept on board, receiving from time to time their master's directions, as to the goods wanted,

wanted, and to prepare the ship for the reception and security of the slaves sent him; where this is a rule always observed, to keep the males apart from the women and children, to hand-cuff the former; Bristol ships triple such as are sturdy with chains round their necks; and to keep your own men sober, and on a barricado'd quarter-deck; tho' the natural cowardice of these creatures, and no other prospect upon rising, but falling into the hands of the same rogues that sold them, very much lessens the danger: Nevertheless, it is advisable at all times to have a diligent watch on their actions, yet (abating their setters) to treat them with all gentleness and civility.

When we are slaved, and out at sea, it is commonly imagined the negroes ignorance of navigation, will always be a safeguard; yet, as many of them think themselves bought to eat; and more, that death will send them into their own country, there has not been wanting examples of rising and killing a ship's company distant from land, though not so often as on the coast: But once or twice is enough to shew, a master's care and diligence should never be over till the delivery of them. Some negroes know well enough, that their preserving one white man may answer their purpose in an exchange: However, generally speaking, we allow greater liberty in our passage; as conducive to their health, we let them go at large on the ship's deck, from sunrise to sun-set; give such as like it pipes and tobacco, and clean and air their dormitories every day.

Slaves differ in their goodness; those from the Gold Coast are accounted best, being cleanest limbed, and more docible by our settlement than others: But then they are, for that very reason, more prompt to revenge, and murder the instruments of their slavery, and also apter in the means to compass it.

To windward they approach in goodness, as is the distance from the Gold Coast; so as at Gambia, or Sierra Leon, to be much better than at any of their interjacent places.

To leeward from thence, they alter gradually for the worse; an Angolan negro is a proverb for worthlessness, and they mend (if we may so call it) in that way, till you come to the Hottentots, that is, to the southermost extremity of Africa.

I have observed how our trading is managed for slaves, when obliged to be carried on board the ship. ----- Where there are factories (as at Gambia, Sierra Leon, the Gold Coast, Whidah, Calabar, Cabenda, and Angola) we are more at large; they are sold in open market on shore, and are examined by us in like manner as our brother trade do beasts in Smithfield; the countenance and stature, a good set of teeth, pliancy in their limbs and joints, and being free of venereal taint, are the things inspected, and governs our choice in buying.

The bulk of them are country people, stupid as is their distance from the converse of the Coast-negroes; eat all day, if victuals is before them, or if not, let it alone without complaint; part without tears with their wives, children, and country, and are more affected with pain than death: yet in this indocile state, the women retain a modesty; for though stripped of that poor clout which covers their privities (as I know the Whidahs generally do) they will keep squatted all day long on board, to hide them.

Whidah slaves are more subject to small-pox and sore eyes; other parts to a sleepy distemper; and to windward, exomphalos's. There are few instances of deformity any where; even their nobles know nothing of chronical distempers, nor their ladies of the vapours. Their flattish noses are owing to a continual grubbing in their infancy against their mother's backs, being tied within the to mee, whether upon travel, or business, for a year or two, the time of their suckling.

Ivory is purchased in teeth, or screvelio's. The teeth are large, weighing from thirty to an hundred weight, and worth double the other at home; these selling for ten or twelve pound, when the other do not for above five pound a hundred.

The screvelio's are small, from fifteen down to four pound weight; among these last are sold us to windward, the teeth of the hippopotamus, or sea-horse, caught in the rivers Nunes and Gambia, about sixteen inches long, a white ivory, but so brittle, as not to be easily worked.

The rule upon the coast is, that when four will weigh an hundred weight, they shall be all accounted teeth, and paid for as such, though one or two of them be never so small; for the more teeth increase in their weight, the better the ivory, and makes amends for the smallness of the other.

At Gambia the points of them are often found broken, from the elephants grubbing against rocky ground: At other times you see them flawed, or they are light in proportion to their bigness; circumstances to abate their value.

I have been often ruminating how the trading Negroes come by these elephants teeth, and find they exchange our European commodities with the inland natives for them; but whether they again shoot the elephants, or find their teeth in travelling through the woods and deserts, is uncertain. Their rivers and canoes, indeed, help to extend their knowledge a vast way through the country; and there are some accounts that tell us, the negroes situated upon these rivers (like the Americans) make excursions, or voyages, for a month or two from their habitations.

Mr. PLUNKET, of Sierra Leon, and others, of above twenty years experience in those parts, have informed me, that elephants move and change their pasture in very large herds; that they have seen droves upon the banks of the Gambia, of a thousand and fifteen hundred together; that they are bold, forage less than horses, and look out much better: From the circumstance of number, and boldness of their march (said to be in a line) they seem secured from any attacks of the timorous natives, who must come very near, or their skin is impenetrable by fire-arms. Besides, ivory was the trade of Guinea before the use of them: To which I may add, the weighty teeth come to sale in less number than the screvelio's, altogether persuading me they are not shot, but that the larger size are teeth of elephants which have died naturally, and which being grown to their utmost perfection and solidity, withstand a very considerable elapse of time, without decay or mouldering; and that the screvelio's are probably such as are shed when young, or as bucks do their horns, which the natives, by practice, know where to look for.

Gold is either fetish, in lumps, or in dust. The fetish gold is that which the negroes cast into various shapes, and wear ornaments to their ears, arms, and legs, but chiefly at their head, entangled very dexterously in their woolly hair; it is so called

called from some superstition (we do not well understand) in the form, or in their application, and commonly mixed with some baser metal, to be judged of by the touch-stone and skill of the buyer you employ.

The lump or rock-gold, is in pieces of different weights, pretended to be brought out of mines. I saw one of these, which Mr. PHIPS had at Cape Corso, weighing thirty ounces; they are always suspected to be artificial, and by the cunning fellows in trade cast so, to hide some baser mixture of silver, copper, or brass; wherefore it is not safe trusting to the antique dirty look, but to cut or run it for satisfaction.

Dust-gold is the common traffick; the best comes hither from the neighbouring inland kingdoms of Dinkira, Akim, and Arcana, and is got (we are told) out of the river sands.

Masters of ships customarily hire a native at so much per month, for this part of the trade; he has a quicker sight at knowing, and by practice readier at separating the drossy and false gold, with which the true has ever some mixture, to impose on unskilful people. This impure stuff is called crackra, a pin or brass dust, current upon the gold coast among themselves, but is a gross cheat in traffick; some of it is very bad.

Captain SNELGRAVE makes the following observations on the Guinea trade: He says, as soon as the natives perceive a ship on their coast, they make a smoke on the sea-shore, as a signal for the ship to come to an anchor, that they may come and trade with the people aboard. As soon as we are at an anchor, they come to us in small boats, called canoes, being made of a single tree, and bring their commodities with them.

Along the greatest part of this coast, the Europeans have been cautious of venturing on shore amongst the natives, they being very barbarous and uncivilized.

However, the trade on this part of the coast has been exceedingly improved within these twenty years past. It consists in negroes, elephants teeth, and other commodities, which the natives freely bring on board our ships, except when any affront has been offered them; which, to the great scandal both of English and French, has too often been done; namely, by their forcibly carrying away the traders under some slight pretence of having received an injury from them. And this has put a stop to the trade of the particular place where it has happened for a long time, and innocent people, who have come there to trade in small vessels, have suffered for their countrymen's villany; several, in my time, having been surprized by the natives, and the people destroyed out of revenge.

On the gold coast, the first and most westerly European settlement, was the fort of Fredericksburgh, belonging to the Brandenburgians, or Prussians; who, by sickness, or the frequent mutinies of the garrison, being forced to abandon it, the negroes took possession of it, and the Dutch attempted to recover it from them, under pretence they had purchased the fort of the Brandenburgians. The Dutch lost forty men in the attack, and were bravely beaten off by the black governor, who now reigns lord of this part of the country, demanding a duty from all ships that touch here. He was formerly a servant to the Brandenburgians; and where the Europeans acknowledge his authority, he treats

VOL. III.

them with great humanity. The Dutch have ten or twelve forts and factories upon this coast, and the English as many. The chief of the Dutch forts is that of d'Elmina, so named by the Portuguese, who erected it, from the gold mines they supposed to be in the neighbourhood of it.

This is the largest, and best fortified settlement upon the gold coast; and two or three leagues to the eastward of it stands the principal English fort of Cape-Coast-Castle, which is of a quadrangular form, defended by four bastions, strong enough to resist the attacks of the negroes, tho' it would make but a mean figure in Flanders.

There is a great deal of dull hazy weather on this coast; their rainy season begins in April or May, and continues to September; and, as most of our factories lie on the sea coast, from whence there ascends stinking fogs, the coast is very unhealthy. The pleasantest and most healthful season is, when the sun is at the greatest distance from them. The most violent storms and tornadoes happen during the rainy season, usually in July or August, when no ships can live upon the coast; and it is very difficult going on shore, at all times there runs so great a surf. The country forms an agreeable landscape from the sea, consisting of hills and valleys, woods, and champaign fields, and is tolerably fruitful, where it is cultivated.

As the negroe traders bring their gold from distant places, so they do the slaves they furnish us with; and having agreed with the European merchants for the price of them, and the price of the goods they are to take in exchange, a ship is soon dispatched, if they deal fairly; but, if a merchant delivers his goods before he has his slaves, they will sometimes make him wait a great while, and, perhaps, put hard conditions upon him. It is computed by late travellers, that there are annually exported from the whole coast of Guinea seventy thousand slaves, and upwards, by the English, Dutch, French, and Portuguese; but the country where the greatest number of slaves were purchased, till very lately, was the kingdom of Whidah, or Fidah, for that reason usually called the Slave Coast.

Captain SNELGRAVE gives the following relation of the conquest of the kingdom of Whidah by the King of Dahome.

Sabée, the chief town of the kingdom of Whidah, is situated about seven miles from the sea-side. In this town the king allowed the Europeans convenient houses for their factories, and by him we were protected in our persons and goods, and when our business was finished, were permitted to go away in safety. The road where ships anchored, was a free port for all European nations trading to those parts for negroes. And this trade was so very considerable, that it is computed, while it was in a flourishing state, there were above twenty thousand negroes yearly exported from thence, and the neighbouring places, by the English, French, Dutch and Portuguese.

The land was well stocked with people, the whole country appeared full of towns and villages; and being a very rich soil, and well cultivated by the inhabitants, it looked like a garden.

den. Trade having flourished for a long time, had greatly enriched the people, which, with the fertility of their country, had unhappily made them so proud, effeminate, and luxurious, that tho' they could have brought at least one hundred thousand men into the field, yet so great were their fears, that they were driven out of their principal city by two hundred of their enemies, and at last lost their whole country to a nation they formerly contemned.

The King of Dahome, a far inland prince, who for some years past had rendered himself famous by many victories gained over his neighbours, sent an ambassador to the King of Whidah, requesting to have an open traffick to the sea-side, and offering to pay him his usual customs on negroes exported, which being refused, he resented the affront, and invaded the most northern province of the kingdom of Whidah, of which a great lord, named APPRAHAH, was hereditary governor, who forthwith sent to the King for his assistance: but thro' the interest of his enemies at court, who wished his destruction, he was refused; so having made a little resistance, he submitted to the King of Dahome, who received him very kindly.

The conquest of APPRAHAH gave the King an easy entrance into the heart of the country, but he was obliged to halt there by a river, which was about half a mile to the northward of the principal town of the Whidahs, called Sabee, the residence of their King. Here the King of Dahome encamped for some time, not imagining he could have found so easy a passage and conquest as he met with afterwards. For the pass of the river was of that nature, it might have been defended against his whole army by five hundred resolute men; but instead of guarding it, these cowardly luxurious people, thinking the fame of their numbers sufficient to deter the Dahomes from attempting it, kept no set guard. They only went every morning and evening to the river side to make fetiche, as they call it; that is, to offer sacrifice to their principal God, which was a particular harmless snake they adored, and prayed to on this occasion, to keep their enemies from coming over the river.

In the mean time the King of Dahome sent to the Europeans, then residing at Whidah, to assure them, if they stood neuter, and were not found in arms, they should receive no damage in their persons or goods, in case he proved conqueror; and he would ease their trade, and remove divers impositions laid on it by the King of Whidah: on the contrary, if they appeared against him, they must expect his resentment. They would gladly have retired from Sabee to two mud-walled forts, belonging to the English and French African companies, which are within three miles of the sea-side; but finding it would have been resented by the King of Whidah, as a discouragement to his people, they were obliged to remain in the town, never suspecting the inhabitants would have ran away in that cowardly manner they did, or that they should share the fate of war with them.

The pass of the river being left wholly to the care of the snakes, whom the enemy little feared, and they having observed for several days, that the Whidahs kept no set guard there, it encouraged the King of Dahome's general to send two hundred of his soldiers to ford the river; which having done without opposition, and being bold

fellows, they marched towards the town of Sabee, founding their musical instruments. This was about three o'clock in the afternoon, and the outguards of the town were almost all asleep; but being roused by the noise of the enemies musick and shouts, they fled into the town, reporting, that all the Dahome army was got over the river; which soon reaching the King's ear, he immediately fled with all his people, making no resistance. I was informed by the white people then in the English and French forts, that about five o'clock the same afternoon, they saw such numbers of people flying from all parts of the country towards the sea-side, that it was very surprizing: for the fields were covered with them many miles round, and their black colour made them the more conspicuous in a clear sun-shiny day, on a fine flat champaign country. The King, with a great number of his subjects fled to an island on the sea-coast, which was parted from the main land by a river, having ferried over in canoes; but a great many, that could not have the same benefit, being hurried on by their fears, were drowned in the rivers, in attempting to swim to the islands lying near Popoe, which was the next neighbouring country to their own, on the sea-coast to the westward, and where they might have been secure from their enemies, had they escaped. Moreover, many thousands of these poor people, that sheltered themselves up and down the country among the bushes, perished afterwards by sword and famine.

But to return to the Dahome soldiers: when they first came to Sabee, it seems they marched directly to the King's court, where not finding him, they set it on fire, and then sent their general word what had happened, who brought the whole army over the river that evening. He was in such a surprize at his good fortune, that he could hardly believe what he saw; and the white gentlemen were as much amazed to see the great cowardice of these people, who had vapoured so highly, and as ignominiously quitted the town, without opposing their enemies in the least, leaving them intirely in the power of the conquerors, with all their own riches. The day after the taking the town of Sabee, the white men taken prisoners were sent into the country to the King of Dahome, who then lay encamped with another army about forty miles off, in the kingdom of Ardra; some hammocks being provided for the principal white people, which is the usual way of travelling in this country for gentlemen, either white or black.

Some few days after their arrival in the King of Dahome's camp, the Europeans were set at liberty, and suffered to return to the English and French forts, the principal gentlemen being presented with slaves; and the King assured them, as soon as his affairs were settled he should encourage trade, and have a particular regard to their interests.

SNELGRAVE relates, that he arrived at Whidah in the latter end of March 1726-7, about three Weeks after this conquest, and found that fine country, lately exceeding populous, now destroyed by fire and sword; that the slaughter of the inhabitants was a most moving spectacle, their fields being in a manner covered with their carcases.

From the road of Whidah, SNELGRAVE failed to Jaqueen, a port about seven leagues to the eastward of it; this people having submitted to the King of Dahome, and then under his protection.

The King of Dahome hearing of captain SNELGRAVE's arrival on the coast, with an intent to trade, invited him to his camp, which then lay about forty miles up the country, whither the captain went, being furnished with horses, hammocks, servants, and all manner of accommodations for his journey. The day after his arrival at the camp, he had an audience of his negroe Majesty, of which the captain gives the following account, (viz.)

The King was in a large court pallisadoed round, sitting (contrary to the custom of the country) on a fine gilt chair, which he had taken from the King of Whidah. There was held over his head, by women, three large umbrellas, to shade him from the sun; and four other women stood behind the chair of state with fuzes on their shoulders. I observed the women were finely dressed from the middle downward (the custom of the country being not to cover the body upward of either sex :) moreover, they had on their arms many large manelloes or rings of gold of great value; and round their necks, and in their hair, abundance of their country jewels, which are a sort of beads of divers colours, brought from a far inland country, where they are dug out of the earth, and in the same esteem with the negroes as diamonds among the Europeans.

The King had a gown on flowered with gold, which reached as low as his ancles, an European embroidered hat on his head, with sandals on his feet. We being brought within ten yards of the chair of state, were desired to stand still: the King then ordered the linguist to bid us welcome; on which we paid his Majesty the respect of our hats, bowing our heads at the same time very low, as the interpreter directed us. Then I ordered the linguist to acquaint the King, "That on his Majesty's sending to desire me to come up to his camp, I forthwith resolved on the journey, that I might have the pleasure of seeing so great and good a King as I heard he was, relying entirely on the promises his messenger had made me in his Majesty's name." The King seemed well pleased with what I said, and assured us of his protection and kind usage. Then chairs being brought, we were desired to sit down, and the King drank our health, and then liquor being brought us by his order, we drank his Majesty's. After this, the interpreter told us, "It was the King's desire we should stay some time with him, to see the method of paying the soldiers for captives taken in war, and the heads of the slain."

It so happened, that in the evening of the day we came into the camp, there were brought above eighteen hundred captives, from a country called Tuffo, at the distance of six days journey.

The king at the time we were present ordered the captives of Tuffo to be brought into the court; which being accordingly done, he chose himself a great number out of them to be sacrificed to his Fetiche, or guardian angel; the others being kept for slaves for his own use, or to be sold to the Europeans. There were proper officers who received the captives from the fol-

diers hands, and paid them the value of twenty shillings sterling for every man, in cowries (which is a shell brought from the East-Indies, and carried in large quantities to Whidah by the Europeans, being the current money of all the neighbouring countries far and near) and ten shillings for a woman, boy, or girl. There were likewise brought by the soldiers some thousands of dead people's heads into the court; every soldier, as he has success, bringing in his hand one, two, three, or more heads hanging in a string; and as the proper officers received them, they paid the soldiers five shillings for each head: Then several people carried them away in order to be thrown on a great heap of other heads that lay near the camp, the linguist telling us his Majesty designs to build a monument with them, and the heads of other enemies formerly conquered and killed.

SNELGRAVE afterwards went to see the manner of sacrificing their enemies. Our guard, says he, made way for us through the crowd; till we came near four small stages; which were erected five feet from the ground; we stood close to them, and observed the ceremony, which was performed in the following manner:

The first victim we saw was brought to the side of the stage; it was a comely old man, between fifty and sixty years of age; his hands were tied behind him, and in his behaviour he shewed a brave and undaunted mind, nothing like fear appearing in him. As he stood upright by the stage, a feticheer, or priest, laid his hand on his head, saying some words of consecration, which lasted about two minutes: Then he gave the sign of execution to a man that stood behind the victim, who, with a broad sword, immediately struck him on the neck with such force, that the head was severed at one blow from the body; whereupon the rabble gave a great shout. The head was cast on the stage, and the body, after having lain a little while on the ground, that the blood might drain from it, was carried away by slaves, and thrown into a place adjoining to the camp. The linguist told us, the head of the victim was for the King, the blood for the Fetiche, or God, and the body for the common people. We saw many other persons sacrificed in this lamentable manner, and observed, that the men went to the side of the stages bold and unconcerned; but the cries of the poor women and children were very moving.

I told an officer, "I wondered they should sacrifice so many people, of whom they might otherwise make good advantage by selling them." He replied, "It had ever been the custom of their nation, after any conquest, to offer to their God a certain number of captives, which were always chose out from among the prisoners by the king himself; for they firmly believed, should this be omitted, no more success would attend them: And he argued for the necessity and usefulness of their doing it, from the large conquests they had made within a few years, without any defeat." Then I asked him, "Why so many old men were sacrificed in particular." He answered, "It was best to put them to death; for being grown wise by their age and long experience, if they were preserved, they would be ever plotting against their masters, and so disturb their country; for they never would be easy under slavery, having been the chief men in their own land; moreover, if they should be spared, no European would buy them on account of their age." I then observed

to him, "That I had seen several handsome young people sacrificed, whom I was sure the Europeans would gladly have bought." He replied, "They were designed to attend in the other world the King's wives, whom the Tuffoes, their countrymen, had slain."

In the evening we passed by the place where the sacrificed bodies were thrown; there were two great heaps of them, consisting of four hundred persons who had been chosen out by the king that very morning.

He adds, That a black prince who accompanied him to the king's camp, informed him afterwards, that the sacrificed bodies had been taken away in the night by the common people, who had boiled and feasted on them as holy food. This story induced us, says SNELGRAVE, to send for our linguist, and take a walk to the place where we had seen the carcasses the evening before, and, to our great surprize, we found they were all gone; thereupon asking the interpreter what was become of them, he replied smiling, "The vultures had eaten them up." I told him, "that was very extraordinary indeed, to swallow bones and all;" there being nothing remaining on the place but a great quantity of blood; so he confessed the fetichers, or priests, had divided the carcasses among the people, who had eat them in the manner they had been told. And though no doubt this will appear incredible to many, says SNELGRAVE; yet I desire they will only make this one reflection, That those who could be so cruel as to sacrifice their fellow creatures, might probably carry their barbarity a degree farther.

However, as I relate nothing for matter of fact, says he, but what I was an eye-witness to; so I shall leave the reader to give what credit he pleases thereto: But as a farther confirmation of their being cannibals, I shall relate what I afterwards learned from one Mr. ROBERT MOOR, who was a person of great integrity, and at that time surgeon of the Italian galley. This ship came to Whidah whilst I was at Jaqueen, and captain JOHN DAGGE, the commander, being indisposed, sent MOOR to the king of Dahome's camp, with presents for his majesty. There he saw very strange things, especially human flesh sold publickly in the great market-place. As I was not in the market during that time I was in the camp, I saw no such thing; but I don't doubt but that I should have seen the same, had I gone into that place, for there were many old and maimed captives brought from Tuffo (besides those sacrificed) which no Europeans would have bought.

In the character SNELGRAVE gives us of the king of Dahome, he says, I had a good opportunity of taking an exact view of him. He was middle-sized and full-bodied, and, as near as I could judge, about forty-five years old; his face was pitted with the small-pox; nevertheless, there was something in his countenance very taking, and withal majestic. Upon the whole, I found him to be the most extraordinary man of his colour that I had ever conversed with, having seen nothing in him that appeared barbarous, except the sacrificing of his enemies, which a Portuguese gentleman told me he believed was done out of policy; neither did he eat human flesh himself.

He adds, that the King promised to send him slaves sufficient to freight his ship down to Jaqueen; and that he would take but half the duties the European merchants used to pay, and made him a present of several slaves, with cows, goats,

sheep, and other provisions for his journey: And within two or three days after his arrival at Jaqueen, the slaves that had been promised him were sent thither; but he did not meet with such good usage however from the Dahome officers, as he might have expected from the promises the King had made him: That on the first of July, 1727, he sailed from the road of Jaqueen for the West-Indies, having six hundred negroes on board.

He concludes with informing us, that all the country of Whidah was so depopulated and ruined by the King of Dahome, upon some attempts the Whidahs made to recover their liberties, that there is no prospect of trade reviving there for many years.

As to the history of the conquest of the kingdom of Whidah by the King of Dahome, and the loss of the slave trade on that coast; I find all that have gone that voyage since the year 1727, agree with Mr. SNELGRAVE in the main, only it is remarkable that not one of them charge the nation of the Dahomes with being cannibals, or devourers of their own species: But himself and some of them give us very substantial reasons to believe that the charge is not well grounded; particularly Mr. ATKINS, who observes, that the people supposed to be cannibals, generally inhabit countries very remote, and little known to us; and that travellers who report these things, usually do it upon hear-say, or upon reasons that are not conclusive, and against later experience.

That what SNELGRAVE relates of the King of Dahome's putting to death several captives, sacrificing them to his gods, or to the manes of his friends, or for some political reasons, is very far from making good the charge.

And as to that part of the story where SNELGRAVE says he saw the carcasses of hundreds of those prisoners who were put to death, lying on heaps, and that the next day there was nothing of them to be found; and what he relates of his linguist, telling him first that the carcasses were devoured by vultures, and then that they were eaten in the night-time by the people, Mr. ATKINS answers,

1. That there is all the reason in the world to believe the carcasses were buried, or that some of the bones or offal would have been seen about the places where they were eaten the next day; and suggests, that the linguist observing his master SNELGRAVE to be very credulous, and inclined to believe they were eaten, humoured him in this opinion, and concurred with his notions by way of compliment.

2. That nothing is so common as for people to believe their enemies, whom they dread, especially if they know little of them, to be savages, or monsters of men. And the conquering Dahomes might be so far from undeceiving the people of Whidah in this particular, as to confirm them in the frightful notions they had entertained of them, in order to keep them in subjection.

3. SNELGRAVE himself relates, that the King of Dahome never eat human flesh, which is very strange, if his people did; whether we suppose the prisoners were sacrificed to his gods, or that human flesh was esteemed a fine dish in that country. In either of these cases it is natural to suppose, the prince would have partaken of the banquet or sacrifice, with his officers and people.

4. If these prisoners were designed to be eat, one would have thought they would have made choice

Remarks
on SNELGRAVE'S
narrative.

choice of the youngest and fattest, as was usual where other animals were intended for a sacrifice, or a festival: whereas he tells us, they took the old, the lean, and the decrepid: Nor would they have thrown them on heaps in that hot country, where a carcase immediately putrifies, but would have dressed and prepared the bodies for cookery as they had been killed.

5. That if human flesh was esteemed such delicious food amongst them, they would not sell their prisoners for slaves; neither would there be such prodigious numbers of people to be found on these coasts, if the neighbouring nations were cannibals, and devoured those they made prisoners.

6. That at Loango, the river Gambia, and in many other parts of Africa, said to be inhabited by cannibals on the first discovery, it appears by later voyages, that there are no such people to be found there.

7. That if this practice was taken up by the Dahomes, as SNELGRAVE suggests, to terrify their enemies, they would not have eaten the carcasses in the night-time, and in private, but in the day, and in the face of all the world.

And lastly, as to what SNELGRAVE says Mr. MOOR told him, that he saw human flesh sold by the Dahomes in the market, he answers, if MOOR did not mean human flesh sold alive into slavery, he might mistake it for the flesh of monkeys, which are very large in this country, and frequently eaten here. Mr. ATKINS adds, that he never saw a flesh-market of any sort, on the coast of Guinea, tho' he had been on shore in several places; and that it was usual when a beast is killed there, to distribute the quarters and joints immediately among their neighbours, who do the same in return, because the flesh will not keep.

But the principal objection is, that SNELGRAVE should take all this upon hear-say, when he himself was upon the spot: That he should not once visit the market all the time he was in the King of Dahome's camp, though he professes himself to be more curious and inquisitive than most travellers are: Perhaps he would not say he had seen these things with his own eyes; because gentlemen, that went the same voyage, might then have given him the lie directly. But here, if all that he has suggested should be found to be false, he could come off by saying, he was deceived himself, by the relation of others, and had asserted nothing positively of his own knowledge.

Mr. ATKINS also observes, that the people of Negroeland eat but little flesh of any kind, much less human flesh; but live chiefly on Indian corn, rice, plantains, palm-nuts, pine-apples, and now and then a little stinking fish, or fowl, by way of sauce, or to give a relish to the rest. It is monstrous, therefore, to suppose that such a people should devour several hundred human carcasses in one night, and so dispose of the bones, that not one of them was to be found next morning.

Loango.

Captain URING gives the following description of the town and country of Loango, the south-east coast of Guinea: He says, the town of Loango is about five miles from the sea-side, situate in a large plain, and a champion country all round it for many miles. It is near eight miles in circumference, very populous, and lies in 4 degrees 40 minutes south latitude, which makes

VOL. III. N U M B. CXII.

their days and nights almost equal throughout the year. The air was serene and clear most part of the time we remained there. The chief of their trade is in slaves, tho' they have some elephants teeth, and bees-wax, and have very rich copper mines in the country. I have seen quantities of copper drops, which were pieces of about a pound weight, run from the oar, and are for the most part bought by the Dutch. I was informed that the greatest part of their slaves were brought eight or nine hundred miles out of the country, which they call Poamboe; I take this to be Ethiopia. They used to make excursions nearer home, in strong parties; and where they found any people settled by themselves, and not under the protection of any government, they seized them, and drove them before them, as other people do cattle, till they brought them to a trading town, where they were sold for slaves; and this is as much a trade among them, as selling horses, cows, and sheep, or the like, in other countries. Those slaves which are brought so far out of the country, are generally very ignorant, and dull of apprehension: But those taken nearer the sea-coast are more quick, especially the people of Loango, who are a crafty cunning people, and tolerably ingenious: They are most of them tall, strong, and well-limbed; and all of them are great lovers of brandy and tobacco: They do not make so good slaves as those of the Gold Coast, or Whidah; the reason which is given for it, is, that the people on the Gold coast fare hard for want of provisions, and are capable to go thro' more labour, with less victuals, than the natives of other countries, where they have plenty, as they have in the kingdoms of Angola, Congo, and those countries from whence these slaves are brought. It seldom happens, that any of the towns-people are sold for slaves, except in cases of adultery, or when their great men sell some of their servants for disobedience.

The women do all the drudgery; as planting, reaping, dressing their provisions, carrying burthens, combing their husbands hair, twisting it into several forms, and painting their bodies; they also make mats. Most of the bread eaten amongst them they call cankey, which is made with Indian corn beat small, which they mix with some roots, and boil it in dumplings, and when they take it out of the pot, then they wrap it up in leaves, and it will keep good five or six days.

If any of their great men, or Europeans, have occasion to travel, they are conveyed in hammocks after this manner: They have a long light pole, to which the hammock is fastened near the end, and two men taking it up, one before and the other behind, will carry a lusty man a round pace, several miles, without resting. When they go long journeys, they have six men, who take turns to carry, and are so dextrous, that they never stop when they change, but shift, keeping on their usual pace. There is no such easy way of travelling as this; the person sitting or lying in the hammocks, as he thinks fit, and they have a piece of callicoe thrown over the pole, when they have a mind to keep the sun from them.

The houses of the inhabitants are low, the sides of them made with cane wattled together with twigs, and covered with leaves or branches of trees, of which they have many convenient for that purpose, and consist mostly of two or three rooms, the innermost of which is particularly for the women. Most of them have small yards,

20 K

yards, inclosed in the same manner as the walls of their houses, where are generally growing plantain, banano, and other trees, the fruits of which serve them for food, and the branches are convenient to shade them from the sun when they have a mind to take the fresh air, which makes the town look very agreeable. Some of their great men, and the chief of their merchants, have cane walls of about ten or twelve foot high, which form a walk about eight foot wide, and reaches near forty yards from the houses, but with so many windings and turnings, that you go five times that distance before you come to their habitations; which is all the grandeur I observed in their buildings. I have been entertained with palm-wine and fruit at many of their houses. The chiefest of the common peoples food is cankey, potatoes, and other roots; the better sort eat fowls, and stewed fish. Their fish is dressed thus: they take five or six fresh maffouge, and put them into an earthen pot, with a little water and palm-oil, and a great deal of bird pepper, and some salt; over the fish they lay three or four pieces of small sticks a-cross, and then fill the pot with green plantains, and cover it close, the fume of the pot stews the plantains: this is esteemed an excellent savoury dish. I was prevailed on to taste it, but it was so hot of the pepper, that I could not get the taste of it out of my mouth for several hours. There is very little difference in the apparel of the men and women, both wearing a fathom of cloth about their waists, which is tucked in in such a manner, that the corner almost touches the ground, hanging on the left side. In the mornings and evenings the women have a fathom to wrap round their shoulders, which I did not observe the men made use of.

Their money they call mucates, being certain pieces of cloth made of silk grafts by the women, about the bigness of a sheet of paper, and passes as current coin; they sew several of them together, which make a fathom, and was what they clothed themselves with before the Europeans traded with them. They value our goods by an imaginary coin, something in the nature of the Portuguese manner, of counting by rees, of whom I suppose they learned it. A piece of blue bafts is valued at a thousand, a piece of painted calicoe at six hundred, a piece of neconees six hundred, a guinea stuff three hundred, a paper braul three hundred, a small kegg of powder three hundred, a gun three hundred, and so of the rest. Annabases and brass pans, pewter, basons, guns and powder are much esteemed with them: they are very fond of small black beads and coral, to make bracelets. We had also knives, tapfeels and charcooles with a small quantity of scarlet and blue broadcloth, which the natives wear in small rings tied round their waist for ornament. We bought men slaves from three thousand six hundred to four thousand, and women, boys, and girls, in proportion. We reckoned a man slave at fifty shillings prime cost of the goods in England. There was in the town a large Portuguese factory, and in the road a large Dutch ship, and two English ships besides ourselves, or we should have purchased slaves much cheaper. I had almost forgot to mention an ornament which the women wear about their ankles, which is large brass rings of five or six pound weight. They have a market every day, where provisions and goods are sold; it begins very early in the morning, and lasts about three hours: they have plenty of Indian

corn, kidney-beans, calavances, pindas, and gub-a-gubs, which last are in shape and taste like our white pease, with this difference, one grain being as big as four or five; they grow on a vine which runs upon the ground, and every single grain is covered with a distinct shell. They have great numbers of plantain and banano trees, as they have of palm trees of several sorts, from whence they draw great quantities of palm-wine, and extract a great deal of oil from the fruit, which they both eat and anoint themselves with, and sell to the Europeans. They have also large cotton trees of a prodigious size. Pine apples are so plenty here, I have bought ten for a knife which cost in England about two pence. They have some limes; but I saw no lemons, and but very few oranges, and those bitter, sour, and ill-tasted. They have plenty of dunghill fowls; but I saw neither turkey nor duck in the country, no black cattle, nor hogs, and but one sheep. The men have their drinking-bouts of palm-wine, which is the only liquor the country affords besides water: they let it stand two days after it is taken from the tree, in which it ferments, and grows sour, and has some spirit in it, which exhilarates them, and makes them merry: they'll sit at these drinking-bouts twelve hours together, till they get drunk. I have tasted it, but found it very disagreeable; but when it is first taken from the tree, it has a very pleasant taste.

The kingdom of Algiers is situated between 30 ^{Algiers} (or according to some 32) and 37 degrees north ^{kingdom.} latitude, and between 1 degree west and 9 degrees east longitude; being bounded by the Mediterranean on the north, by Tunis on the east, by mount Atlas, which separates it from Biledulgerid, or Numidia, on the south, and by the river Mulvia, which separates it from the empire of Morocco on the west, being about six hundred miles in length from east to west, but the breadth very uncertain, some bounding it by mount Atlas, and others taking in part of that mountain.

It is watered by several rivers, which rising in mount Atlas, run to the northward and discharge themselves into the Mediterranean; the largest whereof is the Malvia, or Malva, which forms its western boundary, of which Dr. SHAW gives the following description, viz. The Malvia is a large and deep river, which empties itself into the Mediterranean sea, over against the bar of Almeria in Spain, and lies about fifty-four miles to the south-west by west of cape Hone and two hundred and forty from the Atlantick ocean. Small cruising vessels are admitted within its channel, which by proper care and contrivance, might be made more commodious for vessels of greater burthen, and as navigable as it was heretofore. The sources of this river are a great way within the Sahara, at the distance of eight hundred miles from the sea, according to ABULFEDA, and the course of it, contrary to that of most other rivers of this country, lieth almost the whole way in the same meridian.

This country is generally mountainous, but the most considerable chain of mountains are those on the south, which extend from east to west, and go under the name of mount Atlas. And these, Dr. SHAW informs us, are not always of that extraordinary height or bigness, which have been attributed to them by antiquity. Those parts of them which I have seen, says the doctor, are rarely, if ever equal, to some of the greater mountains of our own island: and I question, whether they can any where stand in

in competition, either with the Alps or the Apennines. If we conceive a number of hills, usually of the perpendicular height of four or five, or six hundred yards, with an easy ascent, and several groves of fruit and forest trees, rising up in a succession of ranges one behind another; and if to this prospect we here and there add a rocky precipice of a superior eminence, and difficult access, and place upon the side, or summit of it a mud-walled *Daskrath*, or village of the Kabyles, we shall then have a just and lively idea of these mountains.

At present, the same writer informs us that the whole country is divided only into three provinces, viz. That of Tlemfan on the west. 2. Of Titterie on the south; and 3. Constantina, on the east of Algiers.

1. The province of Tlemfan, or Tremesen, according to Dr. SHAW, extends from the confines of Morocco eastward along the Mediterranean sea to the river Ma-saffran, being upwards of two hundred miles, the whole being almost equally distributed into mountains and valleys, but is almost destitute of fountains and rivers, as well as wood. Notwithstanding which, it has ever been esteemed more fruitful than the eastern part of the kingdom. The most considerable river in this province is the Shelliff, which rises in the mountains of the south, and running first north-east, and then to the westward, falls into the sea at Cape Ivy or Jibbel Disf.

The chief towns are, (1.) Tremesen, or Tlemfan, situate in 35 degrees north latitude, some few minutes east of London, lying about sixty miles south of the Mediterranean, formerly a rich populous city, and capital of the kingdom of the same name, but is not very considerable at present.

(2.) Oran, or Warran, situate on the coast of the Mediterranean, in 34 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, 40 minutes east longitude.

2. The province of Titterie, or the middle province, extends fifty miles to the westward of Tlemfan, being bounded on the east by the river Booberach, which separates it from Constantina. This is not so mountainous as the western province, especially towards the sea-coast, which is a fine rich champaign country in many places. In this province stands the city of Algiers, the capital of the kingdom, situate in 36 minutes 40. degrees north latitude, and 3 degrees 20 minutes east longitude. It lies on the side of a mountain, and rising gradually from the shore, appears to great advantage as we approach it from the sea. The walls are three miles (Dr. SHAW says, a mile and half) in circumference, strengthened on the bank side by bastions, and square towers between them. The port is of an oblong figure, a hundred and thirty fathom long, and eighty broad. The eastern mound of it, which was formerly the island, is well secured by several fortifications. The round castle (built by the Spaniards whilst they were masters of the island) and the two remote batteries (erected within this century) are said to be bomb-proof, and have each of them their lower embrasures mounted with thirty-six pounders: but the middle battery, which appears to be the oldest, is of the least defence. Yet it may be observed, as none of the fortifications I have mentioned are assisted either with mines or advanced works, and as the soldiers who are to guard and defend them cannot be kept up

to any regular courses of duty and attendance, that a few resolute battalions, protected even by a small squadron of ships, would have no great difficulty to make themselves quickly masters of the very strongest of them.

The hills and valleys round about Algiers are every where beautified with gardens and country seats, whither the inhabitants of better fashion retire during the summer season. The country seats are little white houses, shaded by a variety of fruit-trees, and ever-greens, whereby they afford a gay and delightful prospect towards the sea. The gardens are well stocked with melons, fruit, and pot-herbs of all kinds; and, what is chiefly regarded in these hot climates, each of them enjoys a great command of water, from the many rivulets and fountains which every where distinguish themselves in this situation. The fountain water made use of at Algiers, universally esteemed to be excellent, is likewise derived thro' a long course of pipes and conduits from these sources. The town contains, according to the same writer's computations, two thousand Christian slaves, fifteen thousand Jews, and one hundred thousand Mahometans, of which only thirty at most are renegadoes.

The naval force of the Algerines hath been for some years in a declining condition. If we except their row-boats and brigantines, they had, A. D. 1732, only half a dozen capital ships from thirty-six to fifty guns, and at the same time had not half that number of brave and experienced captains. A general peace with the three trading nations, and the impossibility of keeping up a suitable discipline, where every private soldier disputes authority with his officer, are some of the principal reasons why so small a number of vessels are fitted out, and why so few persons of merit are afterwards willing to command them. Their want likewise of experience, with the few engagements they have been lately concerned in at sea, have equally contributed to this diminution of their naval character. However, if by proper discipline and encouragement, they should once more assume their wonted courage and bravery, they have always in readiness such a quantity of naval stores, as will put them in a capacity of making considerable augmentations to their fleet; tho' even at present, we find them troublesome enough to the trade of Europe.

In the southern part of this province is the highest mountain in Barbary, called Jurjura, being part of that chain of hills which go under the name of Atlas. It is at least eight leagues long, lying nearly in a north-east and south-west direction. It appears to be from one end to another a continual range of naked rocks and precipices, and secures, by its rugged situation, a number of Kabyles from becoming tributary to the Algerines.

3. The province of Constantina is situated between the river Booberak, which separates it from Titterie on the west, and the river Zaine, which divides it from the kingdom of Tunis on the east, and is almost equal to the two former provinces, being upwards of two hundred and sixty miles in length, and more than a hundred in breadth. The tribute likewise collected by this viceroy, is much greater than that of the other two: inasmuch, as the Titterie bey brings only every year into the treasury above twelve thousand dollars, and the western bey forty or fifty thousand;

land; whereas there is paid in by the viceroy of this province never less than eighty, and sometimes one hundred thousand.

The sea-coast of this province, from the Booberak to Boujejah, and from thence almost entirely to Bona, is mountainous and rocky, answering very appositely to the title of the high or lofty.

The chief towns of this province are, (1.) Bugia, formerly the capital of a kingdom of the same name, situate on a hill near the mouth of the river, about twenty leagues east of Algiers, the port being formed by a narrow neck of land running out into the sea. It is a fortified town, built upon the ruins of a large city, and a great part of the old wall still remaining, which is carried up to the very top of the mountain; and besides a castle on the hill, which commands the city: there are two more at the bottom of it for the security of the port; but these, it seems, were not able to defend the ships in the river's mouth, when they were attacked by Sir EDWARD SPRAGG, the English admiral, in the year 1671; for he took and destroyed nine Algerine men of war in this harbour.

(2.) Constantina, the capital of the province, the antient Cirta, situated on the river Rummel, upwards of ninety miles to the southward of Bugia, of which Dr. SHAW gives the following description. The greatest part of the town hath been built upon a kind of peninsular promontory, inaccessible on all sides except towards the south-west. This I computed to be a good mile in circuit, lying a little inclined to the southward, but ending to the northward, in a precipice of at least a hundred fathom perpendicular. In this direction we have a beautiful landscape, arising from a great variety of vales, mountains, and rivers, which lie before it to a great distance. To the eastward our prospect is bounded by an adjacent range of rocks, much higher than the city; but towards the south-east the country is more open, entertaining us with a distant view of the mountains of Seedy-Rougeise, and of those of Ziganeah. In this direction the peninsular promontory (as I have called it,) is separated from the neighbouring plains by a deep narrow valley, perpendicular on both sides, thro' which the Rummel conveys its stream, and over which there was formerly a bridge of excellent workmanship.

The neck of land to the south-west, near which stood the principal gate of the city, is about the breadth of half a furlong, being entirely covered with a series of broken walls, cisterns, and other ruins, which are continued quite down to the river, and carried on from thence over a slip of plain ground, that runs parallel with the deep narrow valley already described. Such was the situation and extent of the antient Cirta. But the present city hath not the same dimensions, being confined to that part of it which I have called the peninsular promontory.

Besides the general traces of a diversity of ruins, scattered all over this place, we have still remaining near the centre of the city, that particular set of cisterns, which I judge received the water brought thither from Phyl-geah, by an aqueduct. They are about twenty in number, making an area of fifty yards square. The aqueduct is still in a more ruinous condition than the cisterns: however, the fragments which have

continued down to this time, sufficiently demonstrate the publick spirit of the Cirtesians, in erecting a structure, that would require such an immense quantity of materials.

Upon the brink of the precipice to the northward, there are the remains of a large and magnificent edifice, where the Turkish garrison is lodged at present. Four of the bases, each seven foot in diameter, with their respective pedestals, are still in their places, and seem to have appertained to the portico. They are of a black stone, little inferior to marble; hewn, in all probability out of that very range of rocky precipices upon which they are founded.

Among the ruins to the south-west of the bridge, upon the narrow strip of land just now described, we have the greatest part of a triumphal arch, called the [Cassir Goulah] castle (as they interpret it) of the giant, consisting of three arches, the middlemost whereof is the most spacious. All the mouldings and frizes are curiously embellished with the figures of flowers, battle-axes, and other ornaments. The Corinthian pilasters erected on each side of the grand arch, are panelled like the side posts of the gates of the city, in a gusto, as far as I have observed, peculiar to Cirta; but the pillars of the same order, which supported the pediment, are broken down and defaced.

Barbary, according to Dr. SHAW, enjoys a *Air and whole some temperature of air, neither too hot seasons.* in summer, nor too sharp and cold in winter. The winds are generally from the sea, i. e. from the west (by the north) to the east. Those from the east are common at Algiers from May to September, at which time the westerly winds take place, and become the most frequent. Sometimes also, particularly about the æquinoxes, we very sensibly experience that force and impetuosity, which the antients have ascribed to the Africus, or south-west wind, called La-betch by the mariners of these seas. The southerly winds, which are usually hot and violent, are not frequent at Algiers. They blow sometimes for five or six days together, in July and August, rendering the air so excessively suffocating, that during their continuance, the inhabitants are obliged to sprinkle the floors of their houses with water.

The winds from the west, the north-west, and the north, are attended with fair weather in summer, and rain in winter. But the easterly winds, no less than the southerly, are for the most part dry, tho' accompanied with a thick and cloudy atmosphere in most seasons.

It is seldom known to rain in this climate during the summer season; and in most parts of the Sahara, or desert on the south of Algiers, particularly in the Jereed, they have rarely any rain at all.

The first rains fall some years in September, in others a month later; after which *Hulban dry.* the Arabs break up their ground, and begin to sow wheat, and plant beans. This commonly falls out about the middle of October, but the sowing of barley, and the planting of lentils and gravancos, is a fortnight or three weeks later, or not till the end of November. If the latter fall in the middle of April, (as they usually do) the crop is reckoned secure, the harvest following in the latter end of May, or in the beginning of June, according to the preceding quality of the seasons.

Two Bushels and a half of wheat, or barley, are judged here to be sufficient to sow as much ground, as a pair of oxen will plow in one day, which I have always found to be a little more or less equal to one of our acres. I could never learn, that any part of Barbary afforded yearly more than one crop, one bushel yielding ordinarily from eight to twelve, tho' some districts, I have been informed, afford a much greater increase.

Corn of Barbary.

There is but one kind of wheat and barley cultivated in this country. In some districts, where they have a command of water during the summer season, the natives cultivate rice, Indian corn, and particularly a white sort of millet, which the Arabs call drah, and prefer to barley for the fattening of their cattle. Oats are not cultivated at all by the Arabs (the horses of this country feeding altogether upon barley) neither is bigg (or winter wheat) so much as known in this climate.

The Moors and Arabs continue to tread out their corn, after the primitive custom in the east. After the grain is trodden out, they winnow it by throwing it up into the wind with shovels, lodging it afterwards in mattamores, or subterraneous magazines.

Pulse.

Beans, lentils, and garvancos, (the latter of which is the cicer, or chick pea) are the chief pieces of pulse that are cultivated in these kingdoms. Pease, till of late, were known in the gardens only of the several christian merchants. They are sown with the first rains, and blossom in the latter end of February, or the beginning of March. Beans are usually full podded at that time, and being boiled up with oil and garlick, are the principal food of persons of all distinctions during the spring. After them, lentils and garvancos begin to be gathered.

Food.

Roots.

Of roots, pot-herbs, and the fruits of this country, there is not only a great plenty and variety, but a continuance or succession, at least of one kind or other, throughout the whole year.

Fruit.

There are great numbers of palm-trees in this country, also almond-trees, apricots, plumbs, cherries, mulberries, apples, pears, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, prickly pears, olives, walnuts; but no hazel filberts, gooseberry or currant trees.

Wine.

The grape ripens towards the latter end of July, and is cut for the vintage in September. The wine of Algiers, before the locusts in the years 1723-24, made such vast destruction of the vineyards, was not inferior to the best hermitage, either in briskness of taste, or flavour. But since that time it is much degenerated, having not hitherto recovered its usual qualities, though, perhaps, it may still dispute the preference with the wine of Spain or Portugal. The lemon (and sometimes the Seville orange) tree, is always in a succession of fruit and blossoms; but the China, as it is commonly called, is a foreigner, and beareth only towards the latter end of autumn.

Gardens.

As to their gardens, there is nothing laid out with method, beauty, or design; the whole being only a medly and confusion of trees, with beds of cabbages, turnips, beans, garvancos, &c. nay, sometimes of wheat and barley dispersed among them. Fine walks, parterres, and flower-plats, would be to these people the loss of so much profitable soil; as planting in order and regularity, the study of soil and composts, or the

aiming at any new improvements and discoveries, would be so many deviations from the practice of their ancestors, whose footsteps they follow with the utmost reverence and devotion.

The soil which supports these vegetables, is Soil. for the most part of such a loose and yielding texture, that an ordinary pair of oxen is sufficient in one day to plough an acre of the stiffest sort of it. The colour of it is not always the same; for in the plains of Zeidoure, it is blackish, whilst in those of Elmildegah, &c. it inclineth to be red: though all of them are equally fruitful, and impregnated alike with great quantities of salt and nitre.

Salt.

In the salt-petre works of Tlemfan they extract six ounces of nitre from every quintal of the common mould, which is there of a dark colour; and at Doufan, Kairwan, and some other places, they have the like quantity from a loamy earth, of a colour betwixt red and yellow. The banks of several rivers, to the depth sometimes of two or three fathom, are studded in summer time with nitrous and saline knobs and exudations, which, besides the depth of the soil, shew us likewise, how well it is saturated with these minerals. For to this grand and inexhaustible fund of salts, we may in a great measure attribute the great fertility for which this country has always been remarkable, and still continueth to be so, without any other manuring than the burning in some few places of the stubble. Though it is somewhat extraordinary, that the province of Bizacium, which was formerly held in so much repute for its fertility, should be at present the most barren and unprofitable part of these kingdoms.

It appears farther, that the salt is the chief and prevailing mineral of these kingdoms, as well from the several salt springs, and mountains of salt, as from the great number of salinas shibkahs, that are, one or other, to be met with in every district.

The salt pits of Arzew lie surrounded with mountains, taking up an area of about six miles in compass. They appear like a large lake in winter, but are dry in summer, the water being then exhaled, and the salt left behind cristallized. In digging they pass through different layers of this salt, whereof some are an inch, others more, in thickness; in proportion, I presume, to the quantity of saline particles the water was impregnated with before their respective concretions. This whole area is made up of a succession of such similar strata heaped one upon another: and in the same manner are the Salinæ betwixt Carthage and the Gulletta, those of the Shott, and of other places, either bordering upon, or lying within the Sahara.

Jebbel Had-deffa is an entire mountain of salt, situated near the eastern extremity of the lake of Marks. The salt of it is of a quite different quality and appearance from that of Salinæ, being as hard and solid as stone, and of a reddish or purple colour. Yet what is washed down from those precipices, by the dews, attaineth another colour, becoming as white as snow, and losing that share of bitterness which is in the parent rock-salt. The salt of the mountains near Lwotaiah and Jibbel Minis, is of a grey or blueish colour, and, without submitting to the like accidental purification, as at Had-deffa, is very agreeable to the palate; the first, especially, being sold at Algiers for a penny an ounce.

Of the like quality and flavour is the salt of the lake of Marks (called likewise Bahrah Pharuoune) and of other lesser plains of the same nature. These are usually called shibkah, i. e. saltish plats of ground, being commonly overflowed in winter (at the same time they appear like so many extensive lakes) but are dry all summer (when they may be taken for the like number of bowling-greens prepared for the turf.) Some of these shibkahs have a hard and solid bottom, without the least mixture of gritty mould, retaining the salt that lieth cristallized upon them after rain. But others are of a more ouzy, absorbent nature, seldom preserving any saline incrustations upon the surface.

Baths and hot springs

Besides the salt springs and rivulets already mentioned, these countries abound in hot and sulphureous springs and baths.

Some of these waters are little more than lukewarm; others of more intense heat, and very proper to bathe in, while the hammam meskouten, and the upper bath at Mereega, are much too hot for that purpose; the former boiling a large piece of mutton very tender in a quarter of an hour.

Earthquakes.

Besides the hot mineral effluvia that are continually discharged by the thermæ, there still remains below the surface some vast and inexhaustible funds of sulphur, nitre, and other inflammable bodies, of which the frequency and violence of the earthquakes, ann. 1723, and 1724, shook down a number of houses, and closed up the course of several fountains: But by one of these violent concussions, ann. 1716, a large patch of ground at Wamre, lying in an easy descent, with a well, a few trees, and a farm-house about, glided all down together for the space of a furlong, till they were, one or other of them, stopped by the channel of the Harbeene. Several of the breaches, together with some pieces of the house, turned upside down, and lying a distance from each other, are to this day standing monuments of this catastrophe. I was likewise informed, that the like accident happened at the same time in some of the mountainous districts near Boujeiah and El-Khadarah. The great shock in ann. 1724, was perceived from Miliana to Bona, the air being then very clear and temperate, and the quicksilver standing at the greatest height, whilst upon enquiry, other concussions were only found to be local, or of small extent; the quicksilver in these cases observing no certain period, and the air being, as at other times, either calm or windy, hazy or serene.

Earthquakes, during my stay at Algiers, fell out generally a day or two after a great rain, at the end of the summer, or in the autumn. The cause perhaps may arise from the extraordinary constipation or closeness of the surface at such times, whereby the subterraneous steams will be either sent back or confined; whereas the whole country being full of deep chinks and chasms, the inflammable particles have an easier escape.

Minerals.

Lead and iron are the only metals that have yet been discovered in Barbary; the latter white and good, but in no great quantity. Their lead ore is very rich, and might be obtained in large quantities, if their mines were under a good regulation.

Animals.

Besides the horse, the mule, the ass, and camel, used in Barbary for riding and carrying burthens, Dr. SHAW mentions another animal, called the kumrah, a little serviceable beast of

burthen, begot betwixt an ass and a cow, being single hoofed like the ass, but the tail and head (except the horns) like a cow, and a skin sleeker than that of the ass.

The black cattle of this country are generally very small and slender, the fattest of them when brought from the stall, rarely weighing above five or six quintals, or hundred weight; neither is their milk in proportion to their size: For notwithstanding the rich herbage of this country, from December to July, the butter hath never the substance or richness of taste with what our English dairies afford us in the depth of winter. ABDOY Bashiaw, the late Dey of Algiers, was no less surprized than his ministers, when admiral CAVENDISH, a few years ago, acquainted him that he had a Hampshire cow aboard the Canterbury, (then in the road of Algiers) which gave a gallon of milk a day; a quantity equal to what half a dozen of the best Barbary cows would yield in the same time. The Barbary cattle likewise have another imperfection, that they always lose their calves and their milk together.

The sheep and goats contribute also to the dairies of this country, it being chiefly of their milk that the Moors and Arabs make cheese. Instead of runnet, they make use (in the summer season particularly) of the flowers of the great-headed thistle, or wild artichoke, to turn the milk, putting the curds thus made, into small baskets of rushes, or palmetta leaves, and binding them afterwards and pressing them. I have already seen many of these cheeses above two or three pound weight, being usually of the shape and size of a penny loaf. They have no other method of making butter than by putting their milk or cream into a goat's skin, which being suspended from one side of the tent to the other, and pressed to and fro in one uniform direction, quickly occasioneth that separation which is required of the unctuous wheyey parts.

Besides the great variety of cattle of this country, we may observe farther, that each species are very numerous and prolific. Several Arabian tribes can bring into the field only three or four hundred horses, at the same time that they are possessed of more than so many thousand camels, and triple again that number of sheep and black cattle. The Arabs rarely kill any of their flocks, living chiefly upon their milk and butter, or else upon what they get in exchange for their wool.

Of cattle that are not naturally tame and domesticated, these kingdoms afford large herds of the neat kind, called bekker el wash by the Arabs. This species is remarkable for having a rounder turn of body, a flatter face, with horns bending more to each other than in the tame kind: These are of the size of the red deer, with which they agree in colour.

Among their wild beasts are the lion and panther: The tyger is not a native of Barbary.

The dubbah is an animal about the bigness of a wolf, but of a flatter body, and naturally limps upon the hinder right leg.

Besides these animals, it has others in common with other countries, as red and fallow deer, the gazel, or antelope, the bear, the ape, the ichneumon, the porcupine, the hedge-hog, the fox, the ferret, the weasel, besides the mole, the rabbit, the hare, and the wild boar, which are every where in great numbers. The lion is supposed to prey chiefly upon the latter, which notwithstanding hath sometimes been known to defend itself

itself with so much bravery, that the victory hath inclined to neither side, the carcasses of them both having been found lying dead together all in a gore, and mangled to pieces.

Locusts.

The locusts, which I saw in the years 1724 and 1725, says Dr. SHAW, were much bigger than our common grasshoppers, having brown spotted wings, with legs and bodies of a bright yellow. Their first appearance was towards the latter end of March, the wind having been for some time southerly; and in the middle of April their numbers were so vastly increased, that in the heat of the day they formed themselves into large bodies, appeared like a succession of clouds, and darkened the sun. About the middle of May, when their ovaries were turgid, each of these bodies began gradually to disappear, retiring into the Metijah, and other adjacent plains, to deposit their eggs. Accordingly, in the month following, their young broods began gradually to make their appearance, and it was surprising to observe, that no sooner were any of them hatched, than they immediately collected themselves together, each of them forming a compact body of several hundred yards square, which marching afterwards directly forward, climbed over trees, walls, and houses, and eat up every plant in their way, and let nothing escape them. The inhabitants, to stop their progress, made trenches all over their fields and gardens, and filled them with water; or else placing in a row great quantities of heath, stubble, and such like combustible matter, they set them on fire on the approach of the locusts. But all this was to no purpose, for the trenches were quickly filled up, and the fires put out by infinite swarms succeeding one another, whilst the front seemed regardless of danger, and the rear pressed on so close, that a retreat was impossible. A day or two after one of these bodies was in motion, others were already hatched to glean after them, gnawing off the young branches, and the very bark of such trees as had escaped before with the loss only of their fruit and foliage: so justly hath the inspired writer compared them to a great army, and observed, That the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness.

Having in this manner lived near a month upon the ruin and destruction of every thing that was green or juicy, they arrived at their full growth, and threw off their worm-like state, by casting their skins. To prepare themselves for the change, they clung by their hinder feet to some bush, twig, or corner of a stone, when immediately by an undulating motion, used upon the occasion, their heads would first appear, and soon after the rest of their bodies; after which they lay in a languishing condition: but as soon as the sun and air has hardened their wings, and dried up the moisture that remained upon them after the casting of their sloughs, they returned again to their former voracity, with an addition both of strength and agility: but they continued not long in this state, before they were intirely dispersed, as their parents had been before, after the laying of their eggs; and as the direction of the marches and flights of them both was always to the northward, it is probable they perished in the sea, a grave which, according to these people, they have only in common with other winged creatures.

These insects, sprinkled with salt and fry'd, are in taste not much unlike the river cray-fish.

Africa produces few monsters, according to the same author. The natural and ordinary course of things is much the same in Barbary as in other places, each species, as far as I could be informed, keeping inviolably to itself; for if we except the mule and the kumrah (which are procreated from animals, under the direction of mankind, and therefore not so properly left to themselves) few I presume, if any other instances, can be fairly urged in favour of the old observation, That Africa is always producing some new monsters.

Monsters.

Arts and sciences are little known or encouraged in Barbary. Besides their koran, and some other enthusiastick comments upon it, very few books are read or inquired after by those few persons of riper years, who have both time and leisure for study and contemplation. All that variety of learning which they formerly either invented themselves, or adopted into their own language, may be reduced at present to a few sheets of blundering geography, or to some tiresome memoirs of the transactions of their own times; for such branches of history as are older than their prophet, are a medley only of romance and confusion.

Arts and sciences.

Upon my arrival at Algiers, says the same writer, I made it my business to be acquainted with such persons as had the character of being learned and curious; and though it is very difficult (as well from their natural shyness to strangers, as from a particular contempt they have for christians) to cultivate any real friendship among them; yet in a little time I could find the chief astronomer, (who had the superintendence and regulation of the hours of prayer) had not trigonometry enough to project a sun-dial: that the whole art of navigation, as it is practised at Algiers and Tunis, consisted in nothing more than what is called the pricking of a chart, and distinguishing the eight principal points of the compass. Even chymistry, formerly the favourite science of these people, is no farther applied at present than the distilling of rose-water.

There are not indeed wanting several persons who prescribe in physick, play upon a variety of musical instruments, and are concerned in other actions and performances which seem at least to suppose some skill in nature or mathematicks; yet all this is learnt merely by practice, long habit, and custom, assisted for the most part with great strength of memory, and quickness of invention: for no objection can be made against the natural parts and abilities of these people, which are certainly subtle and ingenious, only time, application, and encouragement are wanting to cultivate and improve them.

Physick.

Natural parts.

Few persons will either admit of advice or medicine, believing in strict and absolute predestination, whilst others, who are less superstitious, prevent the assistance of both, by their ill conduct and management, leaving all to the strength of nature, or else to magar-eah, as they call charms and enchantments.

Charms.

Neither numeral arithmetick, or algebra, are known to one person in twenty thousand, notwithstanding their forefathers, if we may judge from the name, seem to have been the inventors of the one, as they have given to all Europe the characters of the other. However, the merchants, besides being frequently very dextrous in the addition and subtraction of large sums by memory, have a singular method of numeration: by putting their hands into each other's sleeve, and there touching

touching one another with this or that finger, or with such a particular joint of it (each of them denoting a determined sum or number) they will transact affairs of the greatest value, without speaking to one another, or letting the standers-by into the secret.

Musick.

These people play upon several instruments of musick; but as they do not write down their compositions, nor aim at any contrast or variety of parts, it may be disputed, whether even this branch of the mathematicks is to be considered as a science among them. For the musick of the Bedoweens rarely consists of more than one strain, suitable to their homely instruments, and to their simple invention. The arabebbah, as they call the bladder and string, is in the highest vogue, and doubtless of great antiquity; as is also the gaspah, which is only a common reed open at each end, having the side of it bored with three or more holes, according to the ability of the person who is to touch it: Though the compass of their tunes rarely or ever exceed an octave; yet sometimes, even in this simplicity of harmony, they observe something of method and ceremony. For in their historical cantatas especially, they have their preludes and symphonies, each stanza being introduced with a flourish from the arabebbah, whilst the narration itself is accompanied with the softest touches they are able to make upon the gaspah. The tar, another of their instruments, is made like a sieve, consisting (as the tympanum) of a thin rim, or hoop of wood, with a skin of parchment stretched over the top of it. This serves for the bass in all their concerts.

The musick of the Moors is more artful and melodious, and they have a much greater variety of instruments than the Arabs; for, besides several sorts of flutes and hautboys, they have the rebeb, a violin of two strings, which is played upon with a bow: The a-oude, a bass double stringed lute, bigger than our viol, which is touched with a plectrum, with several smaller gittars (or quetara's, according to the pronunciation) of different sizes, each of them tuned an octave higher than another. And notwithstanding they learn all by ear, passing quickly from one measure to another, and hastening the time, (as the musicians term it) in them all; yet there is always great uniformity and exactness observed throughout all their performances. I have often observed twenty or thirty persons together, proceed in this manner from one air to another, during the space of a whole night (the usual time of their entertainments) without making the least blunder or hesitation.

Buildings of the Moors.

As to the form of the Moorish houses; they are built about cloystered courts, with fountains often playing in the middle of them, and galleries over them. Their doors are large, their chambers spacious, and their pavements marble: From the porch, on each side of which are benches (where the master of the family usually receives visits, and dispatches business, few persons being admitted further) we proceed to the square court on festival days, where the company are entertained; and this is sometimes sheltered from the heat and inclemencies of the weather, by an umbrella or veil, expanded upon ropes from one side to the other.

In the cloysters and galleries are large rooms of the length of the court, which people of fashion

hang with velvet or damask from the middle of the wall downwards; the rest is adorned with the most ingenious wreathings and devices in stucco and fret-work. The ceiling is generally of wainscot, either very artfully painted, or else thrown into a variety of pannels, with gilded mouldings and scrolls of their koran intermixed. The floors are laid with painted tiles, or plaister of terrace: But the eastern nations making no use of chairs (either sitting cross-legged, or lying at length upon these floors,) they have them constantly spread over with carpets, which sometimes are most beautifully designed, and of the richest materials. For their further ease likewise and convenience, there is a row of damask or velvet bolsters ranged along each side of the floor. At one end of which chamber there is a little gallery, raised four or five foot above the floor, with a balustrade in the front of it.

The top of the house, which is always flat, is covered with a strong plaister of terrace, and surrounded by a wall or battlements.

The Bedoweens, or Arabs of Africa, live in tents called ithymias, from the shade they afford, or beetel shar, houses of hair, from the matter they are made of, being of an oblong figure, not much unlike a barn. They pitch their tents in a circular form; and this portable village is called a dou-war. Each tent consists but of one room, divided by curtains and carpets into several apartments, according to the number of the family. They have no other beds but mats, or bed-clothes but the blankets they wrap about them in the day-time.

Tents of the Arabs.

As to the Kabyles, or inhabitants of the mountains; these live in dishkra's, or thatched cottages, with clay-walls, and their villages are denominated gurbies: Each of these cottages consists but of one room, in which also they house their calves and kids; the people and their young cattle living much alike.

Buildings of the Mountain-eers or Kabyles.

The Arab women make the clothing and furniture for the family, particularly their hykes, or woollen blankets; and the webs of goats hair for their tents.

Clothing and furniture.

One of these hykes is usually six yards long, and five or six feet broad, serving the Kabyle and Arab, for a complete dress in the day, and for his bed and covering in the night. It is a loose but troublesome kind of garment, being frequently disconcerted, and falling upon the ground; so that the person who wears it, is every moment obliged to tuck it up.

The burnoose, which is a cloke or mantle, is also made by those women. Many of the Arabs go bare-headed, binding their temples with a narrow fillet, to prevent their hair being troublesome; but the Moors and Turks, and wealthier Arabs, wear caps and turbans.

Some of the Arabs wear under their hykes a close-bodied frock or tunick, girt about their bodies when they are at work; for then they actually throw off their hykes and mantles. The Turks and Moors wear linnen under their tunicks, but the Arabs in general wear nothing but woollen.

Neither are the Bedoweens or Arabs used to wear drawers, a habit which the citizens of both sexes do constantly appear in, especially when they go abroad to receive visits. The virgins are distinguished from the matrons, in having theirs made of needle-work, striped silk or linnen, just

23 TAMAR's garment is described, 2 SAM. xiii. 18. But when the women are at home, and in private, then they lay aside their hykes, and sometimes their tunicks; and instead of drawers, bind only a towel about their loins. A Barbary matron, in her undress, appears exactly in the same manner that SILENUS doth in the Admiranda.

We are to observe further, with regard to the habits of the Moorish women, that when they appear in publick, they always fold themselves up so close in their hykes, that, without the addition of a veil, there is very little to be seen of their faces. But in the summer months, when they retire to their country seats, they walk abroad with less caution and reservedness; and upon the approach of a stranger, let only their veils fall over their faces. They all affect to have their hair hang down to the ground, which they collect into one lock, upon the hinder part of the head, binding and plaiting it afterwards with ribbons. Where nature hath been less liberal, there the defect is to be supplied by art, and foreign hair interwoven with the natural. After their hair is plaited up in this manner, they proceed to dress their heads, by tying close together, above the lock I have described, the several corners of a triangular piece of linnen, wrought into a variety of figures by the needle. Persons of better fashion, wear above this a farmah, as they call it, which differs not much in shape from the former head-dress, but is made of thin flexible plates of gold or silver, variously cut through, and engraved in imitation of lace. A handkerchief of crape, gauze, silk, or painted linnen, bound close about the farmah, and falling afterwards, without any order, upon the lock, completes the head-dress of the Moorish ladies.

But none of these ladies take themselves to be compleatly dressed, till they have tinged the hair and edges of their eye-lids with the powder of lead-ore. The sooty colour, which is in this manner communicated to the eyes, is thought to add a wonderful gracefulness to persons of all complexions.

Carpets are another branch of the trade and manufactories of this country. They are made of much coarser materials, and are not so beautifully designed as those of Turkey; but being cheaper and softer, they are preferred by these people to lie upon. At Algiers and Tunis there are looms for velvet taitas, and several kinds of wrought silks. A coarse sort of linnen is likewise made all over these kingdoms, tho' Sufa is noted for producing the finest. The greatest part of the manufactures I have mentioned are consumed at home; some of which are so small and inconsiderable, particularly the silks and linnen, that the deficiencies are frequently made up from the Levant, and Europe. It may be further observed, that these parts of Barbary send very few of their commodities to foreign markets. Oil, hides, wax, pulse and corn, are the general produce; but the first are either in such small quantities, or so much wanted at home, that corn may be reckoned the chief, and indeed the only branch of trade for exportation. Before the loss of Warran, I have known our merchants ship off some years, from one or other of the ports of these kingdoms, seven or eight thousand ton. There is likewise so great a consumption of oil among the natives them-

VOL. III.

selves, that in the kingdom particularly of Algiers, it is seldom permitted to be shipped off for Christendom. Greater quantities indeed are produced near Tunis and Sufa, but then the Moorish merchants alone are allowed to buy it; obliging themselves, at the same time, to dispose of it at Alexandria, Damietta, or some other ports of the Mahometan dominions.

Commodities of all kinds are sold very cheap in this country. We can have a large piece of bread, a bundle of turneps, a small basket of fruit, &c. for the six hundredth and ninety sixth part of a dollar, i. e. of three shillings and sixpence of our money. Fowls are frequently bought for three half-pence a piece, a sheep for three shillings and sixpence, and a cow and a calf for a guinea. It is happy likewise for these people, that they can have one year with another, a bushel of the best wheat for fifteen or eighteen pence. For the inhabitants of these countries, no less than the eastern people in general, are great eaters of bread; it being computed, that three persons in four live entirely upon it, or else upon such compositions as are made of barley and wheat flour.

In cities and villages where there are publick ovens, the bread is usually leavened; but among the Bedowens, as soon as the dough is kneaded, it is made into thin cakes, which are immediately baked upon the coals.

Besides several different sorts of fricasees, and of roast, boiled, and forced meats (the first and last of which are always made very savoury) the richer part of the Turks and Moors mix up a variety of dishes with almonds, dates, sweet-meats, milk, honey, &c. I have seen at some of their festivals, more than two hundred dishes, whereof forty at least were of different kinds; but among the Bedowens and Kabyles, there are neither utensils nor conveniences for such entertainments; two or three wooden bowls, a pot and a kettle, being the whole kitchen furniture of the greatest emeer. However, all the orders and degrees of these people, from the Bedoween to the Bashaw, eat in the same manner, washing first their hands, and then sitting cross-legged round a mat, or low table, upon which their dishes are placed. They make no use of a table-cloth, each person contenting himself with a share of a long towel that lies round the mat. Knives and spoons are little in use, for the food being well roasted and boiled, requires no carving. Cuscawoe, pilloe, and other dishes likewise, which we should reckon spoon meats, are served up in the same manner with all their other sorts of food, no better than lukewarm; so that the whole company dipping their fingers together in the dish (making use of their right hand only) take what portion of it they can conveniently dispose of for a mouthful, making it first into little balls, or pellets, in the palms of their hands. No sooner is any person satisfied than he rises up, and washes himself, without paying the least regard to the company, whilst another that very moment takes his place; the servant sometimes (for there is no distinction of tables) succeeding his master. When they sit down to these meals, or eat and drink at any other time; and, indeed, when they enter upon their daily employ, or undertake any business whatsoever, they always pronounce, with the greatest seriousness and reverence, the word Bismillah, i. e. (in the name of God) using Alham-

20 M dillah;

Provisions;
the price
of them.

Usual
food.

Kitchen
furniture.

Manner of
eating.

Manufac-
tures.

dillah, i. e. (God be praised) after nature is satisfied, and their affairs are attended with success.

Way of
life.

The Turks and Moors are early risers, constantly attending the publick devotions at break of day. Each person employs himself afterwards in the exercise of his proper trade and occupation, till ten in the morning, the usual time of dining; returning again to his business till (Afa) the afternoon prayers, at which time all kind of work ceaseth, and their shops are shut up. The supper commonly follows the prayers of (Magreb) sun-set, and then repeating the same at the setting of the watch, when it begins to be dark, they go to bed immediately after. Some of the graver people, who have no constant employ, spend the day, either in conversing with one another at the Haf-ess in the Bazar, or at the coffee-house: whilst a great number of the Turkish and Moorish youths, with no small part of the unmarried soldiers, attend their concubines with wine and musick into the fields, or else make themselves merry at one of the publick taverns: a practice indeed expressly prohibited by their religion; but what the necessity of the times, and the uncontrollable passions of the transgressors, oblige these governments to dispense with.

The Arabs follow no regular trade or employment; his life is one continued round of idleness or diversion. When no pastime calls him abroad, he doth nothing all the day but loiter at home, smoke his pipe, and repose himself under some neighbouring shade. He hath no relish at all for domestick pleasures, and is rarely known to converse with his wife, or play with his children. What he values above all is his horse, for in this he placeth his highest satisfaction, being seldom well pleased, or in a good humour, but when he is far from home, riding at full speed, and hunting.

Sports.

The Arabs, as well as the eastern nations, are very dextrous at this exercise. I have seen several persons, who could take up a jerrid or dart at full speed from the ground; and there are none of them but can quickly hunt down a wild boar. We have upon one of the medallions of Constantine's arch, a very beautiful representation of this sport, as it is performed to this day by the Arabs, who after they have roused the beast from his retirement, and pursued it into some adjacent plain, endeavour there, by frequent overtaking and turning it, to tire and perplex it; and then, watching an opportunity, either lance at it at some distance, or, coming close by its side, fix their spears in its body. At the hunting of the lion, a whole district is summoned to appear, who forming themselves first into a circle, enclose a place of three, four, or five miles in compass, according to the number of the people, and the quality of the ground that is pitched upon for the scene of this action. The footmen advance first, rushing into the thickets with their dogs and spears to put up the game, whilst the horsemen, keeping a little behind, are always ready to charge upon the first fall of the wild beast. In this manner they proceed, still contracting their circle till they all at last either close in together, or meet with something to divert them. The accidental pastime upon these occasions is sometimes very diverting; for the several different sorts of animals that lie within this compass, being by

this means drove together, they rarely fail of having a variety of agreeable chases after hares, jackalls, hyænas, and other wild beasts. It is a common observation in this country, that when the lion perceives himself in danger, nay sometimes the very moment he is roused, he will seize directly upon the person who is the nearest to him, and rather than quit his hold, suffer himself to be cut in pieces.

Hawking is one of the chiefest diversions among the Arabs, and gentry of the kingdom of Tunis. Their woods afford them a beautiful variety of hawks and falcons.

Hawking.

The greatest part of the Moorish women would be reckoned beauties, even in Great Britain; their children certainly have the finest complexions of any nation whatsoever. The boys, indeed, by wearing only the tiara, are exposed so much to the sun, that they quickly attain the swarthiness of the Arab; but the girls, keeping more at home, preserve their beauty till they are thirty, at which age they are usually past child-bearing. It sometimes happens, that one of these girls is a mother at eleven, and a grand-mother at two and twenty; and as their lives are usually of the same length with those of the Europeans, there have not been instances wanting among these matrons, of some who have lived to see their children of many generations.

Persons
of the
women.

No nation in the world is so much given to superstition as the Arabs, or even as the Mahometans in general. They hang about their childrens necks the figure of an open hand, which the Turks and Moors paint upon their ships and houses, as an antidote and counter-charm to an evil eye, for five with them is an unlucky number. Those who are grown up, carry always about with them some paragraph or other of their koran, which, as the Jews did their phylacteries, they place upon their breast, or sew under their caps, to prevent fascination and witchcraft, and to secure themselves from sickness and misfortunes. The virtue of these charms and scrolls is supposed likewise to be so far universal, that they hang them upon the necks of their cattle, horses, and other beasts of burthen. They place great confidence in magicians and forcerers; and upon some extraordinary occasions, particularly in a lingering distemper, they use several superstitious ceremonies in the sacrificing of a cock, a sheep, or a goat, by burying the whole carcass under ground, or by drinking a part of the blood, or else by burning or dispersing the feathers. For it is a prevailing opinion all over this country, that a great many diseases proceed from some offence or other that hath been given to the Jenounes, a sort of creatures placed by the Mahometans betwixt angels and devils. These, like the fairies of our forefathers, are supposed to frequent shades and fountains, and to assume the bodies of toads, worms, and other little animals, which being always in our way, are liable every moment to be hurt and molested. When any person therefore is sickly or maimed, he fancies that he hath injured one or other of these beings, and immediately the women, who are dextrous in these ceremonies, go upon a Wednesday with frankincense, and other perfumes, to some neighbouring spring, and there sacrifice, as I have already hinted, a hen or a cock, an ewe or a ram, &c.

Supersti-
tion and
charms.

Sec. according to the sex and quality of the patient, and the nature of the distemper.

Government of the Arabs.

The Arabs are permitted by the Algerines, to be governed by their own laws and magistrates, without controul, provided they behave themselves peaceably, pay them the eighth part of the produce of their lands, and a small poll-tax, which is annually collected by the Turks. And every dou-war, or village, may be looked upon as a small principality, being governed absolutely by the person of the greatest substance in it: the government usually descends from father to son, or to the next heir, except he be an infant, or unqualified to govern, and then the uncle, or some near relation, takes the administration of the government upon him. When one of these governors has the command only of a single dou-war, he is commonly called the sheik; but the ruler or chief person of a tribe, whose authority reaches over several dou-wars, hath the title either of the (sheik el kibeer) great lord or elder, or else of (emeer) prince.

Number of Turks in Algiers.

The whole force of Algiers, in Turks and Colloglies, is computed at present to be about six thousand five hundred; two thousand whereof are supposed to be old, and excused from duty: and of the four thousand five hundred that remain, one thousand are constantly employed in relieving annually their garrisons, whilst the rest are either to arm out their cruisers, or else form the three flying camps which are sent out every summer, under the command of the provincial viceroys. To the Turkish troops we may join about two thousand Zwowah, as the Moorish horse and foot are called: yet, notwithstanding these are kept in constant pay, and may be supposed to augment the number of soldiers, yet being all of them hereditary enemies to the Turks, they are little considered in the real safeguard and defence of the government. The method therefore that is observed in keeping this large and populous kingdom in obedience, is not so much by force of arms, as by diligently observing the old political maxim, "Divide and command." For the provincial viceroys are very watchful over the motions of the Arabian tribes, who are under their several districts and jurisdictions; and as these are in continual jealousies and disputes with one another, the beys have nothing more to do than keep up the ferment, and throw in at proper times new matter for discord and contention. There are a great many Arabian and African tribes, who in case their neighbours should observe a neutrality, would be too hard for the whole army of Algiers, notwithstanding each Turk valueth himself in being a match for twenty Arabs. When therefore there is any misunderstanding of this kind, the viceroys play one tribe against another, and provided the quarrel proves equal, a few Turks seasonably thrown in, will be more than a balance for the enemy. By thus continually fomenting the divisions, which always subsist among the Arabian princes, and by drawing on afterwards one family to fight against another, these four or five thousand Turks maintain their ground against all opposition.

Way of travelling in Barbary.

In the inland towns and villages of Barbary, there is for the most part a house set apart for the reception of strangers, with a proper officer to attend it. Here persons are lodged and entertained for one night, in the best manner the place will afford, at the expence of the community.

Except at these places, says Dr. Shaw, I met with no khans, or houses of entertainment, throughout the whole course of my travels. To furnish ourselves with tents would have been both cumbersome and expensive; besides the suspicion it might have raised in the Arabs, that we were persons of rank and fortune, and consequently too rich and tempting a booty to be suffered to escape. The unfortunate gentlemen, who were concerned not many years ago in an embassy to Abyssinia, found this to be true, at the expence of their lives.

If, therefore, in the course of our travelling, we did not fall in with the hovels of the Kabyles, or the encampments of the Arabs, we had nothing to protect us from the inclemency, either of the heat of the day, or the cold of the night, unless we met with some accidental grove of trees, the shelve of a rock, or sometimes, by good fortune, a grotto. At these times, which indeed did seldom happen, our horses were the greatest sufferers: and as they were always our first care, we gathered for them stubble, grass, boughs of trees, and such like provender, before we sat down.

When we are so fortunate in travelling in Barbary, to find out the encampments of the Arabs (for we are not fond of visiting the Kabyles, who are not so easily managed) we are entertained for one night upon free cost: the Arabs, either by long custom, the particular tenure of their lands, or rather, perhaps, from fear and compulsion, being obliged to give the spahees, and those who are with them, the mounah, as they call it, which is a sufficient quantity of provisions for themselves and their horses. Besides a bowl of milk, and a basket of figs, raisins, dates, or other dried fruits, which were presented to us upon our arrival, the master of the tent where we lodged, fetched us from his flock (according to the number of our company) a kid, or a goat, a lamb, or a sheep, half of which was immediately seethed by his wife, and served up with cuscaflowe; the rest was usually made Kab-ab, and reserved for our breakfast or dinner the next day.

However, the tents of these roving herdsmen, though they may shelter us from the weather, are, notwithstanding, attended with their inconveniencies. For the cold and the dews that we are every night exposed to in the deserts of Arabia, do not incommode us half so much as the vermin and insects of all kinds, which never fail to molest us here. Besides fleas and lice, which, without a miracle, are here in all their quarters, the apprehensions we are under of being bit or stung by the scorpion, viper, or venomous spider, rarely fails in some parts of these countries to interrupt the rest that is so grateful and necessary to a weary traveller. Upon sight, indeed, of one or other of these venomous beasts, a thaleb, or writer, who happened to be one of my spahees, after he had muttered a few words, exhorted us all to take courage, and not be afraid of such creatures, as he had made tame and harmless by his charms and incantations. We are likewise no less offended (from whence we might least expect it) by their kids, calves, and other young cattle, that are tied up every night under the eaves of their tents, to prevent them from sucking their dams. For the cords that are used upon these occasions, being only made of loose spun yarn, the fretful creatures

are every moment breaking loose, and trampling over us.

When our company was at any time entertained in a courteous manner (for the Arabs will sometimes part with nothing till it be extorted by force) I used to give the master of the tent a knife, a couple of flints, or a small quantity of English gunpowder, which being much stronger than their own, they have in great esteem, and keep for the priming only of their fire-arms. If the lallah (or lady) his wife, had been obliging also in her way, by making our cuscaffowe savoury and with expedition, she would return a thousand thanks for a skean of thread, a large needle, or a pair of scissars; all of them great rarities, and very engaging presents with these people.

During the excessive heats of the summer, and especially when we were apprehensive of being intercepted by some party of free-booting Arabs, we then travelled in the night; which having no eyes, according to their proverb, few of them dare then venture out, as not knowing the dangers and ambuscades they may possibly fall into.

Our stages, or days journies, were not always the same. For when any danger was apprehended, we then travelled through as many by-paths as our conductors were acquainted with, riding in this manner, without resting, sometimes twelve, sometimes fifteen hours together. Nay, in returning from Jerusalem (so vigilant were the Arabs at that time, in distressing the pilgrims) notwithstanding we had the sheck (or saint) of Mount Carmel, with twenty of his servants to protect us, we rested only one hour in two and twenty; for so long we made it in travelling betwixt Sichem and Mount Carmel. But in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, an ordinary day's journey (exclusive of the time taken up in making observations) rarely exceeded eight or nine hours. Our constant practice was to rise at break of day, set forward with the sun, and travel till the middle of the afternoon, at which time we began to look out for the encampments of the Arabs; who, to prevent such parties as ours from living upon them, take care to pitch in places the least conspicuous. And indeed sometimes, unless we discovered the smoak of their tents, observed some of their flocks, or heard the barking of their dogs, it was with difficulty (if at all) that we were able to find them.

In Barbary, where the Arabs are under subjection, I rarely carried along with me more than three spahees, and a servant, all of us well armed; though we were sometimes obliged to augment our numbers, particularly when we travelled among the independent Arabs, upon the frontiers of the neighbouring kingdoms, or where two contiguous clans are at variance: These, and such like harammes, as the free-booters are usually called, must be, I conjecture, what the Europeans mean by wild Arabs, notwithstanding there is no such name peculiar to any one body of them, they being all of them the same, and have all the like inclinations (whenever a proper opportunity or temptation offers itself) of robbing, stripping, and murdering, not strangers only, but also one another.

However, to prevent, as much as possible, the falling into their hands, the greatest safety for a traveller at all times, is to be disguised in the

habit of the country, or dressed like one of his spahees. For the Arabs are very jealous and inquisitive, suspecting all strangers to be spies, and sent to take a survey of those lands, which at one time or other (as they have been taught to fear) are to be restored to the christians.

The horses and camels of these countries keep generally one constant pace; the latter at the rate of two miles and an half, the other of three geographical miles an hour.

Captain URINO gives the following description of Carthage and Tunis, viz.

I walked almost all over the ground where the city of Carthage formerly stood; but there is hardly any appearance that there ever had been a town there, the grass covering the stones almost every where. I was shewed a place where it is said their citadel stood, and another, which I was told, was the place of arms: We saw there pieces of walls lying flat upon the ground; and in that part which is supposed to be the middle of the city, there is a range of 16 cisterns for holding water, which had been all arched over with brick, and a broad walk on each side of them; the arches remained whole over several of them, and three or four of the cisterns were not the least decayed, and had then water in them, tho' the greatest part were ruined. These cisterns were, no doubt, made to hold a store of water, for supplying the inhabitants in case of a siege, and would hold many thousand tons. They had, no doubt, many more besides these for that purpose; they having no fresh water in the town, but what was conveyed thither by an aqueduct near thirty miles out of the country, which was about thirty, or thirty-five foot high; part of which for near one hundred and fifty foot in length, I saw standing, and all the rest was fallen down, where the ruins are to be seen in several places: It was built of a hard stone, something like flint, tho' of another kind. Not far from Cape Carthage the bey has a house and gardens, near which is a well with water; but it being brackish, it was not fit to drink, though it served to water the gardens. The city of Carthage stood upon a point or cape, moderately high, and the sea running on both sides of it, formed almost a peninsula.

The city of Tunis stands at the head of a large lake or lagoon, ten or fifteen miles from the Galleta castles, and about eighteen from the place where Carthage stood. It is about five or six miles round, and is encompassed by a high strong wall, and a dry ditch: In the upper part of the town, on a rising ground, is a castle or citadel, the walls of which are also very high, but has no ditch. The city is watered by a rill rising in a neighbouring mountain, which is conveyed to the town over a deep valley by an aqueduct. There are cannon mounted on the walls; but the fortification is not regular, nor built after the manner of those in Europe; it stands upon a large space of ground, and the strength of it seems to consist only in the height of the walls.

The streets of the city are very irregular, tho' there are in it a great many lofty and well-built houses, which have but few windows on the outside. They have square courts within, which are paved with tile, having galleries supported with pillars two or three stories high, and are contrived for coolness, where the families regale themselves, and take the fresh air.

The

The city is very populous, as we may judge by the number of harlots, which I was assured were not less than fifteen thousand registered. The bey's revenues are chiefly from olive-trees, the owners of which pay a tax of four aspers a year for each tree. They pay also a certain rate for their dates, and other fruits; and there are likewise duties upon all goods imported. Their chief manufacture are caps, which they export in great quantities to Turkey: they export some oil, cotton-yarn, pot-ash and sponges, some corn and beans.

Cuscufu.

Their cuscufu, which is one of their general and best dishes, is made thus: they put flour into a large flat pan, and sprinkle it with water, and taking great pains to shake it to and fro over a slow fire, which separates it, and rolls it into small balls, about the bigness of pigeon shot; when they have prepared a sufficient quantity of it, they put it into a sort of a cullender, which they set over the top of the pot where their flesh is boiling, and it receives the steam thereof, and moistens it; and when their meat is boiled enough, they put it all together into a dish, and eat it.

The ruins of an amphitheatre.

We went to see an antient building, fifty miles south of Tunis, said to be erected either by the Romans or Carthaginians: we found four fifths of it standing, but it was decayed in several places. It stood upon a large plain, and had been a very fine and large amphitheatre, built with square stones. When it was entire, it was of an oval form, in three circular ranges or walks, arched clear round, and was three stories high, and had about sixty-five windows in every story, with galleries on the inside, which in all would contain at least twenty-five or thirty thousand spectators. When we had viewed the amphitheatre within and without, and sufficiently satisfied our curiosity, we ranged about the village, which was built out of its ruins. Several of the inhabitants

invited us into their houses, where we saw their women, who, contrary to the custom of Mahometans, met us, and seemed highly pleased with our company; they were not satisfied with barely seeing our faces, but desired us to unbutton our garments, and surveyed our naked arms and breasts: the men, who stood by, seemed as much delighted as the women; whether they were wives or single women, was unknown to us; but notwithstanding their curiosity, they seemed very modest. The inhabitants of the village were all of the Moorish race, being of the colour of Mulattoes; 'tis very probable they had never before seen any men so white as we were.

In this journey I made what observations I could of the country thro' which I passed; most of the land was a hard, reddish, sandy soil, which bore no grass, and very few shrubs. I do not remember, for ten or fifteen miles together, to have seen any creature, not so much as an insect. Within a few miles of the amphitheatre, there were some shrubs, without any leaves, scattered over a large plain, with a herd of goats browsing upon them; and about midway in our journey, we passed thro' a tolerable village, of about two hundred houses, which was much the best that I saw in the country, where there was a linnen manufactory, most of the inhabitants being either spinners or weavers. It was surrounded with olive-trees, and had some small gardens, from whence we had both grapes and figs. We passed by several small sorry villages, not worth naming; but where we saw a green spot, there were also some huts and olive-trees, the greatest part of the country being barren; which I was much surprised to see, this being the antient Numidia, from whence, history tells us, came such numbers of people; and that they should chuse such a country to live in, or how they could subsist, is very unaccountable.

Soil of Tunis.

THE INTRODUCTION To the HISTORY of AMERICA.

THE continent of America, 'tis probable, extends as far as the Pole on the north, and is bounded by the Atlantic-ocean, which divides it from Europe and Africa on the east; by another anonymous ocean on the south; and by the vast Pacific-ocean, usually called the South-sea, which separates it from Asia, on the west.

The length of America, if we extend it but from 80 degrees north (our furthest discoveries that way) to Cape-Horn, which lies in 57 and a half south, takes up 137 and a half degrees of latitude; which reckoning 60 miles to a degree, as mariners usually do, makes the length of America to be 8250 miles; and, if we allow 70 Miles to a degree, which comes near the truth, the length of America is 9625 miles, but the breadth is not answerable to the length; for what is discovered of North-America, which is of a triangular figure, is not so broad in any place.

The north and south parts are joined by the narrow isthmus of Darien, which divides the North from the South-sea, and is about 60 miles over in the narrowest place, viz. between Porto-Bello and Panama.

But when we thus divide America into North and South, it must not be understood, that the Equator makes this division; for what is denominated South-America, extends 12 degrees odd minutes to the northward of the Equator: And indeed we follow the grand division made by the Spaniards of their American dominions into the Viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru, which are separated by a line drawn from Porto-Bello on the North-sea, to Panama on the South-sea, the province of Terra-firma Proper (more known by the name of Darien) in which Porto-Bello and Panama are comprehended, being reckoned part of Peru or South-America, and the province of Paragua, contiguous to Terra-firma Proper, the most southern province of Mexico, or North-America: So that those maps, which divide North from South-America, by the gulph or river of Darien, and a line drawn from thence to the South-sea, are not relied on; for they place the province of Terra-firma Proper in North-America, whereas, in reality, it belongs to the Viceroyalty of Peru in South-America.

The Spaniards, by virtue of the bull or grant the Pope made them, of all discoveries to the west-

ward of the Azores, looked upon themselves to be entitled to all America formerly, insinuating that all other nations were thereby absolutely excluded from any share in that part of the world; and on their arrival in North-America, which went under the name of Mexico, and another of the Inca's in the South, stiled the empire of Peru, they gave the name of Mexico to their northern conquests, and the name of Peru to the southern conquests.

It may be proper also to take notice here, that the sea which separates North-America from Europe, is generally about four or five thousand miles broad; the sea, which separates South-America from Africa, about two or three thousand miles over; and the sea, which separates America from Asia, generally about eight or nine thousand miles over. Having thus described the situation and extent of America, I proceed to enquire into the notions the ancients entertained of the form of the heavens and the earth, and of another continent to the westward of ours.

The ancients generally imagined, that the heavens constituted but one hemisphere, and that the earth was flat and round as a table, serving as a basis or foundation to support the fine vaulted roof over their heads.

The ancients opinion of the form of the heavens and the earth.

Even the Fathers laughed at those Philosophers, who believed the earth to be globular, and surrounded by the heavens equally on every side; and nothing was more exploded by them, than the notion of Antipodes. Is it possible, says LACTANTIUS, that any can be so credulous to believe there are a people, or nation, walking with their feet upwards, and their heads downwards; that trees and corn grow downwards; or that rain, snow and hail ascend to the earth?

And St. AUSTIN says, "We are not to believe what some affirm, that there are Antipodes which inhabit that part of the earth under us; a region, where the sun rises when it sets with us, and the feet of the people are opposite to ours; or that the earth is in the midst of the world, encompassed on all parts, and covered equally with the heavens."

And speaking of the notion some entertained of another continent, he says, "It is not agreeable to reason or good sense, to affirm, that men may pass over so vast an ocean as the Atlantic, from this continent to a new-found world, or that there

"there are inhabitants there, all men being descended from the first man ADAM."

And even ARISTOTLE, and those of the ancients, who believed both the heavens and the earth to be globular, and that there might be another continent; yet look'd upon it to be divided from us by such vast seas, that we could have no communication with it; and that all about the Equator, whether in this, or any other continent, was not habitable, on account of the excessive heats. It seems the ancients in general, were so far from knowing any thing of America, that they knew nothing even of Africa, or the East-Indies, to the southward of the Equator, though they must be acquainted with some parts of Africa and Asia, which lay within the Torrid Zone, on this side of the Equator; for the Upper Ethiopia lies within the Torrid Zone, as does great part of the East-Indies: And Sumatra (which is supposed to be Tabrobane, or Tarshish of the ancients, and whither the fleets of SOLOMON and HIRAM failed for gold) lies under the Equator; and yet we find PLINY of ARISTOTLE's opinion, and affirming, "That the middle region of the world, where the sun continually runs his course, is parch'd and burnt up with fire." It is exceeding strange, that when men pass'd to the farthest bounds of Africa, beyond the Equator, none ever returned to inform the more northern regions, that those parts were habitable; and that the Greeks and Romans knew no more of Africa, to the southward of the Equator, than they did of the continent of America.

The ancients never failed round Africa;

The same PLINY, indeed, reports, that HANNO the Carthaginian, failed round Africa; but this evidently contradicts what he said before, that the countries under the Equator were not habitable. And, indeed, that opinion, that HANNO, or any of the ancients surrounded Africa, must be false, because they would not only then have known that those countries were habitable, but they must have known another hemisphere, have seen a new set of stars, and have seen the sun to the northward of them at noon-day, which were such remarkable discoveries, that if they had been once made, could never have been forgotten; and yet we meet with no mention of these particulars, either in Greek or Roman writers, or the least description of any people or country in Africa, south of the Equator. It seems superfluous therefore to add, that it was scarce possible the ancients could pass these great seas to the southward of the Cape of Good-Hope, in such galleys, and low-built vessels, as were then in use; especially since there are not any harbours, or places of security, about the Cape, that could preserve them from shipwreck, in those seas, which are very seldom free from storms, such as no galleys can live in.

Or knew any thing of America.

But to proceed; SENECA, in his Medæa, seems to prophely, that another world should be discovered beyond the Atlantic-ocean, to the south-west; and this was also the opinion of other great men among the ancients, founded upon that disproportion there appeared to be between the land and water then discover'd. But this shews there was no such continent discovered at that time.

PLATO indeed speaks of a vast island beyond the Atlantic-ocean, equal in dimensions to Asia and Africa, and of several intermediate islands, which render'd the passage short and easy thither; but then he tells us, those islands were long since sunk, and covered with the ocean. If we take

his testimony therefore entire, there was no such land as America known in his days: And indeed his whole relation appears to be no more than poetical fiction; and PLATO's Atlantic-islands, to have no other existence than MORE's Utopia.

I proceed, in the next place, to examine the several conjectures concerning the time and manner of peopling America; for all that we know certainly is, that it has been planted many hundred, or rather thousand of years, from the numbers of people found there in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

An enquiry how America was first peopled.

I make no doubt, but that all men, according to the scriptures, descended from ADAM; and had we not the authority of sacred writ for this opinion, yet the resemblance there is between the people of that continent and this, and the religion and customs of the one and the other, demonstrate, that we proceeded from one common stock.

The stature, form and features of the Americans, do not differ from ours; the frame and turn of their minds are the same; they adored the same almighty Being, built temples, and sacrificed to him, as the ancients did; and they retained a tradition, that their continent was gradually peopled from a small number. They used arms of the same form also as the men of our continent did, viz. swords, spears, lances, bows, arrows, slings, and darts: All the difference was, that as they had lost the use of iron, their wooden swords were edg'd with sharp flints, and their spears, arrows and darts pointed with the bones of fish, or other animals. However, it is highly probable, that those countries were peopled very early, because they seem'd strangers to almost every art and science, when the Spaniards came amongst them; and for the same reason, we may be assured no adventurers arrived there in these latter ages, before COLUMBUS.

We know certainly, that part of the western coasts of Africa, and the Canary-islands, over-against, and not far from America, were planted by the Carthaginians, four or five hundred years before the incarnation of our Saviour; that some of their ships carried a thousand souls; and, 'tis probable, when they sent ships to the Canary or Cape Verd islands, to plant colonies, they were crowded with men, women, and children, as ours are, that we send to the plantations at this day. Is it strange then, that some of these ships should be driven to America, by the winds which constantly blow from the eastward, when it is not more than three weeks sail from Africa, or the Canaries, to that continent? If such planters were once driven from their intended port, far to the westward, and they found it impossible for them to return, the wind sitting always directly against them; what could be more rational than to run before the wind, in hopes of making some other land; and, as we suppose them victualled in order to plant and recruit some colony, such adventurers could not have less than three weeks, or a month's provision on board, which was sufficient to support them in such a voyage, where they could suffer no hardships from the climate, which was suitable to African constitutions.

Probably men first arrived there in Carthaginian ships.

If it be demanded how it happened, that no shipping was ever driven thither since the Carthaginian state flourished, it may very truly be answer'd, that no people have ever navigated those seas, since the Carthaginians, 'till very lately; all the discoveries and plantations of the Carthaginians

upon the west coast of Africa, and in the Canaries, were lost and ruin'd upon the conquest the Romans made of Carthage; neither did the Romans ever revive that branch of their navigation.

Even the Canaries, that were certainly planted by the Carthaginians, remained unknown for many ages after that state became subject to the Romans; nor did the natives know from whence to derive their original, when the Spaniards made new discovery of those islands in the 15th century.

Another circumstance to induce us to believe they are descended from the Phenicians or Carthaginians, is their imitating them in such of their religious rites, as nature or reason could never have taught them. As to their worshipping the Sun and Moon, this was common indeed to almost all other nations; but their offering human sacrifices seems to have been almost peculiar to those nations. It is observable also, that the Americans adored mountains, woods, seas and rivers, and almost every animal, as the Africans once did, and some of them actually do at this day. But further, if we suppose that America was first peopled by sea, it could be by no other nation but the Phenicians or Carthaginians, no other people having fleets and colonies on the western coasts of Europe and Africa in those early ages.

It could
not be
peopled
from Asia.

For as the peopling America by fleets or colonies from China, or any other part of Asia; in the first place, the breadth of the Pacific-ocean, or South-sea, which separates from America, is not less than eight or nine thousand miles, twice the breadth of the Atlantic-ocean, which lies between us and America. 2dly, The winds are always contrary within the latitude of 30 north and south, where the winds constantly blow from east to west, and in higher latitudes are variable. 3dly, It is well known that the Chinese, the only people furnished with shipping in the eastern parts of the world, never affected to make long voyages, or visit remote regions; their navigation was always confin'd to their own seas, and they either knew nothing of distant countries, or despised them too much to take any pains to come at them; and it is very unlikely, that any of their ships should be driven by accident to America, because the sea, that separates Asia from America, is so very wide, and the winds always against those that would sail from thence to America, within the latitude of 30 north and south; and both Japan and California, which lie the nearest each other, of any lands we know in Asia and America, lie in and about the latitude of 30 north.

It could
not be
peopled
by land
from the
north or
south.

As for that notion, that the people of the continent went north about to America by land, it scarce deserves mentioning; for we know by our late voyages to the north-east, and to the north-west, that the sea extends more than eighty degrees to the northward; and consequently, if America was peopled either of those ways, those who went thither must travel within 10 degrees of the Pole, which parts are neither passable nor habitable; and if there be any other land which unites their continent to ours, in a less rigorous climate, it must be between the land of Jesso, or Yedso, to the northward of Japan and California, but these are about 80 degrees asunder, and no one has pretended to have discovered any land between them, unless some merry map-makers, who separate them only by the imaginary straight of Anian,

which they make to be little broader than the straight between Dover and Calais, tho' we know certainly, that the land of Jesso and California are several thousand miles asunder, and no man pretends to have discovered any country between the one and the other.

To the southward also, our mariners have sailed to near seventy degrees; and consequently, if the two continents are united in that part of the globe, it must be in too rigorous a latitude for men to travel that way by land.

But should it be admitted, that there was a passage by land, either near the north or south Pole, from the old to the new world, it is strange, that no man ever returned again that way from America to us. The passage is probably as easy from thence by land as it is to it; and if it be objected, that the same argument held good against those who suppose America was peopled from hence by sea, this is evidently a mistake, because the winds always sit fair for sailing from Africa to America, and contrary to those that would return from thence. Besides, as it appears the Americans had lost the art of ship-building and navigation, when the Spaniards came amongst them, and never knew the use of the loadstone, there was no possibility they should ever return, or that we should have any knowledge of them. Had they been furnished with shipping, as they were not, it would not have been possible for them to have found the way back to Africa; for, 'till the use of the loadstone, the North or South-seas were very little navigated, if at all: And as well as we understand navigation at this day, we find it very difficult to come back from America without sailing pretty far north or south, where we meet with variable winds, and for the most part westerly; if we were obliged to sail within the Tropics, or indeed within the latitude of 30, our voyages from America would be very long, and very difficult, even to us.

But there remains still a very formidable objection against the peopling of America by the Phenicians or Carthaginians; and that is, that they were destitute of almost all arts and sciences; nay, that they knew nothing of ship-building, or the use of iron, which they must have been acquainted with, if they had derived their original from the Carthaginians. To this it may be answered, that those who were first driven to the coasts of America, might be acquainted with most of the arts the Carthaginians were masters of; but as the first generation was probably worn out, before any iron mines were discovered, and it is possible, that none of those that arrived there might understand the digging, melting, or separating of metals, if such mines had been discovered; it is no wonder, that in an age or two, the use of iron was forgot, and consequently ship-building, and all other manufactures that depended on the use of iron, tho' the arts of spinning and weaving, for which the Tyrians and Phenicians were famous, were retained.

Another circumstance which inclines us to think, that America was peopled by the Africans by sea, and not by land, is, that we found it better peopled in the middle between the Tropics, than it was towards the north or south; whereas, in our continent, the most populous places are, and the most considerable empires have been, within the Temperate Zone, to the northward of the Tropic of Cancer.

Objections
against the
peopling
of America
by the
Carthaginians
answered.

Farther
arguments
that the
Americans
derive their
original
from the
Africans.

Had the Europeans or Asiatics gone north about to America, they would probably have first planted those countries that lay nearest the north, or at least those within the Temperate Zone, as most agreeable to them, and suitable to their constitutions; and not have chosen to fix the two great empires of Mexico and Peru within the Torrid Zone, and in a manner desert the rest of the country. It is much more likely therefore, that the inhabitants of Peru and Mexico should derive themselves from the Africans, than from any northern people whatever; because the climate of Peru and Mexico, as has been observed, resembles that of Africa, and is much more agreeable to an African constitution, than to those of more northern latitudes.

As neither the Romans, or any other Europeans, made any attempts to settle colonies in Africa, near, much less beyond, the Equator; it is not to be supposed, that the Americans would have fixed themselves altogether within the Torrid Zone, if they had come from some cold northern clime, like that of Sweden or Muscovy. This therefore is a very strong argument with me, that the first men, that passed into America, went from scorch'd Africa by sea, and not from the frozen countries about either Pole by land.

The objection that animals could not pass by sea considered.

Still I apprehend it may be objected, that tho' men might pass first to America in ships, it can never be supposed that every species of beasts, birds and insects, passed thither the same way. To which I answer, it is equally improbable they should travel thither by the extremities of the north or south Pole; for it cannot be supposed, that such animals as were bred in hot climates, would ever wander into frozen regions; nay, 'tis a question, whether any of them would live in a cold climate, if they were carried thither, and consequently their passage that way must be miraculous, if ever they affected it: Besides, it appears, that many of the hardiest animals, and the fittest for such journeys, such as oxen, mules, and horses, were none of them to be found there, when the Spaniards discovered America; and if other animals went that way, it is strange that horses and mules, the best made for such expeditions of any creatures we know, should none of them have attempted this passage as well as the rest.

On the other hand, if there was such a passage by the extremities of the north and south, how comes it to pass, that several species of animals we find in America, never appeared in our continent: If these at first passed from us to them, how comes it that none of the same species are left here. If any one will be so good to inform me how these animals came into America, I will inform him how the rest came thither. Since the difficulty therefore remains equal, whether we suppose animals passed from the one continent to the other, by sea or land, our being ignorant how the Americans came to have some of the same animals we have, can be no objection to the notion that America was peopled by sea; nay, it seems to strengthen this opinion, that men never passed from this continent to that by the extremities of north and south, inasmuch as neither horses or mules, and some of the rest of the hardiest animals we have, and the best made for travelling, were not found there; for if men could pass that way, it is to be supposed, that those beasts would not have passed that way too; or rather that men would not have made use of

them to ride on, or to carry their baggage, and their wives and children with them.

If it be said, that it was by divine impulse, that the animals of this continent wandered to the other; I answer, If we must resort to a miracle, or supernatural means, to solve the difficulty, we may as well suppose a new creation; for that would be but a miracle. That men might and did pass to America in shipping, has been in a manner demonstrated; how beasts and other animals came thither, I must confess remains a difficulty; for tho' some might pass in ships, we cannot suppose all of them did. But still this does not weaken the opinion, that America was peopled by fleets or single ships of the Carthaginians from the western coasts of Africa; because there are equal, or greater difficulties to encounter, if we suppose men and animals went thither, either by or near the north or south Poles; and there are no other possible ways of their passing to America by land, unless we suppose with PLATO, that some great islands are sunk, that lay between us and America, of which we should certainly have had some other evidence to corroborate his testimony, if there were any such: And indeed from the whole tenor of that essay, it appears, that PLATO was speaking of some imaginary country that never had a real existence. I

proceed, in the next place, to give an account of our modern discoveries to the west-ward. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, or COLON, was a native of some obscure village in the state of Genoa, his father and several of his ancestors, sea-faring people; not in such mean circumstances however, but COLUMBUS was put to school at Pavia, where he was taught arithmetick, navigation, astronomy, drawing and painting, at least sufficient to draw a landscape, or describe the situation of a place: From school, he went to sea, and was in several engagements with the Turks, and Venetians, and other nations; in one of which, the ship he was in, being burnt near the coast of Portugal, he had the good fortune to escape to shore upon a plank, and coming to Lisbon, found several of his countrymen and acquaintance settled in that city, with whom he resided some time, and afterwards made several voyages with the Portuguese to the north and south, and particularly to Guinea on the coast of Africa. While he was in the service of the Portuguese, he married a wife of some quality and fortune, whose father had been concerned in several naval enterprises, and was Governor of Porto Sancto, one of the Madera islands, by which means COLUMBUS came into the possession of his father-in-law's charts, maps, and journals, which gave him the first hint, 'tis said, of making discoveries to the westward: and here it may be proper to describe the person of this great Discoverer.

Of the discovery of America by Columbus.

His son relates, that he was moderately tall and long-visaged; his complexion a good red and white; that he had light eyes; his cheeks were somewhat full, but neither too fat nor too lean; that in his youth, he had fair hair, which turned grey before he was thirty years of age; that he was moderate in eating and drinking, affected a plain modest garb or dress; that he was naturally grave, but affable to strangers, and pleasant frequently among his domesticks; strict and devout in religious matters; and, tho' a sea-man, was never heard to swear or curse; that he applied himself chiefly to the study of cosmography, astronomy and geometry; and from his youth,

appeared to have more than ordinary passion to understand the state of all countries on the face of the globe, and to make new discoveries; which probably was his reason for settling at Lisbon, no nation having push'd their discoveries further than the Portuguese at that time. And here he was perpetually drawing maps and charts, in which he received great encouragement from that enterprising people.

COLUMBUS, 'tis said, had three inducements to believe, that there lay a continent in the Atlantic-ocean, not far to the westward, and that this continent was contiguous to, or rather part of the East-Indies (under which name was then comprehended even China, and all the countries to the eastward of the Ganges.)

1. He observed, that MARINUS had placed the East-Indies 15 hours to the eastward of the west coast of Africa and Europe (which was however a very gross mistake;) and that as there could remain but 9 hours more between this continent and that, in sailing westward, supposing that space to be all sea, which he hoped was a great part of it land, he concluded it would be no very long voyage to the East-Indies by the west: and this, by the way, is the reason why America was called the Indies, because the first discoverer proposed to sail to the East-Indies, through the Atlantic or western ocean; and when the continent of America was first found out, they looked upon it to be part of the continent of India, 'till they discovered that the South-sea, or Pacific-ocean, lay between America and India.

2. A second inducement for his attempting these discoveries westward, was the opinions of several learned men, both ancients and moderns, that there was another continent beyond the western ocean, either very near or contiguous to the East-Indies, and that it was not very far distant from ours: but no man confirmed COLUMBUS more in the opinion of a continent that lay to the westward, than Signor PAUL, a Physician of Florence, with whom he held a constant correspondence while he resided at Lisbon. This Physician, in one of his letters, relates how rich and populous a country China or Cathay was, as they had learnt by some Ambassadors who came from thence to the Pope, and from Merchants that had traded thither by land; that it was full of great towns, yielded gold, precious stones, and merchandize of incredible value; and assures him, that the voyage thither, through the Atlantic ocean, by the west, could not be farther than the voyage from Portugal to Guinea, which (tho' it was a very gross error) gave COLUMBUS great encouragement to attempt that voyage. In short, he computes the distance between Lisbon and China, sailing westward, to be about five thousand miles, in which he was out two thirds: However, so far he was accidentally in the right, that the space between ours and the next continent to the westward, was much thereabouts, and gave COLUMBUS a notion that he should meet with land five or six thousand miles to the westward.

3. A third inducement to this Great man's undertaking this discovery, was the reports of some sea-faring men, who had used those western seas. A Portuguese Pilot, named MARTIN VICENTE, informed COLUMBUS, that being 450 leagues to the westward of Cape St. Vincent, he took up a piece of carv'd wood, which he guess'd came from some island to the westward, the wind having long far that way: And PETER COREA, who married his wife's sister, assured him, that he saw a

piece of carv'd wood, drove by the westerly winds on Porto Sancto, one of the Madera islands; and that there had been thick canes driven upon those shores, such as did not grow in this part of the world; and when the west winds blew, Pines were frequently driven on the Azores or western islands: Others that had sailed to the westward of the Azores some hundreds of leagues, affirmed they had seen an island in those seas. But his principal encouragement to this undertaking, was, according to some, the sea-charts and journals of a Pilot that died at his house in Lisbon, that appeared to have discovered some land far to the westward; and indeed by his persisting so long in the resolution of sailing in search of a country beyond the Atlantic-ocean, and applying to so many Princes and States for their assistance, and his stipulating for no other pay or reward, than the government of the lands and seas he should discover, one would be inclined to think, COLUMBUS had some certainty, or at least a very high probability, of his succeeding in this attempt; otherwise for a man to venture to sail so many thousand miles upon an ocean, 'till then esteemed boundless, must have been deem'd rather rash temerity, than wisdom. However, his son rejects this story of the Pilot's dying at his house, and leaving him those intimations of a country he had discovered to the westward, as derogatory to his father's honour, who he insists, was the first discoverer of that new world; and no doubt he was the first that discovered it to any purpose, so as to plant colonies, and make settlements there, in these latter ages, which is an honour that might satisfy his descendants. One would think, altho' the discovery was made at first by accident; and indeed, as those seas about the Azores, the Canaries, the Cape Verd islands, and the coast of Guinea, were then constantly navigated by the Portuguese and Spaniards, it is not improbable, that some one of their ships should have been driven a fortnight or three weeks sail to the westward of their design'd course, and discover'd either the islands or continent of America, as 'tis said this Pilot did, who died at the house of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS in Lisbon.

But whatever were the Admiral's motives to this undertaking, he chose, it seems, rather to apply to sovereign Princes and States for their assistance, than invite private Adventurers into this project; foreseeing, that if he should himself, or in partnership with others, arrive at the rich countries he proposed to visit, the Prince, whose subjects they were, would claim the sovereignty of such places, and dispose of them to whom he saw fit; or other Princes might fit out fleets after he had found the way to this new world, and deprive him and his fellow-adventurers of the advantage of their discovery. It was extremely prudent therefore in him, to endeavour to engage some sovereign Prince in the design; and, since he could not hope to obtain the dominion of what he should discover, to stipulate for the second place in those happy regions he proposed to come to (viz.) the post of Vice-roy by land and sea, which we find he always insisted on, and obtain'd at length a patent for. He might, no doubt, have been much sooner fitted out by private owners; but then their possession possibly, when they had succeeded in the discovery, would have been more precarious, than their voyage to this new world was at first thought to be. But to proceed: COLUMBUS, having sailed a great while in the Portuguese

Portuguese service, married and settled at Lisbon, and advanced his fortune there, first proposed the finding out a way to the East-Indies by the Western ocean, to king JOHN of Portugal; and gave such substantial reasons for the attempt, that the King seemed to be convinc'd the thing was feasible, tho' he did not approve the terms our Adventurer propos'd: Therefore while the affair was negotiating, King JOHN, 'tis said, privately dispatch'd a ship to the westward, with orders to find out if there were any such lands in those seas as COLUMBUS supposed. But whether the Commander wanted courage or capacity for such an undertaking, it seems he returned without meeting any thing to his purpose, and laugh'd at the conjectures of COLUMBUS; at which he was so incens'd, that he left Lisbon, and went to Spain, dispatching at the same time his brother BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS to HENRY VII. King of England, with charts and maps, that might illustrate his design: but his brother being taken by Pirates, and not making the dispatch that was expected, COLUMBUS opened his design to their Majesties FERDINAND and ISABELLA, King and Queen of Castile and Arragon: And tho' his brother BARTHOLOMEW afterwards reach'd England, and his proposals were accepted by King HENRY VII. yet COLUMBUS having concluded an agreement with the Court of Spain before he was advertis'd of his brother's success, England lost the honour and profit of this important discovery.

This affair, it seems was many years negotiating; and probably COLUMBUS had meditated upon it, and weigh'd the difficulties and hazards of the undertaking, a great while before he communicated it to any man; for he is acknowledg'd by all to have been a man of prudence and temper; and possibly, if he had not obtained some reputation for his knowledge in cosmography and navigation, the Courts he applied himself to, had treated him no better than they usually do a common projector; whereas we find he tells their Majesties FERDINAND and ISABELLA, King and Queen of Castile and Arragon, in one of his Letters, "I have refused to take up with France, England and Portugal, as appears by the letters I have received from those Princes, and which your Highnesses may see in the hands of Dr. VILLALAN, that I may serve your Highnesses."

It appears from our own histories, that his brother BARTHOLOMEW was at the Court of England in the year 1480, and that he had before treated with the King of Portugal, if not with Spain; and I'm apt to think that his proposals were rejected by the Spanish Court at first, which occasioned his applying to England and France; but Queen ISABELLA encouraging the scheme, by the advice of JOHN PEREZ her Confessor, about the year 1484, he seem'd from that time to have applied himself wholly to the Spanish Court. However, FERDINAND and ISABELLA being yet engag'd in the wars with the Moors in Spain, he was still delay'd 'till the year 1492, when a supply of money was provided, and COLUMBUS entrusted with the equipping and fitting out three small ships for the expedition, in the harbour of Palos. He also obtained a grant from their Majesties to be Admiral of the Western seas, with the same privileges as the Admirals of Castile and Leon enjoyed; that all civil employments, as well as governments in the continent, or world to be discovered, should be wholly at his disposal; and besides the revenue of the posts of Admiral and Vice-roy, he should enjoy

a tenth of all the profits arising by future conquests in those yet unknown lands.

And now COLUMBUS, whom for the future, in imitation of his son, I shall stile admiral, having equipp'd and victuall'd his three ships, of which the chief, call'd the St. Mary, he commanded in person, and the other two were commanded by the Captains MARTIN ALVAZO PINZON and VINCENT PINZON, two brothers. This little Squadron, mann'd only with 90 men, and consequently none of the vessels of any great burthen, set sail from Palos for the Canaries, the 3d of August 1492, and arriv'd at those islands the 12th. One of the ships having received some damage in this passage, the Admiral remain'd there to rest and take in fresh provisions, 'till the first of September, when he set sail again upon his grand design. He had not sail'd a fortnight in this wide ocean to the westward before his men began to murmur at the enterprize, imagining they were sent to certain destruction; for they observ'd the wind constantly fat from east to west, and apprehended there would be no possibility of returning, if they mis'd of the land they were made to expect: But on the 19th, observing some birds fly over their ships, and on the 22d, abundance of weeds driving by them, they began to be better satisfied, and concluded they were not far from land.

However continuing their course still several days farther westward, and meeting with no land, the seamen mutinied to that degree, that they had almost agreed to throw their Admiral over-board, and return home without him; when fortunately for him they saw more birds, weeds, pieces of board, canes, and a shrub with the berries upon it also swim by them, which made them conjecture there must be some islands thereabouts; and indeed had the Admiral inclin'd a little more to the southward, he would have made either the Caribbee islands, Hispaniola, or Cuba, some time before; for these lay now on the left or larboard side of him; some of them astern or rather on his larboard quarter: For the first-lands he made were the Lucayo's or Bahama islands, near the coast of Florida. It was on Thursday, the 11th of October, 1492, about 10 at night, that the Admiral first discover'd a light upon the islands of Guanahania, or St. Salvator, as the Admiral nam'd it, in consideration that the sight of it deliver'd both him and his men from their fears of perishing. (This island lies 60 degrees west of the Canaries, in 25 degrees north latitude.) About two in the morning, the ship call'd the Pinta, the best sailer of the three, and which therefore usually kept a-head of the Admiral, gave the signal of land, which was first seen with the naked eye, when they were scarce two leagues from the shore, by RODERICK DE TRIANA, one of the common seamen on board the Pinta, who had not, however the reward that was promis'd to the first discoverer, it being adjudg'd that the Admiral was the first, because he saw a light on the island the night before.

The day appearing, the ships came to an anchor very near the island, which they comput'd to be about fifteen leagues in length, and found it to be populous, well planted, and water'd with a great lake, but generally flat low land, without hills: The natives came down crouding to the shore, and seem'd astonish'd at the sight of the ships; and the Admiral believing there was no great danger to be apprehended from them, went on shore in his boat, with the royal standard, as did

Land first
discovered

the other two Captains in their boats, with their colours flying. They no sooner came on shore, but they kneeled down, and gave God thanks for their success, and kiss'd the ground (says the son of COLUMBUS) with tears of joy; after which, the Admiral stood up, and having rear'd the royal standard, called the island by the name of St. Salvator, taking possession of it in the name of their Catholick Majesties, with great solemnity; after which his people recognized him their admiral and Vice-roy, swore to obey him, and begg'd pardon for their perverse untractable behaviour during the voyage.

The Indians, in the mean time, stood gazing at the Spaniards, without attempting to oppose them, while they were thus taking possession of their country; and the Admiral ordered some strings of glass beads, caps and toys of small value, that made a glittering shew, to be distributed amongst the natives; at which they seem'd infinitely pleas'd, and immediately hung the beads about their necks, testifying, by all the signs imaginable, the value they set upon these presents. They were all perfectly naked, of a middle stature, and olive complexion, like those of the Canaries; their features just, only their foreheads of the largest; their eyes black as their hair, which was generally cut short above their ears, though others wore it long and tied up; some of them also had their bodies painted with a kind of vermilion, and others only painted their faces with it. The principal ornament about them was a thin gold plate, in the form of a crescent, which hung from the nose over the upper lip, and their arms were spears pointed with the bones of fish. When the Admiral returned to his ships, they followed him, some swimming, and others in their canoes, a vessel made out of the body of a tree, some of which will hold forty men, and others not more than two. When they came on board, they brought parrots and cotton-yarn, all the merchandize they had, to exchange for European trifles. They seem'd to set a value upon every piece of broken glass or earthen-ware, jumping into the sea, and swimming to shore with such trifles, with abundance of joy. But they admir'd nothing more than the swords, and bright arms of the Spaniards, being at that time perfectly ignorant of the use of iron.

The Admiral demanding, as well as he could by signs, from whence they had their gold plates, they pointed to the south and south-west, where they gave the Spaniards to understand, there were several large countries well replenish'd with that precious metal. The Admiral row'd in his boats about the island, to discover if there was any thing worth his settling there, being followed by the islanders every where, who seem'd to adore him and his people, as if they were come from heaven. From this island he sail'd to another of the Bahama islands, which he call'd St. Mary of Conception; and having view'd this, and several more of these islands, and found nothing to invite him to stay here, he took seven of the natives with him, and set sail for the great island of Cuba, which lies to the southward of the Bahama islands, arriving there on Sunday the 28th of October: Here they found some houses on the shore, but the people all fled up into the mountains on their approach: Whereupon two Spaniards and two Indians were sent up into the country to get intelligence; who, returning again the 5th of November, reported, they travell'd about twelve leagues within the land, that they

came to a town consisting of fifty large timber houses thatch'd, which contained about a thousand people, who came with great respect, and kiss'd the two Spaniards feet, giving them boil'd roots to eat: They entreated them also to remain in their country; and, when they saw them resolv'd to return to their ships, would accompany their guests thither; for the two Indians had inform'd the natives, there was no danger to be fear'd from the Spaniards. There were several other towns the two Spaniards reported they had seen in their journey, where they were hospitably entertained, and said the country was well planted with oaks, pines, palms, and cotton shrubs, and sown with Indian-corn; and they saw great variety of birds, but no beasts, except some few dumb dogs; that the Indians had great quantities of cotton-yarn in their houses, of which they made them hammocks to lie in, and aprons for their women. But it being demand'd of the natives, if they had any gold or precious stones, they pointed towards the east, intimating, that in a great country, call'd Bohio, and which the Spaniards afterwards named Hispaniola, there was plenty of these things. Whereupon the Admiral determining to sail eastward, and taking twelve of the natives of Cuba, men, women and children with him, the husband of one of the women, and father of two of the children, who had been carried on board, came in a canoe to the ships, and desired he might also go with them, and not be parted from his wife and children: Whereupon the Admiral order'd him to be taken on board; and setting sail from Cuba the 5th of December, arriv'd the next day at the island of Bohio, about sixteen leagues to the eastward of Cuba; and here observing the country to resemble that of Spain in several particulars, he gave it the name of Hispaniola, which it retains to this day. Having sent some Indians and Spaniards on shore for intelligence, the people at first run away, and abandon'd their houses; but the Indians afterwards informing the natives, that there was nothing to be fear'd from the Spaniards, they returned, and shew'd them all imaginable respect, offering them such food as the country afforded. But what the Spaniards were most inquisitive after, was the place where they had their gold from; observing most of them to wear thin gold plates at their noses as in the other islands; and the people directing them further eastward, the Admiral made no long stay at the west end of the island, but sail'd again along the north coast, in search of that precious mineral. In which voyage, one of their Caciques, or petty Kings of the island, came on board the Admiral, with two or three hundred men, and they made mutual presents to each other: The Indians gave the Spaniards chiefly thin gold plates, and the Admiral return'd them beads, toys, carpets, and little bells. But a night or two afterwards, the Admiral's ship had the misfortune to run a-ground, and could not be got off; so that he had now but one ship left, MARTIN PINSON, Captain of the third, having deserted him at the island of Cuba, and sail'd for Hispaniola, in hopes of discovering the gold mines before the Admiral came thither. The Spaniards had the good fortune to save all their goods that were on board the ship that was cast away, by the assistance of the Cacique and his Indians, whom the Admiral commends as an inoffensive hospitable people, ready to accommodate strangers with every thing: He observes

also, that they then went perfectly naked, and were almost as white as the Europeans.

To compensate for the loss of his ship, the Indians brought the Admiral a pretty deal of gold, made into thin plates, or ornaments for the neck or face, and informed him he would meet with a great deal more at Ciboa, in the inland country: Whereupon the Admiral built a fort within a harbour, which he called the Port of the Nativity, with the timber of his wreck'd ship; and leaving in it a garrison of thirty-nine men, with cannon, small arms, ammunition and other necessaries, he determined to return to Spain, and give an account of the success of his voyage.

The Admiral sailing further eastward the 4th of January, discovered, two days after, his other ship, commanded by MARTIN PINZON, who came on board him, pretending to have been forced away by stress of weather, which the Admiral did not then think fit to dispute with him, tho' he very well knew PINZON left him upon choice, there having been no bad weather to force him away. PINZON and his men, it seems, had got a pretty deal of gold by bartering with the natives of Hispaniola for trifles; but they agreed to conceal it from the Admiral, on the Captain's having given one half of it among his crew.

The Admiral sending seven of his men on shore again, near the east end of Hispaniola, they met with a stouter race of Indians, about fifty-five in number, arm'd with bows, arrows, and great clubs, but perfectly naked, only their heads adorned with a sort of coronets of beautiful feathers, and their faces painted black, red, or white; their bows were made of yew, and their arrows of a small cane, pointed with a sharp fish's bone: And thus arm'd, appearing ready to fall upon the Spaniards, the latter fir'd their guns, and wounded two or three of them; whereupon the rest of the Indians fled and dispersed. This place COLUMBUS named the Bay or Gulph of Arrows, from the arms of the natives; and here he relates he met with a great deal of cotton and long-pepper.

The admiral departed from the Gulph of Arrows (called Samana by the Indians) towards Spain, the 16th of January, and meeting with a storm the 14th of February, he lost the company of the other ship, commanded by MARTIN PINZON, about 150 leagues west of the Azores: They all expected to have perished in this storm, and went to their prayers; after which they cast lots which of them should go on pilgrimage to our lady of Guadalupe, if they escaped, which fell upon the Admiral himself. Then they drew again, which of them should go to the lady of Loretto in Italy, on their arrival in Europe, which fell to the share of PETER DE VILLA, a mariner of Port St. Mary's; and the storm still increasing, they all made a vow to go bare-foot in their shirts at their landing, to some church of our lady's, and every one made private vows besides for himself. In the account COLUMBUS gave to their Catholick Majesties of this storm, he says, "I had been less concerned at the tempest, had I alone been in danger, for I know I owe my life to the supreme CREATOR; and I have been at other times so near death, that very little was wanting to compleat it. But what infinitely grieved me was, that God was pleased to frustrate this enterprize, intended for the propagation of the Christian religion, and the increase of your Majesties dominions; and what added to my grief, was, the loss of those men, who had so bravely ventured their

VOL. III.

lives with me: Nor was it the least of my afflictions, that I had left two sons at school at Cordoua, destitute of friends in a strange country; and it could not be known I had done any service which might incline your Highnesses to remember them: And tho', on the one side, I comforted myself with the belief that God would not permit a thing, which was so much for the advantage of his church, to be left imperfect, when I had, with such application and labour, almost brought it to perfection; yet, on the other hand, I was afraid I was far from meriting so great an honour. In this perplexity, I meditated on your Highnesses good fortune, and considered, that though I were dead, and the ship lost, you might some way reap the fruits of this enterprize: As briefly as I could, therefore, I wrote a narrative in parchment of what I had discovered, in how many days I performed the voyage, and what way I had done it, with the nature of those lands, and of the inhabitants; and that your Majesties subjects were left in possession of what I had discovered; which writing folded up and sealed, I addressed to your Highnesses, promising a reward of 1000 ducats to him that should deliver it to you seal'd, that if any foreigner found it, the promised reward might induce him not to give it to another; then I wrapped the writing in an oil'd cloth, and inclosed that in a ball of wax, which I put into an empty cask; and having bunged the cask up close, threw it into the sea. Another cask, with a copy of the same writing enclosed in like manner, I placed on the highest part of the ship; so that if the ship sunk, the cask might still remain above water.

The Admiral, however, had the good fortune to weather this storm, and, on Friday the 15th of February, made the island of Azores, and the next day, came to an anchor at St. Mary's, where the country people brought on board fresh provisions, and treated them very kindly; and here finding an hermitage dedicated to the Virgin MARY, they agreed to go barefoot, and in their shirts, to the chapel of the hermitage, according to their vow in the storm; and accordingly the Admiral sent one half of the ship's crew to perform their devotions there, determining on their return to go himself thither with the rest of the company: And having waited a whole day in expectation of his men, he understood that they were made prisoners in the island. But giving the Portuguese to understand, that this outrage would probably occasion a war between their Catholick and Portuguese Majesties; and that, if his men were not returned, he would make reprisals, and carry double their number off the islands; they consented, at length, to release the Spaniards, who reported, at their coming on board, that the King of Portugal had sent orders to all places under his dominion, that they should secure the person of the Admiral by any means whatever.

The Admiral set sail from the Azores the 24th of February, and soon after met with another terrible storm, not inferior to the former, which drove him, much against his will, into the river of Lisbon in Portugal; however, he was received here, contrary to his expectations, very hospitably. The people of Lisbon crowded on board to see him and the Indians he had brought from the new world; some of them applauding the glorious enterprize, while others cursed the covetousness and incredulity of their Ministers, which had lost them the honour and advantage of the discovery.

The next day, the King of Portugal ordered the Admiral to be furnished with all manner of fresh provisions gratis, and wrote to him, congratulating his arrival, and inviting him to Court; and on his coming on shore, the Nobility and Officers of State were ordered to attend him, and he was admitted to sit covered in his Majesty's presence. But the King intimated, he thought the discovery belonged to him, as the Admiral had resided most of his life in that kingdom: To which the admiral answered, His Majesty did not think fit to listen to the overtures he had made him; that he went out with the King of Spain's commission, and had punctually observed his orders, not to go to the Portuguese mines in Guinea. And now the admiral, it seems, was under some apprehension, that the King of Portugal would detain him; but after two days, his Majesty dismissed the Admiral with great civility, letting him know, that if he chose to go to Spain by land, he would be at the expence of his journey; but the Admiral chose to return by sea, and arrived at Palos in Andalusia, on the 13th of March 1492, having set out from thence the 3d of August before, making his voyage to the new world, and back again in seven months and eleven days. Here the people received him with a solemn procession and thanksgiving for his return, most of his seamen, it seems, belonging to this port.

Here the Admiral heard, that MARTIN PINZON, Captain of his other ship, was arrived in Galicia, and had given advice of it to the Court of Spain, proposing to have brought the first news of the American discovery; but their Catholick Majesties sent him word, that he should attend on the Admiral, to his great mortification; and this mutinous officer, who had given the Admiral very great disturbance in his voyage, retired thereupon in discontent to his native country, where he died soon after.

Their Catholick Majesties being at Barcelona at this time, when the Admiral drew near that city, all the Court went out to meet him, and he was received with the honours due to a sovereign Prince; nor was it easy to determine, whether the Admiral had greater satisfaction in relating, or their Majesties in hearing the discoveries he had made in the new world.

The rejoicings for the success of this great enterprize being over, their Majesties confirmed to the Admiral the Viceroyship of all the islands and continent to the westward of the Azores, and the Cape Verd islands, which he either had or should discover and conquer, empowering him to appoint all Governors, civil and military, in these new discovered Indies (as they were called, it being then imagined, that they lay contiguous to, or near the East-Indies) and orders were given for the fitting out a fleet immediately to plant and take possession of those countries; in which such diligence was used, that the Admiral set sail again, with seventeen ships and fifteen hundred men, from the road of Cadiz the 25th of September 1493. He touched at the Canaries, as in the first voyage; and, departing from those islands the 7th of October, made St. Dominica, one of the Caribbee islands, the 2d of November, in the night-time, when by their reckoning they were between 750 and 800 leagues from the Canaries. Meeting with no convenient harbour in St. Dominica, which he so named from its being discovered on a Sunday, he sailed to another island, which he called Mari-galante, which was the name of his ship; where

landing, and taking possession of it for their Catholick Majesties, he returned on board again, and sailed to another of the Caribbee islands, which he called St. Mary of Guadalupe, at the request of some Friars, who belonged to a monastery of that name in Spain. He found a little town here; but the inhabitants were all fled into the woods, except some children, to whom they gave some glittering toys, to entice their parents to come and traffick with them. The next day, the admiral sent his boats on shore again, and his people brought off two young Indians, who said they were not inhabitants of that island, but of another called Boriquen (now St. John de Porto Rico): That the natives of Guadalupe were Caribbees, or Canibals, and had taken them prisoners. The same day, six Indian women fled to the Spaniards, and came voluntarily on board their ships, for fear of the Caribbees; but the Admiral caused them all to be set on shore again, giving them glass-beads, bells, and other things, which he thought would strike the fancies of their masters; and they were no sooner landed, but the Spaniards saw the Caribbees take all these toys from them. After which, the captives came running again to the ships boats, begging that the Spaniards would take them on board, for the Caribbees would eat them, or make slaves of them at least: And accordingly the Admiral ordered them to be brought to the fleet, with another young man, and two children, that made their escape also from the Caribbees: But, it seems, these people of the island of Boriquen, or St. John's, who had been taken by the Caribbees of Guadalupe, pretended it was their custom to kill and eat only the men they took, and reserve the women alive, either for slaves, or their pleasure. Still the natives of Guadalupe refused to return to their houses; whereupon the Admiral landed, and took a particular view of their town, and found a great deal of cotton, spun and unspun, looms to weave cotton-net-hammocks, abundance of men's skulls hung up, and baskets of bones. These were better houses, and more plentifully furnished with provisions than any the Admiral saw in his first voyage.

On Sunday the 10th of November, he weighed anchor, and sailed along the coast of Guadalupe, towards the north-west, for Hispaniola, and came to another island, to which he gave the name of Montserrat, because of its great height; and the Indians that were with him, informed him, that it was depopulated by the Caribbees, who had devoured the inhabitants. And sailing on further westward, he saw abundance of other islands; amongst the rest, that of St. Martin, where he met with a canoe, having four men and a woman in it, who fought his boat's crew with their bows and arrows; and the boat overset the canoe, one of the Indians shot several arrows as he swam in the water: However, they were at length all taken up, and the Spaniards observed that the men were castrated; it being usual, says the son of COLUMBUS, for the Caribbees to geld their captives, as we do capons, that their flesh may relish the better. The Admiral having passed by above fifty other islands, which he left to the northward, came, at length, to the island of Boriquen, which he named St. John Baptist, and anchored in a bay on the west side of it, where he met with several houses pleasantly situated.

Before I proceed further in the description of this second voyage to the new world, give me leave to consider a little the account these discoverers

verers give us of the Caribbees, whom they will have to be cannibals, or devourers of human flesh. I must confess, I have hitherto been of opinion, that there never was a nation of cannibals upon the face of the earth. From the beginning of the world, we may observe, that every people almost has looked upon those, who were situated at a distance from them, as barbarians; and, upon the first discovery of them, ascribed abundance of monstrous and unnatural customs and practices of them, and among the rest, frequently that of being devourers of human flesh. Thus it appears, many of the ancients treated each other, and we of these latter ages seem to copy after them. There are some islands that lie in the bay of Bengal, in the East-Indies, which we were assured were inhabited by cannibals, by the first adventurers that sailed to the East-Indies; but, upon our better acquaintance with them, there appeared to be no cannibals there; nay, they were so far from eating human flesh, that they eat no flesh at all. On my travelling into the mountains, and most inaccessible parts of the East-Indies, where they had scarce any traffick or correspondence with the Europeans, I found that they had as barbarous notions of us, as we could have of them, or of any others we knew but little of. On the coast of Guinea, where we trade chiefly for slaves, the unhappy captives have a notion we buy them up to fatten, and then feed on them; which, 'tis said, has been the occasion of many desperate attempts to free themselves, and murder the seamen that are sent to transport them to the plantations in America. On the first discovery of America, there was scarce a country or island in that part of the world, but we were told was replenished with man-eaters; but, now we are perfectly well acquainted with them, it is very certain there are no cannibals to be found, any more than amazons, giants, or other monsters, which our first voyage-writers describe. But here I am aware it may be objected, that since the Christians came amongst them, they are civilized, and have left off many of their barbarous customs; and this indeed may be of some weight in regard to those countries that are under the dominion of the Christians: But as to the inland parts both of North and South-America, in which the Christians have little or no influence, as appears by their retaining the rest of their ancient customs and superstitions, this argument is of no force. And as to the giants and monsters that are said to be found in America, on the first discovery, as this has happened within the space of three hundred years, it is strange there should be none of the race of them left, if there ever were any such.

Besides, I don't remember to have met with any traveller, or writer of credit, that will take upon him to say he has ever seen that people, that made human flesh their ordinary food. We may observe in the relation before us, that COLUMBUS's son says no more, than that they took some people at the island of Guadalupe, who said they were natives of the island of St. John, and, being made prisoners by the Caribbees, apprehended they should either be eaten, or made slaves of; for they had heard that this was common at Guadalupe, and the other islands inhabited by the Caribbees. But all this is but hear-say evidence: None of them pretend to say, they had seen men slaughtered, and their flesh dressed on purpose to be eaten. I am inclined therefore to think, that those islands where the Caribbees are said to have

inhabited, were peopled from that part of the continent where human sacrifices were offered to their gods; for the men sacrificed on these occasions, were usually captives taken in war. It might be true enough, that the Caribbees sacrificed the men they took from other islands; they might eat them too, to make the victims the more acceptable, as we find the best and fattest animals were always made choice of for sacrifice. But as to the Indians eating these human sacrifices, or making human flesh their common food; this might be, and probably was, an addition of the unhappy captives, who look'd upon their masters, as capable of any barbarity, after they had seen them sacrificing men. It was from the report and apprehensions of these slaves, it seems, that we received the notion of the Caribbees being cannibals. However, if I meet with any confirmation of this practice in the course of this history, I shall not fail to represent the evidence impartially; and, whenever it shall appear probable to me that there ever was such a people, I shall not be ashamed to own my mistake. In the mean time, I must beg leave to suspend my belief of a custom so very unnatural, 'till I see it better proved.

To return to our history: The Admiral arriving at Hispaniola the 12th of November, found that all the people he had left in the fort he built there, and called The Nativity, were dead: The natives informed him, that some of them died a natural death, others parted from their company, and were destroyed by the Indians as they straggled into the inland country in search of gold, and the rest were defeated and slain by a Cacique who came down from the mountains, and attack'd the small remainder that were left in their fort, notwithstanding the Cacique, or Prince, the Admiral had enter'd into alliance with in the first voyage, did all he could to protect the Spaniards; and it appeared, that this Cacique, and several of his people, were wounded in an engagement with the Indians of the mountains, who had overpowered the Spaniards and their friends, and destroyed the fort. He understood also that the little garrison he left soon fell into parties and divisions, and had led most abandon'd lives, taking four or five women a-piece, and perhaps some of them by force; which, with their attempt to discover the gold the Indians were possess'd of, probably hasten'd their ruin. The Admiral going to visit the Cacique GUACANAGARI, the Spaniards ally, who lay ill of the wounds he receiv'd in the engagement with CAUNABO the Cacique of the mountains; GUACANAGARI lamented the misfortune of the men he left in the island, shew'd him his wounds, that appeared to be given him by their country weapons, and not by the Christians; which satisfied the Admiral he had no hand in the destruction of the Spaniards: Afterwards, the Cacique presented him with a string of gold beads, a regal crown of gold, and three calabashes full of gold dust, amounting to about two pound weight of gold; in return for which the Admiral gave him some toys, and glittering trifles, which the Indians esteem'd much more valuable. But if knives and tools were among these toys, surely the Spaniards had no reason to laugh at the folly of the Indians; for to them who had seen nothing of that kind before, these things must in reality be more valuable than gold.

The Admiral having observed other parts of the island more convenient for building a town, and

and settling a colony, than that where he built the first fort, return'd with his fleet farther eastward; and near a mountain, he had named Monte Christo, finding a commodious harbour near the mouth of a river, and a rock that was a good natural fortification, he laid out the plan of a town, to which he gave the name of Isabella, being the name of the Queen of Castile: and while one part of his men were busied in building this town, another detachment was sent to discover the country of Ciboa, about three or fourscore miles to the southward of it, where the greatest plenty of gold was to be found, according to the information of the natives: For tho' the Spaniards frequently insinuate, that their grand design in planting these countries was to extend and advance the kingdom of CHRIST; nothing is more evident than that the possessing the gold that they expected to find there, was the principal thing they had in view. For this no labour or hazard was thought too much; and few of the Chiefs, employed in these discoveries and conquests, stuck at any villany to gratify their insatiable avarice.

The Admiral having sent a party of men to discover the country of Ciboa, from whence most of the gold was brought, and receiving advice that it was generally a rocky country, pretty well replenish'd with rivers, in whose lands were found a pretty deal of gold dust; he went thither in person, in order to build a fort there that might command the natives; having first sent twelve of his ships back to Spain, and so disposed of the rest as to prevent a mutiny in his absence: For the Adventurers, having flatter'd themselves that they should immediately possess mountains of gold, when they found there was a great deal of labour and fatigue to be undergone, in building forts and towns, and making discoveries, before they must expect to accomplish their ends; they formed a conspiracy against the Admiral, and had even laid a design to run away with the remaining ships, and return to Spain: But COLUMBUS, having discover'd the plot, and so disposed things as to prevent a mutiny for the future, he set out for the country of Ciboa, with a strong party of men, and some horses and mules; and here he erected a fortress, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas, in which he left a garrison of four hundred men, and upwards, and then return'd to his ships in the harbour of Isabella.

In this expedition, the Admiral observes, that the natives were under the greatest consternation when they saw their horses; and, tho' the Indians would sometimes venture to engage their foot, a single horseman might drive hundreds of 'em before him. They did not think themselves secure, even when there was a deep river between them and the horse; for they imagin'd the creature could fly; and, as the Poet suggests, perhaps they took the horse and the rider for one animal.

The Admiral, having put the town of Isabella and the fort of St. Thomas in a posture of defence, and left a sufficient body of troops in the country, to keep the natives in awe, determin'd to go upon new discoveries: Whereupon he nominated a Council of his principal officers, to take the government of the island upon them in his absence, in which his brother JAMES COLUMBUS was to preside, and then set sail to the westward, with three ships, for Cuba, not knowing yet whether it were an island, or part of the continent. In

this voyage he met with several good harbours and rivers, and found the country to be very fruitful. He also discover'd the island of Jamaica, to the southward of Cuba; which he commends as a more populous, pleasant and fruitful country than either Cuba or Hispaniola; and relates, that it was inhabited by a warlike people, who attack'd his men with their bows and arrows, and would not permit him to make a settlement on the island: Whereupon he return'd to Cuba, determining to sail along the coast, five or six hundred leagues to the westward, 'till he found whether it was an island or not; but he met with so many small islands, rocks and sands on the coast, together with bad weather, as made most of his men sickly, as well as himself; and he was obliged to return to the town of Isabella in Hispaniola, without effecting his design.

While the Admiral was absent, Don PETER MARGARETTE, to whom he had given the command of the flying-army that was to keep the country in subjection, aspiring after the sole command of the island, and refusing to obey the Council the Admiral entrusted with the government; finding he could not obtain his ends, left the country, and transported himself to Spain: Whereupon his troops dispers'd themselves, and, committing great outrages, several of the Caciques of the island assembled their forces in their defence, and cut off a great many of the Spaniards; but the Admiral being return'd, assembled his scatter'd forces, and with the assistance of the Cacique GUACANAGARI, his faithful Ally, subdued all the country under the obedience of his Catholick Majesty; tho', 'tis said, one of the Indian armies that oppos'd him consisted of an hundred thousand men; and all the Admiral's troops, that took the field, amounted to no more than two hundred foot, twenty horse, and twenty great dogs. But, if we consider the consternation the natives must be in, when they were attack'd with fire-arms, and especially cannon, which they had never seen before; I don't think these accounts very improbable: Nor were the horse and dogs, it seems, less terrible to them than the great-guns, as they were not able to escape from them when they fled.

Certain it is, the inhabitants of Hispaniola were subdued in this second voyage of COLUMBUS, who imposed a tribute on them; and having taken CAUNABO, the most powerful Cacique or Prince of the island, prisoner, sent him to Spain. This Cacique acknowledg'd, that it was he that destroy'd the first Spanish fort, call'd The Nativity, and put to the sword above twenty of the garrison the Admiral had left there.

The tribute the natives of Ciboa (where the gold was found) agreed to pay the Spaniards, was a large horse-bell full of gold dust for every head above fourteen years of age, once a quarter; and the rest were to pay twenty-five pounds of cotton per head every three months. And now the Spaniards had no enemies remaining in the island; but suffer'd very much from the unhealthfulness of the climate, one half of them being swept away by pestilential distempers; and the frequent mutinies of the Spaniards against the Admiral (who was a foreigner) and their dissensions among themselves, were still more fatal to them, and retarded their making farther discoveries for some time. And here it may be proper to take some notice of the religion and customs of the natives, when the Spaniards first arrived at Hispaniola;

Hispaniola; of which the Admiral himself gives us the following account.

The religion of the natives of Hispaniola, when Columbus arrived there.

He says, that every one of their Kings or Caciques (who were very numerous) had a house set apart for their images, which they call'd Cemi's: That these images were either of carv'd wood or stone, and the natives pray'd to them, and perform'd such acts of worship and adoration as the Catholicks did to their images in their churches: That these images bore the name of their fathers, grandfathers, or other more remote ancestors; and that they were nine or ten of them frequently in one house or temple: That they shew'd more devotion and reverence to some than they did to others, and address'd themselves to different images on different occasions; to some they pray'd for health, to others for plenty, and to others for seasonable weather, success in their enterprizes, &c. But that these they worshipp'd as inferior deities, and had a much greater veneration for the Sun, of which planet however they made no image or resemblance.

That the Cacique seem'd to be Chief Priest of his temple, as well as Sovereign of his people; and made use of many holy cheats to keep his people in awe, and draw money from them; causing answers to be given as from the mouth of the image address'd to, as was practis'd by some oracles of old, and is by some miracle-mongers among the Papists at present.

They had various ways of disposing of their dead: Some they buried in caves, others they burnt in the houses where they died; but their Caciques and Great men were embowel'd and dry'd, in order to preserve the corpse as long as possible.

After death, they apprehended they should pass to some delightful plains (by their description not unlike the Elysian fields) where they should meet with their ancestors, kindred and friends, and enjoy all the pleasures that food, women, or the most charming situation could afford; and, lastly, that they had Physicians amongst them that administer'd medicinal herbs, roots and plants to their patients; but pretended to effect the cure chiefly by magick, or the assistance of demons, with whom, they taught the people, they convers'd.

The Admiral, having settled the government of the island, and built three fortresses, besides that of Isabella, to preserve his conquest, thought fit to return to Spain; for he found so many ill offices had been done him by his enemies, that the Court of Spain neglected to send him any farther reinforcements, to enable him to extend his discoveries. He seem'd under a necessity therefore of attending their Catholick Majesties in person, in order to set matters right, and procure such supplies as were wanting; and accordingly, setting sail to the eastward on the 10th of March, the wind being directly against him he arrived, with infinite labour, at the Caribbee islands the 10th of April; where he took in fresh provisions. Had he stood to the northward, instead of plying to the east, as all shipping do now that come for Cuba or Hispaniola, he would soon have come into the way of the westerly winds, and might have arrived in Spain as soon as he did at the Caribbees; but, labouring thus against the trade-winds, which sit constantly from the north-east, or thereabouts, near the Tropic of Cancer, he made it the 9th of June before he came upon the coast of Spain, being near three months after his setting sail from the town of Isabella.

VOL. III.

The Admiral, attending their Catholick Majesties at Burgos, presented them with such foreign plants and animals as he judg'd would be most acceptable to them, and with some gold plate and gold dust, but in no great quantities, and was in appearance graciously received: But the Court were much disappointed that they received little more than trifles for all the expence they had been at; they expected to have entered immediately on mountains of gold, and to have loaden their ships home with it; whereas they could not yet hear of any mines that were opened, and met only with small quantities of the dust that was washed down from the mountains, or in the sands of rivers.

This, with the practices of the Admiral's enemies, who insinuated that he was not equal to the great work he had undertaken, and by no means qualified to civilize and govern barbarous nations, very much abated the zeal of the Spanish Court for supporting and enlarging their discoveries in the new world; insomuch, that the Admiral was forc'd to remain near two years at the Court of Spain, before he could obtain the supplies he solicited for.

And notwithstanding the Admiral appears to have been a very great and good man, yet there seems to have been some errors in his conduct, that very much retarded his further discoveries, and rendered the enterprize less advantageous to himself and his royal employers, than it might have been in his life-time.

When the Spaniards appeared so sanguine on his first discovery, as to equip him out immediately for a second voyage, with seventeen ships, crouded with men and all manner of necessaries, had he employed a dozen of these ships as many different ways on his arrival at Hispaniola, instead of sending them home again with trifles, he had probably discovered the rich treasures of Mexico and Peru in that voyage, and encreas'd the great opinion the Spaniards entertained of him on his first success; instead of which, not finding their expectations answered, they began to quarrel with the Admiral, grew cool upon the matter, and not long after, in a manner, became his enemies; insomuch that he was in great danger of losing his head, instead of receiving a reward for the inexpressible labour and hazards he had undergone, to add another world to their dominions, as will appear in the following relation.

The Admiral, after near two years attendance at the Court of Spain, having, at length, procured six ships, set sail on the 30th of May, 1498, for America again, and in his way touch'd at the Maderas. He afterwards made the island of Ferro, the most westerly of the Canaries, from whence he detach'd three of his ships directly for Hispaniola, and with the other three bent his course towards the islands of Cape Verd, which lie in fifteen degrees north latitude: Here he touch'd again; and, having taken in some refreshments, held on his course to the south-west, in expectation of discovering the continent, till he came into five degrees north latitude; but meeting here with calms, and excessive hot weather, with abundance of thunder and lightening, he was deterred from sailing any further to the south, and bent his course to the north-west, till he came into seven degrees north latitude, and then he steer'd due west; which course having continued some days, he discovered a large island on the 1st of August, to which he gave the name of the

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Trinity,

Trinity, which lies near the mouth of the river Oroonoko in South-America; and in a day or two after, he made the continent of Paria or Guiana, now called New-Andalusia, lying about seven degrees south of Barbados.

The Admiral going on shore on the 5th of August, bartered away some trifles with the natives of Paria, and observed they were rather whiter than those of Hispaniola; that the men wore their hair long, and had little aprons and caps of cotton-linnen; that the women wore little gold plates and chains of pearl about their necks, but had no aprons or covering for their nudities; and that they were generally a harmless inoffensive people (not cannibals as some represent them.)

The Admiral having spent about a fortnight upon the coast of Paria, in getting what intelligence he could of that continent, set sail directly for Hispaniola, and arrived at St. Domingo, a town that his Brother (and Lieutenant) had built on the south side of the island, and so named in memory of their Father DOMINIC, on the 30th of August, 1498. The continual labour and watchings the Admiral had endured in attempting to discover the continent, made the sight of Hispaniola very acceptable to him, where he hoped to have enjoyed some ease and satisfaction after numberless hazards and fatigues; but to his great mortification he found the island in the utmost distraction: He had left his Brother his Lieutenant, as has been related, during his absence, and one FRANCIS ROLDAN, a Spaniard, in the quality of Chief Justice, who agreed pretty well in their respective commands for the first year after the Admiral's return to Spain; but there being no news what was become of him, and generally believed that he was lost, ROLDAN, 'tis said, began to entertain thoughts of setting up for himself, and expelling the Admiral's brothers from the island, representing that the family of COLUMBUS were foreigners, who had formed a design of aggrandizing themselves at the cost of the Spaniards, and intended to usurp the dominion of their fellow-adventurers, as well as of the lands they had discovered and conquered with their Arms: And to gain the Indians, he observed, that the Admiral had imposed a tribute on them, to enrich himself, without the knowledge of the king of Spain, and designed to use them as his slaves; and by these seditious discourses, made such a party among the Spaniards and Indians, as had very near occasioned a general revolt. It was with a great deal of difficulty, therefore, that JAMES COLUMBUS preserved part of the island under his obedience, till the Admiral returned: Nor could he himself accommodate the matter, and reduce the country to a state of tranquillity, till he consented to confirm ROLDAN perpetual chief Justice of the island.

And now applying himself to the digging of the gold mines, he found such plenty of that metal, that one man frequently got five marks of gold in a day's time; by which means COLUMBUS and his family were in a fair way of becoming immensely rich, when another insurrection was raised against him by ALONZO DE OJEDA, a considerable Spaniard, whom he had employed to make discoveries upon the coast of Paria: And tho' the Admiral, by his excellent conduct, found means to maintain his authority in the island, and depress his enemies there; yet they appeared too

hard for him in the Court of Spain, by the malicious stories they transmitted thither. They represented him to the King, as ambitious, covetous, and tyrannical; that he had no true notions of government, and used both Spaniards and Indians as slaves; that he possessed himself of vast treasures, while he concealed the richest mines from the King's officers: And these gentlemen having friends and relations in the Court of Spain to back their complaints and malicious suggestions, at length work'd him out of the King's favour. But perhaps nothing was a greater inducement to King FERDINAND to deprive him of his government, than the heaps of gold he was told would flow into his treasury, on his removing the Admiral: His Majesty therefore sent over FRANCIS BOVADILLA, a Spanish Knight, to Hispaniola, to enquire into the Admiral's conduct, giving him authority to apprehend him, and send him to Spain, if he thought fit, requiring all the Commanders and Officers of the island to assist BOVADILLA: He sent a letter to the Admiral himself also, commanding him to obey this new Governor.

COLUMBUS, on the arrival of BOVADILLA with these orders, surrendered himself upon the first summons (tho' he was now in a condition to have held the island against all the power the Spaniards could have sent thither;) believing that on his representing his case to the King and Queen of Spain, of whom he had serv'd so well, he should be restored to his command, especially as he was conscious his enemies could prove none of the things they had laid to his charge.

The insolent BOVADILLA made the most of his commission; he immediately took possession of the Admiral's palaces, and all his effects, and clapping him and his brother in irons, sent them both prisoners to Spain: The Captain of the ship, indeed, ashamed to see this Great man in fetters, offered to ease him of them; but he was resolved to carry them to Europe, as an evidence perhaps of Spanish gratitude; for he could not believe that BOVADILLA durst have used him in this barbarous manner, if he had not express orders for it from Court. However, their Catholic Majesties no sooner heard of the Admiral's arrival, but they sent orders to release him, and invite him to Court, assuring him that BOVADILLA had exceeded his commission, and that his estate should be restored, and he should be continued in the command of all he had discovered in the new world; for it evidently appeared that the complaints that had been brought against him, proceeded either from self-interest, or malice. But notwithstanding the Admiral was innocent, and had the titles of Admiral and Vice-roy of the Indies continued to him, he appears to have been actually deprived of his government of Hispaniola, and another was sent thither in his room, that would be more acceptable to the Spaniards, as well as the Indians, as was supposed, and bring more treasure into their Majesties coffers: Which the Admiral so much resented, that he had determined to retire, and lead a private life, without attempting any further discoveries; for he reflected, that if what he had done for the Spanish nation could not induce them to use him well, nothing that he could do hereafter would. But the King, either considering what dishonour the laying the Admiral aside might reflect upon him, or imagining he might make yet more profitable

fitable discoveries, persuaded COLUMBUS to put to sea again, vested with the like powers he had conferred on him in his former voyages.

Accordingly the Admiral set sail from Cadiz with four ships from 50 to 70 tun, and 140 men, on the 9th of May, 1502; and, touching at the Canaries on the 20th of the same month, where he took in wood and water, he sailed from thence the 24th, and arrived at Martinico, one of the Caribbee islands, the 15th of June, and the latter end of the same month came before St. Domingo, in Hispaniola: But the Admiral was not suffered to enter that port, tho' most of his estate and effects lay thereabouts, and he had represented to the Spanish Governor, that one of his ships was much damaged, and he apprehended a storm. From whence, 'tis too plain, that the Court of Spain had given orders, that he should never more reside in Hispaniola, which he had conquered for them. The Admiral, however, had the good fortune to get into a little creek in the island, where he weathered a very terrible storm, in which BOVADILLA his great enemy, and fourteen ships laden with treasure, and bound for Spain, perished.

The Admiral, after the storm was over, left the coast of Hispaniola, and sailing to the westward, pass'd by the south side of the island of Jamaica, from whence continuing his course, he arrived at the island of Guayana, in the gulph of Honduras, where he met with a canoe as long as a galley, and eight foot wide, made of one tree; which being laden with such merchandize as the neighbouring continent afforded, and having twenty-five men, and several women and children on board, bound for the coast of Mexico, he made them prisoners: He found on board the canoe several large pieces of cotton-linnen, quilts, and quilted waistcoats, without sleeves, finely wrought, and dyed of several colours. The women on board the canoe wrapp'd themselves up in pieces of cotton-linnen, or had cloths of the bigness of handkerchiefs to cover their nudities: There were found also on board the canoe, wooden swords, edg'd with flints, and hatchets made of copper: They had also bells, plates, and crucibles of copper to melt their metal in.

Their provisions were maize or Indian-corn, several sorts of roots, and cacao-nuts, of which chocolate is made.

The Admiral having taken out of the canoe such things as he lik'd, and given the Indians such European goods in return, as were most acceptable to them, he dismiss'd the canoe, and all the people in it, except one old man he detained to inform him of the state of the neighbouring continent, and to serve him for an interpreter among the natives: The Indians, who were already on board the Admiral, it seems did not perfectly understand the language of those of the continent, that were taken in the canoe; but learn'd, however, thus much from them, that north-west of the province of Honduras, on which coast the Spaniards lay at this time, there lived a potent Prince (afterwards found to be the Emperor of Mexico) and that to the south-east of Honduras was a narrow strait, that led to a vast ocean (afterwards known by the name of the South-sea) which the Admiral determined to search out, rightly conjecturing, that over that sea he should find a way to the treasures and spices of the East-

Indies: But the misfortune was, that the same word which signified a strait by sea, might be, and really ought to have been, on that occasion, interpreted an isthmus by land; and if he had understood these Indians right, they would have informed him, that there was a narrow neck of land, afterwards called the Isthmus of Darien, that separated the North and South-seas, or the Atlantic from the Pacific-ocean. This mistake caused the Admiral an infinite deal of trouble and fatigue; for upon this intelligence he returned to the eastward, in order to find out the imaginary straight, labouring against the trade-winds and currents, which constantly fit to the westward in the north-sea. As he sailed to the eastward along the coast of Honduras, his people frequently went on shore and traffick'd with the natives, exchanging bells, glittering beads and toys, for thin gold plates; and here they were furnished with water and fresh provisions, such as venison, geese, hens, fish, and beans, like kidney-beans. Most of these people went naked, only their heads were covered with a piece of cotton-linnen, as were also their nudities; and some of them had short quilted waistcoats of cotton, which I find served them for armour as well as cloathing, and would defend them against a stroke of their wooden swords: Those that were naked, had the figures of beasts, birds, castles, &c. painted on their arms and bodies; and on rejoicing-days, when they would be very fine, they painted their faces red or black, or marked themselves with long strokes of various colours, which made them look very deformed in the eyes of the Spaniards, how agreeable soever they might appear to one another: They adorn'd their necks, ears and noses, with thin gold-plates, and those hung at their ears, stretched them to such a prodigious size, that the Admiral gave the coast of Honduras the name of *De las Orejas*, or, the Country of Ears.

The Admiral sail'd along this coast to the eastward, 'till he came to the Cape, which he named *Gracias a Dios*, or Thanks be to God; because he was no longer obliged to struggle against the winds and currents; for here the coast bending to the south, he continued his voyage without any difficulty, by the assistance of the easterly trade-winds. The Admiral found the people here very jealous the Spaniards had some design upon their country, and came down armed, in great numbers, with bows and arrows, spears and clubs, as if they intended to dispute their landing: But afterwards, finding the Spaniards only wanted to trade with them, they became more tractable, and exchanged cotton-linnen, and plates of gold for some European toys. But, it seems, one of the Admiral's people taking out a pen and ink, and beginning to write down his observations on the people and country, the natives immediately fled, and left all the things behind them they had received of the Spaniards: From whence the Admiral conceived they thought they should be bewitched, if they conversed any longer with his men. It is remarkable also, that here the Spaniards met with several dead bodies embalm'd, and wrapp'd in cotton sheets, and so perfectly dry, that they had no manner of ill-scent. These were repositied in tombs, in a large wooden house or temple, and over each tomb was laid a board, with the figures of beasts carv'd on it; and on some, the figures of the persons deceased, adorned with beads, gold plates, &c.

The Admiral under a great mistake.

Mexico discovered

On

On the second of November, the Admiral continuing his voyage to the eastward, came to a large commodious harbour, to which he gave the name of Porto-Bello, which it retains to this day; it lies in the province of Terra-firma Proper, in 10 degrees north latitude. Here he met with a great many Indian houses well inhabited; and, on the islands near the shore, he found a great deal of Indian-corn, and other refreshments, from whence he gave those islands the name of the Bastimento's, or, the Islands of Provision. Here the Admiral, understanding that there were gold mines in the province of Veragua, which lies to the westward of Terra-firma, he returned again to that coast, where he met with such stormy weather, that it almost destroyed his ships, and reduced his men to despair: But the weather favouring him at length, he sent some men a-shore in search of the golden mountains he had heard so much of, and they had the satisfaction of gathering some gold, at the roots of trees, and near the surface of the earth; which made the Admiral determine to settle a colony in Veragua, and leave his brother Governor of it 'till he returned to Spain for further reinforcements.

Accordingly he built a little town and fort, in which he left his brother, and a garrison of eighty men, supplying them with arms, ammunition and provisions: But apprehending the friendship of the natives was not to be depended upon, before he set sail, he ordered his brother to make the Cacique or Prince of that part of the country, with his family, and the principal natives, prisoners; which he did, and sent them on board the Spanish ships: But the Cacique, and most of the prisoners, jumping into the sea, and making their escapes, raised the whole country upon the Spaniards; and killing some, and wounding others, oblig'd them to quit their new settlement; and it was with great difficulty that the rest escap'd to their ships, one of which was so eaten up with worms, that they were obliged to leave her behind. After this unfortunate rencounter the Admiral set sail with the three remaining ships, in a miserable shatter'd condition, and arriv'd again at Porto Bello; where he was forced to leave another of his ships, she was so disabled by the tempestuous weather they had on this coast, or the worm. From Porto Bello, he directed his course north, 'till he made the great island of Cuba, and on Midsummer-day they arrived at Jamaica, their ships so leaky, that they found it almost impossible to keep them above water 'till they got to shore. Whereupon they run them both a-ground in a small creek close together, about a musket-shot from land, where they supported and shored up the ships with timber, and liv'd on board them above a year, trafficking with the country people for provisions; but they did not care to lie on shore for fear of being surprized and destroyed by the natives, if any quarrel should happen between them and the Spaniards.

In the mean time, the Admiral sent over some of his crew to Hispaniola, in open canoes, to get ships to carry him and his company off. This was a very hazardous enterprize; for these canoes, which are only small boats made out of trunks of trees, were to pass the ocean about fifty leagues, and are in danger of being overfet in every little storm. However, they arrived safe at Hispaniola; but the Governor, who was an

enemy to the Admiral, delay'd sending ships so long, that his people mutinied, and one half of them left him, and went on shore on the island, where they committed great outrages, 'till the Admiral fought them, and reduced them to their duty by force, many of the Spaniards being killed on both sides in the engagement. At length, the Admiral's people having bought and fitted out a ship, at his charge, in the island of Hispaniola (in which they had no assistance from the Governor) they came back to Jamaica, and brought the Admiral off, after he had spent above a year there, in great distress, and lain most of the time bed-ridden with the gout. The Admiral arrived at St. Domingo, in Hispaniola, the 13th of August, 1504; and, having settled his affairs in this island, where he had a good estate, and effects of value, he returned to Spain, where his Catholick Majesty receiv'd him, in appearance, very graciously; but it seems was contriving, at the same time, to deprive him of most of the advantages he had stipulated to allow him, on the Admiral's undertaking the discovery of that new world: For his great patroness Queen ISABELLA was now dead, and most of the Court envied him the wealth and honour he had acquired, how justly soever he merited them, and that chiefly, because he was a foreigner. But, notwithstanding the strictest scrutiny the malice of his enemies could make, it does not appear that any thing was fix'd upon him, that could sully his character, unless it was his too great zeal to serve the ungrateful Spaniards, and enlarge their dominions, by bringing the innocent, inoffensive Indians under the subjection of that cruel and haughty people. But he, as well as the rest of the Popish world, it seems, was then of opinion, that his Holiness had the disposal of all Pagan countries, and could confer them on whom he pleased: Or, that all Infidel nations ought of right to become slaves to the Christians. These notions he certainly went upon, or he could not with any colour of justice have subdued Hispaniola, and made the Indians of this and other places captives, who received him as a friend, traffick'd with his people, and furnished them with whatever their respective countries afforded.

If we consider, I say, that the Spaniards could have no right to invade the Indians, enslave them, or deprive them of their country; even this memorable enterprize of COLUMBUS cannot be defended. However, in the light he viewed things, with all his prejudices and prepossessions about him; as he thought he was doing God good service, by enlarging the bounds of Christendom, and reducing the nations of this new world, to submit to the Gospel; or, which he took to be the same thing, to the Pope and his Catholick Majesty; it must be admitted he intended well, tho' all he did was not strictly just.

And what was the end of all this mighty discovery in regard to himself? He was indeed, at first highly caref'd and honoured, his family ennobled and vastly enrich'd: But if we consider the infinite hazards and labours he underwent, even in his old age, and that he saw himself at last about to be deprived of so many years toil and perplexity; we cannot wonder it had an effect upon his health, which the numerous hardships he had suffered had already greatly impaired: It is rather to be admired he struggled so long

long under a train of calamities, of which the ingratitude of the Spaniards was not the least. This, it appears, sat heavy upon him; and being retired to the city of Valladolid, we find he there left this life for a better, on the 20th of May, 1506; dying, 'tis said, with abundance of resignation, under a sense, no doubt, that the most important services, attended by the most surprising success, were thrown away upon an ungrateful nation: He saw they could not procure him a continuance of the fame he had so justly acquired, or a moment's repose in his old age; and that there was no rest, or real felicity, to be found on this side the grave.

After his death, indeed, his Catholick Majesty was so just to this Great man, as to bury him magnificently in the Cathedral of Seville, and to erect a tomb to his memory, with this inscription: THAT COLUMBUS HAD GIVEN A NEW WORLD TO CASTILE AND LEON.

From this relation it appears, that the Admiral in person discovered the Lucayo's, or Bahama islands, the great islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Porto-Rico, with several of the Caribbee Islands; that he afterwards discovered the countries of Paria, and Guiana, near the mouth of the river Oroonoko, in South-America, and the island of Trinity, which lies in 10 degrees north latitude, before the mouth of the said river Oroonoko; that he also discovered Yucatan, a province of Mexico, the Bay of Honduras, and all that coast which runs south-east from thence, as far as Porto Bello, and the river or gulph of Darien, and received some intelligence of that vast ocean, which has since obtained the name of the South-seas: So that all those, who afterwards extended the discoveries of the Spaniards in the new world, only improv'd what the great COLUMBUS had begun; and yet we find one of them (viz.) AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, of whom I am to treat in the next place, had the good fortune to give his name to that vast continent.

Americus Vesputius the second Discoverer

The enemies of COLUMBUS having given the Court of Spain an ill opinion of him, it appears they employed AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, a Florentine, in the year 1497, to improve and enlarge the discoveries begun by that Great man; but however fortunate this gentleman might be in making discoveries, he gives the lamest account of them of any man that ever was employed in such an undertaking. He says, he touched at the Canaries in this voyage, and, having sailed a thousand leagues to the westward, arrived at a country situated in 16 degrees of north latitude, which must be some of the Caribbee islands: He sailed near nine hundred leagues further westward afterwards, and came to a country under the Tropic of Cancer, which, by the latitude and distance to the westward, seems to be part of Mexico. He did not attempt to make settlements any where, and probably was not provided for it, but satisfied himself with having trafficked with some of the Indians for trifles, and fought with others, whose arms were like those COLUMBUS met with in other places.

He made another voyage in the service of the Spaniard, the following year 1498; and sailing to the south-west, passed the Equator, and came to a country in five degrees of north latitude; which, in all likelihood, was Surinam, in the province of Guiana. Here he traded with the natives for pearls, and some gold, which they exchanged for glass and toys, and returned home by Antegoa, one of the Leeward islands.

VOL. III.

EMANUEL, King of Portugal, afterwards entertained AMERICUS VESPUTIUS in his service; and in May 1501, he sailed from Lisbon with three ships; and, coming again upon the continent of South-America, in five degrees of south latitude, he sailed afterwards along that coast to the southward, till he came into 52 degrees of south latitude, when the cold and tempestuous weather obliged him to return home. Thus having discovered a continent in the new world, little inferior, in dimensions, to that of the old, he was so happy as to give his name to the whole, which, from him, has ever since gone under the name of America, tho' he never attempted to make one settlement in it, either for the King of Spain, or the King of Portugal, who employed him in these discoveries; while COLUMBUS, who first went in search of this continent, and made such acquisitions in it for the Spaniard, did not give his name to one single place. But 'tis observable, that both these enterprising gentlemen were Italians; and, as their ancestors had formerly the honour of subduing the greatest part of the old world; so these traced out the way to the new, and gave the Spaniards an opportunity of conquering the greatest part of this new world.

The next, or rather a cotemporary Discoverer with AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, was CABOT, an Italian also, or at least of Italian extraction; for some affirm, he was born at Bristol in England of Genoese parents. This gentleman was employed by King HENRY VII. to find out a passage to China, and the East-Indies, by the north-west; and accordingly he set out from England, in the year 1498, and sail'd along the continent of America, to 67 degrees of northern latitude; but his men murmuring at the hardships they underwent in that cold climate, he returned home, bringing with him only some of the savage natives of those frozen regions. (The same CABOT, or his son, 'tis said, first attempted the finding a way to China by the north-east, and in that voyage discovered the way to Archangel in Muscovy by the North Cape.) But to return to the West.

Thus have we seen that vast continent of America, discovered (from 67 degrees north latitude to 52 south) within the compass of about ten years; but the Spaniards did not penetrate far into the inland country, 'till some years afterwards.

The next considerable Discoverer, was VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA, who prosecuting what had been begun by COLUMBUS, made an entire conquest of Cuba, and found it to be an island; then he sail'd to the river of Darien, on the isthmus of America, where COLUMBUS had attempted to make a settlement, but was driven from it. Here VASCO built a fort and town, which he named Sancta Maria del Antigua, or Old St. Mary's; and cultivating a correspondence with the Caciques, or petty Kings thereabouts, they shew'd him the way to the South-sea, over those vast mountains that run along the middle of the isthmus, parallel to the North and South-seas; and tho' it was not more than three or fourscore miles from the one sea to the other, yet their way lay over such craggy precipices, and was incumbered with such thick woods, that they travelled 25 days before they came in sight of the South-sea: And there VASCO, upon the highest mountain, erected crosses, and took possession of the country for their Catholick Majesties; as he did soon after of the South-sea itself, and of all its

Cabot's discoveries.

The discoveries of Vasco Nunez de Balboa.

coasts and bays for the crown of Castile and Leon, in the year 1513. He afterwards erected the fortrefs of Panama on the South-sea, and fitted out a fleet to make further discoveries on that ocean; for which services the Court of Spain made him Governor of Cuba and Panama, and Admiral of the South-seas. But, the King of Spain sending over PEDRARIAS, Vice-roy of Darien and the continent, with a superior command to that of VASCO NUNEZ, the Vice-roy took an opportunity to pick a quarrel with VASCO, and caus'd him to be put to death under a colour of law.

Fernando Cortez's discoveries and conquests. Magellan's discoveries.

The next great Discoverer and Conqueror, was FERNANDO CORTEZ, who began the conquest of Mexico in the year 1518; of which I shall give a particular account in this work.

The famous MAGELLAN, in 1520, discovered the straights (to which he gave his name) in South-

America; from whence he sailed thro' the South-sea to the East-Indies, being the first Commander that attempted that passage: His ship surrounded the globe, and returned safe home, tho' he had the misfortune to be killed in an island of the East-Indies. But I refer the Reader to the former volumes of *Modern History* for a full account of this first voyage round the globe.

The last discoveries I shall mention in this Introduction, are FRANCIS PIZARRO, DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO, and FERNANDO DE LUQUE, who, in confederacy or partnership, undertook the discovery of Peru, from Panama by sea, in the year 1525, and afterwards made a conquest of great part of that extensive empire. Of all which discoveries and conquests, the Reader will meet with a particular account in the history of America.

Pizarro, Almagro, their discoveries and conquests.

THE

THE PRESENT STATE OF AMERICA in general.

CHAP. I.

Of the name, and several grand divisions of AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

THE natives of this new world had no general name for their country when the Spaniards arriv'd amongst them in the 15th century; but the most considerable empire in North America, went under the name of Mexico, and that in the south, under the name of Peru. AMERICA VESPUSIUS, who discover'd the eastern coast of South America, had the honour first of communicating his name to the whole continent, which it retains to this day.

America subject to four European Princes.

As the greatest and best part of America is now under dominion of four European Monarchs; namely, of the Kings of Spain, Portugal, Great Britain and France, I shall throw the whole into four grand divisions, and treat of them as subject to one or other of these four Princes; tho' it must be confess'd, many nations of the inland Indians still retain their original freedom, and own no subjection to any foreign power: And there are some small settlements in America belonging to the Dutch, the Dane and the other European powers; but these will be taken notice of, and described in treating of those countries that lie contiguous to one or the other of the abovesaid four grand divisions respectively. And first, I shall describe the Spanish dominions in America, which comprehend, 1. Old Mexico, or New Spain; 2. New Mexico; and 3. Florida (in North America); 4. Terra Firma; 5. Peru; 6. Chili; 7. Patagonia, or, the Terra Magellenica; 8. Paragua, or La Plata; 9. the country of the Amazons; and, 10. the islands belonging to Spain, both in North and South America.

The Spanish dominions in America.

The Spanish territories upon the continent lie contiguous, and, according to their accounts, extend from 45 degrees north latitude to the Streights of Magellan, which lie in 54 degrees of south latitude, and, consequently, take up 99 degrees of latitude, which allowing 70 miles to a degree, makes the length near 7000 miles; but the breadth is very unequal, and, in many places, very uncertain: However, thus much is certain, that in some parts, the Spanish America is near 1500 miles broad, and in others, not 100 miles broad.

The dominions of Portugal.

2. The second grand division of America is that under the dominion of Portugal, which consists of the country of Brasil, extending from the mouth of the river Amazon, under the Equator, to the mouth of the river La Plata, which lies in 35 degrees of south latitude; being 2400 miles and upwards, if we measure in a direct line, from north to south; but if we take in the winding of the shores, Brasil will be found to have a sea-coast of near 4000 miles, tho' it is not 200 miles broad in many places. Neither the Spanish or

Portuguese America extend to any great distance from the sea-coast; tho' these Powers lay claim to the whole continent of South America. The natives, who live 2 or 300 miles from the sea-coast, scarce own any subjection to either of them.

CHAP. I.

3. The third grand division of America is that under the dominion of the King of Great-Britain; which lies along the eastern coast of North America, from 31 degrees to 51 north latitude, comprehending, 1. Carolina (in which Georgia is included); 2. Virginia; 3. Maryland; 4. Pennsylvania; 5. New Jersey; 6. New York; 7. New England; 8. New Scotland and new Britain; 9. the islands belonging to Great-Britain; and, lastly, Hudson's Bay, which lies most to the northward of any of our settlements, and is detach'd from the rest.

The British dominion there.

The British dominions, that lie contiguous on the continent, run from the south-west to the north-east, and are upwards of 1500 miles in length, but breadth scarce 200 in many places.

4. The fourth grand division of America is that which the French pretend is subject to them; and, according to their maps, extends from the north side of the Gulph of Mexico or Florida, to the north of Canada, that is from the latitude of 28 to 52 degrees and upwards of northern latitude; so that they would have us believe, their territories extend near 1700 miles in length from north to south, and are little less in breadth from east to west, for their maps lay them down between their British dominions on the east, and New Mexico on the west, comprehending most part of Florida and Canada, to which their Geographers have given the name of Louisiana and New France.

The territories claim'd by France.

But Florida and Canada may with much more propriety be assigned to the Spaniards and the English, than to the French; for the Spaniards first discovered and made settlements in South Florida, some of which they possess at this day, as they do the entire west side of Florida and Canada: The English, on the other hand, have been long possess'd of Virginia and Carolina, which were originally part of Florida, and of several places in Canada; while the French have only two or three little settlements on the Gulph of Florida or Mexico, near the mouth of the river Mississippi, to entitle them to Florida; and a man may travel some hundreds of miles, both in Florida and Canada, without meeting with a French settlement, or even with a single Frenchman. To say the truth, very few of the Indians of Florida or Canada are yet subject to any European power; and a very small part of their country the property of any foreigner. The only just and legal way of becoming proprietors of any

The Spaniards and English more right to Florida than the French.

CHAP. I. part of either, is by treaty with the natives, and giving them what they esteem a valuable consideration for it; as our adventurers in Georgia actually do for whatever they intend to plant or cultivate.

We are extremely weak, in assigning this fine country, containing a square of 1500 miles of a side, to France, which lies on the back of all the British settlements; and that for no other reason, than that the French have assurance enough to lay claim to it, especially since this claim, if it be allow'd, must for ever exclude us from extending our settlements to the westward: I hope, therefore, our British Geographers will be commanded by their superiors, to blot Louisiana and New France out of their maps, and restore the primitive names of Florida and Canada to those countries; and that they shall not be suffer'd stupidly to follow the French Geography, and give that people a colour for their encroachments on the British plantations.

The maps of these countries ought to be corrected.

France already looks, upon the great rivers of Mississippi and St. Laurence as her own, and will, no doubt, if ever it is in her power, swallow up all those countries that border upon them, or which lie between the mouths of those two rivers, in which space lie most of the British dominions on the continent of America. But I shall further explain the dangerous consequences of permitting such an alteration in our maps, when I come to treat of Florida and Canada, and the English dominions that lie contiguous to those countries: In the mean time, I shall apply myself to enquire into the present state of the Spanish territories in America, describing the several subdivisions of that empire; and first treat of that of Mexico, or New Spain.

CHAP. II.

The present state of Mexico:

Describing the situation and extent of Mexico, or New Spain; and the face of the country.

CHAP. II.

The situation and extent of Mexico.

MEXICO is bounded by New Mexico or Granada, and Florida, on the north; by the Gulph of Mexico, and the north-sea, on the north-east; by Terra Firma Proper, in South America, on the south-east; and by the Pacific Ocean, or South-sea, on the south-west; and lies between 7 degrees and 28 degrees of north-latitude; and between the 83d and 116th degrees of western longitude from the meridian of London, stretching along the South-sea 2000 miles and upwards; and on the North-sea, and the Gulph of Mexico, more than 1500 miles; but the breadth is very unequal; for upon the confines of New Mexico, where it extends from the Gulph of California on the west, to Florida on the east, it is upwards of 600 miles broad; and in the province of Veragua, from the North-sea on the north-east, to the South-sea on the south-west, being the narrowest part of the isthmus, it is very little more than 60 miles broad; and the form is so irregular, that it can only be comprehended by a view of the following map of Mexico.

The face of the country.

Mountains.

Mexico is very much encumber'd with mountains, which are, for the most part, cover'd with woods; but there are a chain of hills higher than usual, that run almost the whole length of it, from the south-east to the north-west: From these we descend to other hills, on either side considerably lower; and between the hills, are many

fine fruitful valleys, but scarce any plains of a considerable extent. Which way soever we turn our eyes, the prospect is bounded by hills and woods, 'till we come near the North, or South-sea: But the lands, near the sea-coast, especially on the North-sea, are so flat and low, that they lie under water great part of the rainy season; and upon these morasses and bogs, are thickets of Bambou canes, mangroves, thorns and briars, so closely mix'd and interwoven, that it is almost impossible to penetrate them, without cutting a way through with a hatchet. There are, indeed, some sandy bays, where it is tolerable landing; but there is much more of the mangrove land, where a man must wade up to the middle in mud, before he can get to the dry ground. Beyond the mangroves, indeed, we meet with fine savannahs or meadows, lying between little rising hills; and on the north-west coast of the South-sea, near the Gulph of California, the mountains come almost close to the shore; and there is none of these morasses or mangrove lands, that we find in other places.

And it is very remarkable, that the mountains on the west side of Mexico, are most of them vulcano's, from whence fire and smoke are perpetually issuing; and this is supposed to be the occasion of those frequent earthquakes that happen on this coast, in which whole towns are sometimes buried.

Upon these mountains, there is a great variety of fine, large timber, and little or no underwood: A man may ride through them without any difficulty; whereas the woods upon the coast in the flat country, are so full of bushes and underwood, that there is scarce any breaking through them, as has been observ'd already.

CHAP. III.

Of the seas, gulphs, or bays, capes, lakes, rivers, and springs in Mexico.

THE seas of Mexico are, either the Gulph of Mexico, and the North-sea, on the north-east, or the Pacific Ocean, on the south-west.

In the Gulph of Mexico, lies the famous Bay of Campeachy, between 18 and 20 degrees north latitude, where the greatest quantities of Logwood are cut. And between Yucatan and Honduras, is another great bay, call'd the Gulph of Honduras, lying between the 15th and 18th degree of north latitude.

The chief capes in these seas, are, 1. Cape Concededo; and 2. Cape Catorh: The first the north-west, and the other the north-east point of Yucatan; 3. Cape Honduras; 4. Cape Cameron, on the north of the province of Honduras; and, 5. Cape Gratia Dios, being the north-east point, a promontory of the same province. In the Pacific Ocean, are the Gulph of Salinas, or Nicoya, in 10 degrees north latitude; and the Gulph of Amapalla, in 12 degrees north latitude: and the Capes are, Cape Blanco, in 9 degrees north latitude, and Cape Corrientes, in 20 degrees north latitude.

The chief lakes are, that of Nicaragua, in the province of the same name, which has a communication with the North-sea by the river of Nicaragua; and the other way extends almost to the South-sea: And, 2. the Lake of Mexico, in which the Metropolis stands. These, and the rest of the lakes with which this country abounds, will be more particularly describ'd in treating of the respective provinces.

CHAP. II. Valleys.

Flat country.

Vulcano's and earthquakes.

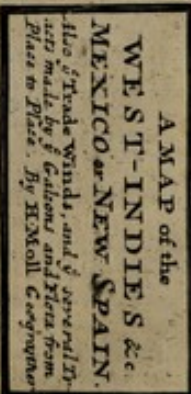
Woods.

CHAP. III.

The seas of Mexico. The chief bays and gulphs on the north-side.

Cape Concededo. Cape Catorh. Cape Honduras. Cape Cameron. Cape Gratia Dios. Gulphs on the south-side. Cape Blanco. Cape Corrientes. Lake of Nicaragua. Lake of Mexico.

The





AMERICA
NORTH
SOUTH

CHAP. III.

Chief rivers.
The North river.
Panuco river.

Alvarado river.

Tobasco river.

Xagua.

Yara river.

Rosario river.

Teguantipique.

Lempa river.

The principal rivers in Mexico are, 1. the North river, which rises in New Mexico; and, after running a very long course to the south-east, falls into the Gulph of Mexico, in 26 degrees north latitude.

2. The river of Panuco, or Tompeque, which rises very far within the land, and running eastward, falls into the Gulph of Mexico, in 23 degrees, 50 minutes, north latitude.

3. The river Alvarado, composed of three rivers, which, rising in different parts of the country, unite their streams, and fall into the Gulph of Mexico, in 19 degrees north-latitude, 6 leagues to the eastward of Vera Cruz.

4. Tobasco river, which rising not far from the South-sea, runs to the north-east, and falls into the Bay of Campeachy, in 19 degrees north latitude to the eastward of Tobasco river.

5. The river Xagua, which rises in the province of Honduras, and, taking its course to the north-east, falls into the North-sea, near Cape Gratia Dios, in 14 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude. And,

6. The river Yara, which rising in the province of Nicaragua, to the northward of the lake of that name, runs east, and falls into the North-sea, in 13 degrees north latitude. These rivers are moderately large, and would be navigable some of them, for great ships, if they were not choak'd up with bars of sand at their entrance. However, boats and small vessels may enter them, and frequently do sail up them many miles.

There are a multitude of other rivers, which rising in the neighbouring hills, fall into the Gulph of Mexico, and the North-sea, especially during the rainy season: These over-flow all the low lands; but when fair weather returns, they are dried up, and scarce any fresh water is to be met with, in many places.

The chief rivers of Mexico, which falls into the South-sea, are, 1. Rosario, which runs from east to west, and falls into the South-sea, in 22 degrees, 51 minutes south latitude: Some gold mines lying within two or three leagues of this river, the sands of it are rich in gold.

2. The river Teguantipique, which rises not far from the North-sea, and running westward, falls into the South-sea in 15 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, near a Town of the same name.

3. The river Lempa, said to be the largest in this country, runs from north to south, and falls into the South-sea in 13 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, near the town of Trinidad.

As to hot baths and medicinal springs, Mexico abounds with them; especially those places which lie near the burning mountains: And, in the dry season, the waters of many of their lakes and rivers are salt or brackish; but their waters will be treated of more particularly in the respective provinces where they lie.

CHAP. IV.

Of the winds and tides, the temperature of the air, and seasons of Mexico.

CHAP. IV.

Winds of Mexico.
Trade winds.

Winds under the Equator.

IN every ocean, whether the Indian, Atlantic, or Pacifick Ocean, the wind continually blows from east to west, between the latitudes of 30 north and south (a little distance from land); only to the northward of the Equator it inclines north-east, and to the southward of the Equator, south-east; to which rule there is only this exception, that under the Line, and for two or three degrees on each side, the winds are variable, and perpetually changing; and

sometimes there is so little wind, and such calms, under the Line, that a ship shall not sail a league in a month's time.

However, upon every coast, almost, within the latitude of 30 north or south, there are other periodical winds and storms that return at certain seasons of the year, call'd Monsoons; and there are, during the fair season, land and sea breezes, which constantly take their turns at stated hours every day, and particularly upon the north and south coast of Mexico, the Country I am now describing.

The land breezes begin here late in the evening, and blow 'till six or seven the next morning, when they die away insensibly; and from that time 'till near noon, it is generally calm. About noon the sea breeze rises, and refreshes the inhabitants, who would, otherwise, faint with heat; the forenoon, therefore, is much the hottest time of the day within the Tropics. But the land winds are not hot in Mexico, as they are in the East-Indies, where they blow over a long tract of burning sand: On the contrary, 'tis observ'd, that the winds, which blow from the mountains in the middle of this country, are colder than those that come from the sea.

There are some hours difference on different coasts, as to the rising of the sea and land breezes. In some places the sea breezes begin at nine or ten o'clock, or at eleven at farthest; but at others, they do not set in 'till one in the afternoon: In like manner, the land breezes begin some hours before midnight on some coasts, and not 'till after midnight on others. And it is observ'd, that these sea and land breezes very seldom blow directly on or off the shore, but obliquely; as where the coast runs north and south, these winds blow from the north-west, or north-east; and in south latitude, from the south-west or south-east: And Mr. DAMPIER, I perceive, takes the sea breezes to be nothing else but the true trade-wind, which always blows from the north-east or the south-east, or pretty near those points; and that these winds only cease blowing upon the coast for about twelve hours every night, when the land wind prevails: For he observes, that such promontories and head-lands as run far out into the sea, have much more of the sea breeze than bays and creeks, which are almost surrounded by the land; and, consequently, such parts of the coast are much hotter than those that lie open to the ocean.

The rainy season, which begins usually in May, and lasts 'till September, is introduced with thunder and lightening, tornadoes and hurricanes, when the wind blows almost from every point of the compass; but the worst weather is in June and July. DAMPIER informs us also, that there are strong north winds that blow in the Gulph of Mexico, and in the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras, between the months of October and March, about the full and change of the Moon, and are most violent in December and January.

As to tides, DAMPIER observes, there are no places in the ocean without them; but that they rise highest, and run strongest, in narrow channels, bays and creeks, or up the mouths of rivers; and that on such coasts as have no bays or rivers, the tides are but weak, and scarce perceptible: That in the Bay of Campeachy, in the Gulph of Mexico, the tide runs very strong, but does not rise more than six or seven foot: On the other hand, in the Gulph of St. Michael's, on the coast of the South-sea, he observ'd the tides rose eighteen or twenty foot, while, in small islands at a distance from the continent, it scarce rises a foot and a half.

CHAP. IV.

Monsoons.
Sea and land breezes.

Storms.

Tides.

CHAP. V.

Winds under the Equator.

CHAP.

IV.

Wet and
dry sea-
sons.

It is observ'd, that as the Sun approaches either of the Tropics; it carries wet weather so far with it; and when it is farthest from either Tropic, then the weather is fair under that Tropic. On the contrary, those people who live without the Tropics, have their fair weather when the sun is nearest them, and wet weather when it is at the greatest distance from them.

In Mexico, their rainy season begins in April or May, and lasts 'till September, and sometimes longer. It begins, as has been observ'd, with tornadoes, or tempests, first one in a day, afterwards more, encreasing 'till the month of June, and then it rains for two months every day, great part of the four and twenty hours; but less in the morning, and in the day-time, than in the night: Those, therefore, that are oblig'd to travel during this season, set out early in the morning, that they may come to an end of their journey before the rain begins. And it is observ'd, that the rains continue much longer in bays upon the sea-coasts, and particularly in the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, than on capes and headlands, and higher up the country. In some bays, 'tis said, the rainy season continues near two thirds of the year.

Tempera-
ture of
the air.

These rains, which overflow all the flat country, the land and sea breezes that blow alternately, and their numerous lakes, render the air cool, and make even the Torrid Zone habitable and pleasant; the heats whereof would otherwise have been as insupportable as the antients imagined them. The coolest part of the year is in the months of July and August, when the low lands lie under water: Then the natives really complain of cold, morning and evening, as they do in the succeeding months 'till February; though the weather then seems very moderate to an European constitution. The tops of the highest mountains are indeed sometimes very cold, being cover'd with snow even in 16 or 18 degrees of north latitude; but here are very few towns. The people chuse to reside on those eminences between the mountains and the flat country, where the air is most agreeable, and the earth most fruitful. The hottest time of the year is in February, March, and the beginning of April; for then the sun is seldom obscur'd by clouds, the waters are every where dried up, and it is very difficult then to meet with fresh water in some places.

Seed time
and har-
vest.

The chief season for sowing, or rather planting their Indian-corn, tho it will grow and come to maturity at any time almost, is in May and June (the beginning of the rainy season) and they reap it in October, when the rains are over; their trees are ever green, and their fruits blossom and ripen almost all the year round: But I shall enlarge on this article, when I come to treat of their plants, corn and husbandry.

CHAP. V.

Of the provinces Mexico, is divided into, its subdivisions, and chief towns, with their publick and private buildings and furniture.

CHAP.

V.

Provinces.

Guadala-
jara Au-
dience.

MEXICO, or New Spain, is divided into three Audiences; viz. 1. The Audience of Guadalajara, or New Galicia; 2. The Audience of Mexico; and, 3. The Audience of Guatimala.

The Audience of Guadalajara, or Galicia, is bounded by New Mexico on the north-west, by the Gulph of Mexico on the east, by the Audience of

Mexico on the south-east, and by the South-sea and the Gulph of California on the south-west, being 800 miles in length, and generally 500 or 600 miles broad, and is subdivided into the following seven provinces; viz. 1. Guadalajara Proper; 2. Zacatecas; 3. New Biscay; 4. Cinoloa; 5. Culiacan; 6. Chamelan; and, 7. Xalisco.

1. The province of Guadalajara Proper is bounded by New Mexico towards the north, by Mexico Audience on the south-east, and by the Pacific Ocean on the west. It is a plentiful country, and hath several silver mines in it. The chief town is Guadalajara, situated on a river of the same name, in 20 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, 108 degrees west of London. It is the capital of the whole Audience, the seat of their courts of Justice, and a Bishop's see. There are several churches in it, besides the cathedral, and some monasteries and nunneries; but I meet with no further description of this place.

2. The province of Zacatecas, bounded by New Biscay on the north, by Mexico Proper and Panuco on the east, by Guadalajara on the south, and by Chamelan and Culiacan on the west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Zacatecas, situated 40 leagues north of Guadalajara, and about 80 north-west of the city of Mexico. The town consists of five or six hundred Houses, and the Spaniards keep a good garrison in it to defend their silver mines. 2. Nombre de Dios, a large, populous town, situated in 25 degrees north latitude, and 109 degrees west of London; and, 3. Durango, situated at the conflux of several rivers, 8 leagues north-west of Nombre de Dios.

The east part of this province has plenty of corn and fruit, and the west is no less famous for its silver mines.

3. The province of New Biscay, bounded by New Mexico on the north, by part of Florida and Panuco on the east, by Zacatecas on the south, and by Culiacan on the west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. St. Barbara, situated in 26 degrees north latitude, 108 degrees west of London; and, 2. St. John's, situated 70 miles north of St. Barbara.

This province also is rich in silver mines.

4. The province of Cinoloa, bounded by New Mexico on the north-east and the north-west, by Culiacan on the south-east, and by the Gulph of California on the south-west: The chief town whereof is Cinoloa, situated in 26 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, and 112 degrees west longitude: In this province are rich pasture grounds, well water'd with the rivulets that fall from the mountains; and here is great plenty of Cotton.

5. The province of Culiacan, bounded by New Biscay and Zacatecas on the north-east; by Cinoloa on the north-west; by Chamelan on the south-east; and by the Gulph of California on the south-west: The chief town whereof is Culiacan, situated in 24 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, and in 112 degrees of west longitude.

6. The province of Chamelan, bounded by Zacatecas on the north-east; by Culiacan on the north-west; by Xalisco and Guadalajara on the south-east; and the South-sea on the south-west: The chief town whereof is St. Sebastian, situated on a river of the same name, about 40 miles to the eastward of the South-sea, in 23 degrees of north latitude.

This province hath both gold and silver mines in it.

7. The province of Xalisco is bounded by Guadalajara and Chamelan on the north, by Mechoacan

CHAP.

V.

Subdivi-
sions of itGuadala-
jara Pro-
per.Guadala-
jara city.Zacatecas
province.Zacatecas
town.Nombre
de Dios
town.

Durango.

New Bi-
scay pro-
vince.St. Barba-
ra town.
St. John's
town.Cinoloa
province.Cinoloa
town.Culiacan
province.Culiacan
town.Chamelan
pro-
vince.St. Sebas-
tian town.Xalisco
province.
acan

CHAP.

V.

Xalisco
town.
Compo-
stella
town.Santa Pe-
cague
town.Mexico
Audience.Its subdi-
visions.Mexico
Proper.Mexico
city.

acan on the east; and by the South-sea on the south and west: The chief towns whereof are, 1. Xalisco, situated near the South-sea, in 20 degrees south-latitude, west longitude 111; 2. Compostella, situated also near the South-sea, about 20 leagues to the northward of Xalisco, a rich town lying in the neighbourhood of several silver mines; 3. Santa Pecaque, where the Spaniards of Compostella keep a great many hundred slaves, that work in their silver mines. This town, DAMPIER relates, the Buccaneers (among whom he served) plunder'd in the year 1686; but being attack'd by a great body of Spanish horse, they lost fifty of their men.

The Audience of Mexico is bounded by that of Guadalajara on the north-west; by the Gulph of Mexico on the east; by the Audience of Guatimala on the south-east; and by the South-sea on the south-west; and contains nine provinces; viz. 1. Mexico proper; 2. Mechoacan; 3. Panuco; 4. Tlascala; 5. Guaxaca; 6. Tabasco; 7. Yucatan; 8. Chiapa; and, 9. Soconusco. The province of Mexico Proper is bounded by Panuco on the north, Tlascala on the east; by Mechoacan towards the south, and Xalisco on the west.

This province is said to exceed all the provinces of America, in spacious extensive vallies, in the richness of its arable lands, pasturage and variety of fruits: The great lakes and rivers, and the neighbourhood of the sea, also furnish them with plenty of excellent fish; and give them great advantages in trade, both foreign and domestick. The chief towns of Mexico Proper are, 1. Mexico, the metropolis of the whole viceroyalty now, and anciently of the empire of Mexico, situated in 20 degrees of north latitude, 103 degrees west of London; in a spacious lake, that lies on the east side of a valley, about 14 Spanish leagues in length, 7 in breadth, and upwards of 40 in compass; the valley being surrounded by mountains on all sides, which in the lowest part are 42500 yards above the lake, according to GEMELLI CARERI, who was upon the spot; but surely there must be a cypher too much in this account: For, if he means perpendicular height, the lowest mountains cannot be more than 4250 yards above the level of the lake.

The town is a perfect square, each side half a league; and, consequently, the circumference of the whole about two leagues. There is a great square, or parade, in the middle of it, from whence the streets run quite through the town in a direct line, either north and south, or east and west, crossing each other at right angles; so that the length and breadth of the place may be discern'd at the corner of any street. They are all wide, and well paved, but generally dirty. The town stands, great part of it, upon a bog or morass, which occasions the foundations of some of them to sink; and, what is still worse, there are so many rivers that fall from the mountains into the lake, that the town is often in danger of being overflowed; many of the houses and inhabitants have been actually swept away by floods, tho' they have been at a vast expence in making canals, dikes and sluices to carry off the waters. They have sometimes found the hazard and inconveniencies of their situation so great, that it has been debated, whether they should not abandon the city, and build another upon better ground. But they have hitherto been diverted from that resolution by several considerations: 1. By the vast expence it would be, to build such another city: 2. By the coolness of the Situation, occasioned by the lake, which they should want on higher ground: And, lastly,

by the natural strength of the city, there being no approaching it but by the five causeys that have been made between the city and the main land. This the ancient Mexican, as well as the Spaniards, look'd upon to be so great a security, that they never erected walls or gates about it. The churches and houses are built of stone or brick, three stories high, where the ground will bear it: but they cannot lay their foundations very deep, for the reasons already mention'd. Mexico is an archbishoprick; and there are in it, besides the cathedral and parochial churches, twenty-nine monasteries, and two and twenty nunneries, and contains, as is computed, about one hundred thousand inhabitants. But, as most of the lands in the neighbourhood belong to the churches and religious houses, which are all vastly rich, there are not many Spanish noblemen and gentlemen in the place; and among the meaner sort of people, the Spaniards do not seem to make a tenth part of the inhabitants. The bulk of the people are Blacks or Mulattoes; there having been abundance of Black slaves brought thither, who by one means or other obtain'd their freedom, and married with the natives: Their descendants are very numerous. There is also a strange mixture of Spanish and Indian blood. The pure Spaniards, and those that are descended from Spanish ancestors on both sides, are a very small number, both here and in other towns of Mexico. But I shall not enlarge on this head here, having reserv'd a chapter on purpose to treat of the present inhabitants of Mexico.

Neither shall I dwell upon their trade and manufactures, having assign'd a particular chapter to treat of these: I shall only observe, that the value of their merchandize is not to be computed; this being the great mart for all goods brought from the East-Indies or Europe. Those of the East-Indies they receive from Acapulco, a sea-port on the South-sea; and those of Europe from La Vera Cruz, situated on the North-sea: And their own native treasures, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, &c. added to the former, make the shops and markets of Mexico the richest that are to be found in any town in the world.

Their churches and monasteries are proportionably rich and splendid, and their revenues surprisingly great. The cathedral, like most others, is built in form of a cross, lofty and spacious; the painting, gilding and carving exquisite; and it contains abundance of fine altars and chapels on each side, the high altar standing in the middle of the choir. The revenues belonging to the Archbishop, Dean and Chapter, and other Ecclesiasticks of this cathedral, are equal to the beauty and magnificence of the buildings. There are belonging to it nine Canons, five dignified Priests, viz. the Dean, Arch-deacon, Schoolmaster, Chanter and Treasurer; six Demi-canons, and six Half-Demi-canons, one head Sacristan, four Curates chosen by the Viceroy, twelve royal Chaplains elected by the Chapter, and eight others. The archbishop's constant annual revenue (besides casual fines, &c. which amount to near as much) is sixty thousand pieces of eight, near fifteen thousand pounds sterling per annum. The Dean's revenue is eleven thousand pieces of eight per annum, and the other four dignified Priests have eight thousand per annum each; the Canons six thousand; the Demi-canons five thousand; the Half Demi-canons three thousand; each Curate four thousand; every Chaplain three hundred, and the inferior officers and attendants in proportion. All the Ecclesiasticks belonging to this church are three hundred in number;

CHAP.

V.

CHAP. V. ber; and it is computed, the entire annual revenue of the cathedral of Mexico, amounts to three hundred thousand pieces of eight (each piece four shillings and six pence english); at least, this was the state of it in the year 1698, about forty years since, as GEMELLI CARERI relates, who was then upon the spot, and is esteemed one of the most judicious and faithful writers that ever travell'd.

What is most remarkable besides in Mexico, is the vast spacious market-place, or square, in the middle of the town; on one side whereof runs a cloister, under which are some of the richest shops in the world; and on the other, stands the magnificent Palace of the Viceroy, built about a large square; the principal front to the market-place not inferior to that of Naples, in which the courts of Justice are held.

The palace of the Marquis DE VALLE, the successor of the celebrated CORTEZ, who conquer'd Mexico, is built on the ground where one of the palaces of the Emperor MONTEZUMA stood, and admir'd for its dimensions and structure.

Beside the churches and monasteries in this city, there are several hospitals richly endow'd; among the rest, there is one for young maids that are orphans, who are maintain'd handsomely while they live single, and allowed five hundred pieces of eight each when they marry. There is another hospital erected for those who have been unfortunate in venereal encounters, which has a revenue of thirty-six thousand pieces of eight per annum, and is a royal foundation; and there is a third hospital only for sick Priests: And GEMELLI relates, that when he was in this city, the Archbishop, Dr. FRANCIS D'AGUAR, gave that year all his revenues to the poor, and an hundred thousand pieces of eight more: For, I find, in this rich city, there are a multitude of wretched objects; but none poorer than the Spaniards themselves, who are above working, tho' not above thieving, it seems: For the same writer relates, that he saw the Viceroy sitting on his tribunal, assisted by five other Judges, and that there were brought before him no less than four hundred Spaniards for theft; adding, that tho' a stranger be never so much upon his guard, it is difficult for him to get out of the city without losing either his money or effects: That, as these idle Spaniards apply themselves to no other business but lying, sharpening, and cheating, they are such masters of these arts, that no honest man can defend himself against them: They chuse this way of life rather than business; tho' all that will work are better paid for their labour here than in any place in the world.

The several trades, I perceive, have their respective streets or quarters. There is a spacious street, which runs from the market, where the Goldsmiths expose their rich goods to sale; and here are to be seen, 'tis said, the value of many millions of Gold, Silver and Jewels. The street of St. Austin, where the Mercers expose their rich Silks to sale, has a very grand and beautiful appearance; and the street called Tacuba, where those tradesmen reside that deal in Brass, Steel, and Iron ware, is very long and spacious: but the Street, call'd Eagle-street, inhabited by the Nobility, Gentry, and great Lawyers, is said to excel all the rest in magnificence. Here are no ordinary houses or tradesmen's shops intermix'd with them; and in this street stands the Marquis d'VALLE's fine palace, already mention'd.

There is also a pleasant Park, well planted, and adorn'd with fountains and water-works; whither the quality of both sexes, and the gay part of the town resort every evening, some in coaches, and

others on horseback: And here the young Cavaliers endeavour to recommend themselves to the Ladies, by feats of activity and horsemanship. Several hundreds of coaches are frequently seen here, with numerous retinues of Black slaves, in the richest liveries, moving gently along, backwards and forwards, as at the Ring in Hyde-Park.

Another diversion of the citizens, is fishing in boats upon the lake, whither they carry wine and cold provisions to regale themselves with upon the water: And this brings me to give some description of the Lake, on the west-side whereof Mexico is situated. This lake is about five leagues in length, from north to south; but the breadth is very unequal; the greatest breadth is something more than four leagues; but the north-end of it is scarce half so broad. North of this lake, there are three others, which have a communication with it by rivers or canals; and on the south there are two other lakes, divided from it only by a causeway. There are several rivers that rise in the adjacent mountains, and fall into these lakes, on the east and west; which are the occasion of those terrible inundations some years in the rainy season. The waters of these lakes are not fit for all uses; one of them is so salt, that they make Salt of the waters: And tho' some travellers relate, that in several places they are sweet and wholesome; yet, I perceive, the water they drink is brought from a mountain that lies a good distance from the town, by a spacious aqueduct, supported by arches.

The neighbourhood of Mexico is render'd extremely pleasant, by the numerous palaces, country-seats, monasteries, and villages, either on the islands in the lakes, or on the banks of the several lakes within view of the city; to which the citizens resort in boats, when they are disposed to retire from the hurry of the town.

The second town I shall describe in Mexico-Pro-Acapulco town. per is Acapulco, a celebrated port on the South-sea, in 17 degrees north latitude, and in 102 degrees of western longitude; about two hundred and forty miles to the southward of the city of Mexico. At this port all the merchandize of Europe and America is shipp'd for China and the Phillipine islands in the East-Indies; and here the ships annually arrive in January from China, the East-Indies, and Peru, with the merchandize of those countries; which makes the Fair that is held here at that time one of the greatest in the world. GEMELLI, who was upon the spot, says, that some millions of pieces of eight are return'd here during the fair. But tho' it is then crowded with wealthy Merchants, it has at other times the appearance of a mean village. Except the castle and the harbour, there is little worth notice; the town consisting only of two or three hundred thatch'd houses, inhabited by Blacks and Mulattoes, a religious cloister or two, and an hospital. The town lies at the foot of some high mountains, which cover it on the east, and render it very unhealthful. The Spaniards therefore, and even the Governor himself, desert the place as soon as the Fair is over. The harbour indeed, is an excellent one, very secure and spacious; it has a narrow winding entrance, defended by platforms of great guns; and within is inclosed by high mountains, that surround it like a wall, and so deep, that the shipping may come up close to the shore, and be fastened to the trees on the beach. The Governor of the castle, who is also the chief Civil Magistrate in this part of the country, makes his post worth twenty thousand pieces of eight per annum, arising chiefly from the profits of the Fair. The

CHAP. V. Comptroller of the customs makes little less : and the Curate (the Parson of the place) whose stated revenue is no more than one hundred and eighty pieces of eight per annum, makes fourteen thousand frequently ; for he extorts most extravagant fees from the friends of such rich Merchants as die there, or on board the ships that arrive at Acapulco, and are buried there. GEMELLI relates, that this Priest will not be satisfied sometimes with less than a thousand pieces of eight for his burial-fees. It is excessive dear living in this place during the Fair ; the Negroe Porters expect three pieces of eight a day for carrying goods, and people pay a dollar a day for their ordinary : Inns, it seems, there are none in the place ; or rather, all the houses in the town are inns during the Fair ; the people making it their business to accommodate strangers with lodgings ; but there are multitudes that lie in huts and tents for want of room in the town.

Port Marquis town. Two leagues to the southward of this place is another port, called Port Marquis, where shipping sometimes puts in ; but the town consists only of a few Fishermen's huts, and the harbour is neither so commodious or secure as the former.

Pachuca town. The last town I shall mention in the province of Mexico is Pachuca, which having several rich silver mines near it, the silver is refined here, and cast into pigs or bars, fit for transportation. The town is situated about 60 miles north of the city of Mexico.

Mechoacan province. The province of Mechoacan is bounded by Panuco on the north, by Mexico Proper on the east, by the South-sea toward the south, and by Guadalajara on the west. In this province also are mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper ; and the country produces Cotton and Cocoa Nuts, of which Chocolate is made : It affords good corn and pasturage also ; and, being well water'd with rivers and springs, is esteem'd one of the most pleasant and healthful provinces in the Audience of Mexico. The chief towns are, 1. Mechoacan the capital, situate in 20 degrees north latitude, and in 105 degrees west longitude, upon the side of a lake ; and is about 150 miles to the westward of the city of Mexico : It is a Bishop's see, Suffragan to the Archbishop of Mexico ; but I meet with no farther description of it. 2. Colima, situate in 18 degrees north latitude, not far from the coast of the South-sea : The town is said to be rich and spacious, and to stand upon a river in one of the most pleasant and fruitful valleys of this province, near which is a vulcano, the flames whereof are seen at sea.

Colima town. 3. Navidad, or the Port of Natividad, situate on the South-sea, a little to the westward of Colima, in 18 degrees north latitude. This is a good harbour ; and, the neighbouring country affording timber, the Spaniards build some of the largest ships here they have in the South-sea.

Panuco province. The province of Panuco is bounded by part of Florida on the north ; by the Gulph of Mexico on the east ; by Tlascala and Mexico Proper on the south ; and by Mechoacan and Guadalajara on the west. This province has some Silver mines ; is tolerably fertile on the south next to Mexico ; and the Spaniards used to make a great deal of Salt in that part of it which lies on the Gulph of Mexico.

St. Lewis de Tampico town. The chief towns are, 1. St. Lewis de Tampico, which lies just under the Tropic of Cancer, in 101 degrees of west longitude, and on the north side of the river of Panuco, near its mouth.

St. Estevan, or Panuco town. 2. St. Estevan Puerto, formerly called Panuco, the capital of the province, situated on the south-side of the river Panuco. 3. St. Jago de los Valles, **St. Jago town.**

CHAP. V. situated 5 leagues south-west of St. Estevan. This town is most taken notice of for the salt-works near it, and the garrison the Spaniards have here to awe the natives. 4. The last town I shall mention is St. Lewis de Potofi, an inland place to the north-west of St. Jago de los Valles, probably named Potofi, from a Silver mine near it, resembling that of Potofi in Peru.

The province of Tlascala, or Los Angeles, is Tlascala bounded by Panuco on the north ; by the Gulph of Mexico on the east ; by Guaxaca and the South-sea on the south ; and by Mechoacan and Mexico Proper on the west. This province is said to be the best peopled by Indians of any in Mexico ; the natives having been exempted from tribute, and well used by the Spaniards, on account of their joining Cortez, and assisting him in his conquest of Mexico. It is a plentiful country, abounding in sugar, corn, cattle and rich pastures ; nor is there any want of venison or wild-fowl : Here are also some Silver mines, Copperas, Allum, liquid Amber, and fragrant Gums ; with abundance of Cochineel. The province is also well water'd with rivers, the chief whereof is that of Zahnah, or Zacadula, which runs almost the whole length of the province, frequently overflows the flat country, and falls into the South-sea to the westward of Acapulco. The chief towns are, 1. Tlascala, situate in 19 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, in a fruitful plain, 20 leagues to the eastward of the city of Mexico ; once a large populous place, capital of the province ; but now dwindled to a village, having little remarkable in it but a monastery of Franciscans. 2. Puebla Los Angeles, or the city of Angels, situate in 19 degrees of north latitude, on the banks of the river Zacatula, in a fine valley, 25 leagues to the eastward of Mexico. The buildings are chiefly of stone, and the form of it like that of other Spanish towns : A spacious square in the middle, from whence run the principal streets in a direct line, which are cross'd by others at right angles. The great square is encompass'd on three sides with a stately uniform piazza, under which are the shops of the principal tradesmen ; and on the fourth side of the square is the cathedral, with a most beautiful front : This is, in every respect, a finer square than that of Mexico, according to GEMELLI, who view'd both of them. The streets also are much cleaner ; and there are a great many beautiful and magnificent parochial and conventual churches, with several rich monasteries and nunneries : But some parts of this fine town, I perceive, are subject to inundations, as well as Mexico. It is the see of a Bishop, Suffragan to the Archbishop of Mexico, whose annual revenue is fourscore thousand pieces of eight per annum ; and there are two hundred thousand more paid annually to the Canons and Officers of the church ; the whole revenues whereof amount to three hundred thousand pieces of eight per annum. The people of this city in general are exceeding wealthy ; tho' the Laity in this part of the world, cannot pretend to vie with the Clergy, either in estates or influence. 3. Vera Cruz, or Vera Cruz, Ulva, situate in the Gulph of Mexico, in 18 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, and in 100 degrees of western longitude, lying about sixty-five or seventy leagues south-east of the city of Mexico, in a barren sandy plain ; but considerable upon account of an excellent harbour, defended by its natural situation within the rocks, and by a castle and forts at the entrance : It is also of importance, on account of the Flotilla's resorting hither to receive the Gold and Silver found in the mines of Mexico ; and its

being

CHAP. V. being a mart for all manner of merchandize and rich goods that are brought hither to the Fair from China, East-Indies, Peru, and Europe.

The town extends itself from east to west, being much longer than broad; but it is not more than half a league in circumference. The walls are of very little use, the sands being level with the tops of them in many places; but the castle and forts are so situated, as to be a defence to the ships in the harbour. The air is very unhealthful, especially during the north-winds, which blow frequently on this coast. The place is also very poor, being inhabited by Blacks and Mulattoes, and some few Spaniards; unless when the Flota is there, and then vast multitudes resort to Vera Cruz from all parts, living in little huts or tents while the fleet remains there; but, upon the departure of the fleet, all people of substance retire into the country, as well on account of their healths, as because their effects are not in any security there, the town having been several times plundered by Buccaneers or Pirates. I don't find there is more than one parish-church in the place, but there are some convents and an hospital that have churches belonging to them. The houses are, for the most part, thatch'd cottages; the owners most of them fishermen. The ordinary garrison the Spaniards have here, consists of a troop of sixty horse, and two companies of foot; which are scarce sufficient to defend the town against the Buccaneers. It was near this place, viz. at Ulva,

Ulva, or
Old Vera
Cruz.

Guaxaca
province.

Spirito
Sancto
town.

Guaxata
town.

Guatulco
harbour.

Tecoanti-
peque.

or old Vera Cruz, that CORTEZ landed, when he enter'd on the conquest of Mexico; but the old town, not having so commodious an harbour, was deserted; and there are now scarce any remains of it. The province of Guaxaca, or Guaxata, is bounded by the North-sea on the north; by Tabasco on the east; by the South-sea on the south; and by Tlascala, or Los Angeles, towards the west. The chief towns are, 1. Spirito Sancto, situate in 17 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, and in 97 degrees of western longitude, at the foot of certain mountains near the South-sea. 2. Guaxata, the capital, situate in a fine valley on the banks of the river Alvarado, about twenty leagues to the southward of La Vera Cruz: It is a Bishop's see, Suffragan of Mexico, and said to be a rich, well built town, and the country about it full of villages. 3. Guatulco, or Aquatulco, situate on the South-sea, in 15 degrees and a half north latitude, and 98 degrees of western longitude, once a good Spanish town; but, having been frequently plundered by Enemies and Pirates, was totally deserted; and there is now scarce any remains of the town but a small chappel, and is only mention'd here for its excellent harbour, which, our Seamen relate, is one of the most commodious on the coast of Mexico. 4. Tecoantipeque, situated to the eastward of Guatulco, on a river that falls into the South-sea, said to be a well built town; but has been plunder'd, I perceive, more than once by the Buccaneers.

The air of this province is good, and the lands fruitful: They have great numbers of Horses, Mules, Sheep and Oxen; and, abounding in Mulberry-trees, make more Silk than any part of Mexico. Here are also rich Mines of Gold and Silver, and Gold Sands in several of their rivers. It produces Cassia, Cochineel, Corn, Cotton, Sugar, Cocoa-nuts, Plantains, and a variety of other fruits. The province is mountainous, like the rest of Mexico; but has several fine valleys in it, particularly that of Guaxaca, which is 16 leagues in length, and full of villages; and the country ex-

tending both to the North and the South-seas, is extremely well situated for trade. CHAP. V.

The province of Tabasco is bounded by the Bay of Campeachy on the north; by Yucatan on the east; by Chiapa on the south; and by Guaxaca on the west; and was heretofore deem'd a part of Yucatan. As most part of this province lies on the Bay of Campeachy, where the Logwood grows which our Dyers use, the land is generally so flat and low, that it remains under water great part of the year. DAMPIER relates, that it rains nine months in the year here; and that the Logwood-cutters work in the water usually up to their knees, when they fell those trees; and they can scarce find a dry piece of ground to build their huts on; that there are woods and thickets of Mangrooves, Bambo-canes and Briars on the coast, that grow in the water a yard deep, and are almost impenetrable: However, farther up in the country, are fine savannahs, or meadow-grounds, and gentle rising hills on the sides of them, planted with Guava's, Cocoa-nut-trees, and other fruits; and hills beyond them, on which grow Cedar, Brazil-wood, and other good timber. In the valleys between the hills, they have Indian-corn, Rice, Barley, and all manner of garden stuff; and the Spaniards have introduced Grapes, Figs, Lemons, Oranges, and other European fruits: Here are also found Deer, and a species of wild Hogs, proper to America, and almost all sorts of European cattle. But, though the sea-coasts of this province are overflow'd six or seven months of the year, it is so hot and dry there for three months, viz. in February, March, and April, that there is scarce any enduring it, or any fresh water to be found; which makes the country very unhealthful, and is the reason, possibly, that there are no towns near the coast; for, as for Tabasco, so much talk'd of, I find scarce any traces of it, only a large river of that name; on the banks whereof are some straggling Indian houses, and Fishermen's huts; but nothing that has the appearance of a town. DAMPIER, who lived among the Jamaica Logwood-cutters a great while, in the Bay of Campeachy, assures us, there is not so much as an Indian village, much less a Spanish town, within four or five leagues of the coast, in the Bay of Campeachy, for several hundred miles. He adds, that it is very pleasant sailing up the river Tabasco, the banks being planted with tall Cabbage-trees an hundred foot high, and with the largest Cotton and other Timber-trees, that are to be met with any where: That, eight leagues up the river, the Spaniards have a breast-work and a small guard to watch the Buccaneers, who sometimes venture up, and have actually plunder'd the town call'd Villa de Mose, which lies four leagues higher than the breast-work; and this seems to me to be the chief town in the country; for he tells us, here is a fort and a church in it, and that it is inhabited by Spaniards and Indians: That thus far the ships come up with European goods in the months of November or December, and stay here 'till June or July, taking Cocoa and other native commodities in return: That all the Merchants and Tradersmen in the country resort hither at Christmas, which very much enriches the place. He mentions also the town of Estape, lying on the same river, four leagues beyond Villa de Mose; said to be a town of pretty good trade, and of such force, that it repulsed Captain HEWET, when he attack'd it with two hundred desperate Buccaneers. He mentions a flou-

Tabasco
province.

CHAP. a flourishing town, call'd Halpo, also higher up
V. the river of Tabasco.

Jucatan
province.

The province of Jucatan, or Yucatan, is a peninsula, situated in the Gulph of Mexico, between the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras: The isthmus whereof has the provinces of Tabasco and Chiapa on the west. This peninsula extends from 16 to 21 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, and lies between the 89th and 94th degrees of west longitude: It is generally flat, low land, scarce any hills, unless in the western part of it, near the isthmus: It is now thinly inhabited, especially near the coasts; though it was very full of people before the Spaniards destroyed the natives. This country is not agreeable to European constitutions, the air being excessive hot, and the lands near the coast frequently under water. The chief produce of the country is Cotton, Salt, and Logwood; and the Indians employ themselves pretty much in fishing.

Campeachy town.

The only Spanish town on this extensive coast is Campeachy, situate on the west-side of the peninsula, in 19 degrees odd minutes north latitude: It stands in a bending of the land, but open to the sea; and, being built of stone, and surrounded with a good wall, makes a fine appearance: It has a citadel for its defence; notwithstanding which, it has been twice taken by the Buccaneers, viz. in the years 1650, and 1678; the last time by surprise, the Buccaneers enter'd the gates in the day-time without opposition, the Spaniards looking upon them to be a party of their own garrison, returned from an expedition out of the country. There are two inland Spanish towns of some note in Jucatan, viz. Merida and Valladolid. The town of Merida is situated in 20 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, between thirty and forty miles from the North-sea, and is a Bishop's see; but I meet with no farther description of it. The town of Valladolid is situated on the east-side of the peninsula, in 19 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, about thirty miles within land, and forty to the westward of the island of Cozumel.

Merida town.

Valladolid town.

Cozumel island.

Chiapa province.

The province of Chiapa is an inland country, bounded by Tabasco on the north; by Jucatan on the east; and by Soconusco on the south: It is mountainous, but well wooded and watered, and has several fruitful valleys, where they feed great herds of cattle; and they have a pretty brisk trade with the neighbouring provinces. The chief town is Chiapa, or Ciudad Real, situate in 16 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, in a plain, surrounded by mountains, at an equal distance almost from the North and South-sea: It is a Bishop's see, and the seat of their courts of Justice; and there are some monasteries in the town; but I don't find it is either rich or populous. There is another town called Chiapa de los Indos, because it is inhabited by the natives, the largest Indian town in the country, and situate about 12 leagues from Spanish Chiapa.

Chiapa town.

Soconusco province.

The province of Soconusco is bounded by Chiapa on the north; by Guatemala towards the east; and by the South-sea on the south and west: It lies along the coast of the South-sea for above an hundred miles, and is not a very fruitful country; neither do they seem to have much trade: Our seamen observe, that it is very mountainous; and that the highest mountain, which is a vulcano, goes by the name of Soconusco: That to the south-east of this vulcano runs a river, on the banks whereof is situated a large Indian town; and that both the town and the river take their names from the vulcano.

Soconusco town.

The Audience of Guatemala is bounded by that of Mexico on the north-west; by the North-sea on the north-east; by the province of Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper, in South-America, on the south-east; and by the South-sea on the south-west; being about 1000 miles in length from the north-west to the south-east; but scarce half so broad in any part, and in some not 100 miles broad. This Audience is subdivided into six provinces; viz. 1. Vera Paz; 2. Guatemala Proper; 3. Honduras; 4. Nicaragua; 5. Costa Rica; and 6. Veragua.

CHAP. V.
Guatemala Audience.

The province of Vera Paz is bounded by the Gulph of Honduras and Jucatan on the north; by the province of Honduras on the east; by Guatemala Proper on the south; and by Chiapa towards the west. It is said to have had the name of Vera Paz, or True Peace, given it by the Spaniards; because the natives submitted, and made peace with them voluntarily. It is a woody mountainous country, subject to earthquakes, and neither fruitful or populous. The Spaniards mention two towns; viz. Vera Paz, or Coban, and St. Peter's, both of them situated a little to the southward of the bay of Honduras; but travellers have not thought them worth a particular description. Coban, or Vera Paz, is found in our maps, in 15 degrees north latitude, and St. Peter's a little to the south-east of it.

Vera Paz province.
Vera Paz, for Coban town, and St. Peter's.

The province of Guatemala Proper is bounded by Vera Paz towards the north; by Nicaragua and Honduras on the east; and by the South-sea on the south-west. It is a mountainous country, every mountain almost a vulcano, and subject to earthquakes and fiery eruptions; as DAMPIER, Captain ROGERS, and others relate, who were very well acquainted with the coast. There are, however, many fruitful valleys, abounding in corn and pasturage, and rich drugs for dyeing; viz. Indico, Otta, Silvester, and Cochineel; and great herds of cattle; several Sugar plantations, and some Silver mines; and, as it lies along the coast of the South-sea, is well supplied with fish. It is agreed, by all, to be an exceeding fruitful country; nor are the heats so intolerable as might be expected between the Tropics, the earth being refreshed by the annual rains, and the land and sea-breezes, which succeed each other every day at stated hours. The chief towns are, 1. Guatemala, or St. Jago de Guatemala, the capital, situate in 14 degrees north latitude, 8 or 9 leagues from the South-sea. There is a famous mountain, with two tops, 2 or 3 leagues from this city; out of one of which issues water, and out of the other fire. At the bottom of this mountain stood the old town of Guatemala, once destroyed by a fiery eruption, and a second time by water issuing from the other head; which induced the Spaniards to build a new city 3 leagues from thence: However, at this distance, the town is sometimes covered with ashes from the fiery vulcano, which throws out stones and pieces of rocks as big as a house, and is observed to burn most fiercely during the rainy season. The new town lies on a river in a fine valley, and is one of the largest cities in Spanish America, containing upwards of eight thousand families: It is the seat of the President, and of the courts of justice of this Audience; a Bishop's see, Suffragan of Mexico; a university; and has several fine monasteries: The cathedral and parochial churches also are exceeding rich. 2. Trinidad, or Sonfonate, a port town, situate on the bay of the South-sea, 100 miles south-east of

Guatemala province.

Guatemala town.

Guatemala vulcano.

Trinidad town.

CHAP. V. of Guatemala, in 13 degrees north latitude: It consists of four or five hundred Spanish families, besides Mulattoes and Indians, and has five churches. 3. St. Michael's, another port-town to the eastward of Sonsonate, having seven or eight hundred houses, and several fine churches; and near it is a great vulcano, called the vulcano of St. Michael's; beyond which is a large lake, the banks whereof are well inhabited by Spaniards, Mulattoes, and Indians. 4. Amapalla, situate on a fine bay to the eastward of St. Michael's; in which are above an hundred Spanish families, who have a brisk trade for their Cochineel, Cocoa, Hides, Indico, &c.

Honduras province. The province of Honduras, or Comaiagua, is bounded by the Gulph of Honduras and the North-sea on the north and east; by Guatemala Proper and Nicaragua on the south; and by Vera Paz on the west. The air of this country is said to be generally good, and the soil rich in corn and pasturage, occasioned by the annual floods of their numerous rivers, and was exceedingly populous, 'till the natives were destroyed by the Spaniards, who tortured and put many of them to death, 'tis said, to make them discover their Gold and Silver, and killed many more, by obliging them to work in the mines, and carry burthens beyond their strength. It is even said, in a letter to CHARLES V. written by the Bishop of Chiapa, that the Spaniards murdered two millions of people in this province; but this account must certainly be very extravagant, there being scarce so many people in it, if it be true, as most writers agree, that America was not so well peopled as Europe, when the Spaniards came thither. The chief towns are, 1.

Valladolid town. Valladolid, or Comaiagua, situate in 14 degrees of north latitude, and 91 degrees of western longitude, in a pleasant valley, on the west side of a river, which falls into the gulph of Honduras, 80 miles north of the town. Here the Silver is refined, which is dug in the adjacent mountains. It is the residence of the Governor of the province, and a Bishop's see, Suffragan of Mexico. 2. Truxillo town. Truxillo, situate in 15 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, on a bay of the sea, on the north side of the province: It stands on an eminence between two rivers, the mouths whereof, and some islands that lie before it, form the harbour, which is defended by a castle; but the place has however been plundered several times by the Buccaneers.

Gracias a Dios. 3. Gracias a Dios, situated at the mouth of a river near the north-east Cape, or Promontory of Honduras. It stands on a mountain near a fine fruitful valley, and hath some Gold mines in the neighbourhood of it.

Nicaragua province. The province of Nicaragua is bounded by Honduras on the north, by the North-sea on the east, by Costa Rica towards the south-east, and by the South-sea on the south-west: This country consists of mountains, valleys, and spacious lakes, with fine savannahs, or meadows, in which feed numerous herds of cattle: They have also Sugar plantations, and a variety of pleasant fruits: And their constant sea and land breezes, with that extensive lake, that runs quite cross it, renders this province cool and healthful; inasmuch, that some of our countrymen that have resided here, call it the paradise of the Indies: But the vulcano's in their mountains, and the earthquakes occasioned by them, too often disturb their repose. The west end of the great lake I have mentioned, lies within a few leagues of the South-sea, and stretching to the westward, falls into the North-sea by a nar-

row channel, usually called the river of Nicaragua; but this channel, it seems, is so obstructed by rocks, and the river falls down such precipices frequently, that the navigation is scarce practicable: Nor do the Spaniards care to move these obstructions, lest some other nations should find a way through this lake to their settlements on the South-sea; for the head of the lake is not more than four or five leagues distant from the South-sea. It is of a good depth after passing the narrow channel from the North-sea, and upwards of an 100 miles in length, and thirty or forty in breadth: It ebbs and flows like the sea, and the banks of it are pretty well inhabited, on account of the plenty of good fish in it, and other conveniences; but it is pretty much infested by Crocodiles and Alligators.

CHAP. V. The chief towns in this province are, 1. The city of Leon, situate towards the west end of the said lake, in 11 degrees and a half of north latitude, about 20 miles to the eastward of the South-sea: It stands in a plain at the foot of a piqued mountain, call'd, the vulcano of Leon. It is a Bishop's see, and, besides the cathedral, has several churches and monasteries, and about a thousand houses, whereof the Governors and some of the principal inhabitants make a grand appearance; but they are most of them low built on account of earthquakes. The riches of the place has tempted the Buccaneers to plunder it several times, and particularly the crew that DAMPIER sail'd with in the year 1684, who set fire to the place, on the Governor's refusing them a sum of money: And, perhaps, the easiness of access to this city, was one great inducement to their attempting it; for DAMPIER relates, that the way to it lay through fine level savannahs or meadows: Nor does he mention any fortifications about it, only some breastworks in the way thither. 2. Ria Lexa, or Rea Lejo, situate on the South-sea, being the port-town to the city of Leon, and situate 20 miles west of it. The town stands in a plain on a small river, is pretty large, and, according to DAMPIER, has three churches and an hospital; but is a very sickly place, on account of the creeks and salt marshes that lie about it, and occasion a very nauseous smell. 3. Granada town. Granada, situate on the south side of the lake of Nicaragua, about 60 miles south-east of Leon, a good trading town, with some fortifications about it; and yet it was taken and plundered by the Buccaneers in the year 1686. 4. St. John's town. St. John's, situate on the north side of the river of St. John's Nicaragua, about 100 miles to the westward of the North sea; but I meet with no further description of it.

Costa Rica province. The province of Costa Rica, or the Rich coast, is bounded by Nicaragua on the north; by the North-sea on the east; by Veragua on the south-east; and by the South-sea on the south-west; extending 200 miles along the South-sea coast, and about 60 miles along the coast of the North-sea. This is a mountainous barren country; but inexpressibly rich in Gold and Silver mines, from whence its shores obtained the name of the rich coast. The chief towns are, 1. Nicoya town. Nicoya, situated 30 miles to the eastward of a bay of the South-sea, to which, however, it gives its name, and lies in 10 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, consisting of about fourscore houses. The bay is much frequented by the Spanish shipping, being a commodious harbour, and several rivers falling into it; but what is most considerable, is a Pearl fishery the Spaniards have here, which yields them a considerable

CHAP.
V.The
crown
mountains.Carthage
town.Veragua
province.Santa Fe
town.Concep-
tion town.Puebla
Nova.Chiriqui
town.La Villia
town.Old Mexi-
co describ-
ed.

considerable profit: This may well be called the rich coast therefore, when the sea and the land yield such valuable treasures. All our Seamen take notice of the mountains near this coast, both on account of their vast height, and the figure they make at sea: They are called the Crown Mountains, and are five or six ridges of hills, gradually surmounting each other, and resembling a crown at a distance. But to return to the town of Nicoya: This also was taken and plundered by the Buccaneers in the year 1687, who extorted a considerable sum from the Governor, for not setting it on fire; so exceeding weak do the Spaniards appear to be in those parts. 2. The second town I shall mention, is Carthage, the capital, which is situated also 30 or 40 miles within the land to the eastward of Nicoya; but I meet with no farther description of it: As it is a barren country, there are few towns in it, and those are not very considerable.

The province of Veragua is bounded by the North-sea on the north; by the province of Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper in south America, and by the Gulph of Panama on the east; by the South-sea on the south, and by Costa Rica on the west. This is a mountainous barren country; but then their mountains are well clothed with timber, and near the coast of the North and South-seas, the land is low and incumber'd with thickets of Mangroves and Bamboe-canes, and generally very unhealthy; but they have mines of Gold and Silver, not inferior to those of Costa Rica; and in their rivers, which fall from the mountains, is frequently found Gold-dust: But the course of their rivers is very short and rapid, especially those that fall into the North-sea, the mountains lying very near that shore; nor are they far from the coast of the South-sea. The chief towns are, 1. Santa Fe, or St. Faith's, situate in the middle of the province, in 9 degrees of north latitude, and 83 degrees of western longitude; where, 'tis said, the Spaniards melt their Gold into bars; but their capital is said to be, 2. The Town of Conception, situate on a bay of the North-sea, 40 miles north of Santa Fe; but I meet with no farther description of either of these towns. 3. Puebla Nova, or New Town, situate at the mouth of a river, which runs into the South-Sea, encompassed with bogs and morasses; said to be a large place, but of no force, being taken by a crew of Buccaneers, with whom DAMPIER sail'd in the year 1685. 4. Chiriqui, situate on a river, that falls into the South-sea, about 3 miles from its mouth, and upwards of 40 miles to the westward of Puebla Nova. This town also was taken by the Buccaneers in 1686.

As was, 5. La Villia, on the same coast, where the Buccaneers surprized three hundred Spaniards in the church at high-mass, and possessed themselves of a vast treasure in bullion and rich merchandize; but falling into an ambuscade afterwards, lost most part of their plunder; however, they carried off their prisoners, and had upwards of ten thousand pieces of eight paid them for their ransom.

Having given a description of modern Mexico, and some of the chief Spanish towns; I proceed to describe the towns and villages of the Indians, both ancient and modern, with the form of their houses, and the materials, of which they were, or are built, with their furniture, as far as we can learn these particulars from the first discoverers, or from travellers that have lately visited those countries; and first I shall treat of the city of Old Mexico.

What the form of the old city was, no author, that I have met with, attempts to describe, any more than the dimensions: But, as it stood on the

same ground the present city stands on, there is reason to believe it was square, as modern Mexico is, or pretty near that figure; and the dimensions may be gathered from the number of families that resided in it, which the histories of that conquest make to be about sixty thousand. These histories inform us also, that there was a vast square in the middle of the city, which, in the time of their great Fair, contained an hundred thousand people, that resorted thither with their goods and merchandizes, and lodged in the booths and tents they erected in that square: That the town was divided into two parts; the one inhabited by the Court, the Nobility, and persons of distinction; and the other by Tradesmen and people of inferior rank: That the former was much the largest part; where the streets were spacious, the houses of white hewn stone, one story high; and that they had flat roofs adorn'd with battlements: That their cieling was of Cedar, Cypress, or other odoriferous wood; and their hangings were either of furs and beautiful feathers, or painted cottonlinen, with a variety of figures of birds, beasts, or plants. The only furniture mention'd besides, are their beds and chairs, which do not seem suitable to the rest; for their beds were no better than mats, and their chairs of wood; nor were any of the Nobility served in plate: This was the prerogative only of the Emperor, the rest eat out of earthen dishes.

The only publick buildings writers give us any description of, are the Emperor's palaces, and their temples; and these descriptions are not so full as could be wished.

The palace where MONTEZUMA, the last Emperor resided, sufficiently shew'd the magnificence of that Prince, says the *History of the Conquest*: The pile was so very large, that it opened with thirty gates, into as many different streets; the principal front making one side of the great square above-mention'd. The materials of this building were polish'd Jasper, black, red and white; and over each gate, in a large shield, were the arms of MONTEZUMA, being a Griffin, half Eagle and half Lion, with the wings extended, and a Tiger in his talons.

This palace consisted of several square courts, so vastly extensive, that here were apartments for three thousand of his women, and a proportionable number of other domesticks; and might rather be styled a separate city, than a palace.

The palace assign'd to CORTEZ and his army was vastly large, containing commodious rooms and apartments for his five hundred Spaniards, and for several thousand Tlascalans, his Indian allies; the whole being surrounded with a thick stone-wall, and flank'd with stately towers, at convenient distances. In several of the streets of Mexico were canals, with bridges over them, and many thousand boats ply'd upon the water to bring in provisions, and for the service or pleasure of the inhabitants. There were two vast aqueducts also made by the Emperor MONTEZUMA, which brought in fresh water from a mountain 3 miles distance, supplying the palaces and the numerous fountains in the high-streets with water.

Besides the two palaces already mentioned, MONTEZUMA had several pleasure-houses in and about the city: In one of which were great galleries, supported by pillars of Jasper, in which were kept every species of land-fowls and birds that Mexico produced: The sea-fowls were preserved and fed in reservoirs of salt-water; and those that were bred in lakes and rivers, in others of fresh water; and so numerous were the feather'd race of all kinds, that

CHAP. V. it is said to be the business of three hundred men to feed and look after them.

In another square, of the same palace, were kept all manner of wild beasts, in their respective dens and cages, in a most regular order; and in another part of this palace were apartments for dwarfs and monsters, fools and naturals, of the human species, kept for the sport or service of the Court.

Here were also armories, well replenished with armour, and all manner of Indian weapons; of which I shall give a particular account under another head: And in the same quarter were seen the artificers at work that form'd and clean'd these arms.

All these palaces had spacious and elegant gardens, not planted with fruit, but laid out in fine shady walks, beds of fragrant and medicinal herbs, and parterres of beautiful flowers; with magnificent summer-houses, bagnio's, arbours, and fountains, that might have vied with any thing of that kind in Europe in those days.

But there was a building, in the most solitary part of these gardens, which surprized the Spaniards, 'tis said, more than any thing they met with; and that was an edifice, call'd, the House of Sorrow; to which the Emperor used to retire on the death of his near relations, or on any calamity, publick or private: It was so contrived, as to inspire those that approached it with gloomy melancholy thoughts; the roof, the cieling, and sides were black; and only light enough let in to discover the dismal obscurity. Here he used to remain 'till the time of mourning and humiliation were over; and here, if we may credit those authors who writ the *Conquest of Mexico*, MONTEZUMA used to converse familiarly with the Prince of darkness: But those who read these gentlemen, are at liberty to believe as much or as little as they please of such relations.

Temples. I come, in the next place, to the description of the Mexican temples, the principal whereof was dedicated to *Uitziliputli*, the God of War: This stood on a spacious square, surrounded by a wall of hewn stone, wrought on the outside with various knots of twisted serpents: At a little distance from the principal gate was a place of worship, built of stone, and ascended on the outside by thirty steps, on the top whereof was a long flat roof, and the front of it adorned with the skulls of men that had been sacrificed, placed in rows one above another, which half covered this edifice.

On each side of the grand square was a magnificent gate, and over every one of them four statues, supposed to represent some subordinate deities; for all that entered the gates seem'd to adore them. Under the wall, on the inside, were the apartments of the Priests, and of their officers and servants; and yet the square was so very extensive, that there was room left for eight or ten thousand persons to dance on their solemn festivals.

In the middle of the square was an edifice of a pyramidal form; three sides whereof were smooth, and the fourth contained an hundred and twenty stone steps, by which they ascended to the top, that was a flat of 40 foot square, laid with Jasper of all colours. The rails, or ballustrade, that surrounded this, were of a serpentine form, covered with a stone as black as jet, and joined with a red and white cement, that was very ornamental.

On each side, within the rails, was a marble statue, supporting a vast candlestick, and between them a green stone, five spans high from the floor, which terminated in a point; and on this they extended the human victims they sacrificed, throwing them on their backs, and ripping them open with knives

made of flint; after which, they tore out their hearts, and offered them to their idols: For, on the farther side, opposite to the stairs, stood a chapel of exquisite materials and architecture, where the idol was placed on an altar. This image was of human form, and sat on a throne, sustained by an azure globe, which they called heaven; from the sides whereof issued four rods, their ends resembling the heads of serpents: On the head of the image was a helmet, adorn'd with plumes of various colours; its countenance was severe and terrible, and much deformed by two blue bands, which bound the forehead and the nose; in the right hand it held a twining serpent, that served for a staff; and in the left four arrows, which were revered as the gift of heaven: It bore a shield also, adorned with fine white plumes in the form of a cross. On the left hand was another chapel of the same form, in which was the image of *Tlalock*, another of their gods; resembling the former however in every respect: They were esteemed friends, or rather so intimately united, that they ascribed to them the same attributes, and paid them the same honours. The walls and altars of these chapels were immensely rich, covered with jewels and precious stones, set on feathers of various colours.

There were eight of these temples in Mexico, of the like architecture and equal wealth, besides two thousand small ones, dedicated to as many different gods; every street having its tutelary deity; every distress or calamity its particular altar, to which they had recourse for a remedy of their several sufferings: But, having reserved a chapter on purpose to treat of their religion, I forbear enlarging on that subject here.

Those, who have written the *Conquest of Mexico*, Some other ancient towns described. have given us an account of several other noble cities and towns in that empire, whose buildings were little inferior to the capital; particularly *Iztacpalapa*, situate on an island in the lake about two leagues from Mexico, and with which it had a communication by a spacious stone causey. The Spaniards, who passed through this city in their first march to Mexico, relate, that it consisted of ten thousand houses, many of which were built like those of Mexico, with flat roofs, battlements, and cedar cielings; and that the rooms of the Cacique's palace were hung with cotton linen finely painted: That, among other curiosities in his garden, he had a square reservoir of stone, with stairs on every side going down to the bottom, each side containing four hundred paces. Another city they passed through, called *Cholula*, which for beauty they compared to Valladolid in Spain, and assure us, that it contained twenty thousand souls, and had suburbs of equal dimensions.

The city of *Tlascala* also, they inform us, was built with stone and brick, and the houses had flat roofs, with battlements of terrasses, like those of Mexico: That it was situated on four eminencies, which were united and defended by a stone wall: So well were these people versed in architecture in those days; and yet I do not find that there are any towns in the country now built of brick or stone, except those in possession of the Spaniards. I proceed therefore, in the last place, to describe the towns there are in Mexico at this day, inhabited by such Indians as are not come into the Spanish modes of building, with the form of their houses and their furniture.

Even those Indians that have submitted to the Spaniards, and embraced their religion (if they have not intermarried with them, and are not inhabitants

CHAP. V. of their great towns) live in thatch'd cottages, and observe very little regularity in laying out their streets; their houses neither stand contiguous, or in any order, but are dispersed here and there, as in our villages, every one having his separate plantation; only they have one common guard-house, or fort, situate on an eminence, whither they resort on the approach of an enemy, or when they assemble in council.

They never lay any deep foundations; their houses stand in a manner upon the surface of the ground: They set up small posts, seven or eight foot high, two or three foot asunder; and, having splinter'd up the intervals, cover them with clay: The roof is made like that of an ordinary barn, and covered usually with Palmeto leaves: The length of the building is about 24 foot, and half as broad as it is long: The fire-hearth is in the middle of the house, and they have a hole over it to let out the smoke, but no chimnies: They build but one floor, and have no partitions; all the house is but one room: Instead of beds they use hammocks, which are hung up on the principal beam, from one end to the other of the house; nor have they any other seats or tables, but blocks of wood: Their furniture consists of pots and pans, and other kitchen utensils, with Calabashes or Gourds of an uncommon size to hold their liquor; and their arms, bows, arrows, lances, darts, and quivers, with their tools, are hung round the cottage as ornaments.

Their guard-house is about 130 foot long, and 25 broad; the walls 9 or 10 foot high, and the top of the roof about 20 foot in height, and thatch'd with Palmeto leaves, as the private houses are; but they have narrow loop-holes on the sides, from whence they can annoy an enemy with their arrows. These houses, as has been observed, are generally situated on an eminence; and the ground is cleared of wood and shrubs for a good space about them, that an enemy may find no shelter from their arrows, or any place to lie concealed. They have strong doors to defend the entrance to these houses; but the Spaniards, it seems, easily burn down these little fortresses, by shooting flaming arrows into the thatch.

CHAP. VI.

Of the persons and habits of the Mexicans; of their genius and temper, arts, manufactures, diet, exercises, and diversions.

The various inhabitants of Mexico.

THERE is at present a great variety of inhabitants in Mexico; viz. 1. The native Indians; 2. the Spaniards, and other Europeans; 3. The descendants of the Spaniards unmix'd, who are called Crioli; 4. The Mestices, or Mesties, the issue of a Spaniard and an American; 5. The Fine Mesties, the issue of such issue; 6. The Terceroons dez Indies, the children of the last, intermarried with pure Spaniards; 7. The Quartoons dez Indies, whose posterity are allowed the same privileges as pure Spaniards. The Blacks also are pretty numerous, having been carried over to the Indies from Africa, and by one means or other obtained their freedom. The issue of a Spaniard (or other European) by one of these female Negroes, is call'd a Mulattoe: The descendants of these also are call'd Mulattoes, tho' again intermarried with Spaniards, and as white as the Spaniards themselves; and can never enjoy the privileges of Spaniards unless they can conceal their descent, which they frequently do, by removing from the place of their nativity. And there is also a mingled breed of Negroes and Indi-

ans, whose descendants are ever excluded from the privileges of Spaniards 'till their ancestors are forgotten: But, besides these, there are some common-wealths of Blacks, in several parts of Mexico, that own no subjection to the Spaniards: These were constituted out of the Negroes that run away from their masters into the woods and mountains; and, at length, became so formidable, that the Spaniards were forced to enter into treaties with them, and grant them their liberties, and permit them to be governed by their own Magistrates, on condition they would put a stop to their depredations.

I proceed, in the next place, to describe the persons and habits of the native Mexicans.

The persons of the Indians.

The Indians, I find, are generally of a middle stature, and their complexions a deep olive, darker than that of the Portuguese: The men have straight clean limbs, are big-boned, and well shaped, scarce a crooked or deformed person is to be found among them: They are nimble and active, and run very swiftly: The women are moderately fat, and well-shaped; and the faces, both of men and women (who have not taken pains to alter the natural shape) are round: Their eyes large, either black or grey, lively and sparkling: Their fore-heads are high; their noses short; the mouth of a moderate size; their lips thin; their chins and cheeks well proportion'd; and all of them have fine sets of teeth: The features both of men and women generally good.

In the wearing of their hair, which is always black, they differ very much; in some places the men wear it short, and the women long; and in others it is just the reverse: Some are proud of having long hair hang down their backs; others wear it short, just below their ears, and some tie it up behind; but all agree in suffering no hair to remain upon them, unless the hair of their heads, and over their eyes; the rest is pull'd off by tweezers as soon as ever it appears, which is the business of the old women it seems; inasmuch, that the Spaniards did not find a beard in the country, or any hair below the waist, when they arrived among them. There are some nations of Indians that take abundance of pains to render their countenances deformed; they do not only flat the noses of their new born infants, but so press and squeeze their heads between two boards, that they make them perfectly flat; while others endeavour to mould their tender skulls into the shape of a sugar-loaf: And there are scarce any of them but disfigure their faces and bodies with paint, and rub themselves over with oil or fat: They begin to anoint and paint their children very young, and the women are the operators: The colours they chiefly affect are a lively red, blue or yellow; and sometimes they make the figures of men, beasts, birds, or plants, on every part of the body, but chiefly on the face: They draw these figures on the skin with wooden pencils, gnaw'd at the end to the softness of a brush; renewing the paint from time to time, 'till the colours are fix'd: But the way they often take to render the figures lasting and indelible, is by pricking the skin with a thorn 'till the blood follows, and then rubbing the paint in with their hands: Some nations of Mexicans, when they go to the wars, paint their faces red, and their bodies with other colours, according to their several fancies; but this is usually washed off at night, and renewed every morning.

As to their habits, most of the Mexican nations were some habit or other; but there are Indians that go perfectly naked. GIMELLI relates, that he saw some of the Chichimecas, when he was at Mexico, who

The habits of the Indians.

CHAP.
VI.

who had no part of their bodies covered, but their nudities; all the rest of the body was naked, and stain'd with several colours: That their faces were streak'd with black lines, made by pricking the skin, and rubbing in the black liquor: That some of these wore Stags skulls on their heads with the horns on; others had a Lion's, a Tyger's, or a Wolf's head upon their own, fastened about their necks with part of the beast's skin: These are worn as triumphs of their victories over those animals. But they are ambitious of nothing so much as of killing a Spaniard, that they may fix his head on their own, and triumph in the destruction of their most dreaded enemy.

Orna-
ments.

There is another nation in Veragua, where the men cloath nothing but the Penis, which the inferior people wrap up in a leaf, and those of better quality inclose in a case of gold and silver, of the fashion of a cone or extinguisher, and adorn it with jewels, letting the Scrotum hang over in full view: But even these people, on festivals, and other solemn occasions, have a white or black cotton garment, like a Plowman's frock, that reaches down to their heels; and if an European gives them a shirt, or any other cloathing, they immediately put it on, and reckon themselves very fine. But if they have no cloaths, they seldom want ornaments for the face, ears, and neck, besides the painting of their skins, already mentioned. The men have always a thin plate of gold or silver, hanging over their lips, of an oval figure, and a piece being cut out of the upper side, it is almost of the form of a crescent, the points whereof gently pinch the bridge of the nose, and fasten it on; the middle of this plate is about the thickness of a guinea, and grows gradually thinner towards the edges. This is the size of the plate they wear when they assemble in council, or at a festival; but they have one much less, that does not reach their lips, which they wear at other times.

The women, instead of a plate, wear a ring of the like size, which goes through the bridge of the nose, and by its weight sometimes draws it down to the mouth. Both men and women lay the larger ornaments aside while they are eating at an entertainment, and then put them on again, and the lesser sort do not hinder their eating. Their great men also wear two gold plates, of the shape of an heart, a span long, at each ear, being fastened to it by a gold ring, which stretches the ear to an immoderate size, and occasioned COLUMBUS to give this province the name of the Country of Ears. They also wear a kind of coronet or bandage of gold or silver about their heads, eight or nine inches broad, and indented on the upper side; others have only a bandage of cane painted red, stuck round with beautiful feathers standing upright: And almost all the Indians of both sexes wear strings or chains of beads, teeth, shells, and other toys, hanging from the neck down to their breasts: Every person almost has three or four hundred of these chains on, and the larger and heavier they are, the more ornamental; the meanest woman, when she is dress'd, has fifteen or twenty pound weight of these strings, some carry thirty, and the men as much more: But these are worn only at festivals, and on solemn occasions. The women carry the men's ornaments in baskets on their shoulders to their assemblies, where they put them on, and will dance with that weight about them: The women, besides their ear-rings and necklaces, have some of them bracelets of the same materials on their arms.

As to the Mexicans, that lived in towns when the Spaniards arrived there, they had most of them some cloathing, although those that inhabited the country, had little or no cloathing, any more than they have at this day. What the general habit of the Mexicans was, when the Spaniards first came among them, I don't find any where particularly described. They tell us, indeed, that MONTEZUMA, the emperor, when he met CORTES at his entrance into Mexico, had on a robe of fine painted cotton linen, that trail'd upon the ground, and was covered in a manner with glittering jewels, and precious stones; that he wore a crown of gold, in form of a mitre, had shoes of hammer'd gold, and a kind of Roman buskin about his legs.

The Spaniards also relate, that the High-priest wore on his head a crown of beautiful feathers of various colours, with golden pendants, enrich'd with emeralds at his ears, and that he was cloathed in a vest, and a fine scarlet robe over it; and in the pictures they have given us of the Priests, it appears, they had sandals on their feet, but their legs were bare, which makes it reasonable to believe, that the generality of the people, even in their capital city, wore neither stockings or shoes, if the rest of their bodies were cloathed; and in other pictures they have given us the upper part of the body naked.

I proceed in the next place to shew how the Indians are cloathed, that live in the Spanish towns, or are under their government; and these GEMELLI CARERI informs us, wear a short waistcoat and wide breeches, with a short cloak of various colours over all; and some of them have sandals on their feet, but go bare-legg'd; that the women wear a waistcoat of cotton linnen, over which they have a frock or shift, and a strait petticoat of various colours; and when they go abroad, have another cloth wrapped about them.

That the Mestige, Mulattoe and Black women, who make the greatest part of the Mexican women, not being allowed to wear veils, or cloath themselves after the Spanish fashion, and despising the Indian habit, go in an extravagant dress, wearing a kind of petticoat about their shoulders, like a cloak. Mr. DAMPIER relates, that the country Indians, who are civiliz'd, in some provinces wear a short waistcoat and breeches, and have a Palm-leaf for a hat, which is their holiday-dress; that they have no shoes or stockings, nor do they wear so much as a waistcoat on working-days; that the women have a cotton linen petticoat, and a kind of frock, that reaches down to their knees, the bosom whereof is open and finely work'd; that they tie their hair up in a knot behind, and in this dress they think themselves very fine. He does not inform us, whether they have any other covering for their heads, besides their hair.

As to the genius and temper of the Mexicans, it seems, there is a wide difference between what they were when the Spaniards arrived amongst them, and what we find them to be at this day: They are far from being improv'd either in arts or morals. The first adventurers inform us, that they were a wonderful ingenious people, inoffensive and hospitable; and, except in the matter of human sacrifices, and their idolatrous worship, which their superstition required, there was very little reformation wanting; nay, we are assured, that the generality of the people detested these sacrifices, and were weary of their superstition.

It appears, they were no mean artificers in painting, statuary and building: That they used both

CHAP.
VI.Habits of
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CHAP.
VI.

the pencil, and the beautiful feathers of birds, in drawing and forming of pictures; and without any manner of iron tool, hew'd out vast pillars and slabs of marble out of the rock, and polish'd them, as they did several precious stones and jewels; that they made arms, defensive and offensive; wrought mines of gold, silver and copper, melted and separated these metals, and afterwards wrought them into plates and vessels; and all this, as has been observed, without being acquainted with iron. We find also, that they built great towns, removed stones of prodigious size from place to place; and yet had no horses, oxen, or other cattle for draught, but all their carriages were drawn by men. They had also images of gold and silver, wood and stone, and yet not an iron tool to work with. And how did they carve and engrave, paint and build, remains very much a secret to us. The Spaniards were so intent upon plundering their gold and silver, that they neglected to make proper observations on these articles; at least, they did not think fit to transmit these matters to posterity: We have only lame and imperfect accounts of the arts and manufactures of the Indians; we only know, that there were magnificent buildings, images, pictures, vessels, and utensils of gold, silver, earth and wood; but how they form'd them without the help of iron tools, is, in a great measure, a mystery to us. We know, indeed, that sharp flints served them instead of axes, knives and swords: That with these they form'd the edges of these tools; but how they could grave or carve their hardest stones with such instruments, is past my apprehension; and, though I don't suppose they excelled, or even equalled the Europeans in building, carving or painting, yet it shews a vast genius and uncommon application, that they were able, in such circumstances, and with no better instruments, to perform any thing of this kind.

It may be objected here, perhaps, that if the Indians were such ingenious artists two or three hundred years ago, it is strange that there is now none of them left. To which I answer, as to the matter of fact, that they had such buildings, images, pictures, and utensils, is averred and confirmed by the concurrent testimony of many thousands of eye-witnesses, and was never controverted or denied by any adventurer or traveller that has visited those countries. And there are sufficient reasons to be given for the neglect and disuse of these arts at this day: In the first place, the Spaniards, under pretence of zeal for destroying the temples and idols of the Mexicans, but, in reality, that none of the gold and silver, and other treasures of the Mexicans might be concealed from them, pull'd down and demolished every town where these arts flourished, and most of the people of those towns, leaving scarce any remains of their antiquities. Secondly, they reduced the natives to the most abject slavery, compelling those they left alive, to work in the mines, and supply the place of beasts of burthen; by which means they destroyed more of them than they had done by the sword, and entirely discouraged the rest from attempting to preserve or improve any art or science among them: And, thirdly, since the Europeans possessed themselves of those countries, and have been provided with all manner of tools and instruments to perform these things in a better manner than the Indians could be supposed to do under so many disadvantages, it is no wonder, that the natives neglected the working in that manner they were used to before, and threw away their country tools and implements, for those which were so

VOL. III.

much better adapted to the purposes above-mentioned.

As to the virtues of the ancient Mexicans, they do not seem to have been defective either in point of temperance, fortitude, or military skill: Both their policy and stratagems were admirable, considering the disadvantages under which they labour'd; and that they had an enemy to oppose, versed in the modern art of war; possess'd of gun-powder, artillery, arms, armour and horses, which the Indians had never seen or heard of 'till then.

The principal manufacture of the ancient Mexicans was cotton linen, which they spun and wove, and afterwards painted with the figures of men, animals, trees, flowers, &c. These they always made fit and proportionable for the uses they design'd them, and never cut any of their linen. They used the sinews of animals instead of thread, and bones instead of needles. The feather manufacture also was very great: They stripp'd and plunder'd every feather'd animal, to make their pictures, and adorn their houses or their persons. Architecture also must be deem'd another of their arts in towns, and almost every man made his own arms. They had no other vessels upon the water in their seas, lakes or rivers, but canoes or periagoes, which only differ in their dimensions: They are both of them made out of the body of a tree, and carry from three men to three score. They first hew'd one side of the tree flat with their flint hatchets, and then burnt it hollow with coals, smooth'd it, and form'd the ends something like a boat, which they push'd along with small flat staves, but knew nothing of either sails or oars. These kind of vessels are found very useful to this day, and they have now a much easier way of framing them by the help of European tools. Their skill in physick, their diseases, and methods of cure, will be treated of under another head.

I proceed, in the next place, to shew how the modern Mexicans are degenerated from their ancestors. GEMELLI CARERI relates, that the present Mexicans are cowardly and cruel: That they have no sense of honour, are drown'd in vice, and die without any concern or apprehensions of futurity; but seems to intimate, that the hard usage of the Spaniards is the occasion of this change: For he says, they make them work in their mines, and treat them worse than slaves; nay, that they suffer the Negroe slaves to abuse and insult them; and, if they happen to get any thing by their labour, the rapacious Spanish Governors and Officers take it from them: And it is no wonder that this usage has made them perfectly careless; for to what purpose should a man labour for what he can never possess securely? Or why should he be concern'd at dying, when it relieves him from something worse than death? But GEMELLI adds, that the Mulattoes in Mexico, which are the most numerous body of people in that city, are still worse than the Indians, greater cheats and thieves than the former; and, in short, that there is not one honest, fair-dealing man in an hundred amongst them: Nor does GEMELLI give the Spaniards themselves, that reside in that city, a better character: For he says, he saw four hundred Spaniards brought before a Court of Justice there for theft, at one time: That they are many of them idle, slothful vagabonds, and turn sharpers to get a livelihood; and that it is almost impossible for a stranger to escape being robb'd by them. Whether the Mestizes, or mixed breed, have better morals, he does not inform us; but

20 X

CHAP.
VI.

Manufactures.

The Mexicans degenerated.

CHAP.
VI.

but surely there must be some of better principles amongst them, or it would be impossible for the Government to subsist long. Thus much, however, may be concluded from the relations of all travellers, that the present inhabitants of Mexico, of what nation, tribe, or denomination soever, are more vicious and effeminate than the Indians which the Spaniards found there, and might be beaten out of that country with as much ease almost as the ancient Spaniards made that conquest, if they were not to be supported or reinforced from Europe.

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I come, in the next place, to enquire into the character of the Indians in the open country, that do not live in towns, and have still preserved their liberties, of which there are yet great numbers; and many more that only obey them occasionally, when they happen to reside in the neighbourhood of the Spanish towns, or are oblig'd to yield a forced obedience when the Spanish troops are amongst them. These, DAMPIER and other late adventurers informs us, are people of great humanity, still brave, generous, active, and unacquainted with the fordid vices of those that live in towns, whom the Europeans have corrupted. DAMPIER, in his Second Volume, Part II. p. 115, says of the Indians, they are an inoffensive people, kind to strangers, and even to the Spaniards, who use them worse than slaves, when they get them into their power; those of the open country spending great part of their time in hunting, shooting, or fishing, as the ancients did: Every man builds his own house, and makes his own arms, tools, and implements of husbandry. They cultivate but little ground, planting just enough Indian-corn, roots and fruit, to serve the necessities of the family; and these plantations are the business of the women altogether, after the men have cleared the ground. The women also spin, and weave their cotton linnen. They do all the household business; and, what is still harder upon them, they carry the baggage upon a march, and serve their husbands instead of porters and pack-horses; and that with all imaginable cheerfulness and alacrity. They are never known to murmur or speak disrespectfully to their husbands; nor is a man ever heard to give his wife any hard ill-natur'd language: On the contrary, they are admir'd by our people for the mutual love and kindness that seems to reign in their families: But more of this under the head of marriage.

The diet
and exer-
cises of the
Indians.

I proceed in the next place, to treat of their diet, exercise, festivals and diversions, which will discover more of the temper and disposition of these Indians, who still enjoy their liberties. Their principal food is either Indian corn, parch'd and ground into flour, and made into thin cakes; fruit, particularly Plantains, roots, and sometimes fish, wild Hogs, Deer, or other venison. They go out a hunting and shooting frequently in companies a week or a fortnight for food, every man carrying with him his bow and arrows, or a gun, if he can procure one; a spear, a hatchet, and a long knife. Each man also takes a dog or two with him to beat for game. Some women also go with them to carry their provisions, namely roasted Plantains, Bonatoes, Yams, Potatoes, and the flour of Cassavi roots; which will be describ'd hereafter: They carry also in their baskets parch'd Indian-corn ground to flour, with Calabashes or Gourds for their drink, and pipkins to dress their food. The beasts they hunt, are chiefly Pecary or Warree (two sorts of wild Hogs peculiar to America) and they meet with great variety of fowls. They lodge at night wherever they happen to be at sun-set, chusing to be

near some river and on the brow of a hill, if they can find such a situation. They hang up their hammocks between the trees, and have scarce any other covering, but a Plantain-leaf, only they make a fire near their hammocks; they begin their hunting again at sun-rise the next morning; their game, the Pecary and Warree, are not swift of foot, and usually go together in droves of two or three hundred; but sometimes they hunt a whole day without meeting any: When the beast is tired or wounded, he will stand at bay with the dogs, 'till the master comes up and shoots him; after which, the Indian strikes his spear into the creature, to let out the blood, embowels it, and cuts the beast in two pieces, carrying them on a stick laid cross his shoulder, to the place where they have appointed their women to meet them; here they cut off the head of the Hog, quarter and flee it. What they intend to preserve, they dry upon a wooden grate (which is call'd a Barbacue) making a fire of wood-coals under it; this they renew for three or four days, or a week, till the meat is as dry as a chip, and the pieces will keep a great while. The men are so good as to assist the women to carry the venison home, when they have a great deal of it; and when their stock of provisions is almost spent, they go out again to look for more.

As to their cookery, whether their flesh is dried or fresh killed, they cut it into small pieces, and throw it into a pipkin, adding some roots, green Plantains, or other fruits, with a great deal of Pepper, stewing them together seven or eight hours, and not suffering them to boil; this reduces all the ingredients to a pulp or hotch-potch, and is for their set-meal at noon. When it is poured out into an earthen-dish or calabash, and being set upon a wooden-block, that serves them for a table, they sit round it on lesser blocks, every one having a calabash of water standing by him on the ground, into which they frequently dip their fingers while they are eating (these calabashes, or gourds, serve them for bottles, and, when they are cut in half, for bowls, basons, or drinking-cups.) They have seldom more than one set-meal, but they eat Plantains and other fruit, raw or roasted, almost all day long. They have also the flour of Indian-wheat, or of the Cassavi-root, with which they sometimes make a kind of gruel, or else make into paste, and bake as hard as biscuit; and either the flour or biscuits made of it, they have always by them, especially when they are on a journey, or in hunting; these serving them both for meat and drink, mix'd with water and fruit, when they want more substantial food.

There is scarce any flesh, fish, or fowl, but what the natives of Mexico eat either stewed or barbecued, that is, broil'd over a wooden grate, or upon the coals; and I don't perceive they use either knives, forks, or spoons in eating; but take up the stew'd hotch-potch with their right-hand, and fill their mouths with it; and the broil'd flesh they tear off the bones with their teeth, unless those, that have learn'd better of the Europeans, and conform themselves to Spanish customs. Every thing they eat is high-season'd with Pepper, and Salt too, if they can get it; but, as Salt is scarce in many places, they are content with stroaking their meat upon a lump of Salt, before they put it into their mouths.

As to Chocolate, this serves both for meat and drink, in almost every province of Mexico, both among the civiliz'd and barbarous Indians, if they can get it; but this is so much used by the Spaniards, and

CHAP.
VI.

CHAP. VI. and so much of it exported to Europe, that it is pretty scarce among the forest Indians.

They have a great variety of liquors: The readiest and most ordinary drink is water, with the flour of Indian-corn infused in it, and drunk off presently: This, DAMPIER says, the natives call Pofole, and the English, Poor soul, because it just serves to keep them alive on a march, when they can get no other provision.

Against an entertainment, they frequently steep twenty or thirty baskets of Indian-corn, and after the water is impregnated, the women chew more of the same corn and spit into it, which ferments and works the liquor like yeast; and when it has done working, they draw the liquor clear off, and it proves very intoxicating, but tastes pretty much like four small-beer.

Mislaw is another liquor, and of this they have two sorts; one made of Plantains fresh gather'd, and the other of dried ones; the first they roast, and peeling of the rind, mash them in a bowl of water till they are dissolved, and then drink the mixt liquor; the other is made of cakes, or lumps of Plantains dry'd over a slow fire; this they carry with them on journeys, and drink it, dissolv'd in water. Green and half-ripe Plantains they also eat instead of bread, boiling or roasting them first, as they do also Yams and Potatoes. The Cassavi-root, already mentioned, of which the Indians make bread, is first boil'd and squeez'd, then dried, ground and made into paste or biscuit; and tho' this kind of bread is very wholesome, when it is thus cook'd; yet if it be eaten before it is boil'd, and the juice squeez'd from it, it is rank poison. As for green herbs and sallads, I don't find the Indians of the open country eat any. As their Pine-apples are one of the most delicious fruits of America, an infusion of these is one of their beloved liquors; and indeed they may drink of all manner of fruits almost, as well as grain, adding honey to them at their entertainments. But as to wine, their country affords none; for their Grapes will not ripen kindly in the rainy season, and the heats at other times make the liquor sour; and this is the reason, that scarce any countries between the Tropics afford good wine.

Their feasts.

The Indians scarce undertake any business of consequence, without making an entertainment. If they propose entering into a war, either with the Spaniards, or any Indian nation; their Chiefs are summon'd to a consultation, where they eat and drink plentifully, before they enter on their debates. A hunting-match, which lasts usually some weeks, is preceded also by a drunken-bout. At weddings, and other joyful occasions, they have their feasts, where they continue drinking two or three days, till all the liquor is out: And, as they are very quarrellsome in their drink, the master of the house always secures their arms before they begin to be merry; for they never go without their arms, if it be but to next door: They usually get exceeding drunk, insomuch that they can neither stand nor go; and, having slept till they have recover'd their senses, they move off.

The men, it seems, drink to one another at meals, as the Europeans do; but never to the women; the women always stand by, and wait upon their husbands, while they are eating and drinking, serving them with liquor; and, even when they are at home, the wife does not eat till the husband has done: But the females feast, and are as merry as the men among themselves: They are not afraid of being very drunk neither, 'tis said.

CHAP. VI. However, till their husbands are recovered, they take care to keep sober, and, when they perceive the men overcome with liquor, they will take them up, and put them into hammocks, waiting on them, and sprinkling them with water, till they are in a condition to return home.

Nothing is more universally drank in the city of Mexico itself, and in such towns as are under the dominion of the Spaniards, than Chocolate. GEMELLI informs us, that to every pound of the Cocoa-nut the Europeans add a pound of sugar, and an ounce of Cinnamon; but that neither the Spaniards there, nor the Indians, use any Venella in it, looking upon them as unwholesome: But to every pound of Cocoa they add two ounces of the flour of Indian-corn, to make it froth. This drink was not used by the Indians before the Spaniards arrived there. They distil a spirit also from a plant called Magey, which is very intoxicating, and so generally drank, that GEMELLI tells us, the excise of it came to eleven hundred thousand pieces of eight per annum in Mexico; that the Indians committed such outrages, when they were intoxicated with this liquor, that it was prohibited for a time; but, while he was at Mexico orders came from the King of Spain to take off the prohibition; and both Europeans and Indians now drink it again.

I must not forget, that the Indians smoak as well as drink, since it was from them we first learnt the use of Tobacco about two hundred years ago; but what the natives plant is not so good as that the English plant and cure in Virginia: They neither understand, nor will take the pains to cultivate it as our people do; and, if they taught us to take Tobacco, we taught them to improve it, and the use of pipes; for the way they smoak'd it, was by lighting one end of a roll they made with the leaf, and holding the other end of the roll in their mouths; and, when it was half burnt out, they threw the remainder away: Others contented themselves with the smell of the Tobacco. A boy, having lighted one end of the roll, went round the company, and blew it in their faces; and this is done in some of the provinces of Mexico by the natives to this day.

Exercises and diversions.

Their principal exercises, or rather employments, as has been touch'd already, are hunting, shooting, and fishing; for these they are in a manner forced into, in order to make provision for their families. Every man breeds up his son to these exercises; and they are so dextrous at them while they are children, that a boy of eight years of age, 'tis said, will split a cane set up at 20 yards distance, with his bow and arrow, and hit a bird flying. But the most dextrous people are the Mosquito Indians, natives of the province of Honduras, as all travellers relate. DAMPIER says, these people are tall, well-made, strong and nimble: That they are long visaged, have lank black hair, a stern look, are hard favour'd, and of a dark copper complexion: That they are bred to throw the lance, harpoon, and dart, and draw the bow, from their infancy; and that they will put by and parry any of these missive weapons thrown at them, with a small cane, not bigger than a gun-stick, tho' the arrows and darts fly very thick. These people inhabit on the sea-shore, or the banks of rivers; and their principal employment is to strike fish, particularly the Manatee and Tortoise: The Manatee is what the ancients called the Sea-horse, an amphibious animal, that lives in the salt-water, but eats weeds and grafs on shore like a Cow; and from thence, and from its size and figure, is frequently called the Sea-

Mosquito Indians.

CHAP. VI. *Sea-cow.* The English Privateers and Buccaneers, that cruize on the Mexican coast, have usually one or two of these Mosquito men on board, to strike Manatee, Tortoise, and other fish; and they will take and kill fish enough to maintain a ship's crew of an hundred men. When they serve the English, they learn the use of guns, and are exceeding good marksmen: They are found also very brave and daring in fight, and will never flinch or give back, while they are supported by the party that entertains them.

They have conversed so long with the English, who frequently bring them to Jamaica, that they will not acknowledge the dominion of the Spaniard, and frequently declare, they will have no other Sovereign, but the King of England; nor have the Spaniards ever been able to subdue these, and many other nations, that inhabit Mexico. While they are at Jamaica, and among the English, they wear the same kind of cloaths, and delight to be neat and clean; but when they return to their own country, they put off all their cloaths, and conform to their country fashion again, wearing only a small piece of linnen-tied round their waists. But to return to the exercises and diversions of the Indians, from whence the dexterity of the Mosquito men has led me.

They have their dances, and their musick too, such as it is, wooden drums of the form of a kettle-drum, and a kind of pipes or flagelets, made of a cane or reed, but very grating to an European ear. 'Tis observ'd, they love every thing that makes a noise, how disagreeable soever the sound is; they will also hum over something like a tune, when they dance; but I don't find they delight in songs and ballads, as some other unpolished people do. They dance thirty or forty in a circle, stretching out their hands, and laying them on each others shoulders: They stamp and jump, and use the most antick gestures for several hours, till they are heartily weary; and one or two of the company sometimes step out of the ring to make sport for the rest, shewing tricks, and feats of activity, throwing up their lances into the air, catching them again, bending backwards and springing forwards with great agility; and when they are in a most violent sweat, will frequently jump into the water, without taking any manner of cold. And I should have remembered among their exercises, that no men swim or dive better than the native Indians. The women have their dances and musick too, by themselves; but never with the men.

As to their religious festivals, musick and dancing, these will be taken notice of in the chapter of religion.

CHAP. VII.

Of the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards.

The conquest of Mexico.

I Have already given an account of the discoveries and conquests, made by COLUMBUS, and his successors, in Hispaniola, St. John de Porto Rico, Jamaica, Cuba, and some other American islands; as also of the settlements made by VOSCO NUNES DE BALBOA, on the isthmus of Darien on the continent, and his discovery of the South-sea in the year 1513. I shall proceed in this chapter to give as just an account of the conquest of Mexico, as can be collected from that variety of authors, that have written on this subject, whose relations differing in many material facts and circumstances, it will demand a pretty deal of attention to discover

what may be relied on, and what ought to be treated as fiction.

In the year 1515, or 1516, FRANCIS FERNANDEZ DE CORDOVA, embarking at the island of Cuba with an hundred and twenty men, set sail for Jucatan, a province of Mexico, where he made a descent, and was about to have erected a fort, in order to settle a colony of Spaniards there: But he suffered himself to be surpriz'd by the Indians; and, having twenty men kill'd, thirty more wounded, among whom was FERNANDEZ himself, and two made prisoners, the rest retired with some difficulty to their ships, and returned to Cuba. However, those that escaped reporting that they saw great plenty of Gold among the natives, and imputing their misfortune more to accident, or the unskilfulness of their Commander, than to the courage of their enemies; and offering to make a farther attempt on the continent of Mexico, where they gave out, that inconceivable treasures were to be found; the Spaniards of Cuba appeared impatient to make another experiment, and inform themselves whether there were really those riches to be met with as had been reported.

DIEGO VELASQUEZ was at this time Governor of the island of Cuba, by the appointment of Don DIEGO COLUMBUS, or COLON, the second Admiral of the Indies, and son of the celebrated COLUMBUS who first discovered that new world; and, observing the ardour his soldiers express'd to engage in a fresh enterprize against the continent, he fitted out three ships and a brigantine, to make farther discoveries, giving the command of them to JOHN DE GRIJALVA, his near relation, who set sail from Cuba on the 8th of April, 1518; and arriving at Potonchan, or Champoton, in Jucatan, where FERNANDEZ DE CORDOVA had been defeated, took a severe revenge on the natives, and then stood farther westward, till he came to the mouth of the river Tobasco, in the Gulph of Mexico. Here GRIJALVA landed, and formerly took possession of the country for the Emperor CHARLES V. then King of Castile; letting the Indians know, by his Interpreters, that he and his people were the subjects of a powerful Monarch, Lord of that part of the world where the sun rises, from whom he came to offer them peace, if they would submit to his dominion.

To this one of the Chiefs of the Indians answer'd, that they would consult their superiors on the offer of peace, and return an answer in a short time; but as to their becoming vassals to a Prince they had never before heard of, it was not in their power, as they were already subject to a Sovereign of their own; concluding, that they looked upon it as a very strange demand, and then took their leaves.

Some little time after, the same Indians returned, and acquainted the Spaniards, that their Caciques accepted their offers of peace; and that they had heard of the defeat of their neighbours of Jucatan, which had render'd the Christians very formidable. One of their principal Caciques also brought GRIJALVA a considerable present, consisting of plumes of feathers of various colours, robes of cotton linnen, adorn'd with the figures of animals of beaten gold: For which GRIJALVA returned them such European toys and utensils as were most acceptable to them; and, having taken his leave in a friendly manner, went on board his ships again, continuing his course still farther westward, till he came to the river of flags, where the natives inviting the Spaniards to land, brought them as much Gold as amounted to fifteen thousand Peso's; for which they

CHAP. VII.

The Spaniards first attempt on Jucatan defeated.

Grijalva sent from Cuba to make farther discoveries on the Continent.

Takes possession of the country for the King of Spain.

Offers the natives peace; who accept it.

Trafficks with them for their Gold.

CHAP.
VII.Learns the
greatness
of the
Mexican
empire.Grijalva
returns to
Cuba.Cortez
made Cap-
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Mexico.Some ac-
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him.

His rivals.

Cortez is
recalled by
the Go-
vernor.

they took knives, hatchets, combs, beads, and glafs, in return. GRIJALVA afterwards visited the port of St. John de Ulva; and from thence sailed as high as Panuco, the most northern province of Mexico on that fide, trading with the people as he went, and understood from them that they were fubject to a Monarch called MONTEZUMA, a Prince poffefs'd of a vaft empire, abounding in gold, filver, and rich merchandize; with which acceptable intelligence he returned to Cuba, having fent PEDRO DE ALVARADO before him, with the treafure he had acquired on the coaft of Mexico.

DIEGO VELASQUEZ was infinitely rejoiced at the difcoveries that had been made by GRIJALVA, and immediately fent over to the Admiral at HISPANIOLA, and to the Court of Spain, to acquaint them with the fuccels of the expedition; defiring that he might be made Viceroy of all the countries he fhould conquer on the continent. But, notwithstanding the great fervice JOHN DE GRIJALVA had done, VELASQUEZ was fo exasperated that he had not made a fettlement in Mexico, that he laid him afide as an improper inftrument to be concerned in the reducing fo mighty an Empire, as that of Mexico had been reprefented to him, and look'd out for a perfon to command the forces he was about to fend thither, who had a genius and courage equal to fo important an enterprize; and, after much deliberation, pitch'd upon the celebrated HERNANDO, or FERNANDO, CORTEZ, to command the fmall army, with which he propos'd to make an entire conquelt of that continent.

HERNANDO CORTEZ was born at Medellin in Eftremadura, and was fon of MARTIN CORTEZ and DONNA CATALINA PIZARRO, a lady of noble extraction. He was bred a Scholar, and two years a Student in the Univerfity of Salamanca; but affecting a more active way of life, and particularly fome military employment, he embarked, in the year 1504, for the ifland of Hispaniola; and went from thence to Cuba, where he was very inftrumental in the conquelt of that ifland, and obtained a mighty reputation for military fkill; and was, for his fervices, made Alcaide, or chief Magiftrate of St. Jago, the principal town in the ifland; which poft he poffefs'd when DIEGO VELASQUEZ fixed upon him to command in the Mexican expedition; CORTEZ having a little before married DONNA CATALINA SUAREZ, a young lady of a noble family in Cuba.

The relations of DIEGO VELASQUEZ envying CORTEZ the honour of commanding in an expedition that was like to be attended with a vaft acquisition of wealth, as well as glory, fuggelted to the Governor, that he could not have fixed upon a more ambitious or popular man, who would foon have it in his power, as he had it already in his intentions, to renounce his dependance on the perfon that raifed him, and fet up for himfelf; which, at firft, made but little impreffion on VELASQUEZ; but, obferving at length with what eagernels all the military men of the ifland crouded to be enrolled under the ftandard of CORTEZ, he began to alter his mind; and, tho' he had attended that General to the fea-fide, when he embarked, with all the marks of refpect and affection (on the 18th of November 1518) the fleet was no fooner failed, but he repented himfelf, and fent orders to the Havanna, where they were to touch and take in provifions and a farther reinforcement of troops, that the fleet fhould not proceed in the voyage 'till farther orders; and that CORTEZ fhould return to him to St. Jago. But the Governor's orders were not obey'd: The

VOL. III. NUMB. CXV.

foldiers were fo transported with the expectation of acquiring mountains of gold, and had fuch an opinion of the valour and conduct of their General, that they would not confent to the changing of him, or to the delay of the enterprize, left their hopes fhould be defeated; but agreed immediately to fet fail, contrary to the pofitive orders of their Governor DIEGO VELASQUEZ. The General and his Officers, 'tis faid, urged, in their juftification, that they had, by the encouragement of the Governor, laid out their whole eftates in making provifion for this expedition; and that if it fhould be now laid afide, or others employ'd in it, they fhould infallibly be ruined: Even DIEGO DE ORDAZ, and JOAN VELASQUEZ DE LEON, the Governor's own relations, declared againft his injuftice in difappointing them, after they had embarked all their friends and fortunes, by his command, in the enterprize. It being agreed by all of them therefore to proceed in the defign forthwith, CORTEZ, with a fleet of ten fhips, and between five and fix hundred foldiers, fet fail from the Havanna the 10th of February, 1518-19, and arrived at the ifland of Cozumel, near the eastern coaft of Yucatan; where his troops having plunder'd fome towns of the Indians, and even their temples, and taken feveral prifoners, CORTEZ fhew'd his difpleafure at thefe ravages, and order'd every thing they had taken to be reftored, endeavouring to cultivate a good correffpondence with the people of the ifland. It is related, that the Spaniards found in the temples on this ifland abundance of rich jewels, that were employ'd in adorning the images of their gods; and fome inftruments for facrifice, made of a mixture of gold and copper: But as it appeared afterwards, that all the knives and edg'd-tools of the Mexicans were made of flint, we cannot give entire credit to this part of the relation.

CORTEZ, muftering his forces in the ifland of Cozumel, found them to confift of five hundred and eight Foot-foldiers, fixteen Horfe, and one hundred and nine Seamen and Mechanics; befides his two Chaplains, JOHN DIAZ the Licentiate, and Father BARTHOLOMEW DE OLMEDO, who accompanied him in the expedition. The writers of this hiftory tell us, that the General made a fpeech to his forces at this mufter; wherein he faid, "When he confidered the good fortune that had brought them to this ifland, the obftacles they had furmounted, and the difficulties that oppofed the enterprize; he acknowledged the hand of God in the work they had undertaken, and promifed himfelf fuccels from beginnings fo remarkably favoured by Divine providence, in their zeal for the fervice of God and their King: That he fhould not leffen the danger of the undertaking; they muft expect bloody engagements, a multitude of enemies, and incredible fatigues; and they muft proportion their refolution to the difficulty and importance of the enterprize: That they were but few in number, but union added ftrength to armies, and in a manner multiplied their forces; exhorting them to be all of one mind, and refolve, as one hand, to execute the commands of their Leaders: As for his part, he fhould be ready to hazard his life for the meaneft foldier, and would lead them, by his example, to the execution of his orders; affuring them, that he found in himfelf a fpirit fufficient to undertake the conquelt of the world; and that this hope inspired him with an extraordinary impulf, the moft promifing of all prefages." Which fpeech was received with the loud acclamations of

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CHAP.
VII.But pro-
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Cozumel.The num-
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forces.His fpeech
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CHAP. VII. his troops, who desired he would immediately lead them on to action, and make an experiment of their affection and zeal for the glorious cause they were engaged in.

A Spaniard ransomed who was prisoner in Jucatan.

While CORTEZ remained in the island of Cozumel, he was inform'd, by the principal Cacique, or Prince of the country, that there were some men in the neighbouring province of Jucatan who had been prisoners there several years, and much resembled the Spaniards he had with him: Whereupon CORTEZ desired the Cacique to send some of his people with a letter to those prisoners, and a present to the Prince in whose power they were, for their ransom; which was done, and the Indians returned to Cozumel, bringing with them JERONIMO DE AGUILAR, a native of Spain, in Deacon's orders. This Ecclesiastic related, that he had been near eight years in Jucatan, whither he escaped in a boat with several more, after they had been shipwreck'd in their passage from Darien to Hispaniola: That it was his fortune to fall into the hands of a certain Cacique, who used him hardly for some time; but afterwards advanced him to one of the best posts in his army; and, by his skill in military affairs, the Cacique gained several victories over his enemies; which had given JERONIMO a great reputation in Jucatan; infomuch, that when the present came for his ransom, the Cacique, in whose service he was, very readily dismiss'd him. He added, that the Indians, he believed, had sacrificed the rest of his company to their gods; for he did not know that any of them were living at that time, except GONZALO GUERRERO, to whom he had communicated the General's letter, and endeavoured to bring him with him; but GONZALO had married a rich Indian wife, by whom he had three or four children, and chose to remain with them in Jucatan, rather than leave them: Which, if true, is a sufficient confutation of those writers, who relate, that the Indians sacrificed the rest of the Spaniards, who were shipwreck'd on the coast of Jucatan, to their gods: For can it be believ'd, that the only remaining Spaniard, if this had been true, would have chosen to remain in so barbarous a country? Or that both he and JEROM DE AGUILAR should meet with such good usage there?

But to return to the history: This Spaniard JEROM was of infinite service to CORTEZ in this expedition; for, having resided so long in the country, he was perfectly acquainted with their strength, their way of making war, and with their language; which enabled CORTEZ to make such enquiries as were necessary to the prosecution of the conquest when he arrived at the continent. He had two or three slaves also presented to him by the Cacique of Cozumel, whom he order'd to be instructed in the Spanish tongue. Before he left the island, he express'd his zeal against the idolatry of the natives, by breaking down their idols; which does not seem very complaisant, after the hospitable reception he met with from the islanders, especially when the Mexican Priests protested and exclaimed against the outrage, as the greatest that could be done to their people: And, after all, CORTEZ appears to have had no aversion to images in general; for the history relates, he erected a temple to the VIRGIN MARY, in which he left her image and a cross, and required the natives of Cozumel to adore them: So that this great Conqueror and Reformer only required they should exchange their idols for those of his own country. But to proceed:

Sets sail from Cozumel.

The forces being reembarked, CORTEZ took leave of the island of Cozumel on the 4th of March,

1518-19; and, having doubled Cape Catoch, the most easterly promontory of Jucatan, continued his voyage to the mouth of the river Tobasco (or Grijalva) in the Bay of Campeachy; where he found the Indians in great numbers on the shore, threatening to oppose his descent: Whereupon he sent JEROM DE AGUILAR to them in a boat, with a flag of truce; acquainting them, that he was come to confirm the peace made with them the year before by GRIJALVA; and that if they refused him a peaceable entrance into their country, he should land by force: And, when they still persisted to oppose his descent, he fired upon them with his artillery and small arms: Whereupon they turn'd their backs, and fled; some of them to the woods, and others to the town of Tobasco. After which, he landed his men without opposition; but, being obliged to pass through some woods and defiles, a body of the enemy, who had conceal'd themselves therein, surprized and wounded some of the Spaniards with their arrows; and CORTEZ, continuing his march 'till he came to the town of Tobasco, found it fortified with a kind of wooden wall, formed with the bodies of trees fixed like palisadoes, through the intervals whereof they shot their darts and arrows: But his men no sooner came up to the works, and fired their muskets through the palisadoes, than the enemy retired to a large square in the middle of the town, where they made some shew of defending themselves; but, upon the approach of the Spaniards, they retired from thence also, and fled to their friends in the woods. And in all these encounters, which the Spaniards represent as very bloody and obstinate, there were only fourteen or fifteen of them wounded, and no more than two of these died of their wounds. I don't doubt that part of the relation, which informs us that great numbers of the natives were killed; for it seems to have been a maxim with CORTEZ to render himself as terrible to the Mexicans as possible, in order to facilitate the conquest of their country: But it cannot be supposed that the Spaniards met with any great opposition, when in a battle, wherein they engaged many thousands, and stormed the capital city of the province, only two of their men were killed; and indeed the fire-arms of the Christians were so very terrible to the Indians, who had never seen any thing of that kind 'till the arrival of the Spaniards, that they could very seldom be brought to make a stand within the reach of them.

But to return to the history: My author, Don ANTONIO DE SOLIS, relates, that the day after the taking of Tobasco, the Mexicans assembled an army of forty thousand men, with which they attack'd the Spaniards; and that the battle seem'd doubtful, 'till CORTEZ fallied out of a wood, and charged them in flank with his horse; by which he obtained another complete victory. The Indians are represented in this battle as a very formidable enemy, and to have attack'd the Spaniards with that bravery, that they were scarce able with their fire-arms to repulse them: And this is related with a view, no doubt, to magnify the courage and conduct of CORTEZ and the Christians. They relate also, that St. JAMES the Apostle appeared in the battle, on a white Horse, and fought for the Spaniards; insinuating, that nothing less than a miracle could have given them the victory over the Indians: Whereas every one knows, and the Spanish writers themselves confess in other places, that the Indians durst never stand a regular body of Europeans; but were in the utmost consternation when they were attack'd with fire-arms or horse, and especially when the artillery thunder'd upon them, believing that the people they engaged

CHAP. VII.

Cortez lands at Tobasco, and gains a victory over the natives.

He takes the city.

He obtains a second victory.

CHAP.
VII.

engaged were rather gods than men; and consequently there was very little occasion for a miracle, or indeed for much military skill or courage, to defeat an enemy, when they had such advantages on their side. Even at this day, now fire-arms are so well known, and used by every nation almost, I don't doubt but a thousand veteran soldiers of Europe, attended by a train of artillery, would defeat an army of an hundred thousand men either in the East or West-Indies; the writer of these sheets having seen three hundred Europeans rout twenty thousand Indians, intrench'd up to the teeth, who wanted neither horse, artillery or small-arms to defend themselves, and had the courage to stand 'till they came to push of pike and bayonet. What then might we suppose a body of veteran soldiers capable of effecting against a naked people, that had never seen a horse, or heard of gun-powder or artillery, 'till they saw their forces slaughter'd and tumbled upon heaps by those murdering pieces, a mile almost before they approach'd them? The success of CORTEZ and his Spaniards therefore is not to be wonder'd at; it was no more than might reasonably be expected, all circumstances consider'd.

The Indians of
Tobasco
see for
peace.

The day after the battle, DE SOLIS relates, that the Cacique or Prince of Tobasco sent a solemn embassy to CORTEZ, to implore peace, attended with a present of such fruits and provisions as his country afforded, together with jewels, plumes, and painted cotton linnen, and whatever he thought most acceptable to the conquerors: That the Ambassadors approach'd CORTEZ as they used to do their gods, with golden pans or censers, in which they burnt aromatic gums, and other incense: That the Cacique afterwards came in person, and made his submission, bringing with him twenty beautiful Indian virgins, which he made CORTEZ a present off: And one of these, whom the General afterwards caused to be baptized by the name of Donna MARINA, served him, it seems, during the whole expedition, in the double capacity of concubine and interpreter; for she was a native of Mexico, a female of ready wit, and understood the customs of the country and the language perfectly well; and indeed to her merit and address the Spaniards ascribe the success of their arms in a great measure. The historian, however, takes an opportunity, in this place, to admire the virtue and piety of his hero, CORTEZ following in this the precedent set him by the antients. But to proceed: When the Cacique of Tobasco came to make his submission, CORTEZ let him know, that he came from a powerful Prince; and that his principal view was to make them all happy in this world and the next, by making them the subjects of the same Sovereign, and converting them to the true religion. To which the frightened Cacique answered, as the Spaniards tell us, that he and his people should think themselves happy in obeying a King, whose power and greatness appeared with such advantage in the valour of his subjects: But as to the point of religion, 'tis said, they gave little hopes of their conversion. CORTEZ, being about to advance still farther with his fleet on the Mexican coast, was under the greatest concern, we are told, that he must leave that people before he had fully instructed them in the Catholick religion; and on Palm-Sunday, the day he had appointed to embark his troops, he first caused an altar to be erected in the open field; where he celebrated high mass in the presence of the Indians, and all his troops march'd in their ranks to the altar, with boughs or palms in their hands, to celebrate that festival: The procession seeming to excite in the natives the utmost

awe and reverence; inasmuch, that some of them, 'tis said, cried out, "This must be a great God that such brave men adore."

CHAP.
VII.

CORTEZ, having concluded a peace with the natives of Tobasco, or rather compelled them to acknowledge the King of Spain for their Sovereign, embarked his forces, and sailed to the westward 'till he arrived at the port of St. John de Ulva. When the Spaniards were coming into this port, two peraguas, or large canoes, full of Indians, came into the fleet, and addressed themselves to the General in a submissive manner; but were not understood by his interpreter; which the celebrated Donna MARINA, the General's concubine, observing, offer'd to become interpreter between the Christians and her country-men the Mexicans. And here the Spanish writers entertain us with the character and family of this Indian damsel; who, being mistress to their hero CORTEZ, and so instrumental in the following conquest, we must not wonder that they derive her pedigree from ancestors of quality and distinction. They acknowledge, indeed, that she was slave to the Prince of Tobasco, who presented her, with several more, to CORTEZ; but then they tell us, this happened by accident; she was really the daughter of a Cacique, or Mexican Prince, tho' she had the misfortune to be taken captive in the wars, and made a slave: That she had a ready wit, and several natural endowments, which well agreed with the nobility of her birth: That CORTEZ took her to his bed for political reasons; and had a son by her, to whom he gave his own name, making him a Knight of St. Jago, in consideration of the nobility of his mother's birth. But to return to the history: Donna MARINA supplying the place of Interpreter, the General was informed by the Mexicans, that their Emperor MONTEZUMA had sent two of his Ministers, viz. PILPOQUE, Governor of that province, and TENTILE, one of his Generals, to know with what intention the Spaniards visited his dominions, and to offer them such provisions and accommodations as his country afforded. To which the General answer'd, that he came as a friend, and to treat of matters of great importance; desiring a conference with the officers MONTEZUMA had sent to receive his proposals: And, landing with his troops on Good-Friday, he laid out a camp on an advantageous situation, fortifying it with trenches and redoubts, and planting his artillery in such a manner as to command the country round him; being assisted in this work, and in erecting huts and tents to preserve his soldiers from the weather, by great numbers of Mexicans that the Governor of the province sent to assist him: For the historian observes, that the Mexicans, having heard of the defeat of their countrymen at Tobasco, made a virtue of necessity, and thought it prudence to make friends with a people they durst not oppose. Nor does DE SOLIS forget, in this place, to observe again the great veneration his hero had for religion; telling us, that he immediately erected a chapel, setting the image of the blessed Virgin on the altar, and a great cross at the entrance, in order to celebrate the approaching festival of Easter; for "Religion (says he) was always his principal care."

Cortez
embarks
his forces
again.

He arrives
at the port
of St.
John de
Ulva.

Some account
of Donna
Marina,
concubine
and interpreter
to Cortez.

He lands
and fortifies
his camp.

He sends
an embassy
to Montezuma.

On Easter-day 1519, MONTEZUMA'S Ambassadors came to the camp of the Spaniards, and were admitted to the presence of CORTEZ, who received them in great state: But, before he would enter upon any business, the historian relates, he went to chapel, and heard divine service; being attended thither by the Ambassadors, and a crowd

An embassy
from
Montezuma.

of

CHAP. VII. of Mexicans, who appeared extremely delighted with their pompous ceremonies.

Being returned to the General's tent, he entertained the Ambassadors at dinner in a very splendid manner: After which, he informed them, that he was come from Don CARLOS of Austria, the great Monarch of the east, to propose matters of great importance to their Emperor MONTEZUMA, and his subjects; but that it was absolutely necessary he should deliver his message personally to the Emperor, according to the usage of all nations; and hoped he should be received with the respect due to his character.

To this the Mexican Ministers answered, that they had orders from their Sovereign, the great MONTEZUMA, hospitably to receive and entertain all strangers that arrived on their coasts, and had brought him a present of such things as their country afforded, consisting of fine painted cotton linen, beautiful feathers, and plates of wrought gold, which their servants were ordered to bring in, and place in the General's view: But they gave him to understand, at the same time, that their Emperor never admitted foreigners to his presence; and therefore he must not think of approaching his court. CORTEZ replied, that never any Ambassadors were refused an audience, unless it were with a design to affront the Prince they came from; and that he was determined not to leave the country 'till he had delivered the contents of his embassy to their Emperor himself. Whereupon the Mexican Ministers desired, that he would, however, remain in his camp 'till they had acquainted their Emperor with the proposal, and received his commands; and they would, in the mean time, supply his people with provisions, and every thing they wanted.

During this conference, the Spaniards observed some of the Mexicans were very busy in drawing, upon cotton cloth, the pictures of the principal Spaniards, and whatever they thought remarkable, as their ships, arms, artillery, and horses; which were designed, they understood, to be sent to MONTEZUMA, to acquaint him what kind of people, and of what force the Spaniards were. Of which CORTEZ being inform'd, desired they would not finish their piece 'till he had given them a taste of his military operations: Whereupon he ordered his forces to be drawn up in order of battle, and to exhibit a mock engagement: He ordered also his horse to mount, and shew their activity and horsemanship in charging, wheeling, and retiring, as in a battle: Then the small arms were ordered to fire, and afterwards the artillery. At which the Mexicans were astonished; some of them actually fled, and others fell down with the fright, apprehending they should be destroyed by this artificial thunder; but, being a little recovered from their consternation, by a cessation of the fire, they made several additions to the pieces they were painting; wherein they endeavoured to represent the amazing scene they had been witnesses of: And, having finish'd it, the Ambassadors carried the picture, with a present CORTEZ had provided for the Emperor, to the Court of Mexico. They returned to CORTEZ again seven days after, and brought another magnificent present from MONTEZUMA for the General; which, they said, their Emperor had sent as a testimony of his respect for the King he came from; but could not admit of the Spaniards resorting to his Court.

To which CORTEZ answered, he durst not return to his Prince 'till he had delivered the message he was sent upon to the Emperor MONTEZUMA; giving them to understand, that he was determined

to prosecute his journey to Mexico at all hazards.

Here the historian takes an opportunity of giving us an account of the state of the Mexican Empire at that time, and of the character of MONTEZUMA. He says, that the empire was in the most flourishing condition it had ever been in: That MONTEZUMA was then possessed of almost all the habitable parts of North America, his dominions extending above 500 leagues in length, and lying upon the North and South-seas: That MONTEZUMA was the eleventh Emperor, and the second of that name, elected to the throne in consideration of his great merit, particularly on account of his courage and military virtues; and tho' he affected to appear extremely modest and affable before he arrived at the imperial dignity, he was no sooner invested with it, but he became intolerably proud and insolent, and would be served in his Court only by his vassal Princes and Nobility, and was guilty of great cruelty and oppression; which render'd him generally hated by his subjects, and occasioned insurrections in several parts of the empire. He had reign'd fourteen years when CORTEZ arrived there; the last of which, they tell us, was full of presages and wonderful portents, which shew'd that the destruction of that empire was approaching: That, when GRIJALVA and the Spaniards were upon the Mexican coast the year before, a comet appeared for several nights, of a pyramidal form; and another was seen at noon day, resembling a fiery serpent with three heads, which ran swiftly towards the east 'till it vanished: The lakes of Mexico overflow'd in an unusual manner, carrying away both houses and people; one of their principal temples was burnt down to the ground, without their knowing from whence the fire proceeded; nor was it possible to extinguish the flames: Horrid voices were heard in the air, and strange oracles pronounced by their idols, intimating their sudden fall: Monsters of horrible deformity were taken and brought to MONTEZUMA, particularly a fowl of a prodigious size and make, which had on its head a shining plate like looking-glass, in which the Emperor saw an army of men coming from the east, and making terrible havock of his subjects: That a countryman, who had seen a vision, came to Court, and boldly told the Emperor, he was commanded by the gods to warn him of his approaching ruin; for an enemy was coming from the farther part of the world to destroy both his empire and religion. I shall leave the world to give what credit they please to these prodigies and portents; and only observe, that there scarce ever was a revolution in any nation, but some such intimations of it have been pretended.

The Spaniards seem to give some countenance to them; and assure us, that these prodigies induced the Emperor MONTEZUMA to deny CORTEZ and his Spaniards leave to approach Mexico; believing that these were the people, from whom that destruction was to proceed that had been threaten'd.

While CORTEZ remained in his camp, he order'd his fleet to sail along the Mexican coast, and sent out parties by land to gain farther intelligence of the state of the Mexican empire; and, in the mean time, received a message from MONTEZUMA, requiring him to depart his dominions, or he should look upon the Spaniards as his enemies, and treat them as such: Which, 'tis said, occasion'd a mutiny among his men; some of them representing, that it was the highest rashness to attempt the conquest of so great an empire with so small a force; and intimating, that they expected to be sacrificed to the avarice and ambition of their General.

CHAP. VII.

The state of Mexico when the Spaniards arrived there.

Prodigies and presages of the fall of the Mexican empire.

The Mexicans astonished at the artillery and small arms.

CHAP.
VII.

The Cacique of Zempoala joins Cortez.

Whereupon CORTEZ pretended he would return to Cuba, and get a farther reinforcement of troops; but finding, on this declaration, a majority of his soldiers desirous of prosecuting immediately what they had so fortunately begun, and to be of opinion they had forces sufficient to deal with the Mexicans already; he determined to continue his march towards the capital city of the empire: In which resolution he was confirm'd by the Cacique of Zempoala, a Prince in the neighbourhood of Ulva, who offered to enter into an alliance with the Spaniards against MONTEZUMA, complaining loudly of his tyranny and oppressions.

But, before CORTEZ proceeded farther in this grand enterprize, he thought it proper to get his authority establish'd in a better manner than it was at present: He represented to his soldiers, that he had no other commission than that which he received from DIEGO VELASQUES, Governor of Cuba, which had been recalled; and therefore proposed their electing some one of their Officers to be General in this expedition, whom they would willingly obey and submit to: For it could not be supposed, he should be able to transact any thing of consequence, so long as his title to command them was precarious, and every one was at liberty whether they would obey his orders or not. He resigned the commission therefore he had received from DIEGO VELASQUEZ, and delivered up his General's staff, desiring they would proceed to an election, and then withdrew: And, after a very short space a majority of the Officers and Soldiers made choice of CORTEZ to be their general again; some few of the relations of DIEGO VELASQUEZ only protesting against it, and these he obliged to submit to the suffrages of the rest.

The Spaniards march to Zempoala.

The General being thus establish'd in his command, began his march to the city of Zempoala, the capital of his new ally; where, arriving in two or three days, he was received by the Cacique with the greatest marks of esteem and affection: He informed CORTEZ, that all the Caciques on that side the country were in a manner enslaved by MONTEZUMA, and so oppress'd by his tyranny, that they were ready to throw off their subjection to that Prince, and would infallibly join the Spaniards as soon as they durst declare themselves: And the Cacique order'd the Spaniards to be quarter'd in the best part of the City of Zempoala, supplying them with plenty of provisions.

The General continuing his march the next day for the town of Quibislan, situated on the coast where he had ordered his fleet to meet him, the Cacique of Zempoala commanded four hundred Indians to carry his baggage, and assist in drawing the artillery; for there were neither beasts of burden or draught to be found in the country; every thing was done by the strength of men.

They arrive at Quibislan, or Vera Cruz.

When the army arrived at Quibislan, they found the town deserted by the inhabitants, who were fled in the utmost consternation; but the General sending some of their countrymen after them, and acquainting them that he intended them no hurt, they soon returned to their dwellings: And, while CORTEZ remained in this town, above thirty Caciques of the mountains came and desired his alliance, offering to reinforce his troops with an hundred thousand men, if he would take them under his protection, and assist them in throwing off that yoke which MONTEZUMA would impose upon them. This CORTEZ readily consented to; and, as the Indians seemed to believe the Spaniards invincible,

VOL. III.

and to be rather gods than men, CORTEZ was not backward to encourage the notion, looking upon it as a very likely means to facilitate the reduction of that empire; of which he seemed to have such an assurance at this time, that he took upon him to decide the differences of the Caciques, or Indian Princes, as their Sovereign; and even ventured to demolish the temples and images of the Zempoalans, who sacrificed some of their prisoners; telling them that the God of the Christians abominated such sacrifices: Which seems to have been a very bold and impolitic step, if he had not thought himself able to subdue the Mexicans by pure force; and was no doubt afterwards remember'd to his disadvantage. Nor was he content with this; but he converted one of their temples into a Christian church, and erected an altar in it, on which he placed an image of the blessed Virgin, and celebrated mass with great solemnity: And tho' the Indians did not seem inclinable to renounce their own superstition, yet the Catholick historian informs us, they were not averse to the admitting the image of the Virgin MARY into the number of their idols; and even desired she would be their advocate, that the God of the Christians might protect them; of whose power they seem'd extremely sensible.

CHAP.
VII.

Cortez demolishes the temples of Zempoala.

Converts one of them into a church.

After this execution on the Mexican idols at Zempoala, CORTEZ returned to Quibislan, to which he gave the name of Vera Cruz, where his fleet lay at anchor, and found a vessel just arrived there from Cuba, with a small reinforcement of ten soldiers and two horses; for such was the opinion the Spaniards had of the success of the enterprize against Mexico, that they went by stealth after CORTEZ in small parties, and were ready to run all hazards to join him, hoping to share the wealth of the continent with that Captain. By these the General understood, that DIEGO VELASQUEZ, Governor of Cuba, continued to threaten him; and had sent to the Court of Spain to obtain the King's commission (for he had only a commission from DON DIEGO COLUMBUS before) to be Viceroy of that island, and Captain-General on the continent, in order to defeat the ambitious projects of CORTEZ, and that he might reap the glory and advantage of the conquest the Spaniards were about to make of the empire of MONTEZUMA.

Upon this intelligence, CORTEZ drew up a letter to the Court of Spain, in the name of his principal Officers; giving an account of the success of their expedition, the wealth and fertility of the country, the town they had fortified, and the several Princes and provinces that had already revolted from their Emperor, and entered into an alliance with the Spaniards: They were directed also to complain of the injustice of VELASQUEZ, by whose encouragement they had embarked all their fortunes in the enterprize, and yet endeavoured to defeat it, to the irreparable damage of the Crown of Spain, and of the Christian religion, which would probably be spread and propagated over this new world, if they were not prevented prosecuting their design by the unreasonable opposition of the Governor of Cuba.

Cortez sends to Spain for a commission.

This letter, with all the gold, jewels, and valuable curiosities they had obtained by presents from MONTEZUMA, or by traffick with his subjects, were sent to Spain, as a specimen of the wealth of the country, and to shew of what importance it was to support CORTEZ and his fellow-adventurers. In this dispatch also was enclosed a petition, that CORTEZ might still continue to be the General

and

CHAP.
VII.

and Conductor of the enterprize, inasmuch as he had already shewn himself extremely well qualified for such an undertaking.

But, notwithstanding a majority of the Soldiers appeared to be in the interest of CORTEZ; and others, out of fear of his power, consented to sign these dispatches for Europe; there was still a considerable party in the interest of Don DIEGO VELASQUEZ, and amongst them some of the principal Officers, his near relations. JOHN DIAZ, one of the Chaplains of this little army, also was found to favour the Governor of Cuba; and was for transacting every thing therefore in his name, and by his authority, who first formed the design of invading Mexico, and largely contributed to it. And when the disaffected party found they were not able to carry their point, they enter'd into a conspiracy to seize one of the ships and return to Cuba; which was discover'd the night before it was to have been executed; and CORTEZ, to establish his authority, and deter his people from such attempts, caused two of the conspirators to be put to death, two more of them were whipped, and one of the principal mariners had his foot cut off. The General and Officers of his party also agreed to set fire to the fleet, after they had brought the tackling, iron-work and planks on shore, that might be useful to them; whereby they render'd it impossible for any of their people to desert them for the future, and added an hundred seamen to their army.

A mutiny
among the
Spaniards.Cortez
burns his
ships.

This action ANTONIO DE SOLIS magnifies to the skies, comparing CORTEZ to the greatest Captains of antiquity; tho' there does not seem to be any thing more in it, than this: The General found he had very little to apprehend from the Mexicans, who were not only extremely terrified by the fire of his artillery and small arms, but so divided amongst themselves, or rather generally disaffected to their Prince, that there could be little difficulty in subduing the country, if he was not interrupted by the Governor of Cuba; for the prevention whereof he did indeed a very prudent thing in burning his ships, that VELASQUEZ might have no intelligence of his motions; and that his people, having now no possibility of retreating to Cuba, might join unanimously in prosecuting the conquest, which nothing but their own divisions could defeat. He found he was in more danger from the attacks of the Governor of Cuba, and the murmurs of the Spaniards, than from the naked defenceless Indians; and destroy'd his fleet, because the keeping of it was the only thing that could undo him, and frustrate his ambitious views: which, tho' it discover'd a good share of cunning, yet I don't see any great reason to cry up the courage of CORTEZ upon this occasion; for he knew he should have been exposed to much greater hazards by having a fleet, than by having none; and that the destruction of it would contribute to his security more than any step he could take.

The Go-
vernor of
Jamaica
lays claim
to Mex-
ico.

Soon after the burning of the fleet, appear'd three Spanish ships upon the coast, that came from Don FRANCISCO DE GARAY, Governor of Jamaica; who landed a Notary, attended by three witnesses, that were sent to declare and testify, that the Governor of Jamaica laid claim to that part of the coast where CORTEZ was, and intended to settle a colony there; requiring him to remove from thence: But CORTEZ, instead of complying with the demand, made the Notary, and six Spaniards more, prisoners; and the ship that brought them thereupon stood off to sea again. After which, the General, having finish'd the fortifications of Vera Cruz, and left in it a garrison of an hundred and fifty Spanish

Cortez be-
gins his
march for
Mexico.

foot, two troopers with their horses, and a good number of confederate Indians; began his march towards the city of Mexico, with the rest of his forces, consisting of five hundred Spanish foot, fifteen horse, and six field-pieces, which were drawn by the natives. He was attended also in this march by his allies the neighbouring Caciques, and a numerous army of Indians; and, having pass'd some high barren mountains, where he complains his men suffered a great deal by the cold, the heavy rains they met with, and the want of provisions, they arrived at the city of Zocothlan; the Cacique whereof commanded a great extent of the country, and received the Spaniards, 'tis said, with a great shew of respect; but did not seem sincere in the friendship he profess'd: And when the General demanded, if he was subject to the Emperor of Mexico? He answer'd with another question, viz. "Is there a man up on earth, that is not a vassal and slave to MONTEZUMA?" To which, 'tis said, CORTEZ as haughtily reply'd, That the Cacique knew very little of the world; for that he, and the Spaniards with him, were the subjects of a Prince that commanded greater Kings than MONTEZUMA. Still the Cacique insisted, as the Spanish historians relate, that MONTEZUMA was the greatest Prince in the world: That the Provinces he commanded were innumerable: That he kept his Court in a city that was impregnable, founded in the waters, and which there was no approaching but by causeys, fortified with bulwarks and draw-bridges: That his wealth and the number of his forces were inconceivably great; and, lastly, that he sacrificed twenty thousand of his enemies, or of his rebellious subjects, annually to his gods. But, as the last part of this pretended speech was certainly false; so the first part of it seems exceeding jejune and vain; and rather resembles the disputes of school-boys contending for the preference of their respective schools, than a conference between two great Generals. As to the falsity of the Mexicans sacrificing so many thousands every year to their gods, we find the Spanish Bishop of Chiapa, who resided in Mexico soon after this conquest, declaring, that tho' there had been human sacrifices in that country, they never sacrificed fifty persons within the space of a year: And, if this part of the speech was false, we can have no great regard to the rest. Indeed, I am ready to ascribe this, and most of the speeches we meet with in this history, to the invention of their historians, who in this imitate the practice of some of the ancients; and, provided their discourses are just, adapted to the quality and circumstances of the persons that speak, and the subject in debate, there may be no great occasion to censure them. But to return to the history: CORTEZ being advis'd to march through the territories of Tlascala, an Indian republic, that was ever at war with MONTEZUMA, sent four of the Chiefs of the Zempoalans, his allies, as Ambassadors, to offer them peace, and to demand a passage through their country: And here the Spanish historians have given us another speech, which, they tell us, the principal Ambassador made to that commonwealth, of the following tenor:

CHAP.
VII.Arrives at
Zocothlan.A dialogue
between
Cortez
and the
Cacique.An embas-
sy to Tlas-
cala.A speech
of the Am-
bassador's.

"Noble, valiant, and potent Tlascalans, our Sovereign, the Prince of Zempoala, and the Caciques of the mountains, your friends, wish you health, a plentiful harvest, and victory over your enemies; and, by us, send to acquaint you, that certain invincible men are arrived from the east, who seem a kind of gods: They sail in palaces upon the ocean; their weapons are thunder and lightning, the peculiar arms of heaven; they profess

CHAP. VI. " profess themselves servants of a God superior to
" ours, that is offended with tyranny and human
" sacrifices; their Captain styles himself the Ambaf-
" sador of a powerful Prince, who sends him to re-
" form the manners of our country, and deliver the
" Mexicans from the oppressions of MONTEZU-
" MA, the great enemy of yours and all the neigh-
" bouring States; and only desires a passage through
" your country to the Court of that Monarch:
" Which the Ambassadors advised them to admit
" of; assuring them, that these foreigners had no
" other views than the common good of their
" country, and made no other use of the terrible
" arms they carried, but to promote the welfare of
" mankind."

Whether this speech be genuine or no, is not ma-
terial: The reason of my giving this abstract of it
is, to shew the glorious pretensions of the Spaniards
to gain over the Indian natives to their party; tho',
after they were subdued by the assistance of their own
arms, the conduct of the Spaniards appear'd the ve-
ry reverse of their declarations.

This pacific proposal, the same historians relate,
being debated in the senate of Tlascala, one of the
gravest of them, by name MAGISCATZIN, ob-
serves, that it had not long since been declared by
their Priests, and was generally believed by their
people, that an invincible race of men should one
day come from the east, who should have power
over the elements, be able to live upon the ocean,
and with fire and air subdue the earth: Men of a
celestial race; so valiant and powerful, that one
should be able to vanquish a thousand: and so good,
as to promote nothing but what was just, reasonable
and beneficent: That these strangers resembled the
people their oracles had described, in almost every
instance: Their valour those of Tobasco had already
experienced, and their goodness their allies declared,
amongst whom they had resided.

That the comets they had lately seen, foretold
this great event; and it would be madness to op-
pose a people arm'd with the thunder of the gods,
and whose lightning pointed out their submission.

There was a party, however, in the senate, led
by XICONTAT, the Tlascalan General, who were
of another mind, according to DE SOLIS: They
said, it was true these pretenders to reformation did
come from the east: but it was much to be questi-
on'd whether these were the same their oracles fore-
told should come from thence; for those they ex-
pected were to be of a celestial race: Their fire-
arms and floating-castles, which some called pala-
ces, might be the effect of human industry and in-
vention; or, perhaps, they might be the illusions
of some enchantment: Their success at Tobasco
might be ascribed to surprize, or a panic fear that
possess'd that people; but was no means to be
looked upon as miraculous: And they suspected,
that the good usage the Zempoalans had experienced,
was only the effect of artifice, and in order to
draw in that people to their party; for they did
not want instances of the covetousness, pride and
ambition of these foreigners: They had plunder'd
several towns on the coasts, and express'd an insat-
iable thirst after the Gold and Silver their country
produced: They contemned and derided their re-
ligion, destroyed their temples, pulled down their
altars, and blasphem'd their gods; which sufficient-
ly evinc'd, they were far from being of heavenly
extraction: That those portents and signs in the
air, which had been so much insisted on, were the
constant forerunners of some dreadful calamity, and
sent as warnings by the gods, that they might pro-

vide against them: They ought therefore to oppose
these invaders with all their forces, and, by their
supplications to the gods, endeavour to avert those
miseries they were threaten'd with.

I have given an abstract of these speeches, to
shew what the Mexicans thought of the Spaniards
on their arrival among them; or rather, what the
Spaniards would have us believe the Indians thought
of them: Not that I suppose such speeches were
ever made; for it was impossible the Spaniards could
have come to the knowledge of them if they had,
there being no such thing as writing among that
people, and the Spaniards at that time perfectly ig-
norant of their language.

But whatever were the debates in the senate of
Tlascala, it is evident, they determined to oppose
the passage of the Spaniards thro' their country, till
they had made an experiment of their strength.
Indeed, they durst not meet this terrible enemy,
whose arms they resembled to thunder and light-
ning, in a fair field; but they frequently laid am-
bushes in the woods and mountains, and, sur-
rounding the stragglers, killed and wounded some
of the Spaniards; by which they learnt they were
neither invulnerable nor immortal, as they had been
represented. However, such was the advantage the
Spaniards had in their artillery and horses, that
the Tlascalans, finding it in vain to continue the
war, were contented, at length, to accept of peace,
and become most faithful allies to CORTEZ.

The Spaniards, 'tis true, mention several great
battles fought with the Tlascalans, and a variety of
stratagems used on both sides in this war; and sug-
gest, that the success of the Christians was to be
ascribed to a supernatural power: But there is very
little regard to be given to such insinuations; for
the terror the natives were in at the approach of the
horse and artillery, was such, that they constantly
fled when they saw the Christians in motion. Be-
sides, the forces of the Caciques and Indian Princes,
that join'd CORTEZ, were more numerous than
those of Tlascala, and able to have maintained the
war perhaps against that people alone; and we find
few of the Spaniards were hurt in this war: It is
highly probable, therefore the opposition CORTEZ
met with was inconsiderable; and that a very mo-
derate degree of courage and military conduct was
sufficient to drive the frightened defenceless Indians
before them. That the slaughter of the Indians of
Tlascala was great, I shall not contest; for the ex-
ecution of a flying enemy is generally very terrible;
and the allies of CORTEZ, no doubt, when they
saw their enemies turn'd their backs, might do much
more execution than the Spaniards themselves; in-
asmuch as they were more numerous, and not in-
cumber'd with the heavy arms and armour of the
Christians.

When MONTEZUMA received advice, that the
Spaniards had subdued the Tlascalans, and were
about to incorporate them in the number of their
allies, he was under the utmost consternation; for
he knew them to be the bravest of the Indian na-
tions, and the most inveterate enemies to his em-
pire: A people, who had long resisted his enemies
alone, and, join'd with these invincible strangers,
he apprehended would shake the foundations of his
throne: He sent another embassy therefore to
CORTEZ, to represent the Tlascalans as a treache-
rous and barbarous people, who had no regard to
their treaties, and who would take the first oppor-
tunity that presented itself of destroying those that
confided in them: But the Spaniards easily saw
through the design of MONTEZUMA, in offering
them

CHAP. VII.

The Tlascals resolve to oppose the Spaniards.

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An alli-
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Tlascalans
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iards.

Debates in
the senate
of Tlascala
on this
embassy.

CHAP. VII. them this advice, and concluded their treaty with Tlascala the sooner, because they found that Prince so much dreaded the confederacy they were negotiating.

Cortez marches to Tlascala. MONTEZUMA made still another effort to divide the Spaniards and the Tlascalans: He even offered to pay a yearly tribute to the Spaniards, consisting of half his revenues, provided they would break with their new allies, and lay aside their design of marching to Mexico: But CORTEZ would not consent to either of these propositions; and, receiving an invitation from the senate of Tlascala, to take up his quarters in their capital, he enter'd that city in triumph, on the 23^d of September, 1519; and had a palace assign'd him, consisting of several courts, large enough to accommodate his whole army; and was entertain'd here at the expence of that republick, who readily consented to become fellow-subjects of the same mighty Prince the Spaniards were. But, when CORTEZ press'd them to abandon their idols, and embrace the Christian religion, they desired to be excused from such compliances; and the General could prevail no farther, than that they should suspend their human sacrifices. He would, the historian relates, have proceeded to demolish their temples and images by force, as he had done at Zempoala; but that Father BARTHOLOMEW DE OLMEDO dissuaded him from that rash resolution, which, he represented, would infallibly unite all the Indian nations against him, and put a stop to the progress of their arms.

The volcano of Potopetec survey'd. While the Spaniards remained at Tlascala, the burning mountain of Potopetec, which lies about eight leagues from that city, burnt with great violence, throwing out stones and ashes that cover'd the neighbouring country: And this the Mexicans also looked upon as the forerunner of some calamity. But the Spaniards informed them, that this eruption proceeded from natural causes; and DIEGO DE ORDAZ, to shew his contempt of what the natives so much dreaded, took two of his soldiers along with him, and climbed up this dreadful volcano, 'till he came to the mouth of it, where they saw a great mass of boiling sulphur, and, having satisfied their curiosity, returned again to Tlascala, where they were given over for lost: And, tho' it was in reality a very rash and foolish attempt, yet the Spaniards observe, it was attended with very fortunate consequences; for first, it raised in the Indians a vast opinion of the Spaniards, who were not afraid to march up to the mouth of this volcano, which their own people durst never approach; and secondly, the Spaniards by this means discover'd a vast quantity of sulphur, which was of great use to them afterwards in making gun-powder, when the powder they brought with them was almost exhausted.

Montezuma invites Cortez to Mexico. CORTEZ, having remained at Tlascala about 20 days, received another embassy from MONTEZUMA, inviting him to advance to the capital city of Mexico; for, finding the Spaniards were now become so powerful, by their alliance with the Tlascalans and other states, that it was in vain to oppose their march, he thought it the least evil of the two to receive them as friends: He found, if he persisted any longer to deny the Spaniards coming to his capital, they would force their way thither, which would occasion a war that might end in the destruction of himself and his empire; whereas, by entering into an alliance with them, he might not only preserve himself, but still continue to govern his dominions, on making some formal acknowledgments of his dependance on the King of Spain;

CHAP. VII. and that the Spaniards, in this case, would rather support and protect him against the Tlascalans, and his rebellious subjects, than endeavour to weaken his authority. And there is no doubt, but at this time MONTEZUMA and the Mexicans were so terrified with the artillery of the Christians, and the formidable alliances they had enter'd into with the natives, that they might have made that Emperor tributary to Spain, and put almost any terms upon him: But CORTEZ, who ever affected to make himself rather feared than loved, and to effect every thing by pure force, pretended that this sudden change in MONTEZUMA could arise from no other motive than treachery; and, as he had invited him to continue his march, and take up his quarters in Cholula, one of the frontier cities of his dominions, he had reason to suspect that this was done with a view of surprising and cutting off the Spaniards, when he should have enclosed them in that fortress; and therefore CORTEZ pretended he would take this opportunity to chastise his treachery and insolence; that is, he would cut in pieces some thousands of the Mexicans, at his entrance into their country, in order to keep up and increase the dread they had of his arms: And in this project, they tell us, the Tlascalans concurred, or rather advised him to, that they might take a full revenge of their antient enemies the Mexicans, now they were reinforced by the invincible Spaniards.

CORTEZ, his own historian relates, (tho' he knew of this plot of MONTEZUMA and the Mexicans to cut off the Spaniards at Cholula) continued his march thither; which was certainly very imprudent, if he really believed there was such a conspiracy formed against him, as he pretended: But, as a precaution, they tell us, he took six or seven thousand of the Tlascalans with him, besides the Zempoalans, and the forces of his other confederates; and, being arrived at the city of Cholula, he was received with all imaginable marks of esteem and affection; only they desired the Tlascalans might quarter without the city, as they were of a different sect in point of religion, and their antient enemies: Which CORTEZ thought fit to consent to; but directed the Tlascalans to encamp so near the town, that they might join their forces with the Spaniards, if there should be occasion. The same historians relate, that such were the joyful acclamations of the Mexicans, on the Spaniards entering into this city, that they themselves, tho' they had entertained a jealousy of a conspiracy before, were inclined to think them sincere: That the quarters the magistrates assigned the Spaniards, were four large houses contiguous to each other, spacious enough to contain the Christians, and all their allies, except the Tlascalans, who were so posted as to have a communication with their friends; and that the Spaniards, having fortified their quarters, were in no danger of being surprized. But still, they proceed to give us a farther relation of this pretended plot of the Mexicans, to destroy the Christians in this town, by a general massacre; affirming, that a Mexican lady discover'd it to Donna MARINA, CORTEZ's mistress, in compassion to her; and that some Priests of the Mexicans, being examined thereupon, confirm'd the truth of it. But, whatever there was in the conspiracy of the Indians against the Spaniards, all agree, that CORTEZ and the Tlascalans fell upon the poor defenceless citizens of Cholula, and cut the throats of many thousands of them, without the loss of any of their own people: That he even set fire to their temples, which he burnt with

Cortez advances to Cholula.

Cortez murders several thousand Mexicans at Cholula.

CHAP.
VII.

with great numbers of Priests and others, who had retired thither, either to invoke the protection of their gods, or as to sanctuaries, which they thought none would be so barbarous as to violate. Thus, says ANTONIO DE SOLIS, did CORTEZ chastise the treachery of MONTEZUMA and the Mexicans. He acknowledges, indeed, that one of their own historians charges this General with barbarous cruelty in this and many other massacres of the like nature; suggesting, that his avarice for the plunder of that rich city, and his ambition to render himself terrible, were the real motives to this butchery: And we can't easily avoid being of that opinion, after the good Bishop of Chiapa, who lived upon the spot a little after the conquest, has confirm'd the truth of it.

Certain it is, this terrible execution had such an effect on MONTEZUMA, that he immediately sent another rich present to CORTEZ, with farther offers of submission and resignation to his pleasure: And, I think, there is little room to doubt, but CORTEZ expected this massacre would be attended with some such consequences; and that the prospect of them were the principal motives to that bloody action. It is evident, great part of the history of DE SOLIS is mere fiction: That he has formed councils, made speeches, and contrived stratagems for his hero; for which there was no manner of occasion, against so weak and defenceless a people, frightened out of their senses at the discharge of his artillery: Nay, he has wrought several unnecessary miracles for the Spaniards; at which every reasonable man must laugh. And, if these relations are evidently false, what regard ought we to have to other improbable facts he relates, where they are not confirm'd by the concurrent testimony of other writers? To add another instance of a false miracle to those I have related already from DE SOLIS: He tells us, that the Spaniards having erected a Cross on an eminence in the city of Tlascala, when they march'd out of that town, a prodigious bright cloud descended, in form of a pillar, and settled perpendicularly upon the Cross, where it remained for three or four years: That there proceeded from the cloud such a splendor, as struck the Indians with a veneration for the Cross, shining out in the darkest nights, and compelling them to acknowledge, that the Cross contained some Deity; and that it was with reason the Spaniards worshipped it, and imitated them, by bending the knee before it, and applying to it for relief in their distresses, neglecting their own idols: Which devotion encreased to that degree, that the Indian Priests grew jealous of their religion, and endeavoured to pull down that miraculous Cross, and break it in pieces; but they always returned extremely terrified, not daring to declare the reason, lest they should lose their reputation among the people. These, and a multitude more of such feign'd miracles in the Spanish historians, oblige us to read them with caution; tho' DE SOLIS is frequently so good as to save us the trouble of a strict examination, and confute himself, by relating impossible or inconsistent facts, as will appear in the course of this history. And, after all, if that conquest was attended with miracles that were wrought for the conviction of the Indians, there had been little occasion for those numerous stratagems, and that inimitable bravery they ascribe to their hero CORTEZ; much less for those cruel massacres that were exercised by the Spaniards, under pretence of forcing the Indians into the Christian fold. There was surely very little of heaven in that cruel war, if it may be called a war, which

VOL. III.

CHAP.
VII.

ravenous Wolves make upon defenceless Sheep: And if ever religion, or rather superstition, was propagated and established by the sword, that of the Papists was in America; their artillery were their Apostles, and fire and faggot their Evangelists, if we may believe their own historian, the Bishop of Chiapa, who resided in Mexico soon after the conquest, and came to Spain again to solicit a cessation of these barbarities, in compassion to those miserable people, whom he saw destroy'd by thousands; and was so happy as to obtain orders from Court to the Spanish Governors to treat the Indians with more humanity.

CORTEZ, having remained some days at Cholula after this massacre, and made the necessary preparations for his march, advanced, by easy stages, towards the Court of Mexico, in order to gain farther intelligence, and strengthen himself by alliances with the Caciques, or Mexican Princes, great numbers of them resorting to him, and complaining of the tyranny and oppression of MONTEZUMA, their Emperor. Nor was CORTEZ sorry, says his historian, to see these humours prevail in the heart of the country; "persuading himself, that a Prince "could not be very powerful with so many marks "of a Tyrant, who, by losing the love of his vassals, was destitute of the surest defence of a King." Here we may observe the force of truth: The very advocates of CORTEZ, and the first adventurers, acknowledge, that the disaffection of the Mexicans was so universal, that MONTEZUMA could not, without difficulty, have prevented the revolt of his subjects, and a confederacy of the Indian Caciques against him, if the Spaniards had not come to their assistance: And, consequently, the mighty actions pretended to be done by these adventurers, had very little to be admired in them; at least, they could never deserve those applauses that have been bestowed on them; since MONTEZUMA's empire must have fallen of itself, by their own relation, without foreign assistance. Can we think it strange then, that it should be overturn'd, when the oppressed Indians were assisted in their revolt by a people versed in the European arts of war, and armed with artillery and other advantages, which must have terrified and confounded any people, how brave soever, that had never seen any thing of this kind.

They frequently insinuate, indeed, that nothing less than miracles and supernatural aids could have enabled such a handful of men to reduce so vast an empire; but they forget, on those occasions, that they have inform'd us, that the armies of Indians that join'd CORTEZ were equal to those of MONTEZUMA; and that his subjects were oppressed, and prepared for a general revolt. From whence it appears, that neither miracles, or any great share of courage or conduct, were necessary to bring about that revolution, which is represented as so astonishing, that the actions of ALEXANDER, CÆSAR, and the greatest heroes of antiquity, are not to be compared to it.

The historian proceeds to tell us, that MONTEZUMA had laid another plot to destroy the Spaniards, by leading them into a desert country, full of defiles and difficult passes, where he proposed either to cut them off, or starve them; but their Indian allies, it seems, advised CORTEZ to take a different road, whereby he preserved his army: That this stratagem failing, MONTEZUMA commanded his Magicians, Necromancers, and all that were versed in the black art, to assemble, and distress his enemies by their enchantments, on pain of death: That thereupon the Magicians, relying

Cortez enters into new alliances, and advances towards Mexico.

The Magicians employ'd by Montezuma to distress the Spaniards.

CHAP.
VII.A pretend-
ed vision.

on the support and assistance of those infernal powers that used to favour them, took their post on a mountain, in view of the Spanish army; where, beginning to draw circles, and invoke the Devil (like our European Necromancers) the Prince of Darkness appeared to them, in the form of one of their idols, of a most terrible countenance; and from whom they supposed plague and famine, and other calamities, to proceed; and, with an angry look, exceeding the fierceness of the idol, seem'd to threaten them. Whereupon they prostrated themselves before the infernal spirit; but he, regardless of their devotion, in a dismal tone and voice, spoke to them in this manner: "Unhappy Mexicans, the time is come wherein your enchantments have lost their force; and the league between us is dissolved. Tell MONTEZUMA, that, for his tyranny and cruelty, heaven has decreed his ruin: And, that you may in a more lively manner represent to him the desolation of his empire, turn your eyes upon that miserable city, already forsaken of her gods." Having said this, the apparition disappear'd, and they beheld their capital city in flames; which they found, however, untouched on their return thither.

When this vision was related to MONTEZUMA, 'tis said, he was astonish'd, and for some time remained speechless; but, at length, broke out in the following exclamation: "What can we do, if our gods forsake us? Let the strangers advance, and the heavens fall on us: To hide ourselves, or turn our backs on the vengeance that threatens, would be dishonourable. I only lament the fate of the women and the children, that cannot defend themselves." And, when he had said this, seem'd ready to dissolve in tears: And now, finding it in vain to oppose the march of the Spaniards any longer, he began to make preparations for their reception.

Thus, we find, the Spanish historians have interested both heaven and hell in the destruction of this unfortunate Emperor, against whom they had already arm'd his own subjects, and all the neighbouring powers; which must render their share in the subversion of this empire exceeding small: A Prince, terrified by visions and prodigies, by his own oracles, by a general insurrection and confederacy against him, scarce wanted the artificial thunder and military skill of the Spaniards to complete his ruin. But to proceed:

The Spaniards, continuing their march, were attended by several other Caciques and Lords of the country, who complained of the intolerable oppressions of MONTEZUMA; telling CORTEZ, that they look'd upon him as their DELIVERER, sent from heaven to restrain and punish the injustice and cruelty of tyrants: To whom he promised his protection; and, drawing near to Mexico, in order to strike the greater terror into the natives, he order'd his artillery and small arms to be discharged; and caused several Indians to be shot, that approached too near his quarters while he lay incamp'd at Amemeca, on the borders of the Mexican Lake.

Here Prince CACUMATZIN, the nephew of MONTEZUMA, attended by the Mexican nobility, came to the General, and bid him welcome; assuring him, that he would meet with a very kind and honourable reception from the Emperor; but intimated, that there having lately been a great scarcity of provisions in the city of Mexico, occasion'd by unseasonable weather, they could not ac-

commodate him as they desired; and therefore entreated he would defer his entrance into that capital, if he did not think fit entirely to decline going thither: But, CORTEZ appearing determined to advance, the Prince seem'd to acquiesce; and the preparations for the reception of the Spaniards were continued.

CORTEZ, being arrived at Quitlavaca, a city situated on an island in the great Lake, 5 or 6 leagues from Mexico; is said to have had some apprehensions, that the Mexicans should break down the causeway, and remove the bridges on it; which would have very much embarrass'd him, because he could neither have advanced or retired in that case, especially with his horse and artillery. But the Cacique of Quitlavaca, who appeared to be a friend of the Spaniards, very much encouraged the General; telling him, he had nothing to fear; that the prodigies in the heavens, the answers of the oracles, and the fame of the great actions and surprising arms of the Spaniards, had perfectly dispirited their Emperor, and disposed him to submit to whatever the General would impose on him; and that he was so far from meditating to impede their march, that he had given his commands to all the places, through which the army was to pass, to supply them with provisions, and all other accommodations; and that he would find the people every-where infinitely rejoiced on his approach, looking upon him in a manner as their good angel, and in expectation the Spaniards would answer the character they had conceived of them, and rescue them from oppression.

This is acknowledged by all the Spanish historians. How is it possible then, to form a more favourable conjuncture, for the Spaniards to have establish'd their dominion in Mexico, even without the least bloodshed, if the General, who conducted them, had been equal to the enterprize, or had had less avarice and cruelty in his composition.

The last town the Spaniards came to, before they arrived at Mexico, was Iztacpalapa, which stands upon the great causeway leading to that capital, and is about 2 leagues from thence; where he was received, with all imaginable honours, by the Cacique and the neighbouring Princes, who presented him with a great variety of plumes and fruits, and with plates of gold, to the value of two thousand Peso's. The Prince assign'd CORTEZ his own elegant Palace also for his quarters, and entertained him in the gardens of it, which, the Spaniards inform us, were equal in beauty and magnificence to any thing of that kind in Europe.

The General, having remained here one night, began his march early the next morning, being the 19th of November, 1519, in order to make his entry into the metropolis of the empire; and, as they drew near it, says DE SOLIS in his lofty style, they saw, with admiration, that great city elevated vastly above the rest of the cities of the lake, and carrying an air of dominion in the pride of her buildings. Being come within a league of the city, they were met by four thousand of the Nobility and great Officers of State, who, having paid their compliments, advanced before them to the gates of Mexico, and then made a lane for the army to march through; the rest of the people appearing at the windows and battlements on the tops of the houses, which were crowded with them; but they were not suffer'd to stand in the streets, that the march of the Spaniards and their auxiliaries might not be impeded or disorder'd.

CHAP.
VII.

Cortez enters Mexico.

The

CHAP.
VII.

The army consisted at this time of four hundred and fifty Spaniards, and six thousand Tlascalans and Indians, who had no sooner enter'd the streets of Mexico, but they were met by two hundred Noblemen of the Emperor's household, clothed in one livery, with large plumes of feathers upon their heads, all of the same fashion and colour.

These, after meeting and complimenting the General, fell back also, and, dividing themselves, made a lane for the Spaniards: Then came another body of the Nobility, of a superior dignity, who made a more splendid appearance; and, in the midst of them, was the Emperor MONTEZUMA, carried in a chair of beaten gold, on the shoulders of his favourite Courtiers, four more of them sustaining a canopy over his head; the whole adorned with beautiful feathers, through which the glittering gold appeared: He was preceded by three Officers, with rods of gold, the harbingers of the Emperor's approach, on whose appearance the people prostrated themselves, none daring to look up.

His first
interview
with
Montezuma.

CORTÉZ dismounting when the Emperor drew near, the Mexican Monarch alighted from his chair, and carpets were spread in the street for him to tread on: He advanced, according to the Spanish historians (who seem to have taken many of the ceremonies they relate from their own Court) with a slow solemn pace, leaning on the arms of two Princes, his relations; and was met by CORTÉZ with a becoming haste, and a most profound reverence; which MONTEZUMA answer'd, by touching the ground with his hand, and afterwards raising it to his lips; a new and unheard-of condescension, my author observes, from MONTEZUMA, who would scarce bend a knee to his gods; and added to the esteem and veneration his subjects already had of the Spaniards. The conference between the Emperor and the General was short, the historian relates, at this interview; neither has he made a speech for either of them on this occasion; only tells us, that their speeches were suitable to the occasion; and that the Emperor commanded one of the Princes, his relation, to conduct the General to the palace assigned for his residence; and then returned to his own palace.

It was about noon the Spaniards were brought to the royal house appointed for their reception, which was so spacious as to contain all the Europeans and their auxiliaries: It had thick stone-walls, they tell us, flank'd with towers: The roof of the palace flat, and defended by battlements and breast-works; inasmuch, that when the General had planted his artillery, and placed his guards, it had very much the appearance of a fortress.

Montezuma visits
Cortez.

Hither MONTEZUMA came the same evening, and was received by CORTÉZ in the principal square of the palace; and that Monarch, having entered the room of state, and seated himself, ordered a chair for CORTÉZ; and a signal was made for his Courtiers to retire to the wall: Whereupon the Spanish Officers did the same; and CORTÉZ, being about to begin a speech by his interpreters, the historian relates, MONTEZUMA prevented him, and spake as follows:

His
speech.

"Illustrious and valiant Stranger, before you disclose the important message the great Monarch you come from has given you in command, it is necessary some allowances be made for what fame has reported of us on either side. You may have been inform'd, by some, that I am one of the immortal gods; that my wealth is immensely great, and my palaces covered with gold: And, on the other hand, you may have

CHAP.
VII.

"heard, that I am tyrannical, proud and cruel. But both the one and the other have equally imposed on you: You see that I am a mortal of the same species of other men; and, tho' my riches are considerable, my vassals make them much more than they are; and you find, that the walls of my palaces are nothing more than plain lime and stone. In like manner, no doubt, has the severity of my government been magnified: But suspend your judgment of the whole, 'till you have had an opportunity of informing yourself concerning it; and you will find, that what my rebellious subjects call oppression, is nothing more than the necessary execution of justice.

"After the same manner have your actions been represented to us. Some speak of you as gods; affirming, that the wild beasts obey you: That you grasp the thunder in your hands, and command the elements: While others assure me, you are wicked, revengeful, proud, and transported with an insatiable thirst after the gold our country produces.

"I am now sensible, ye are of the same composition and form as other men, and distinguish'd from us only by accidents, which the difference of countries occasions.

"These beasts (Horses) that obey you, are probably a large species of Deer, that you have tamed and bred up in such imperfect knowledge as may be attained by animals: Your arms are made of a metal indeed unknown to us, and the fire you discharge from them, with such an astonishing sound, may be some secret taught by your Magicians. As to your actions, my ambassadors and servants inform me, that you are pious, courteous, and govern'd by reason: That you bear hardships with patience and cheerfulness; and are rather liberal than covetous: So that we must, on both sides, lay aside our prejudices and prepossessions, and rely only on what our eyes and experience teach. Nor need you take any pains to persuade us, that the great Prince you serve is descended from our ancestor QUEZALCOATL, Lord of the Seven Caves of the Navel, and King of the Seven Nations, that gave beginning to the Mexican empire. We know, that he departed from this land to conquer new regions in the East, promising to return again, and reform our government and manners: And, because you come from the East, and your actions manifest you are descended from this our illustrious progenitor, we have already determin'd to pay you all imaginable honours."

The answer of
Cortez.

To this the General answer'd, That it was true, various were the reports they had heard: Some endeavour'd to defame and asperse him, while others adored him as a god: But the Spaniards, who were endued with a penetrating spirit, easily saw through the different colours of discourse, and the deceit of the heart: That they neither gave credit to his rebellious subjects, or those that flatter'd him; but came into his presence assur'd, that he was a great Prince, and a friend to reason; but very well satisfied, however, that he was mortal, as they themselves were: That the beasts which obey'd him were not Deer, but fierce and generous animals, inclined to war, and seem'd to aspire, with ambition, after the same glory their masters did.

Their fire-arms were indeed the effect of human industry, and ow'd nothing to the skill of the Magician, whose arts were abominated by the Spaniards: And thus, having given some answer to the Emperor's

CHAP.
VII.

peror's discourse, CORTEZ proceeded to let him know, That he came Ambassador from the most potent Monarch under the sun, to desire his friendship and alliance: That there might be a communication and intercourse between their respective dominions; and, by that means, the Christians might have an opportunity of convincing them of their errors: And though, according to their own traditions, he might claim a more absolute power over this part of the world, their King only desired to make use of his authority, to instruct them in matters infinitely to their advantage; to shew the Mexicans that they lived in darkness and error, adoring insensible blocks of wood, the works of mens hands and fancies; whereas there was but one true God, the eternal cause of all things, without beginning or ending; whose infinite power created, out of nothing, the wonderful fabrick of the heavens, the sun which gave them light, the earth that sustained them, and the first man from whom they proceeded: And this God they were all under equal obligation to acknowledge and adore; an obligation imprinted on their souls, and of which even the Mexicans could not be wholly ignorant, though they dishonour'd that almighty Being, by worshipping devils and impure spirits, creatures of the same God, who, for their ingratitude and rebellion, were doom'd to subterranean fires; of which their volcanoes had an imperfect resemblance: That these infernal spirits, whose malice and envy render'd them most inveterate enemies of mankind, endeavour'd their perdition, by causing themselves to be adored in their abominable idols: That it was their voice they sometimes heard in the answers of their oracles, and their illusions that imposed on their reason. That these mysteries could not be explained at a single interview; but the King, whose superiority they acknowledged, admonish'd them to hear those Fathers whose business it was to preach the heavenly doctrine: This was the first and principal thing the King his master commanded him to insist on, as the most likely means of establishing a lasting amity; that, being united in principles of religion, their alliance might become indissoluble.

Montezuma's reply.

The reply MONTEZUMA made to this harangue, 'tis said, was, That he accepted the alliance propos'd by the King of Spain, the descendant of his great ancestor QUEZALCOAL; but as to the overture that had been made concerning religion, he held, that all gods were good, and the God of the Spaniards might be what they represented; but he saw no reason to withdraw that veneration the Mexicans paid to theirs: And, having made CORTEZ a present of gold, jewels, and other valuable curiosities, and distributed more among his Officers, that Prince returned to his palace.

Remarks on these speeches.

In the first of these speeches, the Spanish historians have made MONTEZUMA speak what they thought it was proper for him to say on such an occasion; and have sufficiently discovered that submission MONTEZUMA was then dispos'd to pay them: They shew, that the Spaniards were then so high in the opinion of the Mexicans, that they might have impos'd what terms they pleas'd upon them, if they had not struck upon the only string that could have prevented it; namely, the demanding a sudden and total change in their religion, even at this first conference. Whether the answer said to be made by CORTEZ be genuine, or not, is not very material; but it is evident, from this first speech their writers have put into his mouth, and many other passages, as also from his demolishing their temples and images at Cozumel and Zempoala,

CHAP.
VII.

that he began foolishly to prejudice the Indians against the Spaniards, by insisting on a change of religion before he had establish'd his authority. Had he once possess'd himself of the government, which the Emperor MONTEZUMA, and his subjects the Mexicans, in a manner courted him to accept; he might, probably, by reason, by encouragements and rewards, have wrought upon many of the Indians to have relinquish'd their superstition; for, tho' he had not the power of working miracles, the actions of the Europeans were looked upon as miraculous, and their power invincible; And if to this had been added some examples of that humanity and benevolence which Christianity inspires; had the Indians seen them act like Christians, and manifested a real concern for their temporal as well as eternal happiness, the Christian religion had, in all probability, been soon established in that part of the world. But when they saw the Spaniards destroying their temples and idols by force, before gentle means, and the arts of persuasion, had been made use of to convert them from their errors, and give them an opinion of the religion propos'd to be introduced; when they saw those they at first looked upon as gods or angels, rather than men, rapacious and cruel, intent upon amassing gold and treasure, and murdering the natives by thousands and ten thousands, under pretence of plots and conspiracies against them; when they found, by experience, that the Spaniards were but men, and were rendered desperate by the cruel treatment they met with from them; no wonder they held fast their errors, and endeavour'd to free themselves from a yoke they found intolerable.

CORTEZ, and the Spaniards seem to have proceeded upon very impolitic and bloody maxims: They expected, in the first place, that the Indians should immediately entertain and embrace their religion, before they knew any thing of it; and believed it lawful, if the Indians refused this, to destroy them by all ways imaginable: And accordingly we shall find, in the course of this history, that they used them worse than they would have used any species of animals; first making them their slaves, and then destroying them without mercy; which was not only barbarous, but extremely impolitic. The Romans, we find, whenever they extended their arms, made even the Princes of the conquered nations subservient to their designs, and assist them in establishing their dominion, by constituting them Viceroy's and Governors under them; and, by that means, reconciled the people they subdued to their empire: But the Spaniards rejected, or neglected all such politic arts; and seem'd to know no other way of subduing that new world, than by massacring and murdering the ancient inhabitants; insomuch, that large provinces and islands were perfectly depopulated, and many millions of people destroy'd, within the space of twelve years after the invasion of CORTEZ, as the Spanish Bishop of Chiapa informs us, who was so successful in his application to the Spanish Court, as to procure a stop to be put to these unparallel'd outrages and devastations, in some measure. But to proceed in our history, which will abundantly manifest the truth of what I have here advanced.

The Spanish General, attended by some of his officers and soldiers, went the next day to the palace of MONTEZUMA, and was admitted to an audience. And here again, their historians relate, that CORTEZ entertained that Prince chiefly on the subject of religion: That he endeavour'd to give him an opinion of the rites and ceremonies of the Christians; exclaimed against human sacrifices, and how unnatural

The first audience of Cortez.

CHAP.
VII.

unnatural it was to devour their own species thus sacrificed: And they tell us, that they prevailed so far on him, as to induce him to banish human flesh from his own table; tho' he durst not prohibit his subjects eating of it, or his Priests the continuing to offer such sacrifices. On the contrary, he maintained, that it was no cruelty to offer to his gods prisoners already condemned to die; tho' CORTEZ, and Father OLMEDO the Priest, frequently endeavour'd to convince him of the barbarity of the practice, and of the excellency of the Christian religion: That he still insisted, "That his gods were as good in his country, as the God of the Christians was in theirs." Nor could he dissemble his resentment, when he was press'd so closely on this subject.

Montezuma shews
Cortez
the great
temple.

The im-
politic
zeal of
Cortez.

At another time, MONTEZUMA carried CORTEZ, Father OLMEDO the Priest, and some of the principal Spanish Officers, to take a view of the great temple; explained to them their rites and ceremonies, the deities the images represented, and the use of the sacred vessels and utensils, and this with great reverence and seriousness: At which the Spaniards, their historians inform us, were so rude and impolitic, as to laugh and make a jest of them; and that MONTEZUMA thereupon admonished them to keep within the bounds of decency. But CORTEZ, transported with great zeal, said to the Emperor, "Permit me, Sir, to fix the Cross of CHRIST before these images of the devil, and you will see whether they deserve adoration or contempt." At which the Priests were enraged, and MONTEZUMA himself in confusion; and said to the Spaniards, "You might, at least, have shewn this place the respect you owe to my person:" And immediately led them out of the temple; but returned thither again himself, telling them, he must ask pardon of his gods for having suffered them to proceed so far. And now, it seems, CORTEZ and his Priests were themselves convinced, they had taken a wrong step in pressing the Emperor so strenuously to change his religion, which only tended to provoke him, and fix him in his errors; and contented themselves with erecting a chapel, by his leave, for the exercise of the Christian religion publicly; in which they placed the image of our Lady and a Cross, and celebrated mass every day. They add, that MONTEZUMA and his Court were frequently present at divine service, and admired the humanity of the Christian sacrifice; though they could not be brought to abolish their own.

Remarks
upon it.

Give me leave just to remark, in this place, that the Mexicans did not eat the flesh of those that were sacrificed, or ever fed on human flesh; nor were human sacrifices frequent in Mexico; though, upon some festivals, and extraordinary occasions, it be admitted, men were sometimes sacrificed. The design of the Spaniards, in representing these people to be so very barbarous, was evidently to justify their own cruel butcheries on these unfortunate Indians, as will be shewn under the head of religion. And, indeed, with what face could the Spaniards declaim against the worship of images, while they worshipped images themselves? Or how could they pretend such a detestation of human sacrifices, when they sacrificed so many thousands to their ambition and avarice? And, as some have observed, might not the Indians have justly retorted upon them, that if they sacrificed prisoners taken in war, the Spaniards every day almost sacrificed and eat their very God, as they themselves acknowledged. To return to the history.

VOL. III.

Still there continued a great intimacy between MONTEZUMA and CORTEZ. If we may credit the Spanish historians, CORTEZ frequently resorted to the Mexican Court, and MONTEZUMA as often visited the Spanish quarters, making presents to the General, and to his Officers and Soldiers, and exhibiting shews and entertainments for their diversion. The Mexicans still treated the Spaniards with a respect that favour'd of submission, according to my author. MONTEZUMA spoke of their King with the same veneration he mentioned his own gods; his Nobility paid a profound respect to the Spanish Officers, and the people bow'd the knee to the meanest Spanish Soldier: But an accident happened, which very much lessened the esteem, or rather dread, the Mexicans at first entertained of these foreigners.

One of that Emperor's Generals, levying the annual tax imposed on the vassal Princes in that part of the country which lay in the neighbourhood of the Spanish garrison of Vera Cruz; these Caciques, who had thrown off their subjection to the Mexican empire, and entered into an alliance with the Spaniards, applied themselves to JOHN DE ESCALANTE, Governor of Vera Cruz, for protection; who thereupon march'd out of that fortress, with forty Spaniards and three or four thousand confederate Indians, to their assistance; and, tho' he had the good fortune to defeat the Mexican General, yet one of the Spaniards was killed, and his head sent up to near Vera Cruz. An action between the Mexicans and Spaniards near Vera Cruz.

The Spanish General therefore finding it impossible to maintain his authority among the Indians any longer, without entering on some action that might give them fresh cause of astonishment, says my author, and recover that reputation they seemed to have lost by that unfortunate accident, resolv'd to seize the person of MONTEZUMA, and bring him prisoner to his quarters: And, accordingly, at an hour when the Spaniards were used to pay their court to that Prince, CORTEZ, having given orders to his men to arm themselves without noise, and possess themselves of all the avenues leading to the palace, in small parties, that no notice might be taken of it; went to the Mexican Court, attended by several of his Officers and thirty Soldiers, whose resolution he could rely on; and, being admitted to the Emperor's presence, he complained of the violation of the peace between them, by one of the Mexican Generals falling upon his confederates, and afterwards killing a Spaniard he had taken, in cold blood. To which MONTEZUMA answer'd, that if any thing of that nature had been done, it was without his orders; and he was ready to make satisfaction for any injury that might have been done undesignedly, either to the Spaniards, or their allies. But CORTEZ gave him to understand, that nothing would satisfy them but his surrendering himself into their hands, and residing with them in the palace assign'd to the Spaniards for their quarters.

MONTEZUMA, at first, seem'd astonish'd at the insolent demand, and remained for some time silent: But, recovering from his surprize, he said, that Princes of his rank were not accustomed to yield themselves up to a prison; nor would his subjects permit this, if he should forget his dignity to

CHAP.
VII.Cortez
seizes on
the person
of Montezuma.

Farther remarks.

far. CORTEZ answer'd, If he would go along with them voluntarily, they were not afraid of any opposition his subjects should make; and they would treat him with all the regard due to his dignity: He might continue to exercise his authority as formerly, and no restraint should be put upon his actions; only, for their security, he insisted, that the Emperor should reside amongst them. MONTEZUMA still refusing to put himself into their hands, was given to understand, that if he would not, they would carry him off by force, or murder him if they were oppos'd: Whereupon he submitted to do, what he found it was impossible to avoid; and gave orders to his Officers to prepare for his removal to the Spanish quarters, whither he went in the usual state, and in all appearance voluntarily, unless that he was attended by a company of Spaniards, that surrounded his chair, under pretence of doing him the greater honour: The Spaniards also oblig'd him to take with him some of his children, with the principal Lords and great Officers of state, whom they detain'd as hostages for their farther security; all which could not be effected without a suspicion, that they were in reality all captives to the Spaniards, and had very near caus'd a general insurrection to obtain their liberty. But CORTEZ oblig'd MONTEZUMA to declare, that his removal was voluntary, and to give his orders, that the people should disperse, which was submitted to, possibly, lest the Spaniards should murder their Emperor, and all the great men they had in their power: And, 'tis said, that Prince was allow'd to live in the same state he had done in his own palace for some time, attended by his officers and servants; and that he issued his orders, as if he had been under no manner of restraint; only the Spaniards used that precaution, as not to admit too many of the Mexicans to enter their quarters at a time, and kept a very strict guard at all the avenues.

And here I cannot but observe a little inconsistency in the Spanish historians, particularly in ANTONIO DE SOLIS, who tells us, "That MONTEZUMA, neither in his expressions, or his behaviour, discovered the least weakness under his confinement, or ceased to maintain the grandeur of an Emperor." And within twenty lines he says, "The want of spirit in MONTEZUMA, was not less remarkable, than the boldness of the Spaniards was surprising;" adding, that the hand of God was upon the hearts of the Mexicans, as well as their Emperor; or so haughty a Prince, and a warlike nation, excessively zealous in supporting the dignity of their Sovereign, would never have submitted so tamely, and without attempting his rescue.

The Spaniards relate also, that MONTEZUMA's table, during his confinement, was serv'd with greater plenty than usual, and that what was left, was distributed among the Spanish soldiers; that some of the best dishes were sent to the General and his Captains, who were now perfectly known to MONTEZUMA, and that he would converse freely and pleasantly with them; but in such a manner, as was not inconsistent with majesty: That he spent most of his time, when he was disengag'd from affairs of state, among the Spaniards; and used to say, he was not himself without them; and the respect they paid him in return, gave him great satisfaction. That he would sometimes play with CORTEZ at a Mexican game, call'd Toloque, wherein they bowl'd at certain golden pins, and that he used to distribute his winnings amongst the Spaniards, and that he preserv'd the sentiments of a Prince,

even at play. But sometimes they tell us, that CORTEZ entertained this Prince with more serious subjects; particularly, that his zeal would not permit him to lose so fair an opportunity of making the Emperor his convert: But that all the arguments, that he, and Father BARTHOLOMEW DE OLMEDO, the Priest, could use, had no effect upon him; inasmuch, that they were in doubt, whether he had not still some intercourse with the Devil; tho' it was the general opinion, that after the appearance of the Cross of CHRIST in Mexico, all their infernal invocations lost their force, and the oracles became silent.

Nor did the Spaniards only tease this unhappy Prince, on the point of religion; but they compelled him to issue out his orders for apprehending his General QUALPOPOCA, who had engaged the Spaniards near Vera Cruz; and this Gentleman being brought prisoner to Court, the Spanish Officers at a Court-martial condemn'd him to be burnt before the gates of the palace, with the rest of the Captains, that were concern'd in that enterprize; and lest this should occasion an insurrection, and an attempt be made to rescue MONTEZUMA, CORTEZ caus'd him to be laid in irons that morning the execution was to be perform'd.

But such was MONTEZUMA's astonishment, when he saw himself treated in this ignominious manner, says DE SOLIS, that he wanted force to resist or complain; and his servants lamenting their Emperor's hard fate, threw themselves at his feet, endeavouring to ease him of the weight of his fetters: And tho', when he recovered from his first amazement, he began to express some impatience; yet correcting himself, he acquiesced in his misfortunes; acknowledging, they proceeded from the will of his gods, and waited the event, not without apprehensions that there was a design against his life. But CORTEZ having seen the execution perform'd, by which he found, he had struck such a terror into the Mexicans, that little was to be fear'd from them, he returned to MONTEZUMA's apartment, and order'd his fetters to be taken off; and, as some writers relate, fell on his knees, and took them off with his own hands, for which favour the Emperor embrac'd and thank'd him. But, what is still more difficult to be believ'd, they assure us, that CORTEZ gave the Emperor leave to return to his palace, and that he refused the offer, out of regard to the Spaniards; telling them, he knew very well, that as soon as he was out of their power, his subjects would press him to take up arms against them, to revenge the wrongs he had suffer'd: Nay, the Spanish historians positively affirm, that notwithstanding all the injuries and indignities they had offer'd to MONTEZUMA, he expressed a more than ordinary friendship and regard for them, preferring their interest to that of his own subjects; which I must take the liberty to suspend my belief of, 'till they produce better proofs of it, and cease to speak less inconsistently than they do in their accounts of this enterprize.

And now DE SOLIS relates, that CORTEZ gave MONTEZUMA leave to go whither he pleas'd; which he seems to contradict within a very few lines afterwards: For, he tells us, when that Prince only desired to perform his devotions in one of his temples, it was granted upon certain conditions; namely, that he should give his royal word to return to the Spanish quarters again, and from that day abolish human sacrifices: And, I make no doubt, but they insisted on a third, viz. That he should take a guard of Spaniards with him; for they acknowledge

CHAP.
VII.Cortez
lays Montezuma in
irons.

CHAP.
VII.

knowledge, that a body of Spaniards actually attended him to the temple, which they could do with no other view than securing their prisoner; tho' DE SOLIS says, indeed, it was at the request of MONTEZUMA they went with him: Nor did he ever go abroad without a Spanish guard, or without asking leave of CORTEZ, or ever lay one night out of their quarters, by their own confession; which they would have us ascribe purely to choice, and his affection to the Spaniards, who had put such indignities upon him. They add, that CORTEZ was now become his Prime Minister: That all posts of honour or profit were disposed of by him and his principal Officers, who were courted by the Mexican Nobility, when they saw that no places or preferments could be had but by their interest; which might be true possibly: But, surely, it is much more probable, that MONTEZUMA was influenced more by his fears, than his affection for the Spaniards. And we may observe, from hence, that, with all these advantages, CORTEZ and his Spaniards might have establish'd their power upon such a foundation, as could not easily have been overthrown, without such a deluge of blood as they spilt afterwards, if CORTEZ had been as able a Politician as he was a Soldier; or, if his benevolence and humanity had exceeded his cruelty and avarice.

He seems to have left scarce any means untried for his security and establishment, but the principal; namely, the gaining the affections of the Indians, and the winning them over to his party, as well as to the Christian religion, by acts of generosity and beneficence. He was so careful of himself, that he caused some brigantines to be built on the Lake of Mexico; whereby he entirely commanded the lake and the causeys leading to the city: And, at the same time, he increased his reputation with the Mexicans, by the artful management of those vessels. The Indians were at this time ignorant of the use of sails and rudders; and, when they saw the Spaniards sailing not only before the wind, but upon a wind, and sometimes almost directly against it; and that the vessels were steered this way and that way with only the turn of a hand, they began to return to their first opinion, that the Spaniards had in reality the command of the elements: And, indeed, such was the opinion the Indians now entertained of the skill and power of the Spaniards, that it was purely their own fault the Mexicans ever attempted to regain their freedom.

The most fatal of all the errors CORTEZ committed, were his repeated attempts, from the very time he landed, to destroy the temples and images of the Mexicans, and force them to receive a new religion before they knew any thing of it, and before he was in a condition to force their compliance. Indeed, religion ought never to be forced upon a people, how potent soever their Governors may be: But to attempt the subversion of religion, and the introducing another by force, in the infancy of a revolution, was surely the most impolitic thing in the world. And, if the attempt was not to be ascribed to weakness in CORTEZ and his Officers, it must be imputed to a much worse cause; namely, to their avarice and cruelty, who, looking upon themselves to be armed with the Pope's authority, as well as the King of Spain's, imagined, that all the wealth of that rich country would be forfeited to them, if the Mexicans refused an immediate submission to their demand of becoming Christians; and that, in such a case, it was lawful to plunder, enslave and murder them without mercy, and make all the wealth of Mexico their own. This they

CHAP.
VII.

looked upon as the shortest way to arrive at what they principally aimed at; namely, the acquiring unbounded treasures. This their future actions evidently demonstrate, if any credit is to be given to their own historians.

Even now, when the Emperor MONTEZUMA and his subjects appeared to be all submission, and had in a manner given the reins of government into the hands of the Spaniards, did they offer them such unnecessary provocations, in the capital city of the empire, as no people would ever have borne. They attempted at once, without demanding leave, or giving any reason for it, to demolish all the images of their gods, and convert the principal temples in Mexico into Christian churches; which occasion'd, as might reasonably be expected, a general insurrection. The Priests took up arms, and the whole city rose, says my Spanish author, in defence of their gods; and the Spaniards were at length convinced, by the opposition they met with, that it was expedient to admit their idols to remain, for the present, where they stood. However, they persisted in erecting a Christian chapel in one of the temples, and placing in it the cross, and an image of the blessed Virgin; and actually sung mass in it with great solemnity: Which the Indian Priests agreed not to oppose, provided their own idols might be permitted to remain in their temples: And thus the matter was accommodated between them, and the tumult appeased. Some of the Spanish historians describe a solemn procession also, that was made to the new-erected chapel when the Popish images were carried into it; and give us a speech, said to be made by CORTEZ on that occasion, before the crucifix. They tell us also of that General's working a very great miracle, a little afterwards, for the proof of the Christian doctrine: They say, that the Mexicans came to him in a tumultuous manner, complaining that their gods refused to send them rain, because he had introduced strange deities into their temples: And that, to appease the people, he told them the God of the Christians would send them plenty of rain in a very few hours; which prediction heaven was pleased to fulfil, to the great admiration of MONTEZUMA and his subjects.

However, these pretended miracles were but of small service to the Spaniards, it seems; and, had they been real, the false politicks or bigotry of CORTEZ, in endeavouring to destroy the Indian superstition, and introduce his own thus precipitately, prejudiced that people against him to such a degree, that we hear of nothing but plots and conspiracies on the one side, and cruel butcheries and oppression on the other, 'till the Spaniards established themselves by pure force, and had in a manner extirpated the natives, instead of converting them to the Christian faith.

Their historians relate, that CACUMAZIN, A plot against the Spaniards.
King or Cacique of Tezcuco, and nephew to MONTEZUMA, assembling many more of the vassal Princes of that empire, represented to them the tyranny of the Spaniards, who in a manner govern'd the state in the name of their unfortunate Prince, whom they had made their prisoner, and even loaded with irons, like a common malefactor: Nor did he forget to reflect on the outrages that had been done to their religion, by deriding and vilifying their gods, and attempting to demolish their temples and images; concluding, that it was the greatest reproach their country could suffer, tamely to submit to these outrages from a handful of foreigners, who appeared, now they were better acquainted with them,

CHAP.
VII.

them, to be but mortals of the same species, and who had no other advantage over them than what their fire-arms and enchanting magick gave them; inciting them to behave themselves like men, and deliver their country from this shameful and intolerable slavery: With whom most of the Caciques concurr'd; but some false brethren amongst them, 'tis said, betray'd the conspiracy to CORTEZ: Whereupon CACUMAZIN was made prisoner, and his brother, a creature of the Spaniards, was made Cacique of Tezcuco in his stead; and the rest of the conspirators were disperfed, tho' not entirely disheartened; for this plot, to free themselves from the tyranny of the Spaniards, became in a short time more general: And MONTEZUMA, receiving advice, that his subjects were unanimous in their resolution of restoring him to his liberty and empire, and to dismiss their haughty guests the Spaniards, summoned the vassal Princes to Mexico, who came thither attended with formidable bodies of their troops; and, in this situation, he had the courage to let CORTEZ know, That, having acknowledged his Master the King of Spain the heir of his empire, and that he held his dominions of him, as descended from their great ancestor QUEZALCOAL; and having prepared a rich present for that King, to testify his submission and dependance on him; he expected CORTEZ should withdraw from Mexico, and return to the Prince that sent him, to give him an account of the success of his embassy: And at the same time delivered to CORTEZ an immense treasure, which he and his subjects had contributed, in hopes that the avarice of the Spaniards would have been entirely satisfy'd with it, and that they should enjoy the possession of their country, and what they had left, in quiet, freed from any farther outrages or insults. And the Spaniards themselves introduce MONTEZUMA making the following short speech on this occasion, viz.

Montezuma requires CORTEZ to return to Spain.

"That it was reasonable, CORTEZ should now begin to think of his departure, since he was thus fully dispatch'd: And that the motives or pretences for his stay being ceased, and he having received, for the service of the King his Master, so favourable an answer to his embassy, the vassal Princes would not fail to surmise, that he had still farther views, if they saw him persist in remaining longer at that Court; nor would it be in his power to support and protect the Spaniards against them."

And CORTEZ, it seems, was under such apprehensions, that he should suddenly be attack'd by the forces of the whole empire, if he refused to comply with this reasonable demand, that he did not think fit to object any thing against it; only desired time to build a fleet to transport his troops to Spain, the fleet which brought him thither being destroy'd: To which the Mexicans agreed, and immediately assign'd him timber, workmen, and labourers, to rebuild his ships; which furnish'd him with a pretence to stay some time longer; and he gave directions to the workmen not to make too much haste in equipping the fleet, expecting that a reinforcement of troops might in a short time arrive from Spain, and enable him to maintain his ground against all the powers of Mexico.

Narvaez sent from Cuba, with a body of Spaniards, to reduce Cortez.

But, while CORTEZ lived in expectation of a friendly squadron coming to his assistance, advice was brought, that eleven tall ships, and seven smaller vessels, with eight hundred Spanish foot, fourscore horse, and twelve pieces of artillery on board, were arrived on the Mexican Coast, near Vera Cruz; and that they were sent by DIEGO

VELASQUEZ, Governor of Cuba, to prosecute the conquest of Mexico, and to make CORTEZ and all his men prisoners, that refused to submit to his authority, and obey PAMPHILIO DE NARVAEZ, who had the command of the fleet and army employed in this expedition. To understand the reason whereof, it will be necessary to look back a little, and call to mind, that DIEGO DE VELASQUEZ, Governor of Cuba, first formed the design of reducing Mexico, and provided a fleet and army, giving the command thereof to HERNANDO CORTEZ, in order to attempt that conquest: But being inform'd, that CORTEZ had a design to deprive him of the glory and advantage of the enterprise, and set up for an independency, DIEGO VELASQUEZ revoked his commission, and, before CORTEZ left the island of Cuba, required him to relinquish that command, and return. But CORTEZ, and his friends, having embark'd all their fortunes in the design, in hopes of mighty advantages that would accrue to them in the pursuance of it, and both soldiers and seamen having a high opinion of the valour and conduct of CORTEZ, they agreed to set sail, and proceed in the enterprise; notwithstanding the express command of the Governor of Cuba to the contrary. Whereupon the Governor sent complaints to Spain, that CORTEZ had mutiny'd, and run away with the ships and forces design'd for the reduction of Mexico; and desired he might have his commission of Lieutenant-General renew'd and confirm'd by that Court; and that he might be constituted Lieutenant-General of all the countries conquer'd, or to be conquer'd, on the continent of Mexico (for his former commission was given him by Don DIEGO COLUMBUS, the successor of the celebrated COLOMBUS that discovered this new world). And so good was the interest of DIEGO VELASQUEZ in the Court of Spain, that he received the commission he desired: And, being inform'd of the success of the Spaniards under CORTEZ, and supported by the commission he had obtained, propos'd, by this second embarkation, to reap all the glory and advantages he at first propos'd to himself by that conquest.

On the other hand, HERNANDO CORTEZ, meeting with that incredible success, that has been related, and being furnish'd with a large share of treasure, by the presents made him by MONTEZUMA and the vassal Princes, sent the whole, by two or three of his Officers, in a ship to the King of Spain, who was just embarking for Germany as they arrived, in order to take upon him the imperial dignity, as he did soon afterwards, by the name of CHARLES the Vth. The new Emperor was mightily pleas'd with the rich present sent him by CORTEZ, especially as he look'd upon it to be an earnest of much greater treasures; and, tho' he was not at leisure to attend the business of the Indies before he embark'd, left orders with his Council to take the supporting of CORTEZ into their consideration. But such, it seems, was the interest of DIEGO VELASQUEZ at the Court of Spain, who had represented CORTEZ as a traitor and deserter, that nothing was done towards the assisting of him 'till two years afterwards; and the Governor of Cuba was left to pursue his revenge, which had very near lost the Spaniards all they had possess'd themselves of on the continent of Mexico, as I shall, in the next place, proceed to relate.

The royal chamber of Audience at Hispaniola saw the mischievous consequences of a dissention among themselves, at so critical a juncture; and represented to DIEGO VELASQUEZ, when they heard he

CHAP.
VII.

CHAP. VII. he was making preparations to fall upon CORTEZ, that this would probably be of pernicious consequence, and deprive them of those valuable acquisitions they had already made, and perhaps end in the ruin of them all: And, when they found DIEGO VELASQUEZ was not to be prevailed on to lay aside the expedition, they sent some Ecclesiasticks and Officers with NARVAEZ, who was constituted General of the forces on board the fleet, to mediate an accommodation between him and CORTEZ; and, if that could not be effected, to dispose the Spaniards of both armies to a reconciliation, and to unite in the cause of their country and their common Sovereign.

NARVAEZ and the Spaniards from Cuba arrive at Vera Cruz. PAMPHILIO DE NARVAEZ arriving with his fleet near Vera Cruz, summoned GONZALO DE SANDOVAL, who had been appointed Governor of that fortress by CORTEZ, to surrender: But GONZALO was so far from complying with the summons, that he sent those that came on that errand prisoners to CORTEZ at Mexico. However, NARVAEZ landed his forces, and march'd directly to Zempoala; of which CORTEZ receiving advice, at first seem'd thunder-struck; but, recovering from his surprize, resolv'd to make NARVAEZ offers of peace, and propose the uniting their forces in the service of their Prince. At the same time he represented to MONTEZUMA, who was already acquainted with the arrival of NARVAEZ, that the Spaniards under the command of that General were subjects to the King his Master, and were come upon a second embassy to induce him to comply with the overtures he had already made; but that he should dispose them to return to Spain with him, since he had already obtained the end of his embassy.

Cortez provides to oppose them. To his own men CORTEZ suggested, that he did not doubt to bring the Spaniards NARVAEZ had brought with him over to his party; and that they would, in the end, probably prove such a reinforcement, as would enable him to finish his conquest of that empire: And immediately applied himself to his confederate Indians, to provide him with such forces as might be necessary, in case he should not be able to accommodate matters with NARVAEZ. In the mean time, the Spanish prisoners arriving, which GONZALO DE SANDOVAL had sent up from Vera Cruz, among whom were an Ecclesiastick and a Notary, who had been sent by NARVAEZ to summon that town; CORTEZ received them with great civility, and assured them, the Governor of Vera Cruz had exceeded his orders in making them prisoners: And, having shewn them the great power he exercis'd in the Court of Mexico, he made them very rich presents; telling them, that he relied on their good offices in disposing NARVAEZ to accept the peace he had offer'd him: After which, he dismiss'd them, and order'd them to be conducted to that General with all imaginable respect. After these, he sent Father BARTHOLOMEW DE OLMEDO, an Ecclesiastick of great reputation, to propose a treaty with NARVAEZ; and, if that did not succeed, to sound the disposition of his officers and soldiers, and incline them to pacific measures. He furnish'd the Father also with jewels and rich presents to the principal officers, in order to render his negotiation the more successful.

Father BARTHOLOMEW, on his arrival in the camp of NARVAEZ, gave him to understand, of what advantage it would be to their Sovereign and their Country to unite their arms; acquainting him with the state of the conquest, and the numerous

VOL. III. NUMB. CXVI.

CHAP. VII. alliances CORTEZ had made with the Indian Princes: But insinuated, that they should, however, have occasion for their united strength, to bring the Mexicans under their subjection, who were naturally brave, and did not want military skill; and, should they find there was a misunderstanding among the Spaniards, they might probably make their advantages of it, and destroy them both, in order to free themselves from a foreign yoke.

To which NARVAEZ, 'tis said, haughtily reply'd, that DIEGO DE VELASQUEZ had order'd him to enter into no treaty with the rebels, as he term'd CORTEZ and his party; but that his first and principal business was to compel them to return to their duty; telling him, that he should immediately proclaim them all traitors, who adhered to CORTEZ, having brought sufficient forces with him to compel their obedience, and finish the conquest of that country.

Cortez corrupts the officers of NARVAEZ. The Father finding no good to be done upon NARVAEZ, apply'd himself privately to several of the officers and soldiers, and especially to those gentlemen, who came on purpose from Hispaniola, to mediate a peace, as most conducive to their Prince's interest; and distributed the presents, he had brought, with great judgment. The prisoners also, whom CORTEZ had released, were very lavish in his praises: They described the grandeur and magnificence of the Mexican Court; the sway that CORTEZ bore in it, and the humanity and courtesy with which he treated all mankind; which had such an effect on the soldiery, that most of them appeared ready to join CORTEZ, who had already obtain'd so high a character for his valour and conduct, and given such sensible proofs of his affection for them.

In the mean time it appears, that MONTEZUMA, A treaty between Montezuma and NARVAEZ. was carrying on a private negotiation with NARVAEZ the Spanish General, who had given him to understand, that he came with a commission from the King of Spain, to call CORTEZ to an account for all the violence and extortion he had committed; that he and his adherents were fugitives and rebels; and that he would immediately advance and restore his Mexican Majesty to his liberty, and the peaceable possession of his dominions, which, it was evident, CORTEZ was endeavouring to usurp. Whereupon MONTEZUMA made NARVAEZ some very considerable presents, and shew'd a disposition to enter into an alliance with him for their common defence.

In the mean time, CORTEZ was not idle; but as he was much more apprehensive of the mischief he might suffer from the forces sent against him by the Governor of Cuba, than of the power of the Mexicans, he apply'd himself chiefly to gain the Officers of the troops lately arrived, by presents and caresses, which was his principal view, in sending Father OLMEDO with offers of peace to NARVAEZ. That Father therefore was no sooner return'd to him, with an account of the success of his negotiations; but he resolv'd to take the field against his rival, before he had an opportunity of concerting measures with MONTEZUMA and the Mexican Princes, and drawing them over to his party. Having assign'd fourscore Spaniards, therefore, under the command of PEDRO DE ALVARADO, to keep garrison in Mexico, and secure MONTEZUMA from making his escape; the rest were order'd to be ready to march at an hour's warning: But going to take his leave of his royal prisoner, before he set out, DE SOLIS relates, that that Prince spoke to him in this manner. He said, he had for some time observ'd the General to be thoughtful, for which no doubt

CHAP.
VII.

doubt he had reason; for he had received repeated advice, that NARVAEZ, who commanded the Spaniards lately arriv'd, was come with a design to supplant him; and tho' his Mexican Majesty did not much wonder, that there should be private piques and quarrels between the subjects of the same Prince; yet it was strange, they should be suffer'd to command two different armies, and clash when the interest of their Prince, and the publick service required a union in their councils and actions: He concluded therefore, that one of them must be a rebel to his King.

The answer of
Cortez.

To which CORTEZ answer'd, as 'tis said, that it was true, they were both the subjects of the same Prince, and they both intended the service of their King and Country; but were not indeed agreed in the methods of doing it; he had resolv'd therefore to march to Zempoala with the best part of his forces, in order to cultivate a good understanding with NARVAEZ and his troops; and did not doubt, either to dispose those Spaniards to return to their ships, or to treat the subjects of the Mexican empire, as a people, whom the King of Spain had taken under his protection.

MONTEZUMA commended his design; but observed, that as NARVAEZ had given out threatening speeches, and seem'd to intend his ruin, and commanded a body of forces of twice his strength; it would be prudent for CORTEZ to reinforce his little army with thirty or forty thousand Mexicans, which he would order to assemble forthwith for this service, and direct his Generals to obey the commands of CORTEZ; But he wisely refused the insidious offer, placing but slender confidence in the Mexicans, says the historian. He was cautious of entertaining auxiliaries, that might command him, knowing how he should be embarrassed in the day of battle with a known enemy in front, and pretended friends in flank and rear.

Cortez
makes
overtures
of peace to
Narvaez.

CORTEZ, having given his orders therefore to ALVARADO, to have a strict eye over MONTEZUMA, and not to suffer too great numbers of the Mexicans to resort to him, or any long conferences between them; and extorted a promise from the royal prisoner, that he would not attempt an escape in his absence; telling him, he should soon return to Mexico, in much better circumstances; began his march towards Zempoala; and taking Tlascala in his way, he was received with the highest honours by that republick: However, they gave him to understand, that they could not assist him with their troops against the new-arriv'd Spaniards, whose horses and artillery they were not able to resist. Whereupon he proceeded in his march for Zempoala, taking an advantageous post in the neighbourhood of that city, where he could either treat, or defend himself against NARVAEZ, if he should be attack'd. And first, he made fresh overtures to that General, for accommodating the differences between them, and uniting their forces in the service of their country; and even offer'd, 'tis said, to relinquish the advantages of that conquest, and go upon some other enterprize with his adherents, rather than the King's service should suffer. And tho' NARVAEZ refused to give him any other terms than those of surrendering at discretion; yet the concessions CORTEZ made, had such an effect on the Officers and Soldiers, which NARVAEZ commanded, that CORTEZ was sensible, he should meet with but a faint resistance from them. And understanding by some deserters, that NARVAEZ trusted so much to the superiority of his forces, that he kept but a very negligent guard, he resolv'd to attempt to surprize his enemy in the night-time.

Accordingly, in a very dark tempestuous night, when NARVAEZ least expected such a visit, CORTEZ fell upon his quarters, and made him and his principal Officers prisoners, before they were well awake: Whereupon the rest of his troops flung down their arms, and most of them enter'd into the service of CORTEZ. And here it must be admitted, that CORTEZ, by his artful treaties and negotiations in the first place, and by his courage and conduct in defeating an enemy so much superior to him in numbers, and especially in horse and artillery, shew'd himself to be a good Soldier; tho' he can never be allow'd to be a very great Statesman, that, with all his success and advantages, knew no other way of establishing himself, but by the extirpation of the defenceless Indians.

While CORTEZ was engaged in this expedition against NARVAEZ, PEDRO DE ALVARADO, who was left to command the Spaniards in Mexico, and secure the person of MONTEZUMA, behaved himself with that insolence and cruelty, and discover'd such an insatiable avaritious temper, as united the whole city against him: The people became desperate, when they found there was no end of his extortions, and that they were daily plunder'd and murder'd for their wealth; their religion derided, and their very gods defaced and demolish'd. But the principal occasion of this insurrection at Mexico was ALVARADO's falling upon the Mexican Nobility at a religious festival, when they were most of them assembled on that occasion, and engaged with the common people in that solemn dance, call'd Mitotes; wherein all distinction is laid aside, and the whole city, Noblemen, and Plebeians, great and small, join annually in celebrating the day. The Bishop of Chiapa relates, that ALVARADO, observing they had put on their jewels and richest ornaments on this occasion, assembled his Soldiers, and fell upon them, putting above two thousand of the Mexican nobility to the sword, and plunder'd whatever was valuable about them. Nor are the facts (either the slaughter or the robbery) denied by any of the Spanish historians; only they endeavour to justify the action in their usual way, that is, by pretending there was a plot of the Mexicans to destroy the Spaniards on that day. Some pretend, that they were incited by NARVAEZ to fall upon the Spaniards of CORTEZ's party; and that MONTEZUMA himself encourag'd the insurrection, in the absence of that General, to obtain his liberty: While others affirm, that MONTEZUMA had no share in the conspiracy; but that his subjects, encouraged by the declarations of NARVAEZ against CORTEZ, and the absence of most of the Spaniards, agreed to fall upon their quarters, give their Emperor his liberty, and free themselves from the tyranny of the Spanish garrison. Others say, that the Indian Priests were at the bottom of the conspiracy, seeing their religion in danger, and another about to be introduced; and all agree, they were very active in animating their people to defend themselves against the attacks of the Spaniards. It is also agreed, that the day before this solemn festival, some of the Mexican Nobility and Priests attended ALVARADO, apprized him of the assembling of the multitude the next day, to celebrate the festival, that he might not be alarm'd on that occasion; and actually obtained his permission before they would resolve on the solemnization of it: But then some of them pretend, that arms were discover'd concealed in the temples afterwards; and that the Mexicans only took the opportunity of this festival to put the plot against the Spaniards in execution.

CHAP.
VII.Cortez
surprizes
Narvaez,
and makes
him prisoner.
The troops
of Narvaez
serve under
Cortez.The insolence
of the Spaniards
left in
Mexico.Alvarado
massacres
and plunders
the Mexican
Nobility.

However,

CHAP.
VII.

However, those that speak most favourably of this action, acknowledge that ALVARADO fell upon the Mexicans while they were disarmed; and that they did not fall upon the Spaniards: That all the jewels and rich ornaments of the murder'd Nobility were carried off by the Spaniards; and that ALVARADO never made any excuse or apology for the outrage. Whereupon the Mexicans, expecting they should all be massacred if CORTEZ returned with a reinforcement of troops, assembled from all parts, and attack'd the Spanish quarters on every side, chusing rather to die with their arms in their hands, than to be murder'd in cold blood. And, altho' they were beaten off by the artillery and fire-arms of the besieged; yet, as they had cut off all their provisions, the Mexicans would probably have starved ALVARADO, if CORTEZ had not returned suddenly to his relief: He sent therefore express after express to CORTEZ, to hasten his march; letting him know, that he should be obliged to surrender, if he was not speedily supplied and reinforced.

Cortez re-
turns to
Mexico.

CORTEZ had just finish'd the defeat of NARVAEZ, when he received advice of the distress his people were in at Mexico; and, having incorporated all the troops NARVAEZ brought over with his own, began his march towards Mexico, with a thousand Spanish foot, an hundred horse, and several thousand confederate Indians; leaving at the same time garrisons in the towns of Zempoala and Vera Cruz. Nor did the Mexicans offer to interrupt his march: They retired, upon his approach, from the Spanish quarters, and left that part of the town destitute of inhabitants.

His usage
of Monte-
zuma.

MONTEZUMA, 'tis said, met the General at his return, and congratulated his success: But he, having been informed of that Emperor's negotiations with NARVAEZ and his own subjects, in his absence, in order to procure his liberty, turned from MONTEZUMA with all the contempt imaginable; not so much as vouchsafing to speak to him. BERNAL DIAZ, who accompanied CORTEZ in this expedition, says, that he now looked upon himself to be powerful enough to subdue the Mexican empire, without courting MONTEZUMA or his subjects; and therefore carried every thing with a high hand, or to that effect: Which, other historians observe, was a very great error; for, if the General had, on his returning in triumph with such an addition of forces, entered into a treaty with that Emperor and his Nobility, they would have yielded to almost any terms; and he might have gained the dominion of that empire, for the King of Spain his master, without any bloodshed. But he was too much elated with his success, to think of pacific measures. On the contrary, he resolved to give them all manner of provocations, and even to render them desperate, that he might have a colour to destroy them, and seize all their possessions, whether lands or treasure. He had found a garrison of fourscore Spaniards able to repel the whole force of Mexico; and he did not doubt, now he saw himself at the head of eleven hundred Spanish horse and foot, with a multitude of confederate Indians, he should be able, by force, to reduce the Mexicans, and make them slaves: But he was near paying very dear for his presumption; for, sending out a detachment of four hundred Spaniards and Tlascalans, in search of the enemy, who were retired to the farthest part of the city, they were surrounded, and in danger of having their retreat cut off; and he himself, with the rest of his troops, escaped very narrowly being starved, or cut in pieces, as will appear in the ensuing relation: For the Mexicans, rendered brave

Cortez
treats the
Mexicans
as a con-
quered
people.Revives
the hostili-
ties with
them.

by their despair, were not afraid to attack CORTEZ in his quarters, tho' defended by a numerous garrison and a train of artillery: And, when at any time he made a sally, he found intrenchments in the streets, and the bridges broken down, which render'd his cavalry in a manner useless; and, tho' he usually came off victorious, he found he had committed a very great error, in shutting himself up in Mexico, from whence it was almost impossible to make his retreat, and where he found it impracticable to fetch in provisions, the enemy being masters of all the causeys that led to the town, and of all the boats upon the lake: So that, if his people were not destroyed by the continual attacks of the enemy, they must certainly in time be reduced by famine.

CHAP.
VII.They at-
tack his
quarters.He propos-
es to treat
with
them.

In this distress CORTEZ thought fit to endeavour a reconciliation with MONTEZUMA, and make use of the authority he still retained among his subjects to induce them to lay down their arms, and permit the Spaniards to march out of Mexico; which, it was presumed, they would readily come into, that they might get rid of a people so much dreaded, as well as hated, by them. Accordingly, a party being proposed and agreed to, MONTEZUMA appeared on the battlements of the palace; and, some of the Mexican Nobility advancing to hear what overtures he would make them, the Spaniards tell us, their Emperor made a speech to his subjects; wherein he gently reprimanded them for taking up arms without his leave, tho' it was with an intention to obtain the liberty of their Prince; declaring, that he was in reality under no manner of restraint, but remained with the Spaniards upon choice: That he thought himself obliged to shew the Spaniards this favour, on account of the respect they had always paid him, and out of duty to the Prince that sent them: That their embassy being dispatch'd, he was about to dismiss these foreigners from his Court; and desired his subjects would lay down their arms, and not interrupt their march, and he should readily pardon their having taken up arms, or to that effect.

Whether this speech is genuine or not, it is evident, the Mexicans had little regard to it: Whatever their Emperor's words were, they knew they were put into his mouth by the Spaniards, whose prisoner he was, and tended only to procure them a safe retreat; and they were sensible, if they lost the advantage they had, they must never expect such another opportunity of getting rid of these unwelcome guests. They had them now coop'd up in this fortress, where no relief could be brought them, and from whence it was scarce possible for them to retreat, if the Mexicans broke down the bridges and causeys upon the lake, and made such ditches and trenches in the streets as the Spaniards themselves had taught them: But foresaw, that if their enemies ever got over the lake again, they might not only receive fresh reinforcements from Spain and their Indian allies, but they must engage them to great disadvantage in the open country, having nothing to oppose their horse and artillery. The Mexicans resolved therefore not to consent to a cessation of arms; but rejected the overture with disdain, as being framed only to give their mortal enemies an opportunity of escaping out of their hands, and reinforcing themselves, to the destruction of their country: And some historians say, they were so enraged at the overture, that they shot at their Emperor for making it, and mortally wounded him. Others say, he was wounded by accident. On the other hand, the Mexicans gave out, that the Spaniards murder'd him afterwards in their retreat, when they found they could not carry him

The Mex-
icans re-
fuse to let
Cortez re-
tire.

CHAP. VII. him off; which last seems to me much the most probable opinion.

He marches away in the night. CORTEZ, finding the Mexicans were not to be amused with insidious proposals, from what hand soever they came; that his provisions were almost spent, and that it would be impracticable to make his retreat in the day time, resolved to attempt it in a dark night. Having divided the treasure therefore amongst his men, with which they were pretty well loaded, for it amounted to the value of a million of crowns, he issued out of his quarters at midnight, the weather being extremely tempestuous, whereby his march was for some time concealed; but he had not advanced a mile upon the causey,

He is attacked by the Mexicans, and his rear cut off. before he found himself attack'd on every side by the Mexicans, both by land and water, the lake being filled with their canoes, or boats; and, as they had broke down the bridges, and cut the causey through in several places, the Spaniards were in great danger of being entirely cut off. CORTEZ indeed had foreseen this, and provided a portable bridge to pass the breaches in the causey, which was of great use to him in several places: But the Indians found means to destroy this bridge before they were all passed over; and their rear-guard, consisting of two or three hundred Spaniards, and a thousand Tlascalans, was cut in pieces: They lost also their artillery, prisoners, baggage, and treasure,

Recovers the farther side of the lake. with six and forty horses. However, CORTEZ, with the best part of his forces, broke through the Indians, and escaped to the other side of the lake. Some impute this loss to the avarice of his soldiers, who were so loaded with gold and silver, that they could scarce make use of their arms; and possibly there may be some truth in it: But, I believe, every one, who considers his circumstances, must be of opinion, that he was very fortunate in escaping so well. Had the enemy provided a body of forces to oppose him on the farther side of the lake, he must inevitably have perished; but they did not expect his falling out so suddenly, especially in that tempestuous season; and therefore were not provided to attack them.

DE SOLIS, the historian, endeavours to give us a very particular account of this action; admires the valour and conduct of CORTEZ and his Officers, and informs us how every one distinguished himself in this memorable retreat: But, as he says just before, that it was performed in a dark tempestuous night, and in the utmost hurry and confusion, no great regard is to be given to the particulars he has given us. He proceeds to inform us, that they arrived, just as it was day-light, on the firm land; and thought themselves very happy that there was no army to oppose them there, and that they were pursued no farther, 'till they had time to form and recover themselves from their consternation.

Montezuma and his sons said to be murdered in this retreat. This good fortune, it seems, was owing to the compassion the Mexicans express'd for the two sons of MONTEZUMA, and several Princes of the royal blood, whom they found slaughter'd among the Spaniards, when the day-light appear'd. The Mexicans relate, that MONTEZUMA himself was of this number; and that the Spaniards murder'd both him and his sons, when they found they could not carry them off. The Spaniards, on the other hand, say, that MONTEZUMA was killed before, by the arrows of the Mexicans; and that the Princes also were accidentally killed in this engagement, while it was dark, and they could not distinguish friends from foes. But however that was, it is agreed, the Princes were found dead, pierced through with many

The Mexicans solemnize their funeral.

ny wounds; and the Mexicans deserv'd the pursuit of the Spaniards, to solemnize the exequies of those two Princes, or of MONTEZUMA himself. To which piece of piety, CORTEZ, and the Spaniards who were left alive, in a great measure, ow'd their safety.

The Spaniards, having halted some time to refresh themselves, and take care of their wounded men, continued their march towards Tlascala, the country of their faithful allies and confederates: But they had not advanced many leagues before they were again overtaken and attack'd by the Mexicans, at a time when they were so fatigued and harass'd, that had not CORTEZ taken possession of a temple, surrounded by a wall of a large extent, that very fortunately lay in his way, he would have found it difficult to have repulsed the enemy. But the Mexicans, finding they could make no impression on the Spaniards, as they lay intrench'd within those walls, thought fit to sound a retreat. However, CORTEZ, apprehending he should be distress'd here for want of provisions, began his march again at midnight, with great silence, in hopes to have got the start of the enemy so far, that he should have reached the Tlascalan territories before they could have overtaken him: But, to his great surprise, being arrived on the top of a very high mountain, he discovered the whole forces of the Mexicans, consisting (according to their historians) of two hundred thousand men, drawn up in battalia, in the valley of Otumba, through which it was necessary to pass, in his way to Tlascala.

Whereupon DE SOLIS relates, CORTEZ made only this short speech to his Officers: "WE MUST EITHER DIE, OR CONQUER: THE CAUSE OF OUR GOD FIGHT FOR US. And, finding an uncommon ardour in his soldiers to engage, immediately led them on. The fight, they pretend, was for some time bloody and obstinate; and that CORTEZ, apprehending his men would be wearied out by the continual supplies of fresh forces which the Indians poured in upon him, gave a surprizing turn to the battle, by attacking the imperial standard carried by the Mexican General, who was surrounded by their Nobility: For, having routed them, killed the General, and taken the standard, the rest of the troops turned their backs, and fled; and were pursued with incredible slaughter by the Tlascalans, as well as the Spaniards, who made themselves ample amends, with the spoils of the enemy, for the treasure they lost on retiring from the city of Mexico.

They tell us, indeed, as usual, that their Protector, St. James, visibly fought for them; and that they were obliged to a miracle, at last, for their victory. But, as they relate, at the same time, that the Mexicans durst never oppose their horse or fire-arms, a General of an ordinary capacity might, one would think, have obtained a victory, armed with such advantages, over the naked defenceless Indians, without the help of miracles. And, however great and decisive this victory is represented to be, it appears, that CORTEZ continued his retreat from Mexico, and did not think himself safe 'till he arrived at the country of his friends and confederates the Tlascalans: Nor had he remained long here, before an embassy came to that republick, from the new-elected Emperor QUETLAVACA, to negotiate a peace between the two nations of Mexico and Tlascala, and propose the uniting their forces against their common enemy the Spaniards: And, though a majority of the Senate agreed to remain firm to their alliance with CORTEZ; yet there

CHAP. VII.

They continue the pursuit.

The battle of Otumba.

The Spaniards victorious.

They ascribe it to a miracle.

Rather a fortunate escape than a victory.

An embassy from the Mexicans to the Tlascalans.

CHAP.
VII.

there were those amongst them that represented it was no less the interest of the Tlascalans than of the Mexicans, to drive these foreigners out of their country; for that they plainly intended the subversion of their religion, as well as government, and to bring them under the power of an unknown arbitrary dominion; whereas they had hitherto maintained their freedom, and were never subject to the will of any Prince whatever.

The Tlascalans refuse to quit the party of Cortez.

But, it seems, the Mexicans were more dreaded by this republic than the Spaniards; and the generality of that people still looked upon the Spaniards to be sent from heaven to their assistance against that ancient enemy of their state. The Ambassadors from Mexico therefore were dismissed, with some marks of contempt, and preparations made to carry on the war against that empire, in confederacy with the Spaniards.

A confederacy between Mexico and Tepeaca.

The Mexicans were more successful in their negotiations with the city and territory of Tepeaca, a country that lay between Tlascala and the Spanish fort of Vera Cruz. They incited this people to take up arms against the Spaniards; and the Tepeacans, having concluded an alliance with Mexico, actually cut off some small parties that CORTÉZ sent from Tlascala to Vera Cruz; insomuch, that the General found it absolutely necessary to reduce Tepeaca, in order to keep open his communication with the sea: And, accordingly, both the Spaniards and the Tlascalans made preparations to invade Tepeaca. The Mexicans, on the other hand, sent them a reinforcement of troops; and a general battle ensued; wherein CORTÉZ was so fortunate as to defeat their united forces. After which, the city and territory of Tepeaca submitted to the Conqueror, who took a severe revenge on that unhappy people, murdering great numbers of them in cold blood, and selling the rest for slaves. And a Spanish fortress was erected at Tepeaca, to which they gave the name of Segura de la Frontera, or the Security of the Frontier; which was the second colony the Spaniards fix'd in that part of the continent. CORTÉZ also reduced the city of Guacachula, and several other towns, by the assistance of his Indian confederates, of whom he had not less than one hundred thousand in his army at this time: For CORTÉZ had learnt, from his misfortunes at Mexico, to regulate his conduct. He found it necessary now to cultivate a good correspondence with the Caciques and Princes of the country, and to take their troops into his service, tho' he had formerly slighted their assistance pretty much. He saw his error also in neglecting to possess himself of such towns and passes as might keep open his communication with the sea, with his own people at Vera Cruz, and with his allies. Having taken a particular survey therefore of the country, he made himself master of all such posts as might be of advantage to him in reducing the city of Mexico, which was ever his principal view: And, as he was sensible there was no approaching that city by land, but on the causeys, which might be broken down, he order'd thirteen brigantines and sloops to be built, which would make him master of the navigation of the lake, and enable him to attack the town on every side by water, as well as land. The timbers and planks of these he caused to be prepared by the Spanish Carpenters, assisted by several thousand Indians, at Vera Cruz; and afterwards made the poor natives carry them on their shoulders over the mountains to the lake of Mexico, a journey of near 300 miles; and here the brigantines were put together, and launch'd.

Tepeaca subdued by Cortez.

Vessels built for the siege of Mexico.

While these vessels were building, CORTÉZ assembled an army of two hundred thousand confederate Indians, and made himself master of Tezcuco, and several other considerable towns upon the lake; where he laid up magazines of ammunition and provision, to carry on the intended siege of the capital. He was so fortunate also, before he enter'd upon this grand enterprize, to be join'd by near three hundred Spaniards from Cuba and Jamaica, who chose to follow his fortunes, tho' they were sent out by those who were no friends to CORTÉZ, and with a view of depriving him of the advantage of this conquest; and with these he received a supply of arms and ammunition, and some recruits of horses.

Thus prepared and reinforced, CORTÉZ commanded a Captain, five and twenty Spaniards, and twelve Rowers, to go on board each of the thirteen brigantines: He also placed one of his field-pieces on board every one of the vessels; and, while his fleet sailed to take a view of the city, he possess'd himself of the three principal causeys leading thither, in order to carry on as many attacks by land. All the Europeans CORTÉZ had in his army at this time amounted to no more than nine hundred, of which about two hundred were musketeers and cross-bows, eighty-six were horse, and the rest pike-men; and his train of artillery consisted of eighteen field-pieces, fifteen whereof were brass.

The first engagement with the Mexicans happen'd upon the water; for, when the Spaniards approach'd the city with their brigantines, an innumerable swarm of canoes and periaques (Indian boats) came out of the canals of the city to oppose them; whose feathers and arms, says DE SOLEIS the historian, afforded a prospect both beautiful and terrible. They seem'd to cover the lake: But the brigantines, having the advantage of the wind, run in among the canoes, sunk and overset them at pleasure, having scarce any occasion to make use of their arms. Whereupon those canoes that escaped the first shock, fled, with the utmost precipitation, back to the city, whither they were followed by the brigantines, and several great shot fired into the town, to terrify the inhabitants. After which, the brigantines retired; and the next day some progress was made at the three attacks by land; but the enemy had made such breaches and intrenchments on the causeys, as render'd the approaches very difficult: And, whenever the Spaniards advanced to attack them, canoes full of armed Indians issued from the town, and charged them in the flank; which obliged CORTÉZ to order some of the brigantines to support his land forces on the several causeys, and beat off the canoes: He also caused some thousand canoes to be made, and managed by his confederates, that might follow the Mexicans into the shallows and creeks, where his brigantines could not pursue them. But, notwithstanding all these precautions, the Spanish historians relate, that the Mexicans, by their stratagems, gained several advantages of CORTÉZ. At one time, they laid an ambuscade of canoes among the reeds of the lake, and were very near carrying off some of his brigantines: At another, they broke down one of the causeys, cut off his retreat, and took him prisoner: But he was rescued out of their hands as they were carrying him away. However, there were about sixty Spaniards and a thousand Tlascalans killed or taken in this action, and many more wounded; and he was forced to leave one of his great guns behind him. This misfortune obliged the Spaniards to carry on their attacks with more caution and circumspection for the future.

CHAP.
VII.

Cortez possesses himself of the posts about that city. Receives a reinforcement of Spaniards.

The siege of Mexico commences.

Cortez repuls'd in one of his attacks, and taken.

CHAP.
VII.Another
pretended
miracle.A general
assault.Mexico
taken.The Em-
peror
taken.The
slaughter
of the
Mexicans
at this
siege.The spoils
divided.Part sent
to the Em-
peror.

future. It is related, that they were forced to be upon the defensive after this accident, 'till their wounded men were recover'd, and they had reinforced their army with some bodies of confederate Indians. And here again they have recourse to miracles; and tell us, that their wounded men were healed in a few days, only by applying oil to their wounds, and repeating some passages out of the Psalms over them, which operated by way of charm. But their writers are not agreed, whether these cures were to be ascribed to a good or an evil spirit: And, I perceive, these were only flesh-wounds that were thus healed: The weapons of the Indians seldom broke any bones; and every one knows, that ordinary flesh-wounds, if they are kept clean, will heal of themselves frequently, without the assistance of medicines or miracles.

And now, the wounded men being recover'd, and the army of the confederate Indians recruited, so that it amounted again to two hundred thousand men, CORTEZ resolv'd to give a general assault to the city; and accordingly, having order'd his forces to advance at all the three attacks, they filled up the breaches and trenches that had been made in the causeys, and drove the enemy back into the town: Each body made a lodgment within the city, and fortified it; but could not advance far that night, the enemy having cut trenches, and barricado'd all the streets.

The next day the Spaniards got more ground; and, on the third, repulsed the enemy on every side, and advanced to the great square in the middle of the town, where CORTEZ drew up his united forces; the enemy retiring to the farther part of the town, and fortifying themselves there. Whereupon CORTEZ thought fit to offer them terms; and they agreed to treat, with a view of amusing him, as their historians relate, 'till the Emperor and his Nobility made their escape, in their canoes, to the farther side of the lake: Of which CORTEZ being appriz'd, renew'd the hostilities, and GUATIMOZIN, the Emperor, with the principal Mexican Nobility, were taken by the brigantines in the lake, as they were endeavouring to get away. Whereupon all the rest of their forces flung down their arms, and submitted to mercy; and CORTEZ took possession of that capital on the 13th of August, 1521, being the day of St. HYPOLITO, who was thereupon made the patron of Mexico.

The Spanish historians relate, that no less than one hundred thousand Mexicans fell by the sword in the defence of this city, besides great numbers that perished by famine, and other calamities: And that this conquest was attended with the submission of most of the neighbouring provinces, who consented to acknowledge themselves subjects of the King of Spain (the then Emperor CHARLES V.)

The city of Mexico being thus reduced, CORTEZ distributed the plunder among his Soldiers, reserving only a fifth, with the most remarkable curiosities, for the King; which he sent to Spain by some of his principal Officers, together with an account of his conquest, and the state of that country; desiring his Majesty would confirm the Magistrates he had appointed to govern that country, with the grants of the conquer'd lands, and Indian slaves he had made, to his Soldiers. Among the rich jewels CORTEZ sent to the Emperor, 'tis said, there was a find Emerald of a pyramidal form, as large as the palm of a man's hand at the biggest end; a noble set of gold and silver vessels; several things cast in gold and silver, viz. beasts, birds, fishes, fruits and flowers; bracelets, rings, pen-

dants, and other ornamental pieces of plate and jewels; some of their idols, Priests vestments of cotton, furs, and feathers of various colours.

The General requested his Imperial Majesty to send over persons qualified to survey the country, that it might be improved to the best advantage; with Priests and Missionaries, for the conversion of the people; as also cattle, seeds and plants, to improve the lands: But, 'tis said, he provided particularly against the sending over Physicians or Lawyers. What could be his reason against sending Physicians, is not easy to be conceived; but he had certainly all the reason in the world to desire that neither Laws nor Lawyers should be admitted there, having determined to treat the natives as slaves, and seize both their persons and possessions, and indeed to usurp an arbitrary dominion over both Spaniards and Indians in that new world.

The provinces that depended on Mexico having submitted to the Spaniards, as has been related already, CORTEZ summon'd the more distant Indian Princes to come and acknowledge the King of Spain for their Sovereign; of whom one of the chief was the King of Mechoacan, a territory which lies to the westward of Mexico, upon the coast of the South-sea.

To this Prince CORTEZ sent MONTANO, and three other Spaniards, attended by twenty Mexican Chiefs, with a present of European utensils and toys; and, when they came within half a league of Mechoacan, they were met by fourscore Lords of the country, each of them attended by ten thousand of their vassals (according to the Spanish historians) who let the Spaniards know, that they were come from their King, to welcome them into their country: And, when they arrived in the city, a house was appointed for the reception of these Ambassadors; all manner of provisions and refreshments, that the country afforded, were sent in; and they were entertained in a very splendid manner; which agrees but ill with the following part of the story: For they tell us, the King himself came to the Spanish quarters, soon after their arrival, demanded who they were? Whence they came? And what brought them from so remote a country? Whether they had nothing to eat at home, that they prey'd upon strangers? And what the Mexicans had done, that they had destroy'd their city? Demanding if they design'd to do the like by him? If they did, he said, he should not tamely submit to it, but oppose force to force.

To which the Spaniards answer'd, They came from the Emperor of the Christians, to cultivate a friendship with him, to traffick with his people, and to instruct them in the worship of the true GOD. (These were ever the glorious pretences of the Spaniards, tho' their actions sufficiently shew they had baser views.)

The King of Mechoacan, HERERA relates, was at this time determined to have sacrificed the Spanish Ambassadors; but that the Mexicans, who accompanied them, assured that Prince, if he offer'd any violence to their persons, their General would infallibly take a severe revenge on him and his kingdom; giving an account of the wonders he had done in their country with his fire-arms, horses, artillery, &c. At which the King was so astonish'd, that he order'd the Spaniards to be treated with the utmost respect; and, admitting them to an audience, he told them, that he had heard of the fame of their General, and desired to become subject to the mighty Monarch from whence he came, who commanded such god-like men: That, in return to this

CHAP.
VII.Mechoacan
submits.

CHAP.
VII.

this embassy, he should send some of his principal Nobility to attend on the General; and desired they would take a present with them, which he sent as a testimony of his esteem and affection for that Great man; and, soon after, as much gold and silver was sent in as amounted to an hundred thousand dollars, besides a great quantity of cloathing, jewels and ornaments, and a present for each of the Ambassadors; with which they returned to Mexico, attended by the Mechoacan Noblemen who were sent Ambassadors to CORTEZ.

The General, to confirm these Indians in the great opinion they had conceived of him, after he had complimented and entertained the Ambassadors in a very splendid manner, ordered his troops to be drawn up, and to exercise and skirmish before them, making several discharges of his artillery and small arms, to their great amazement.

The Ambassadors returning, and making their report to their Prince, of what they had been witnesses of at Mexico, he resolved to pay CORTEZ a visit in person; and, being arrived in that city, 'tis said, he made a speech to the General; wherein he acquainted him, he was come to make his submission personally, and acknowledge his subjection to the King of Spain, now his and their Sovereign; and should, from that day, be ready to receive his commands; desiring they would accept the treasure he brought with him, as a tribute and earnest of his future obedience. Whereupon CORTEZ acquainted him, how happy he would be in becoming subject to so great an Emperor, who desired nothing more than his conversion, and to have him instructed in the religion of the Christians; and, having entertained his royal guest for several days, suffer'd him to return into his own country.

Mechoacan treated as a conquer'd province.

But CORTEZ soon let the King of Mechoacan know, that he had a farther view than to make him acknowledge the King of Spain for his Sovereign; for he commanded CHRISTOPHER OLID to march into Mechoacan, with an hundred Spanish foot, forty horse, and several thousand confederate Indians, who were kindly received by that Prince at first; but, when he found they proceeded to take possession of his chief towns, and treat his subjects as a conquer'd people, he began to stand upon his defence; for which he was, in the Spanish phrase, severely chastised; that is, great numbers of his people were massacred and murder'd in cold blood: And CORTEZ, having, through this country, penetrated to the South-sea, erected forts, and built ships there, for farther discoveries on that side. GONZALO DE SANDOVAL also was sent to subdue the countries near Tobasco and Tecoa-tepec, on the North-sea: And PEDRO DE ALVARADO, another Commander, was detach'd, with a body of Spaniards and confederate Indians, to take possession of the countries bordering upon the vale of Guaxaca, to the eastward of Mexico; who all submitted to the Conqueror.

Other countries treated in the same manner.

While CORTEZ was thus employ'd in reducing all the country to his obedience, in the name of the Emperor CHARLES the Vth, CHRISTOPHER DE TAPIA arrived at Vera Cruz, with a commission from that Prince to command all the new conquests: But the garrison CORTEZ had left at Vera Cruz so threaten'd and terrified DE TAPIA, that he was glad to make his escape, and leave the General in possession of Mexico. Having got rid of this rival, CORTEZ march'd in person to the province of Panuco, which he obliged to submit to him. Whereupon he divided the country, and all the Indian inhabitants, among his Offi-

Panuco subdued.

cers and Soldiers, who treated them as slaves. And this was his practice in every province, whether the people voluntarily submitted to him, or were compelled to it by force.

CHAP.
VII.

But, notwithstanding this barbarous usage of the natives, and his refusing to resign his government to those who were sent to succeed him in his command; so powerful were the rich presents he from time to time sent to the Emperor, and such were the representations made to that Prince in his favour, that CORTEZ was declared Captain-General and Governor of New Spain by the Emperor. The Governors of Hispaniola and Cuba were commanded to reinforce that General, and give him all possible assistance. Whereupon, finding himself now established in his command, he set about rebuilding the city of Mexico, which he had burnt and demolish'd: He assign'd places for building churches, and other publick benefices; laid out market-places, divided the best part of the ground among the Spaniards, and the rest among the natives, giving them encouragement to build and people the place again: He assign'd one quarter part particularly to MONTEZUMA, a son of the late Emperor's, and another to one of the most popular Indian Generals; and they soon erected a much finer town than that which had been destroy'd, having now the advantage of iron tools, carriages and engines, which they wanted before. But nothing could be more magnificent than the palace CORTEZ erected for himself, upon the ground where MONTEZUMA's palace formerly stood; about which, 'tis said, he used seven thousand beams of Cedars, some of them 120 foot in length: He also provided himself with a numerous train of artillery, consisting of thirty-five pieces of brass cannon, and seventy of iron; which gave the Indians a vast opinion of his power. But that which was his real strength, and did him most service, both in Mexico and Europe, was the prodigious wealth he acquired, by the plunder of all the provinces he became master of, and the rich mines of Gold and Silver he every day discovered, or violently took from the owners.

Cortez confirm'd in his government.

He rebuilds Mexico.

His own palace.

The provinces of Guatimala, Chiapa, Soconusco, and several others bordering upon the South-sea, had already submitted to CORTEZ, and sent him presents by way of tribute. However, under pretence that they were not sincere, and assisted the enemies of the Spaniards, ALVARADO was sent to chastise them; that is, to seize on the country and inhabitants, massacre some, and enslave the rest; which he executed with great cruelty, as will appear hereafter; and was for this service, made Governor, or rather Proprietor, of all Guatimala, and the natives in it, who were treated by this monster of a man worse than brutes, sold for slaves to work in the mines, and compell'd to carry burdens beyond their strength, 'till they were worn out in such services.

The tyranny and cruelty of the conquerors, particularly of Alvarado.

CORTEZ was generally fortunate in the choice he made of the Commanders he sent to reduce the several provinces; but he appears to have been mistaken in CHRISTOPHER OLID; for this officer, elated with success, threw off his dependance on CORTEZ, and was about to set up for himself: However, he was soon after assassinated by some of the General's creatures, and his soldiers thereupon laid down their arms.

In the mean time, Commissioners came over from Spain, to enquire into the conduct of CORTEZ and his fellow-conquerors, as they call'd themselves; repeated complaints having been sent to Europe

Commissioners appointed to enquire into his oppression.

CHAP. VII. Europe of their cruelties and oppressions, which were found to be so many, and so manifest, that

CORTEZ was removed from his government for a time, his palace and effects seiz'd, and he was threaten'd with capital punishment: To avoid which, he assembled his army, and march'd against the large provinces of Honduras and Yucatan; of which he made an entire conquest, and, in the end, so cunningly managed his affairs, by his agents in the Court of Spain, that they agreeing to pay the Emperor (who wanted money extremely at that time) two hundred thousand pieces of eight, he was restored to the government of Mexico, with the titles of Don and Adelantado, or Lord-Lieutenant; had several new privileges conferred upon him, and was allowed to bear the same arms as the Emperor of Mexico had borne. Such is the almighty power of gold; and thus are the greatest Princes frequently compelled to countenance the greatest villanies, when they become necessitous. And now CORTEZ acted more despotically than ever; but, to shew himself impartially cruel, he hanged the Emperor QUATEMOC, who was elected after the death of MONTEZUMA, with two other tributary Kings, under pretence they were forming a conspiracy against him, tho' he had kept them always prisoners, in his own quarters, from the time that Mexico was taken.

In the year 1527, the complaints against CORTEZ being revived, the Emperor sent over LEWIS PONCE DE LEON, as supreme Judge of New Spain, to examine the conduct of CORTEZ: But this Judge died soon after his arrival, suspected to be poison'd by CORTEZ, or his creatures. However, before his death, he appointed MURE DE AGUILAR to succeed him; but he also died soon after, appointing ALONZO DE ESTRADA his successor: But CORTEZ refused to submit to his judgment; alledging, that his predecessor had no power to appoint a successor. Orders afterwards arriving from Spain, to confirm DE AGUILAR in the post of supreme Judge, he commanded CORTEZ to remove from the city of Mexico, and took the administration out of his hands; and, sending over a just representation of the outrages committed by that General and his Officers, three other Commissioners were sent to Mexico, to bring CORTEZ to a trial, and it was generally expected he would have lost his head. But he found means, in some measure, to pacify the Court of Spain, and obtained leave to go over thither, and make his defence before the Emperor: He carried with him such a prodigious treasure, that all his faults seem'd to be entirely forgot; his Majesty countenanced him, seem'd delighted with his conversation, and to give credit to every thing he said; rewarding and honouring this barbarous tyrant, instead of punishing him; particularly, his Imperial Majesty made him a grant of the whole valley of Aristo in Mexico, with all the towns and villages belonging to it; in which he had twenty-four thousand vassals: He created him Marquis of the valley of Guaxaca, and constituted him Generalissimo of all the forces in New Spain; tho' it was thought fit to exclude him absolutely from the civil government: And several strict orders were made for the better usage of the natives for the future; particularly, that they should not be obliged to carry burdens like pack-horses on the road; and that every Spaniard, who should so load an Indian, should, for the first offence, forfeit an hundred pieces of eight; for the second offence, three hundred; and for the third, should forfeit all his goods: That the Indians should

not be compelled to work in the mines, or in their fortifications or buildings, unless for wages, and that voluntarily: That no Indians should be carried out of their respective countries, tho' really slaves: That the Magistrates should have power to determine who were slaves, and who were not: And that the Spaniards should detain no Indian women in their houses, on any pretence whatever. And, that these orders might be the better observed, the Bishop of Mexico, and the Superiors of the Dominicans and Franciscans, &c. were made Protectors of the Indians; among whom was the celebrated Father BARTHOLOMEW DE CASAS, afterwards Bishop of Chiapa, who laid the grievances of the Indians before the Court of Spain, and procured a redress of them in some measure; tho', he complains, the Emperor's orders were very ill observed at that distance. But, from these intended regulations, we may gather what the grievances of the Indians were; namely, their being obliged to carry burdens beyond their strength; to work in the mines, fortifications, and buildings, with such rigour, that they perish'd in the service; that their women, wives and daughters were taken from them, and abused by the lustful Spaniard; that they made slaves of the natives without distinction, and transported them to the mines in distant countries, where they perish'd: And it was many years before these abuses were fully redress'd, even in those countries that peaceably submitted to their dominion. As to the natives who fled to the woods and mountains, they were always very cruelly used, when they fell into the hands of the Spaniards, as their posterity are at this day. And it is not very strange, if the Indians have sometimes retaliated the injuries they received from a people that so violently and unjustly expelled them from their country, and treated them as slaves. But to return to the history.

Before CORTEZ left Old Spain, he procured all the grants of the lands and territories of the Indians, which he had given to his soldiers, to be confirm'd; and, that he might not want employment now the civil government of Mexico was taken from him, he was constituted Governor of all the continent and islands he should discover in the South-sea; and a twelfth part of such discoveries was granted to him and his heirs. The General, having taken his leave of the Emperor, embarked soon after for New Spain, and arrived at Vera Cruz in July 1530; and, not being suffer'd to go to the city of Mexico, took up his residence at Tezcuco, some few leagues distant from it, where he had a very great Court, consisting of his Indian confederates and of his officers and soldiers, amongst whom he had distributed the lands of the subdued provinces. The General, before his going to Old Spain, had sent three ships through the South-sea to the Moluccoes, or Spice Islands in the East-Indies; where, his people encountering the Portuguese, who had already got possession of those islands, his ships and most of the men were destroy'd, some few only returning to Old Spain, with an account of their misfortune. Before CORTEZ received advice of this accident, he fitted out two other ships on the South-sea, to make discoveries towards California and the north-west; but these met with no better success than the fleet he had sent to the East-Indies, most of the men perishing in the attempt. He again fitted out two ships more, in the year 1531, to make discoveries to the north-west; but these also were as unfortunate as the former. Whereupon CORTEZ embarked on the South-sea himself, but did not meet with better success than those he had sent upon discoveries

He purchases a pardon of the Court of Spain.

He hangs the Mexican Emperor.

He goes over to Spain, and buys his peace again.

Orders in favour of the natives.

CHAP. VII.

Their grievances.

Cortez attempts new discoveries.

He is unsuccessful.

CHAP.
VII.

coveries before him: He was obliged to return, after he had sustained innumerable hazards and fatigues, without meeting with any thing answerable to the pains and expence he had been at. In the year 1539, however, CORTÉZ fitted out three ships more in the South-sea, which failed to the northward till they arrived in 50 degrees and upwards, and his people landed in California and the opposite continent, but made no settlements: And the General, having been at a vast expence in these several naval expeditions, went over to Old Spain again, in the year 1539, in hopes of prevailing on that Court to reimburse him his charges: But the Ministry, expecting to have received an increase, rather than a diminution of their treasure, from these expeditions, CORTÉZ did not meet with so favourable a reception as formerly: The Court began to give credit to the repeated complaints that had been made against him; and though it was not thought fit to proceed rigorously against the General, since he had been instrumental in adding so large and wealthy a country to the Crown of Spain, yet he was never suffered to return to Mexico again; and he remained a kind of prisoner at large in the Emperor's Court, where he died on the 2d day of December 1545, in the 62d year of his age; and his body was afterwards transported to Mexico, and interr'd in the cathedral of that city.

He goes to Spain, and is not suffered to return to Mexico.

His death.

How the Spaniards behaved themselves towards the natives on the conquest (as it was called) of this new world, will best appear from the Bishop of Chiapa, above-cited, who resided there at the time of the conquest, and, during the life of CORTÉZ, applied himself to the Court of Spain, to put a stop to the barbarous usage of that people, after he had been an eye-witness of their unparallel'd sufferings.

The Bishop of Chiapa's narrative of the Spanish cruelties, dedicated to Prince Philip.

This Prelate drew up a narrative of these transactions in the year 1532, which he republished in the year 1542, when CORTÉZ was at the Court of Spain; which he dedicated to Prince PHILIP, son of the Emperor Charles the Vth, and afterwards his successor in that kingdom: In which dedication he puts that Prince in mind, that God, for the benefit of mankind, had appointed Kings and Princes to be the Fathers and Protectors of their people; and it was to be presumed, he observed, if any violences or injuries were committed in their dominions, and not redressed, that the Prince had no notice of them; it being his interest to promote the good and welfare of his subjects.

That, considering the intolerable mischiefs the Crown of Spain sustained in the new world, by the tyranny, oppression, and unheard-of cruelties of the Generals and Adventurers, to whom those countries had been granted in propriety respectively, by the name of conquests; he should think himself, he said, in some measure, guilty of them, if he concealed the loss of that infinite number of souls and bodies he had seen destroy'd there: That God and the holy church had committed the government of that people to the King of Castile, to the end they might be converted, and their temporal as well as spiritual happiness promoted. That his Majesty therefore might be truly apprized of the state of those countries since the conquest, and redress their grievances, he had selected some few instances of the conduct and behaviour of the Great men who had begg'd those conquests of the Crown; which he had caused to be printed some years before, and humbly intreated that Prince to use his interest that none of those countries or islands might be granted for the future to any private persons as their conquests; for that those poor innocent people were daily murder'd

VOL. III.

and destroy'd, through the avarice and ambition of the above-said adventurers.

CHAP.
VII.

Proceeding in his narrative, the Bishop observes, that Hispaniola and the neighbouring islands were full of people, as well as the continent, when the Spaniards first discovered America: That, as to the genius and temper of the natives, they had very quick parts, were capable of learning any thing; and yet were very meek, inoffensive, and hospitable; void of malice, covetousness, or ambition; very obedient to their superiors; patient and temperate; and as their food was plain and simple, so they eat and drank sparingly; but that they were of a tender constitution, not able to endure labour or hardships; and if they were transported to distant countries, did not long survive it.

He shews how populous America was before the Spaniards arrived there, and the genius of that people.

Upon these harmless sheep (in my author's phrase) the Spaniards fell, like so many ravenous Wolves or Tygers, as soon as they arrived amongst them; and did not cease for forty years (viz. from the year 1492, when America was first discovered, to the time our author wrote, anno 1532) to torture, murder and destroy them, by a variety of strange and unaccountable cruelties, such as were never heard of before; inasmuch, that of three millions of souls they found in the island of Hispaniola, there were not, at the time the Bishop wrote, two hundred native Indians upon that island; and the neighbouring island of Cuba, equally populous, and almost of equal extent, was in a manner depopulated: That those of Porto Rico and Jamaica, fruitful flourishing islands, and abounding with people when the Spaniards came thither, were become perfect deserts: The Bahama islands, which contained five hundred thousand souls, had not, when the Bishop wrote, one human creature left upon them; and the Antilles, or Caribbee islands, had most of them been destroyed in like manner.

How cruelly used.

The islands depopulated.

Then he proceeds to give an account of the continent; where, he says, it was certain, that the Spaniards, by their cruelties, had depopulated ten realms larger than Spain, and extending as far as from Seville to Jerusalem, which was 1000 leagues and upwards, though they were before as well peopled as any countries whatever: That he was able to give a certain and particular account of twelve millions of souls, men, women and children, that, within the said space of forty years, had been unjustly and tyrannically put to death by the Spaniards; and, he verily believed, more than fifteen millions of souls had perished by their hands within that time; the cause whereof, he says, was the insatiate avarice and ambition of the Spaniards.

On the continent.

Fifteen millions destroy'd.

That he himself saw four or five of the Indian Princes, or great Lords, broil'd at one time on grid-irons, over a slow fire, and others roasted; many more he saw torn in pieces with dogs: That they massacred whole towns, sparing neither women nor children; ripped up women with child, beat out the brains of some infants, and drowned others; and that they would, in sport, lay wagers which should kill the poor Indians soonest, by cutting off their heads, or piercing their breasts: That the Soldiers being about to burn one of the Indian Princes, whose name was HATHWAY, a Priest was sent to him, to persuade him to turn Christian before he died; and the Priest telling him he would go to heaven, a place of happiness, if he embraced Christianity; otherwise he must expect eternal torments in hell; HATHWAY demanded, if the Spaniards went to heaven? And being answer'd, yes; the Indian Prince reply'd, "Then let me go to hell, where there will be no Spaniards."

Variety of tortures.

21 E

The

CHAP.
VII.

The Bishop relates, that marching with some Spanish troops towards a great town, consisting of three thousand Indians, the people came out to meet them, bringing along with them all manner of provisions and refreshments for the Spaniards, who, notwithstanding, fell upon them, and put all these defenceless people to the sword, men, women and children; and that without any manner of cause or provocation, that he could discover.

That at another time he saw six thousand infants destroyed within the space of three or four months, for want of people to look after them, their fathers and mothers being sent away to work in the mines, or to some other laborious employments, at a great distance from them: That it being the usual way for the Officers and Soldiers to divide the natives amongst them, he knew an Officer, that, having three hundred Indians assign'd him for his share, killed two hundred and sixty of them, within three months, by hard service in the mines; and that they afterwards assign'd him as many more, of whom he made the like havock.

That, in the year 1514, a Spanish Adventurer destroyed all the country from the river Darien to the province of Nicaragua, extending upwards of 500 miles; and that one of his Officers, in one excursion, murdered more than twenty thousand people, some of whom he burnt, others he caused to be torn in pieces by dogs, or tortured 'till they expired in exquisite pain.

If the Spaniards had intelligence that any town was rich in gold, or other treasure, it was an ordinary thing to send a party of men to summon them to turn Christians, and acknowledge themselves subjects of Spain; which if they refused, they thought they had sufficient authority to plunder the place, and massacre the inhabitants: But many of their parties went farther; they would make proclamation, a mile or two before they came at the town they had destined to destruction, that the inhabitants should immediately come and do homage to the King of Spain; which the poor people knowing nothing of, were attack'd without any notice, and put to the sword. If these Spanish adventurers could prove that proclamation was made, this was held sufficient, whether the people heard any thing of it or not; and if they spared the lives of any, it was only in order to torture them, and compel them thereby to discover such treasure as might be concealed, or to make slaves of them: And that, in such expeditions, the Governor of the province of Terra-firma only destroy'd eight hundred thousand souls between the years 1514 and 1522. That one of the Indian Princes, having given this same Governor the value of nine thousand ducats in gold, was tortured by him 'till he discovered the value of three thousand castilians (pieces of eight) more; and not being able or willing to make any farther discoveries, the Governor caused his feet to be burnt off by inches, 'till the marrow dropt out of his bones, and he expired in torments: And it was a common thing with the Spanish Officers to torture the Indian Princes and great Lords, to make them discover their riches, and put them to death when they did not answer their expectations.

In the province of Nicaragua, the Bishop relates, the Spaniards made slaves of the people they did not otherwise destroy, and transported great numbers of them to the mines of Peru, where they all died in a very little time: For, he observes, that when the Indians are removed from their native place, they seldom live long; and that many of them perished for want of proper food, or by being compelled to

labour beyond their strength: And that there had not been less than five hundred thousand souls destroyed by these means, in that province only, within the space of ten years, viz. between the years 1523 and 1533; inasmuch, that there were not, at the time of drawing up this narrative, five thousand of the natives left alive in the province.

Then the Bishop proceeds to give some account of the conduct of the Spaniards in Mexico, or New Spain, where HERNANDO CORTEZ commanded their forces in person, and had the direction of all affairs: And here he affirms, that within the space of twelve years, viz. between the year 1518 and the year 1530, four millions of souls were put to the sword, besides infinite numbers that were made slaves of, and perish'd by famine and oppression; there being no part of Europe so populous as Mexico, when the Spaniards arrived there, according to this author, who was Bishop of Chiapa in Mexico during the administration of CORTEZ.

Descending to particulars, the Bishop mentions, in the first place, the massacre of Cholula, a city consisting of thirty thousand houses; where CORTEZ, having summoned the principal inhabitants, and the Lords of the neighbouring country to attend him with their vassals, he commanded the inferior people to be cut in pieces by the Spaniards and his confederates the Tlascalans, and those of better quality he burnt alive: Adding, that this was their practice in every province they invaded, to execute some such notable butchery, that the people might tremble at their approach, and submit to their tyranny.

That this Captain-tyrant (as the Bishop calls CORTEZ) sent out two other tyrants more cruel than himself; the one to the country of Guatemala, (viz. PEDRO DE ALVARADO) and the other to that of Honduras: And that the first, in a letter to ALVARADO, inform'd him, that he had killed, plundered, burnt, and destroyed all the realm of Guatemala for the space of 400 miles; and the other Captain, that was sent to reduce the province of Honduras (a country which the Bishop represents as a paradise of pleasure, and then exceeding populous) destroy'd more than two millions of souls.

That the first Captain, on his entering the frontiers of Guatemala, being met by some Caciques, or Lords of the country, with their vassals, who brought him provisions, and came to make their submission; he caused those Caciques to be burnt alive, because they told him they could not produce the quantity of gold he demanded; and the rest of the Caciques fled to the mountainous and inaccessible part of the country, ordering their subjects to submit to the Spaniards, which they accordingly did, without making any opposition. But this would not satisfy these unmerciful adventurers, or conquerors, as they called themselves; they burnt the houses of these poor people, putting to death man, woman and child, because they could not, or would not discover what was become of their Lords: Whereupon the rest of the Indians stood upon their defence; and, among other stratagems, they dug pits in the highways, in which they set sharp stakes, covering them with turf, in order to prevent their being attack'd by the Spanish horse; and some of the Spaniards fell into them; which so enraged this Captain, that he ordered some of the natives, of all sexes and ages, to be thrown into these pits, and buried alive; the rest were either destroy'd with fire and sword, or made slaves of, many of whom were transported to the mines, and perish'd there; while others were worn out in carrying burdens,

CHAP.
VII.

Alvarado's cruelty in Guatemala.

CHAP.
VII.

dens; and such like drudgeries. The women met with the best quarter, the Spaniards reserving them either for their lusts or domestick employments, as well as for the cultivation of their lands; this being chiefly the business of the Indian females: Nor is it to be supposed they destroy'd all the male slaves, when they were so useful, and even necessary to them, in building houses, ships, carrying burdens, &c. And, no doubt, many of the inferior people escaped after their former masters to the woods and mountains, whose posterity are found there to this day, having hitherto preserved their freedom, tho' they have lost the best and richest part of their country. But how many sooner escaped, the Bishop assures us, that this Captain put to death between four and five millions of people in the country of Guatemala, within the space of fifteen or sixteen years: And so very little account did the Spaniards make of these unhappy people, the same author relates, that he had known eight hundred Indian slaves given for one Mare; and that another of these adventurers, having employ'd eight thousand Indians in his buildings and gardens, obliged them to serve him without pay, and gave them so little food, that they fell down under their burdens and died; at which their hard-hearted master shew'd no manner of concern. He knew the same Captain, who was afterwards made President of Mexico, employ between fifteen and twenty thousand Indians in carrying the Spaniards baggage in an expedition; and says, all of them perish'd in that service except two hundred.

Eight hundred Indians given for a Mare.

The same barbarous wretch, in the province of Mechoacan, about 40 leagues from Mexico, being met by the Cacique or Lord of the province, who brought him presents, and offer'd to become subject to the Spaniards, put the unhappy Prince to the torture, burning his feet off by inches, to make him discover his treasure; insomuch, that he expired in most exquisite torments: And abundance of other Lords were used in like manner, to make them produce the gold and silver they imagined them possess'd of.

He relates, that one of these adventurers, who was made Governor of Yucatan in the year 1526, finding there was no gold or silver in that province, after he had ravaged the country, and killed great numbers of the natives, sold the rest for slaves; but set so small a value on them, that he sold the son of one of their Princes for an ordinary Cheese, and an hundred men for an Horse: That the son of a certain Lord, refusing to leave his country, and go with a Spaniard into slavery, he cut off his ears, nose, and lips: And so wantonly cruel was another Spaniard, that he chopp'd a living infant to pieces, and gave it to his dogs. But I am weary with relating these barbarities, as I believe the reader must be with the relation of them; and therefore forbear to mention any more of them here; but shall have occasion to resume the subject again, when I come to the conquest of South-America.

A Prince sold for a Cheese.

These facts well attested.

These facts, I must confess, are so shocking, that it cannot be supposed they should easily gain credit: But if we consider, that they are given us by Father BARTHOLOMEW DE CASAS, Bishop of Chiapa, during the administration of CORTEZ; that he came over to Spain to obtain a redress of these grievances of the Emperor CHARLES the Vth; that he met with a very great opposition from CORTEZ and his friends, and yet that he procured that General to be displaced, and obtained an order that the Indians should be no more treated as a conquer'd people, or made slaves of; that CORTEZ

CHAP.
VII.

was actually prosecuted for these outrages, and not suffer'd to return to Mexico to his dying day, notwithstanding the pretended services he had done, in adding the Mexican empire to the dominions of CHARLES the Vth; we must believe, that the charge was in a great measure true; especially when we find some great Spanish Ecclesiasticks pleading and endeavouring to maintain, before that Emperor, "That it was lawful to massacre and enslave any people who refused, upon their summons, to turn Christians, and submit to the Pope in Spirituals, and to the Emperor in Temporals." Give me leave to add a paragraph or two out of the Bishop of Chiapa's apology for the poor Indians.

It is not true (says that great Prelate) that the Indians did annually sacrifice twenty thousand persons, or one hundred, or even fifty; but the Tyrants (the Adventurers) have invented such stories to justify their own barbarity, and that they might have a pretence still to detain those miserable people in slavery. But it may very truly be said, "That the Spaniards, since their arrival in the Indies, have annually sacrificed to their adored goddesses (avarice) more people than the Indians sacrificed in an hundred years." This the heavens and earth witness and bewail: Neither can the tyrants, the authors of these calamities, deny it. For it is evident, that these countries, when the Spaniards first went thither, swarm'd with people; but are now laid waste and depopulated. We might blush for shame, that, having lost all fear of God, we seem to think we scarce want a colour or excuse for these execrable actions. We have, in little more than forty years, depopulated and destroyed more countries than Europe contains: We have not only plunder'd and usurp'd the dominion of them, but have murder'd twenty millions of souls.

Part of the Bishop's apology for the poor Indians. They did not sacrifice such numbers as was pretended.

Twenty millions destroy'd in forty years.

The Spaniards, in attempting the conquest of the Indies, had very little regard to the honour of God or religion: Their zeal for the salvation of mankind was but a pretence: Nor had they any views to their Prince's service, of which they so vainly boasted; but covetousness drew them thither, and an ambition to usurp the dominion of those countries; for they perpetually solicited the Court of Spain to have it divided among them: And, to speak plainly, says the Bishop, their views are to expel the Kings of Castile out of that world, and seize upon it themselves. However, we see success frequently sanctifies the worst actions, and gains the applauses of inconsiderate men.

DON VELASQUEZ, Governor of Cuba, first laid the design of adding Mexico to the Spanish dominion: It was he that first levied soldiers, provided a fleet of ships, with arms, ammunition, and provisions, suitable to such an undertaking; and gave the command of the whole to HERNANDO CORTEZ: But, being apprized of the ambition and ingratitude of that gentleman, before he left the island, he revoked his commission, and recalled him, with a design of sending another Commander in his room. But CORTEZ refused to obey his orders; and, corrupting the soldiers and mariners, persuaded them to turn rebels and pirates; to renounce the authority of VELASQUEZ their Governor, who fitted them out, and to set up for themselves; and, at last, to chuse him the Captain of this mutinous crew, who, by all laws, civil and military, deserved death, and would probably have been hang'd, with their leader, if they had not met with unexpected success. And as the enterprize was rebelliously undertaken, so was it prosecuted with such cruelty and ill conduct as

Some remarks on the reduction of Mexico.

must

CHAP.
VII.

must affect every one with horror and detestation of the wicked instruments that were concerned in it : They found a naked defenceless people, terrified to the last degree with their fire-arms, artillery, horses, and dogs : They found the several kingdoms and states also at variance, and so equally divided, that either of them were ready to join the invaders of their country, and assist them in the conquest of it : And we find all of them ready to submit to the dominion of the King of Spain, to become subject and tributary to him, before there was (scarce) any blood spilt. But this would not have done the business of our piratical adventurers : Here would have been little or no spoils or plunder to have enriched them with ; no slaves to have been made, or territories conferred on private men ; the Mexicans would have been their fellow-subjects, and entitled to the like protection and good usage as the Spaniards themselves were : And therefore they held it necessary to make enemies of them, to give them all manner of provocations, and, under pretence of plots and conspiracies of the natives to massacre them, take their country from them, and seize on their lands and treasures, together with the gold and silver mines, that were look'd upon then, and have since been found, to be inexhaustible. These were temptations which that rapacious crew could not resist ; and, it is more than probable, if NARVAEZ had not been sent to reduce CORTÉZ, that he had set up for himself, and assumed the sovereign authority of MEXICO, as the Bishop of Chiapa suggests ; and the sole reason that he did not, probably, was an apprehension that, if he did not acknowledge the authority of the King of Spain, many of his own men would have deserted him, as he had deserted his General and Benefactor, and the advantage of that conquest would have been taken from him. And, tho' he and his officers did submit to hold those countries of the Crown of Spain, yet, we find, they procured themselves to be made proprietors of them, in such a manner as to have the absolute dominion both of the country and the people ; and that they treated them as their slaves and vassals ; nay, worse than enemies, worse than ever brute animals were used ; massacring and torturing them in such a manner as could never have been credited, if their actions had not been publicly try'd and condemn'd, and the facts confess'd and acknowledg'd by many of those that were engaged in the enterprize ; and it had not been evident, to all the world, that countries had been destroyed and depopulated for thousands of miles together, which were before crowded with people, and (in the Bishop of Chiapa's phrase, who was upon the spot) resembled a terrestrial paradise. And what still aggravates the cruelty is, that the natives were, according to the best accounts, a harmless inoffensive people, treated all mankind civilly and hospitably, even the Spaniards themselves, and are generally admired for their ingenuity and the quickness of their parts ; the Popish Missionaries themselves acknowledging, that they never met with a more tractable people, more ready to be instructed, and to embrace the Christian religion ; insomuch, that the Bishop of Chiapa observes, there was no manner of occasion to use force to bring them over to Christianity : And therefore CORTÉZ and his Officers could never justify their barbarous usage of the Indians, on pretence of obstinacy : Their mighty zeal for religion, and the service of their Prince and Country, was all a sham : Their cruelties could be ascribed to nothing else but to their ambition or avarice : The Gold and Silver of the country, the Indians

themselves observed, were the only gods these adventurers adored ; for the acquiring of which they seem to have divested themselves of all humanity.

It may be objected indeed to the credit of those relations given us by the Bishop of Chiapa, of the cruelties of CORTÉZ, ALVARADO, and the rest of the Commanders concerned in the conquest of Mexico, That those barbarities are scarce mention'd either by ANTONIO DE SOLIS, or ANTONIO DE HERERA, two of the best of the Spanish historians.

To which I answer, That it was evidently the design of DE SOLIS to write a panegyrick upon CORTÉZ ; and therefore it cannot be expected he should give us the dark side of that General's character : Besides, the greatest part of that pretended history appears, on the face of it, to be a mere romance ; only valuable for the language, and for some reflections he makes on the facts he is pleased to feign, which are judicious enough, admitting there was any truth in what he relates. And as to ANTONIO DE HERERA, who was Historiographer to the King of Spain, he was employ'd by the Ministry to give such an account of that conquest as might reflect honour on the kingdom of Spain, and on the administration under which it was affected : And had he related the barbarities of CORTÉZ and his Officers, after he had informed us, that those adventurers were encouraged and rewarded, instead of being punish'd, he could not have reflected a greater dishonour on the Kingdom and Court of Spain. And, altho' HERERA himself does not give us all the particulars the Bishop of Chiapa does, yet he confirms some of them ; and assures us, "The Bishop is an author that deserves credit." It was not convenient for him to say what the Bishop had said ; but, on the other hand, he was so faithful an historian as to let us know, that "That Prelate ought to be believed."

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Mexican animals.

WHEN the Spaniards first arrived in this new world, they found neither Horses, Oxen, Camels, Asses, Goats, Sheep, Elephants, Hogs, or Dogs, of the European species. There were indeed wild beasts, to which they afterwards gave the name of Hogs, because they came the nearest to our Hogs of any animals they found there, viz. their Pecaree and Warree ; but these are evidently of another species, especially the Pecaree, which have their navels always upon their backs. They had also some little dumb Dogs, with which they beat for game ; but no other kind. The Indians were as much afraid of the Mastiffs and great Dogs the Spaniards carried over, as of Lions or Tigers ; nay more, for their cruel conquerors hunted this unhappy people in the woods and mountains with their dogs, as they would hunt wild beasts, and tore men, women and children in pieces. When the natives fled from their towns, the Spaniards pursued them to the woods with packs of dogs ; insomuch, that no cover could conceal or defend these naked people from their rage. Nor were their horses less terrible to the Indians than the European dogs, as has been observed under another head. The Mexicans had no beasts that served them to carry burdens, or to draw their carriages ; every thing of this kind was done by their Tamenes, or Porters of both sexes : For, in many places, the women carried the baggage, especially in their wars and hunting

Animals that were not found in America.

CHAP. VIII. hunting expeditions; the men thinking it sufficient to carry their arms, and hazard their lives.

Animals that were found there.

European cattle vastly increased, and run wild at this day.

Their manner of hunting wild bulls.

There were great numbers of Wolves and Bears towards the north, and some Lions and Tygers in the warmer climates, but not many; and there were some few Elks. But whatever the Indians wanted of our animals, the Spaniards soon supply'd them with, particularly Horses, Oxen and Hogs; which increased so prodigiously in a few years, that every Planter had enough for his use, and vast numbers of them were suffer'd to run wild in the woods, both in the islands and on the continent. ACOSTA relates, that in his time (upwards of an hundred years ago) the European sheep were so multiplied, that it was an ordinary thing for a Spanish Grazier to be possess'd of ten or twenty thousand sheep.

DAMPIER relates, that the horses and black cattle are increased as much as the sheep; and has given us a particular description of the Spaniards hunting and hockfing (or hamstringing) the wild bulls and cows that are found in their forests. The Hockfer, as he calls him, is mounted on a good horse, bred up to the sport, that knows when to advance or retreat, without giving his rider any trouble to manage him. The hunter carries a pike-staff, arm'd at the end with a sharp iron, of the form of a crescent, with which he rides after the game full-speed; and, having overtaken it, strikes his iron just above the hock, and hamstringing the beast: Whereupon the horse wheels off; for the bull or cow immediately faces about, and makes at the huntsman with all its force; but, finding the horse too swift for him, turns tail again. Whereupon the hockfer renews the charge, if the hamstring be not quite cut through with the first stroke; and, having sufficiently lamed one of his hind-legs, then ventures to attack the creature in front, and strikes one of the knees of his fore-legs with his hockfing-iron: The beast thereupon falling down, the huntsman immediately dismounts, strikes a great butcher's knife into the beast's poll, a little behind the horns, so dextrously, that he cuts the string of the neck (in DAMPIER's phrase) at once, and down falls the creature's head: Then the hockfer mounts again, and pursues fresh game, leaving the skinners that follow him to take off the hide, which is all they regard, in some parts of the Spanish West-Indies, wild beef is so plentiful. But 'tis said, the Spaniards hunt only the bulls and old cows, leaving the young cattle to breed; whereas the English and French kill them without distinction: But the English found their error in Jamaica; for when that island was first taken, the fields and woods were well stock'd with cattle; which being destroy'd by the soldiers, the island suffer'd very much for want of them, 'till Sir THOMAS LYNCH, the Governor, sent for a fresh supply of cattle from Cuba.

The same writer observes, that the wild cattle of Mexico are the fattest in the dry season, viz. in February, March and April, when the English Logwood-cutters, in the Bay of Campeachy, frequently hunt them in canoes; for then they come down to feed among the rushes in the mouths of the rivers and creeks of the sea, and are easily shot. When the beast finds itself so closely pursued in this manner, that he can't escape, he faces about, and runs full tilt at the boat, striking the head with that force, that he drives it back twenty or thirty paces, and then scampers away again, if he is not kill'd by their shot; and their principal care is to keep the head of the boat or canoe towards the

VOL. III.

creature, for if he strikes it on the side, he oversets it. But to return:

Besides the beasts already mentioned, which the Americans had in common with us, they had also several kinds of Red and Fallow Deer, Hares, Rabbits, Foxes, Otters, Wild-cats, Pole-cats, Squirrels, Porcupines, Monkeys, Jackals, &c.

The beasts peculiar to America, which this continent did not produce, are, their Pecaree and Warree, the Opossum, the Moose, the Guanoe, the Flying-squirrel, the Sloth, the Armadillo, the Rackoon, the Ounce: And there are some amphibious animals, particularly the Musquash and the Beaver; but, as I remember, the last are to be found in the north part of our continent.

The Pecaree is a little, black, short-legg'd animal, that has some resemblance of a Hog: They herd together in great droves; and what is most remarkable, is, that the navel of the creature grows upon its back, and, if it be not cut off as soon as the Pecaree is kill'd, it immediately corrupts the whole carcase, which is otherwise very good food.

The Warree is less than the Pecaree, and has its navel in the usual place; but in shape is much like the former: The skin is thick, covered with hair that looks like a coarse fur. Both the Pecaree and Warree are wild fierce creatures, and will engage man or beast: The Indians hunt them down with their dogs, and then shoot or kill them with spears.

The Opossum is a small beast, about the size of a Fox, and grey as a Badger; and is remarkable for its false belly, in which she preserves her young ones when she is pursued. There is a very particular description of this Animal in the *Philosophical Transactions*; to which I refer the reader.

The Moose is said to be something like a Red Deer in his head and neck: He has horns also like a Deer, near two yards wide; but is as big as an Ox, and slow of foot: His flesh equal to beef, and his hide makes good buff. These are found chiefly in the north, and not in warm climates.

The Guanoe is shap'd like a Lizard; the body as big as a man's leg, but grows tapering towards the tail, which is very small: They have four short feet and claws; are of various colours, dark and light brown, of a dark and light green, some of them yellow, and others speckled; and their flesh very good food, as well as their eggs. But I should have ranged these among the amphibious animals, for they live in the water as well as upon the land.

The Flying-squirrel has a very small body, and a loose skin, which he extends like wings, and is borne up by the wind; but how far he can fly, travellers don't inform us, probably not many yards.

The Sloth is about the bigness of a large Spaniel; has a round head, small eyes, and very sharp teeth and claws: He feeds on the leaves of trees, and frequently kills them, not leaving a single leaf on the tree he visits; but he is so many days in getting down one tree, and climbing another, that tho' he be fat when he comes down, he grows lean before he gets up to the top of another: He is eight or nine minutes, according to DAMPIER, in moving one of his legs three inches: Nor will blows make him mend his pace; he seems insensible of stripes, and can neither be frighted or provoked, as the same gentleman tells us he has frequently experienced.

The Armadillo was so called by the Spaniards, from its shell resembling the scales of armour; is as big as a Sucking-pig, and has a long body in-

CHAP. VIII.

Other beasts they had in common with us.

Beasts peculiar to America.

The Pecaree.

The Warree.

The Opossum.

The Moose.

The Guanoe.

The Flying-squirrel.

The Sloth.

The Armadillo.

CHAP.
VIII.

closed in a thick shell, which is join'd under the belly: This shell opens, and it puts out its head and legs when it walks; but, upon the apprehension of any danger, the creature draws in both its head and legs like a Land-tortoise, and, tho' it be tofs'd from place to place, will not move out again: It has strong claws, with which it digs holes in the ground like a Rabbit. The flesh is esteemed good meat.

The Ra-
coon.

The Racoon, according to DAMPIER, are only a species of Rats, but four times as large, and burrow in the earth like Rabbits.

Rabbits
different
from ours.
The
Ounce.

They have Rabbits also of a different species from ours, as large as Hares, and without tails.

The Ounce, or Tyger-cat, seems to be only a small species of Tygers: They are said to be fiercer than those of a larger size, and more mischievous; nor are these peculiar to America: The East-Indians inform'd me, that they have the same sort of small Tygers in their country: But there are a species of Deer without horns in Mexico, which I don't meet with any-where else.

Deer
without
horns.
Peruvian
Sheep.

As to the Lama's, or Camel-sheep, as they are call'd, from the form of their heads and necks resembling a Camel's: These are of a very different make from our Sheep, used to carry burdens, and twice as large. But as these were only found in Peru, and other parts of South America, I shall treat of these, and several other beasts peculiar to that country, when I come to describe that part of the Spanish dominions.

Beavers,
&c.

There are several other animals also found in North America, particularly Beavers, of which many surprising stories are told; and these will be considered, when I come to treat of New-England and Canada.

Manatee.

As to the Manatee, DAMPIER, in his First Volume, describes it in the following manner: He says, it is about the bigness of a Horse, and 10 or 12 foot long: That the mouth of it is like a Cow's; and it has great thick lips: "The eyes no bigger than a small pea, and the ears only two small holes on each side of the head." The neck is short and thick, bigger than the head: The largest part of the creature is its shoulders: It has two large fins before, and under each of these fins the female has a small dug: From the shoulders to the tail the animals lessens gradually: The tail is flat, and about 14 inches long; and from the head to the tail it is round and smooth, having no fins but those two already mention'd: The flesh is white, and extraordinary sweet wholesome meat. DAMPIER adds, "That they never come on shore, or into shallower water than where they can swim:" That the Musquito Indians strike them as they swim in the water with an harpoon, which the creature runs away with; but, a long line and a float being fasten'd to the harpoon, they let it run 'till the animal has tired itself, and then draw it to shore. But DAMPIER seems to be mistaken in great part of this relation; or, rather, he makes the Manatee a very different creature from the Sea or River-horse: For he says, in his Second Volume, p. 102 of his Second Part, that the Mountain-cow (as he there calls this creature) is shap'd like a Cow in body, but her head much bigger, more compact, and round: That she has no horns; "her eyes are round, full, and of a prodigious size:" That she has great thick lips, but not so thick as a Cow's lips; and "her ears in proportion to her head, rather broader than those of the common cow:" That her neck is thick and short; "her legs shorter than ordinary:" That it has a long tail, thin

of hairs, and no bob at the end, and coarse thin hair all over her body; her hide near two inches thick; her flesh red, and the fat white: That it is sweet wholesome meat; and the creature weighs five or six hundred weight: That it was "always found in woods," near some large river; and feeds on thin long grafs and moss, which grows on the banks of rivers; but never on good grafs, as other cows do: That when her belly is full, she lies down to sleep on the brink of the river, and at the least noise "slips into the water, where, sinking down to the bottom, she walks on the ground."

These relations, the reader must observe, are widely different; and, as DAMPIER acknowledges he never saw any of these animals, it is evident, he was imposed on in one of these accounts. I shall give the reader therefore two other descriptions of the River-horse, or Cow; the one from my friend Captain ROGERS, late Governor of the Bahama Islands; and the other from KOLBEN, which I have already mention'd in the description of the Cape of Good Hope.

The Captain assures us, that the Hippopotamus, or Sea-horse (as he calls this animal) lives as well on the land as in the sea and rivers: That it is shap'd like an Ox, but bigger, weighing fifteen or sixteen hundred pound: That it is very full-bodied, cover'd with hair, and of a mouse-colour; thick, short, sleek, and very beautiful when it first comes out of the water; the head flattish on the top: That it has no horns; but large lips, a wide mouth, and strong teeth, four of which are longer than the rest, viz. two in the upper jaw, one of each side, and two in the under jaw: That the latter are four or five inches long; the other two shorter: That it has large broad ears, great goggle eyes, and is very quick-sighted: It has a thick neck, strong legs, but weak foot-locks; the hoofs of his feet are cloven in the middle; his tail is short and tapering, like a swine's, without any bob at the end: The creature is commonly fat, and very good meat: It grazes on the shore, in wet swampy grounds, near rivers or ponds; but retires to the water, if pursued: When they are in the water, they sink down to the bottom, and there walk as on dry ground: They will run almost as fast as a man; but, if chased hard, they will turn about, and look very fierce, like a boar, and fight, if put to it. The natives have no wars with these creatures, says the Captain; but we have had many conflicts with them, both on shore and in the rivers; and tho' we commonly got the better, by killing some, and routing the rest; yet, in the water, we durst not attack them, after the following accident, which had like to have proved fatal to three men, who went in a small canoe to kill a single Sea-horse, in a river which had eight or ten foot water. The horse, according to his custom, was marching at the bottom of the river; and, being espied by these men, they wounded him with a long lance, which so enraged the beast, that he rose up immediately, and, giving a fierce look, he open'd his jaws, and bit a great piece out of the gunnel or upper edge of the canoe, and was like to have overfet it; but presently sunk down again to the bottom, and the men made off, for fear he should return. "These the Captain met with on the South-east coast of Africa."

KOLBEN informs us, that there is a creature called a Sea-cow, at the Cape of Good Hope, which always feeds on grafs ashore, and only runs into the sea for its security: That the head of it re-

CHAP.
VIII.

CHAP.
VIII.

seemles rather that of a horse than a cow: That it is as large as a rhinoceros, and of the same colour; but the legs something shorter: That the nostrils are very large, out of which it spouts water, as it rises from the sea or the bottom of a river: That the hoof is not cloven, and the tail like that of an elephant, with very little hair on it; and that it has no hair at all on the body, and the female suckles its calves as other cows do, which he had often seen: That the skin of the creature is tough, and near an inch thick; so that a musket-ball will scarce penetrate it, which is the reason they usually aim at the head to break his skull.

That, on each under jaw, the animal has two large teeth, the one straight, and the other crooked, about the thickness of a cow's horn, and running a foot and half out of its mouth; which teeth weigh each of them about ten pound, are exceeding white, and never change yellow, as ivory does; and therefore are more valuable.

That, when this creature is wounded in a river, or near the shore, the natives follow her in boats by the blood, and with hooks and grappling-irons fish up the carcase, which, he says, is a good load for a waggon: That the flesh of this creature is so much admired by the Dutch at the Cape, that they give twelve or fifteen pence a pound for it: That the leaf and fat is valued as much as the lean, melted and used like butter in cookery, and some eat it with bread.

The antients describe the Hippopotamus of the Nile in much the same manner as KOLBEN does the Sea-cow of the Cape: And Mr. THEVENOT, an author of good credit, says, when he was in Egypt, in the year 1658, he saw one of these animals that was kill'd near the Nile: That it was about the bigness of a camel, of a tawney colour; the hinder-part made much like an ox, and the head like a horse: That its eyes and ears were small; but it had great open nostrils, thick large feet almost round, and four claws; the tail like an elephant, and had not more hair than there is upon an elephant: That, in the lower-jaw, it had four great teeth half a foot long; two of them crooked, and as big as the horns of an ox; and the other two straight, but standing out in length; and that some Janizaries shot it as it was grazing on the land: It received several shot before it fell, the bullets hardly piercing the skin; but one, that happen'd to hit the jaw, brought it down: And that these monsters are very rare in the Nile, there having been no such animal seen there for many years before.

Upon the whole, it seems to me, that the Sea-cow and River-horse, called by the antients Hippopotamus, are the same animals; but the Manatee is of a different species: For the first is an amphibious creature, with four legs, that feeds on shore; the other a pure fish, without legs: For such is DAMPIER's first description; and so the rest of the Buccaneers describe the Manatee, and tell us, their Musquito Indians struck them often, and their ship's crew lived upon them some time; and therefore they could not easily be mistaken in the shape of the creature; neither would they have omitted to tell us, that it had legs, if it had any. And I am in some doubt, whether the Hippopotamus, or River-horse, was ever seen in America; but if I find reason to alter my opinion, upon farther enquiry, I shall not fail to acknowledge my mistake before I conclude the description of America.

Crocodiles
or Alliga-
tors.

As to their Alligators (which are certainly a species of Crocodiles) these are so numerous, and have done so much mischief, both to the natives and the Euro-

peans, that there is no room to doubt of their being bred in America. They are amphibious animals, accusom'd both to land and water; shap'd like a lizard, twenty or thirty feet in length: They have four short feet, or rather claws, on which they crawl; the head is flat, their eyes large, and their back cover'd with broad scales, resembling armour, and as impenetrable; and some of them so large, 'tis said, that they have actually swallow'd men whole: at least, there are such stories generally believed in the countries where Alligators or Crocodiles are found. These animals seem to move with the greatest strength and agility in the water, and will run a good pace by land, but cannot easily turn about; so that a man turning to the right or left, easily avoids them: They lie waiting for their prey therefore, by the river sides, in the flags and rushes; and so much resemble the trunk of an old tree, that travellers have been unwarily surprized by them on shore. Tho' they are of that prodigious bulk, they proceed from an egg no bigger than a turkey's, which is hatch'd in the warm sand, as is generally believed; nor is it to be conceived how it should be hatch'd otherwise. They lay a great number of eggs, which are most of them eaten or destroy'd by fowls, or other animals, or they would swarm in these hot countries. As to the Crocodile's weeping over a man he has kill'd; and the little bird Trochileus, that is said to live upon the meat she picks out of the Crocodile's teeth; or the Rat Ichneumon, of whom there is a tradition that he jumps into the Crocodile's mouth, and eats his way out again through his belly; I presume there is no need to caution the reader to give but little credit to such fictions: Tho' it were to be wish'd, that historians would not so frequently indulge a poetical vein, which makes it difficult sometimes to distinguish between true and fabulous relations. But to proceed.

There is an animal, which DAMPIER calls a The Squash, bigger than a Cat, and its head like that of a Fox, with short ears and a long nose; the legs short, and runs up trees like a cat; the body is cover'd with a fine yellow hair, and the flesh very good meat. DAMPIER says, it eats like pig. That the young ones may be tamed; and are as diverting as a monkey.

The Monkeys of Campeachy, the same writer The Mex- relates, are the ugliest he ever saw: They are much ican Mon- larger than a hare, and have great tails two foot key. and a half long; the body and upper part of the tail cover'd with coarse long black hair: They keep together twenty or thirty in a company, and ramble over the woods, leaping from tree to tree; and if they meet with a single person, he is in danger of being torn in pieces by them: That he was very much afraid on meeting a party of them in a wood, tho' he had a gun in his hand; for they surrounded him, chattering and making a terrible noise; some of them broke the dry boughs and threw at him, while others scatter'd their water and dung about his ears: That they hung themselves by their tails on the boughs over his head, and seem'd to threaten him all the way he pass'd: But where two or three people are together, they usually make off; and it is merry enough to see the females scamper away with their young ones under their arms, or upon their backs. This species of monkeys are very untractable, and hardly ever tam'd.

As to the feather'd race, we find in Mexico, Par- Birds and
rots, Parroquets, Macaws, Quams, Curasoes, fowls.
Cockrecoes, Bill-Birds, Humming-Birds, Eagles,
Vultures, Doves, Pigeons, Subtil-Jacks, Black-
birds, Turkeys, and tame poultry; Pelicans, Cor-
morants,

CHAP.
VIII.

CHAP.
VIII.

morants, Bats, and a multitude of other fowls and birds, which are not found in this part of the world, and many of which have not yet received any names, or at least the Europeans are not acquainted with them.

Parrots.

Parrots and Parokites are so well known amongst us, that they need no description.

Macaw.

The Macaw is not so common: He is shap'd much like a Parrot, but twice as big; the feathers of the body are of several bright and lively colours, particularly red, blue and green: It has a bushy tail, with two or three long straggling feathers, red or blue; the pinions of the wings of some of them are red, and of others blue; and their beaks yellow: They make a great noise in the morning, resembling a hoarse voice; but they will imitate the voices of the Indians, and their way of singing; as also the voice or noise of any bird or animal almost; and may be taught to talk. The natives tame them, and, when they are used to their houses, suffer them to fly to the woods in the day-time, among those that are wild, and they return in the evening to the house or plantation they belong to. There are great plenty of these birds in Mexico; and they are not only extremely beautiful and entertaining, but their flesh is well tasted, tho' it is black and pretty tough.

Quam.

The Quam is a wild land-fowl, of the bigness of a Hen-Turkey, and has a bill like that fowl; the feathers of a dun-colour; his tail short, and darker than the rest of his feathers: It feeds upon berries and other fruits, and the flesh is very good food.

Curafoe.

The Curafoe is larger than the Quam, but much of the same shape: The cock has a crown of black or yellow feathers on his head, with red loose flesh on his neck, like a Turkey-cock; but the hen has neither: They have a big gross voice, which is listen'd to by the natives, having something melodious in it: The flesh is tolerably good, but the bones so noxious, that the natives bury them, and will not suffer a dog to eat them; and the Europeans, 'tis said, use the like caution; for that a dog runs mad, if he eats one of their bones.

Carrion-crow.

The bird call'd by the English the Carrion-crow, is black, and as big as a Raven; has a bald head and reddish neck like a Turkey, and lives altogether on carrion, from whence it has its name. The huntsman has no sooner kill'd his game, but they immediately flock together from all parts, several hundreds of them, and will devour the carcase of a beast in an instant, if not prevented. Some of these Carrion-crows are white, but in all other respects like the former.

Subtil-Jack.

The Subtil-Jack, as the English call it, is as big as a Pigeon; the feathers generally black, but the tips of the wings yellow. It has obtain'd this name from the cunning it seems to exercise in securing its nest, which is always hung by a string at the extremity of the bough of some high tree, that stands alone. Some trees are surrounded with such nests, which hang down 2 or 3 foot from the twigs they are fasten'd to; the string that fastens them, according to DAMPIER, being made of long twisted grass; but GEMELLI says, it is made of hair: However, both agree as to the nests hanging on the bough of a tree, by a string of its own making; and GEMELLI adds, that the bird sings sweetly.

Bill-Birds.

There are also several sorts of birds, to which the English have given the name of Bill-birds, from their bills being almost as big as their bodies.

Cockre-coes.

The Cockre-coes are of the colour of a Partridge, but something less, and their legs longer: They delight in creeks and watery places, and are remark-

able for their calling and answering one another morning and evening. They are esteemed delicious food.

CHAP.
VIII.

The bird call'd the Cardinal, is about the bigness of a Wood-lark; of a scarlet colour; has a beautiful tuft of feathers on the head, and sings sweetly: For these the Spaniards give ten or twelve crowns a bird, to send into Spain. There is another bird of the same beautiful colour, but less, and does not sing.

They have also a small bird, of the bigness of a Tygrello. Thrush, call'd the Tygrello, or Little Tyger, from its spotted feathers.

The Cacalototol is of the size of a Black-bird, but of a yellow colour, and sings well.

Cacalototol.

The Silguero's are black and white, of the bigness of a Sparrow, and highly valued.

They have two sorts of Pheasants; the one of a dark colour, with black wings and tails, which they call Gritones; and the other, which are much larger, call'd Royal, from a tuft which appears like a crown upon their heads.

Their poultry, or dunghill-fowls, differ little from ours, but are something less: Their Quails are

Dunghill fowls.

of the same colour as those of Europe, but their flesh is not so good, according to GEMELLI, who mentions another bird, called Guiachichil, or Suck-flower, because it is always seen flying with a flower in its mouth; but is never known to rest on the ground, as he was inform'd by the natives: It will stick its beak into the bough of a tree, and remain there several months; and thus they often take it sleeping.

Guiachi-chil.

The Humming-bird is a little feather'd animal, not much bigger than a large Wasp: It has a black

Humming Bird.

bill, like the point of a needle; and its legs and feet are proportionable to its body: Its wings move when it flies, like those of a Bee, and make a perpetual humming; from whence it obtain'd its English name: It resorts to fruit-trees and flowers also, like the Bee when it is gathering honey; but keeps in perpetual motion, sometimes on one side the flower, and then on the other; now approaching, and then retiring from it, for several minutes. There are two or three sorts of them, of as many several colours: The largest are black.

Their birds of prey are Eagles, Vultures, Hawks, and the Carrion-crow, already mention'd: Their prey, water-fowl, Geese, Ducks, Curlews, Herons, Water-Crab-catchers, Pelicans, Cormorants, Fishing-fowl, hawks.

They have three kinds of Ducks; the Muscovy Duck, and another, which perch upon old trees without leaves, and seldom light upon the ground; and they have another kind of Ducks, like ours, that never perch upon trees.

There are two sorts of Curlews also; the largest sort as big as Turkeys, with long legs and long crooked bills; the feathers of their bodies of a dark colour, and their wings black and white; their flesh black, but pretty good food: The other Curlews are half the bigness of the former, and their flesh much better tasted.

Curlews.

Their Herons are not different from those of Europe.

The Crab-catcher is of the same shape and colour as the Heron, and has its name from feeding on small Crabs not bigger than Pigeons eggs.

Crab-catchers.

The Pelican is a web-footed fowl, almost as big as a Goose, and of a grey colour: Its legs are short, the neck long, the bill seventeen or eighteen inches long, and two inches broad; the fore-part of the neck and breast cover'd with a soft loose skin, like that

Pelican.

CHAP. VIII. that of a Turkey-cock's: It is a very heavy fowl, and seldom flies much above the water; and usually sits on the tops of the rocks, a little distance from the shore, either for its security, or to look out for prey; and is esteem'd pretty good meat. It is remarkable for a bag or purse in the neck, in which it keeps a reserve of prey after the appetite is satisfied.

Cormo-
vant. The Cormorant is of the shape and size of a Duck, and the bill and feet like a Duck's; the feathers on the body black, only white on the breast: They live on small fish, and will perch on trees by the water-side to watch for their game.

Fishing-
hawk. The Fishing-hawk is of the size and shape of an English Sparrow-hawk, and sits on the stump of a tree or a rock by the sea or river-side, from whence he flies at the small fish, which are his prey, and snatches them out of the water without wetting his wings: He does not swallow the fish whole, as most other fowls do that prey upon fish, but tears it in pieces, as our Hawks do the birds they strike.

Bats. The Bats of this country are as large as Pigeons, travellers inform us, which is not at all improbable; for in the East-Indies, and some other hot countries, they are much larger.

Insects
and ver-
min. In all hot countries there are abundance of poisonous and troublesome insects and vermin, and Mexico has its share of them; such as Snakes, Scorpions, Centapees, Spiders, Toads, Flies, Musketoos, and Pismires.

Snakes. There is in Mexico, as Mr. DAMPIER relates, a yellow Snake, as big as the small of a man's leg, 6 or 7 foot long; a lazy animal, that takes little pains to hunt for its prey; but lies concealed in cover, and surprizes the Lizards, Guanoes, and other small animals, as they pass by: The flesh of it is eaten by some people; and my author says, he has tasted of it, but did not much relish it. He says, his brother Logwood-cutters inform'd him, that some of these snakes are as big as an ordinary man's waist, and strong enough to hold a bullock by the horns: But he is so good as not to require us to give entire credit to the latter part of the story. There is also a green Snake, about the bigness of a small cane, and 4 or 5 foot in length: These lie among bushes and trees full of leaves, and prey chiefly on small birds. Here is also a dun-colour'd Snake, about 2 foot long, that frequents houses, and kills mice and other vermin; and is so harmless a creature, that no body endeavours to kill him. There are a great many other species of Snakes in America, and particularly the Rattle-snake, which will be described in their proper places.

Scorpions. Their Scorpions and Centapees do not differ from those of other countries already described; but Mr. DAMPIER mentions an animal, which he calls a Gally-wasp, that I don't remember to have met with any where else: It has, he says, some resemblance of a Lizard; has four short legs, and is of a dark brown colour; delights in low marshy grounds, and is very venomous.

Spiders
mon-
strous. Their Spiders, the same writer observes, are of a monstrous size, particularly one, that is near as big as a man's fist; has long legs, and two black teeth, or horns, two inches in length, and as sharp as a thorn: That these Spiders are clothed with a yellowish down as soft as velvet: But he could not tell whether they were venomous or not. There is no doubt, but Spiders, Toads and Rats grow to a prodigious size in all hot countries; though, 'tis possible, travellers may enlarge a little in the describing of them.

CHAP. VIII. The Ants, or Pismires, are another plague in a very warm climate. Here are great black Ants, whose bite is said to be almost as painful as the sting of a Scorpion; nor are their small yellow Ants less dreaded, which come in such swarms sometimes, that a man shall be covered with them in an instant: They have nests on the bodies of great trees, DAMPIER relates, as big as hogheads, in which they live all the winter; and here they preserve their eggs: In the fair season they quit their nests, and swarm in the wood-lands and high grounds; but are seldom found in meadows or watery places. There are another sort of black Ants, with long legs, that come into houses, run over their chests and beds, and search every place: Wherever their leader marches, the rest follow him in such crowds, that they are two or three hours passing by: However, they usually quit the house before night; nor do they seem to be so mischievous as the African Ants, that will, according to some travellers, devour a sheep in a few minutes; and men with difficulty escape, by setting fire to them.

There are another sort of insects, that sufficiently try the patience of the natives, and are much more mischievous to strangers, in hot countries, viz. Muskitoes, or Gnats, which swarm in all countries that are hot and moist, and will not suffer a man to rest night or day, but are perpetually buzzing about his ears: When a person first comes on shore, his face shall be so swell'd by their stings in a night's time, that his acquaintance can scarce know him; and, though their stings have not this effect, after we have been sometime in the country, yet they are always very troublesome.

GAGE, in his Survey of this country, says, there is an insect, call'd by the Spaniards Migua, which is common in all parts of it almost, and so small, that it can scarce be discern'd. This creature usually strikes into the feet or legs of a man, but seldom into the hands, or any part of the body; from whence he conjectures, it is bred in the dust of the ground: They make the part they strike into burn and itch, and at first it appears black, and no bigger than the point of a needle, when they may be easily pick'd out; but if they are let alone, they get farther into the flesh, and lay a great many nits or eggs, which increase to the bigness of a great pea, and itch intolerably; and, if the part be rubb'd or scratch'd, immediately festers, and endangers the losing of the limb. Some, he says, hold it best to take them out as soon as they first perceive the part itch; but people do not know at first what is the matter with them, and the creature soon gets too deep to be dislodged; and therefore they are usually let alone 'till they have laid their little bag of nits or eggs, which appears like a blister through the skin, and then, with the point of a needle, they dig round it, and take the bag out whole, for if it be broken they breed again. If any person would avoid this vermin, the same writer says, he must not go bare-legg'd, or lay his shoes or stockings near the ground. The Indians, however, that go bare-foot, are seldom troubled with them, which he supposes proceeds from the hardness of their skins. The Europeans therefore suffer most from these insects. GAGE himself relates, that he was two months under the Surgeon's hands, having scratch'd the part where one of these vermin enter'd his skin 'till it fester'd, and was in great hazard of losing a leg: And some gentlemen, lately arrived from America, inform me, that there cannot be a more trouble-

CHAP. VIII. troublesome insect than this is, against which scarce any thing can secure them.

Leg-worms. DAMPIER also mentions Leg-worms, that he met with in the Bay of Campeachy: He says, he perceived a swelling in one of his legs, that was very painful to him; and, drawing it to a head, there came out two small worms, of the bigness of a hen's quill, and three quarters of an inch long; and that each of them had three rows of black, short, stiff hair, running quite round them.

The Shining-fly. The Shining-fly is an insect common to the East and West-Indies: These, in the night-time, appear like so many stars, at a little distance, when they rest on the boughs of a high-tree, as they frequently do.

Bees. As to Bees, they have several sorts, which make their nest in trees, or in the holes of the rocks; from whence the natives get a great deal of honey, with which they make some of their strongest liquors. WAFER doubts, whether some of these Bees have stings, because he saw the Indians put their naked arms into the nests without being stung.

Cochineel insect. The insect, call'd Cochineel, is still more profitable to the Mexicans and Spaniards than the Bee: It is bred in a fruit that grows on a shrub about five foot high, and full of thorns: There is a red flower on the top of the fruit, which falls down, and covers the fruit when it is ripe and begins to open; so that no rain or dew can wet the inside: The flower being scorch'd and wither'd away in a day or two, by the heat of the sun, the fruit opens as wide as the mouth of a pint pot, and the inside is, by that time, full of these small red insects, which have curious thin wings. When the Indians perceive the fruit opens, they spread sheets under the trees, and shake them; whereupon these insects take wing, and hover for a little while over the tree, and then fall down dead into the sheets, the heat of the sun killing them, as my author supposes. When they fly up, they appear red; but when they fall down, they are black. However, they are used in dying the finest scarlet: Some people infuse them in coffee and other liquors, to raise their spirits, or give them fresh vigour; and they are probably used in medicine; but physick is not my province.

The Mexicans did not know the value of this insect 'till the Spaniards came amongst them, and had none of the trees that produce them, but those that grew wild in forests; but the Spaniards and Indians have now large plantations of them.

Locusts. The Locust is an insect that brings destruction with it wherever it comes, and is found in almost every hot country at one time or other: They are much like Grasshoppers, but bigger; and fly in such numbers, as Mr. GAGE observes, that they hide the face of the sun, and darken the brightest day. While he was in Mexico, a cloud of these insects visited that part of the country where he resided, lighting upon the trees and standing corn, and, in one night, devour'd both the fruit and leaves of the trees, and consumed the corn in every field where they fell: The highways were so pester'd with them, that there was no travelling in quiet; and neither the plantations of sugar or indico escaped them.

Upon the approach of this wing'd army, all people were commanded out into the fields, with trumpets, brass-pans and kettles, and every thing that would make a noise, to frighten them away; and, according to Mr. GAGE's observation, the fields of those husbandmen that made most noise escaped best: He was of opinion, that some entirely saved their corn and fruits by this stratagem. However, such numbers were left upon the ground, that they were

CHAP. VIII. forced to dig trenches, and bury them; and the next year the people were afflicted with a contagious distemper, little inferior to the plague; he calls it a fever in the bowels, which carried off the patient in four or five days: But, notwithstanding this distemper was very fatal to the Indians, the Spaniards were not much afflicted with it; and, indeed, at Surat in the East-Indies, when the natives are swept away by the plague in vast numbers, the Europeans usually escape; which we were apt to ascribe to the good liquor we drink, the natives having scarce any other beverage than water. But this cannot be the reason of escaping any contagious distemper in America, where the people drink almost as much strong liquor as we do.

I proceed, in the next place, to enumerate the Fish. several sorts of fish that travellers take notice are found in the American seas, lakes and rivers.

The Paracood is about three foot and a half long, **Paracood.** and eight or ten inches round, and haunts the lakes, islands, and places near the shore; and, 'tis said, will attack a man in the water. It is a firm well-tasted fish; but some of them have been found unwholesome food. DAMPIER says, he has known men poison'd with them at some seasons of the year; and WAFER relates, that people have had their hair and nails come off after eating them.

The Gar-fish is of the shape of the former, but **Gar-fish.** less; and has a long sharp bone in his snout, like the Sword-fish; only as the Sword-fish's bone is flat, and indented like a saw, this of the Gar-fish is fashion'd like a spear, round, smooth and sharp at the end, and about a foot long: They swim very swift, and will leap out of the water frequently, flying as it were just above the surface for twenty or thirty yards, and then, wetting their fins, spring forward again, darting themselves with such force, that they will strike their bony spear through the sides of a canoe, or the body of a man, if they meet with him in the water. These are esteem'd well-tasted wholesome food.

Mullets and Snooks are plentiful in this part of **Mullet,** the world; and the Ten-pounder, in form much **Snook,** like a Mullet, but so full of bones there is scarce **Ten-pounder.** any eating them, is found here.

The Spanish Mackerel are in shape and colour **Spanish** like those of Europe, but a yard long or more, and **Mackerel.** nine or ten inches about. These are esteemed excellent meat.

There are three sorts of Flat-fish, called the Stin-Raspray, gray, the Raspray, and the Whispray: They are any of them about a foot and a half broad; and the Raspray is mightily valued for his rough skin, which makes good shagreen, and will rasp any thing like a file.

The Old Wife is also a flat fish, and very good **Old Wife.** meat; as is the Cavally, a small slender fish, taken **Cavally.** upon this coast.

The Turpom is a good firm fish, of fifty or sixty **Turpom.** pound weight, and said to resemble a Salmon.

The Sculpin is a fish surrounded with little sharp **Sculpin.** bones; but, when his skin is stripp'd off, he is very good food: It is generally about a foot long.

The Manatee is the best fish on the coast, which **Manatee.** has been already described among the amphibious animals: I shall only take the opportunity here to acquaint the reader, that this is certainly a fish, and never goes on shore, as the Hippopotamus, or River-horse, does; neither does he resemble that animal, either in size or form. The Manatee is generally taken in the sea, and sometimes in creeks and the mouths of rivers; but never quits the water, according to the best information I can get.

CHAP.
VIII.
Tortoise.

Of Tortoise, or Turtle, as the seamen call them, there are several sorts: Some are Sea-tortoise, and have fins; these seldom come on shore, but to lay: Others live, for the most part, on the land; have claws, and will run a good pace. Some weigh upwards of three hundred pound, and others not five.

DAMPIER gives a very particular description of the several sorts of American Tortoises: He says, the Land-tortoises they met with at the islands of Gallapagos in the South-sea were very large and fat, and no Pullet was better eating; and that some of the biggest of them weigh'd an hundred and fifty, and two hundred weight, being two foot six inches broad on the Callapee, or flat shell, that incloses the belly: That there is such plenty of these tortoises at those islands, that a ship's crew of five or six hundred men might subsist on them for several months, without any other provisions. Then he proceeds to describe the several sorts of tortoises; one of which is called by the Spaniards the Hecatee, that lives for the most part in fresh water, and seldom comes to land: These weigh ten or fifteen pound, have small legs, flat feet, and slender long necks. A second sort are called Tenapen, which are much less, scarce half so big as the former; the convex shell on their backs naturally finely carved and clouded: These live in bogs or watery places, or on the firm land near such places. Both these are very good meat.

Hecatee.

Tenapen.

Sea-tortoise.

Trunk-tortoise.

Logger-head.

Hawks-bill.

Green-tortoise.

As for the Sea-tortoise, or Turtle, he observed there were four sorts, viz. the Trunk-turtle, the Loggerhead, the Hawks-bill, and the Green-turtle. The Trunk-turtle is the largest, the shell on their backs higher and rounder than the rest, and their flesh rank and unwholesome. The Loggerhead is so called on account of his great head, which is much bigger than that of any other turtle: The flesh of these also is rank, and never eaten, but in cases of necessity. The Hawks-bill is the least, and so denominated from his mouth resembling that of a Hawk's-bill: These are but indifferent food, tho' better than the Loggerhead; and it is the shell of these that is so much esteem'd for making boxes, cabinets, combs, and other toys. The Green-turtle is so called from the greenness of its shell: It is very thin, transparent, and better clouded than the Hawk's-bill; but only used in inlaying-work, the shell is so very thin: Their flesh is the sweetest of all turtle; the fat yellow, and the lean white; and in some places they are so large, that they weigh two hundred pound, and upwards; but in the Bay of Campeachy they are not so big, and the fat is green, the lean of a brownish colour. The turtle that haunt the keys, or small islands, south of Cuba, are of various kinds; some bigger, others less; the flesh of some green, of others dark brown, and a third yellowish: And with these the English at Jamaica usually are supplied; the markets are every day plentifully flock'd with them, and they are the usual food of the common people. The Green-turtle live on grass that grows at the bottom of the sea in four or five fathom water.

Every species of turtle, according to DAMPIER, lay their eggs in the sand, and lay three times in the season, at every time fourscore or an hundred eggs, about the bigness of an Hen's egg, but round, and cover'd only with a white tough skin or membrane. In the Bay of Honduras are several islands where the Hawks-bill turtle lay their eggs; and there are some sandy bays on the continent near Vera Cruz, in the Gulph of Mexico, where they breed. When a she-tortoise comes out of the sea to lay, she is an hour, at least, before she returns again; for she always goes above high

water-mark; and if it be low water when she comes ashore, she must rest once or twice (being very heavy) before she comes to the place; and, having found a spot to her mind, she makes a great hole with her fins in the sand, where she lays her eggs, and then covers them up two foot deep, and returns to sea, leaving the sun and the warm sand to hatch them. Those that make it their business to catch tortoise, wait for them when they come on shore to lay, and, turning them on their backs with poles, the creature can never get up again. It is very easy to intercept them, they march so slow, and two men will turn a great many in one night; but some of them, 'tis said, are too big and heavy for a single man to turn: They are frequently struck by the seamen with a spear or fishgig, which the sportsman darts at them from the yard-arm, striking through the shell; and, a line being fasten'd to the staff, he draws them up into the ship.

Mr. DAMPIER remarks, that the tortoises, at the time of their breeding, leave their usual haunts for two or three months, and resort to other places, sometimes above an hundred leagues distant, to lay their eggs; and he is of opinion, that they eat nothing during this season. He observes also, that the male always accompanies the female when she goes to lay, and never leaves her 'till she returns: That they are both very fat at the beginning of the season; but before they return the male is so lean, that he is not eatable; but the flesh of the female is good to the very last, tho' it is not so fat as at the beginning: They are nine or ten days, 'tis said, in the act of generation in the water, the male on the female's back; nor is the male to be frighten'd or drove away at these times; she indeed endeavours to get away, if a boat approaches when they rise to blow or take breath; but the male grasps her with his two fore-fins, and holds her fast; and a very bad striker may strike them both at such times. It seems, a Sea-tortoise cannot remain in the deep, without coming up to the surface of the water to blow or take breath once within eight or ten minutes. Those that are not good meat, afford however a great deal of oil.

These animals live to a very great age, at least we are sure the Land-tortoises do so; for Archbishop LAUD put one into his garden at Lambeth 100 years ago, which I saw there very lately. This creature makes a hole in the ground, about Michaelmas, every year, where it lies all the winter, and appears again about Easter; and is supposed to eat nothing while under ground; some of the Lambeth family having had the curiosity to weigh him a little before he disappears, and when he comes up again, and they find him some pounds lighter in the Spring than he was the preceding Autumn.

I don't find they want any shell-fish in the American seas, that we have here; and they have Oysters and Muscles of a prodigious size. FUNNEL mentions some Rock-oysters he met with, so large, that one of them would dine several men: But the most valuable oyster is the Pearl-oyster, found in the Gulph of Nicoya, the Gulph of California, and in several other parts of the Mexican coast. These are about the size of our middling oysters, but flatter and thinner; the pearl is found at the head of the oyster, between the meat and the shell, and some will have twenty or thirty small seed-pearls about them, and others none at all: The shell of the oyster is more beautiful on the inside than the pearl itself: The flesh, however, is less valuable than that of any other oyster, and scarce eatable. The Indians dive for these oysters in five, six, seven, or eight

CHAP.
VIII.

Oysters.

Pearl oysters.

eight

CHAP.
VIII.

eight fathom water, and bring up ten or twelve oysters at a time; and those on board the vessel open them as they are brought up. The Spaniards, 'tis said, destroy'd a great many thousands of the Indians soon after the conquest, by compelling them to dive and drudge for oysters beyond their strength: A pearl was more valued by them than a hundred of these poor wretches lives: They had no mercy on them therefore, but kept them in the water frequently 'till they lost the use of their limbs, or died in the service. And thus it was that the natives of the Bahama islands in particular, who were esteem'd excellent divers, were destroy'd.

Conch.

The Conch is another large shell-fish, form'd like a Snail: The colour of the shell within is like mother of pearl; but the outside of it rough: The flesh of it is very good eating, after it has been well scour'd with sand.

As to the Lobsters, Crabs, Prawns, Shrimps, and other shell-fish, they have in common with us: They need no description. They have, in their lakes and rivers, fish like our Jacks and Carp, and plenty of others, that are excellent food, that will be described, in treating of other parts of America. I shall proceed, in the next place, to enquire into their vegetables.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Mexican vegetables, viz. their forest and fruit-trees, corn, herbage, roots, and flowers; and also of their husbandry.

Vegetables.

THE woods on the tops and sides of the mountains, and in the upland country, are either fine forests, or delightful groves of trees, of various kinds, large and tall, with little or no underwood; so that a man rides through them with pleasure: Whereas on the down'd lands, near the coasts, and at the mouth of rivers, there is nothing but Mangroves, Bamboe-canes, Log-wood, and Shrubs, with bushes and brambles, through which it is difficult to penetrate. There is not much timber in the low-lands.

The Cotton-tree.

The Cotton-tree, for its size and its use, is one of the most remarkable in this country: Of these there are two sorts, the white and the red: The white Cotton-tree grows like the oak, but is much larger and taller; the body is streight, and clear from knots or boughs to the head, where it spreads out its great limbs horizontally like the Oak. The bodies of these trees are some of them three or four-score foot high, and ten or twelve in diameter; the bark is grey and smooth; the leaves are like those of the Plum-tree, oval and indented on the edges, and of a dark green; the leaves fall off the beginning of April, but, the young ones sprouting out at the same time, it is always green: It bears a pod as big as a small Walnut, which bursts when it is ripe, and then the cotton falls, or is blown away. This sort of cotton is of little use, unless to stuff quilts or pillows; the cotton that is spun and wove into cloth, grows upon a shrub. The red Cotton-tree is not so large as the white, and bears no cotton. The wood of both is very soft, spongy, and light, and easily wrought; but the red is the hardest. Of the white the Indians make their canoes and peria-goes, which differ only in their dimensions; the canoe being small, and holding but two or three men, and the peria-goe three or four-score men: However, the largest are made out of the body of one single cotton-tree. These the Indians used to burn hollow, or form with their flint hatchets, 'till

the Europeans taught them the use of iron. The Indians also use this wood in erecting their slight huts; but it is by no means fit for more substantial buildings, being softer than our Willow; nor will it last long converted into boats or canoes, unless it be frequently pitch'd and tarr'd, and great care taken of it. The reason they make use of this wood for canoes, is because the body of the tree is so large, the wood light, and easily wrought. DAMPIER calls it a weed; but observes, it is the largest plant that grows in America.

Their Cedar-trees are exceeding tall and large, and used chiefly in building; the wood is very red, of a fine grain and fragrant smell; and this timber is so plentiful in Mexico, that whole towns are built with it. This wood also makes the best and most durable canoes, tho' not so large as the cotton-tree: But it is a mistake, DAMPIER observes, that the worm will not take it; for he had seen several canoes, made of it, that were worm-eaten. There are some white Cedars, that differ from the former only in their colour. Of Oaks and Fir-trees also there is great plenty in Mexico: So that they want no manner of timber, either for building houses or ships.

They have several kinds of wood proper for dyeing, particularly Logwood, which grows chiefly in the Bays of Honduras and Campeachy, on the overflow'd grounds, among the Mangroves. DAMPIER, who was a Logwood-cutter, says, it is much like our white Thorn, but a great deal bigger: That the rind of the young branches is white and smooth, and set with Thorns; so that it may be easily mistaken for white Thorn: But the body and old branches are blackish, and the rind rough, and the leaves resemble those of the white Thorn: That they chuse to cut the old black rind-trees, which have but little sap; for the sap and outside is white: The heart, which is red, is only used in dyeing; and therefore they chop off the white sap 'till they come to the heart; and, after it has lain a little while, it turns black, and will tinge the water it lies in like ink. Some trees are five or six foot in circumference; and these they cut out into logs fit for a man's burden; for they carry them on their shoulders to the boats; and it is a very ponderous wood.

There is another kind of wood mention'd by DAMPIER, which he calls Blood-wood, used in dyeing reds: He says, it is more valuable than Logwood, and grows in the Gulph of Nicaragua.

There are three sorts of Mangrove-trees, according to DAMPIER, black, red and white. The black is the largest, growing sometimes to the bigness of a moderate Oak, and about twenty foot high. It is very hard serviceable timber, but extraordinary weighty. The red Mangrove grows usually by the sea-side, or by rivers and creeks, and from several roots of the bigness of a man's leg, which, about six or eight foot above the ground, join in one body, that seems to be supported by so many artificial stakes. Where this sort of tree grows, it is extremely difficult to march: For these roots or stakes, are so interwoven, that the traveller is often forced to cut his way through: And DAMPIER says, he has gone half a mile, stepping from one root to another, without setting his foot upon the ground. The inside of the bark is red, and used in tanning leather; and some have conjectured, that this is the same with the Jesuits, or Peruvian-bark: But of this I shall enquire farther, when I treat of Peru. The white Mangrove is the least of the three, and of no great service: And neither the black or white Mangrove

proceed

CHAP.
IX.

Cedar-trees.

Logwood.

Mangrove Trees.

CHAP. IX. proceed from such stakes as the red does, but grow from their roots like other trees. It is the red Mangrove that over-runs the flat country near the sea, and grows in water most part of the year; and from this tree it is, that those bogs and morasses are usually called Mangrove-land, in our books of travels.

Bamboo. There is another tree, if it may be called such, that grows on the same kind of land, and usually amongst the Mangrove-trees, and that is the Bamboo, a large knotted hollow cane, that grows to the thickness of a man's leg, and sometimes as big as his middle. These Bamboos serve for measures; and they convert them into vessels to hold their liquors, when saw'd off at the joint; and put them to several other uses.

Maho-tree. The Maho-tree is of the bigness of an Ash. The bark looks ragged like tatter'd canvas; and it will strip off in strings from the top to the bottom: Of this they make ropes, and even cables. Having stripped off the bark in great flakes, they then divide them into smaller strings, which they beat as we do Hemp, and afterwards twist into ropes: Of these strings they also make fishing-nets.

Light-wood. The Lightwood-tree, so called from the lightness of the wood, is of the size of an Elm, straight and well-bodied, and somewhat resembles Cork: It is so exceeding light in the water, that three or four blocks of it, of the thickness of a man's thigh, and four foot long, will make a rafter on which three men may go out to sea; and the Indians sometimes make large rafters of it to carry their goods along the coast; which on the coast of the South-sea are called Bark-logs.

White-wood. There is another tree, which has obtained the name of Whitewood, from its exceeding whiteness. The body of it is about as thick as a large nine-pin, and 18 or 20 foot high: The wood hard, close, and ponderous, and of a very fine grain, and esteem'd fit for inlaying and cabinet-work. The rest of their forest-trees will be described in treating of other parts of America.

Fruit-trees and fruits. Cabbage. I proceed, in the next place, to the description of their fruit-trees and fruits, among which I range the Cabbage. This is a tall slender tree, frequently 90 or 100 foot in height. DAMPIER says, he measured one after it was cut down, in the Bay of Campeachy, that was 120 foot long; and there are some much longer. There are no boughs on it, but at the head; and there the branches are of the bigness of a man's arm, and 12 or 14 foot long. About 2 foot from the trunk, these branches shoot out long narrow leaves, about an inch broad, which grow so regularly on each side, that the whole branch seems but one leaf. The fruit is found at the top of the tree, amidst the branches. It is about a foot long, and six inches round; of the form of an ordinary Cabbage, and surrounded with young leaves. According to DAMPIER's description, it is as white as milk, and as sweet as a nut, if eaten raw; and is very good boil'd. There hangs down also from the top of the tree great bunches of red berries, of about six pound weight, like bunches of Grapes; but these are only food for their hogs, not being at all palatable. The body of the tree is mark'd with rings or streaks, from the top to the bottom, at half a foot distance the one from the other. The bark is thin and brittle, the wood black and hard, and the heart or middle of the tree is a white pith. They usually cut down the tree for the cabbage; for the gathering the fruit kills it, if they let it stand; and the climbing this lofty plant is as much trouble as the felling of it. The wood is used, in some places,

for boarding the sides of their houses; the body being easily split into four parts for that purpose. These trees appear extremely beautiful in the forests, spreading their fine branches above the heads of all other trees.

CHAP. IX. The Calabash-tree is short and thick, and the fruit grows among the boughs as Apples do; the shell is hard and thin, of a globular figure, and will hold from two to five quarts. There are two sorts of them; of the one, the fruit is sweet; of the other, bitter: The substance of both spongy and juicy. The Indians eat the sweet Calabash frequently on a journey; but it is not very palatable: The bitter is medicinal, and esteem'd a remedy for Agues. But what this fruit is most valued for, is its shell, of which the Indians make bottles, bowls, drinking-cups, and all kind of vessels for their meat and drink.

The Cacao-tree and nut. The Cacao shall be described next. This tree, full grown, and of the largest sort, according to DAMPIER, is seven or eight foot high to the branches, and a foot and a half thick: The boughs spread horizontally, like the Oak; and have dark green leaves, like those of the Plum-tree, but larger; and the nuts are enclosed in cods, which hang down by a tough stalk from the body of the tree, and from the larger branches; and there are usually about twenty or thirty of these cods upon a well-bearing tree. The cod, or shell, is almost half an inch thick, neither spongy nor woody, but of a substance between both, brittle and harder than the rind of a Lemon, and, like that, the surface is grained or knotted, but more coarse and unequal. The cods are, at first, of a dark green; but the side next the sun of a muddy red. As they ripen, the green turns to a fine bright yellow, and the muddy to a more beautiful red. They neither ripen, nor are gather'd at once; but, for three weeks or a month, while the season lasts, the Overseers of the plantations go every day to see which are turn'd yellow, not cutting more than one or two from a tree in a day. When the cods are gather'd, they are laid in heaps to sweat; after which, they break the rind or shell, and take out the nuts, which stick close together in regular rows, like the grain in an ear of Maiz. There are fourscore or an hundred nuts in a cod, according to DAMPIER (thirty or forty, according to FUNNEL; but ten or fifteen, says GEMELLI CARERI) about the bigness of an Almond. The young trees are raised from nuts, and bear in four or five years; and they have from five hundred to two thousand trees in a plantation, or Cacao-walk, as it is called. The young trees are shelter'd from the sun at first by Plantain-trees set about them; but, when they are grown to any bigness, the Plantains are cut down.

GEMELLI CARERI gives us this account of the tree and fruit. He says, the nut is planted in a hot and dry soil: That it springs up within a fortnight, but does not grow above three spans in two years, at which height it must be transplanted; and then the Spaniards set them in rows, eighteen spans from each other. A stake is set up to support them, and Plantains and other trees planted about them, because they thrive best in the shade: However, the root must be kept warm, and defended from too much wet, and from a species of worms that are very prejudicial to them. Within the space of five years, it is as thick as a man's wrist, and seven spans in height; and then it bears. Its leaves are like the Chestnut, and it blossoms all over like the Jessamin: From the blossom shoots out an ear, or cod, like that of Indian-wheat, which is at first

green,

CHAP.
IX.

green, and of a chefnut colour when ripe; but sometimes yellow, white, or purple. Within the ear (or shell) are found the Cacao-nuts, with a white down upon them; being from ten to fifteen in number. These ears are gather'd about the full of the moon; and the nuts, being taken out, are kept drying in the house, in the shade; then laid three days in the sun, and afterwards in the house, 'till they are well dried.

Venella.

The Venella, or Bainilla, call'd by the Spaniards Bexuco, which is usually mix'd with the Cacao-nut to make Chocolate, is a sort of cane, which twines about the Orange-tree, or any other, like Ivy: It produces a long green cod, which, when gather'd and dry'd in the sun, is hard and blackish. He observes, that the Europeans to every pound of Cacao add a pound of Sugar, and an ounce of Cinnamon: But neither the Indians, or the Spaniards of America, use any Venella's, esteeming them unwholesome. The best Chocolate, according to the Indians, is made with Cinnamon, adding to every pound of Cacao two ounces of Indian-wheat. This liquor was drank by the Indians (without Cinnamon) before the Spaniards arrived there; but they have improved it, and it is so common now at Mexico, that there is scarce a Negroe or a common Porter but drinks it every day, and the better sort of people four times a day. GEMELLI observes, that Cacao-nuts go in the markets of Mexico instead of small money, twelve or fifteen of them being about the value of a penny; but they rise and fall in their value, according to the plenty or scarcity of this fruit.

Plantains
and Bananots.

Plantains and Bananots are fruits very common here, as well as in Africa and the East-Indies. The Plantain fruit is of the size and shape of a Bologna sausage; the rind yellow, and very tender, which being stripped off, we find a soft luscious pulp, very agreeable to some palates: It has the largest leaf of any plant. The Bananot is much the same kind of fruit, but less; and both of them are eaten raw, or roasted, by the natives all day long. They steep them also in water, and, adding some honey to them, make a liquor tolerably strong and pleasant.

The Pine-apple.

The Pine-apple also is common to the East and West-Indies. It is of the shape of one of our Pine-apples, but much larger; the rind full as rough, but easily pared off: The fruit is yellow, and as firm as a Peach; and is generally said to have the taste of every delicious fruit. Nothing can excel those I met with in the East-Indies; but they were held to be hot and feverish. The Spaniards, who preserve all manner of fruits, esteem this the best. The reader will find a full description of the tree and fruit, as also of the Plantain and Bananot, in the First Volume of *Modern History*, which treats of the East-Indies.

Sapadillo.

The Sapadillo resembles the Pear-tree in its size and figure, and the fruit appears to the view like that of the Bergamot-pear. When first gather'd, the juice is white and clammy, and the pulp hard; but, after it has lain two or three days, it becomes soft and very sweet. In the middle of it are two or three black stones or seeds; and it is generally esteem'd an excellent cooling fruit.

Avogato
Pear.

The Avogato Pear-tree is of the size of the former, and not unlike it in shape; the fruit green, and as large as a Lemon, and, when ripe, turns yellow: It has a soft thin rind, which is peeled off; and the pulp is as soft as butter, but a little insipid; and therefore they usually mix it with sugar and lime-juice; and thus order'd, the Spaniards esteem it an excellent dish, eating often of it: And it is

the more esteemed by that people, according to DAMPIER, as it inspires them with fresh vigour for venereal encounters.

CHAP.
IX.

The Mammee-tree is a large, tall, freight-bodied tree, without knots or branches for sixty or seventy foot in height: The head spreads its branches pretty wide: the fruit is round, and of the size of a French pippin; the rind yellow, and tough when it is ripe; the pulp yellow, and has in it two large stones as big as Almonds: It has a fine fragrant smell, and the taste is answerable.

Mammee-
tree.

The Mammee-Sappota-tree is not so large or tall as the former; the rind of the fruit thin and brittle, and the pulp a deep red, with a rough flat stone in it: This fruit is extremely well relish'd, and wholesome; and as generally eaten as any fruit in the West-Indies. There is also the wild Mammee-tree, which bears no fruit; but the timber, being very freight and tall, serves for masts for ships.

Mammee-
Sappota-
tree.

The Grape-tree is 7 or 8 foot high, and 2 or 3 in circumference; the fruit about the bigness of a common Grape, and grows in clusters, but has a great stone in the middle of it; the pulp is reddish, wholesome, and well tasted; tho' there is but little of it.

Grape-
tree.

The Guava is common to the East and West-Indies; grows upon a shrub; the fruit green on the outside, perfectly round, and of the size of a Crab-apple; the rind is soft, and, being taken off, we find a yellow or reddish pulp, full of seeds: It has both a tart and a sweetish flavour, very agreeable to the palate; but most valuable for being of such an astringent nature, that it will either prevent or cure a Dysentery or Bloody-flux (the distemper that the Europeans are most liable to in all hot countries) if the patient has not neglected himself too long: And the Pomegranate has much the same effect. If our people were acquainted with the virtues of these, and some other fruits, when they first arrive in the East or West-Indies, we should not lose half the men we usually do; for they are to be had at any time of the year almost. The Guava is esteem'd more wholesome when it is green, than when it is ripe; for some have observed, when it is over-ripe, it has a laxative quality.

Guava.

The prickly-pear is a shrub about 5 foot high, that delights in a barren sandy soil, especially if it be near the sea, where the sand is brackish. It is so full of large strong thorns (from whence it takes its name) that nothing makes a securer fence. The fruit is as big as a large Plum, and opens when ripe like a Medlar, discovering a red pulp full of seeds; pleasant to the taste, and very cooling and refreshing; but colours the urine like blood, which has frighten'd strangers that were not acquainted with it: However, this is attended with no ill consequences.

Prickle-
pear.

The Bibby-tree has a freight slender body, naked of leaves, but full of thorns; sixty or seventy foot high: At the top it is full of branches, among which grows the fruit, being white berries of the bigness of a Nutmeg: They are very oily: The Indians beat them in a mortar, and boil the liquor that comes from them, which produces a bitter oil, that they anoint themselves with, and mix it with the colours they use in painting their bodies. They also tap the Bibby-tree, and it affords them a tart liquor, of the colour of Whey, which is fit to drink, after they have kept it two or three days.

Bibby-
tree.

Besides the fruits proper to Mexico, the Spaniards have introduced Oranges, Lemons, Grapes, Figs, and almost all manner of European fruits, except Nuts and Cherries: But the Grapes of this coun-

European
fruits here.

CHAP.
IX.
No wine.

try will not make wine; nor do I remember any country between the Tropics, where wine is made of Grapes, unless in Peru, where they have not those excessive rains annually as they have in every other country that lies within the Tropics.

As to their Sugar, Indico, Otta, Silvester, and other dyes; Tobacco, Pepper, Ginger, and such plants as they have in common with the rest of America; I shall describe them hereafter, when I come to treat of the British plantations.

Gourds.

But I must not forget their Gourds, which grow to a very large size, and either run upon the ground, or up the trees; the meat or pulp of some of them serving for food, and others for medicine: But they are valued most by the natives for their shells, which serve them for pails, bowls, and buckets.

Melons,
&c.

As to Melons, Cucumbers, and Onions, they have them in much greater perfection here, and in all hot countries, than in colder climates.

Silk-grass.

There is also a very useful plant here, to which the English have given the name of Silk-grass. It pretty much resembles Flags or Sedge, and grows on the sides of hills. The leaves are as thick as a man's hand in the middle, and thin at the edges; a yard or two in length, and indented like a saw. The Indians cut them at a proper growth; then dry and beat them, and no Flax affords a better thread; and of these they make cordage and fishing-nets, stockings and hammocks: They also make a yellowish lace of the thread, which is worn by the Mestizo women.

Manchinel-tree.

There are still some other trees I have omitted, which deserve a particular notice, as the Manchinel-tree, whose fruit is in smell, taste and colour like a lovely Apple, but less, and of a poisonous nature; insomuch, that if any animal has been feeding on it, the flesh of the creature will poison the man that eats it. These trees have large bodies, fine spread heads, full of leaves; but are very low: The wood has a curious grain; and therefore is sometimes used in carving and cabinet-work; but the very sap, 'tis said, will raise blisters where it falls, as will the rain-water which runs from it, according to WAFER.

Tamarinds, Locust, Bastard Cinnamon.
Sapotes, a farther account of them.

They have also Tamarinds, Locust-trees, and a Bastard Cinnamon, in Mexico: And GEMELLI CARERI gives us this farther account of the Sapotes. He observes, there are four sorts of them: 1. The Black Sapotes, as big as a Walnut-tree, but the leaves smaller; the fruit round, and has a thin green rind; the pulp of the colour and taste of Cassia, with four small kernels in it. 2. The White Sapotes, as tall as a Pear-tree, and the fruit as large as a Pear; green without, and white within; and has four white kernels: This fruit inclines people to sleep. 3. The Sapote Borachio, or Drunken Sapote, so called from its inebriating quality: A pleasant tart fruit. 4. The Little Sapote, whose fruit is of a purple colour, and pleasant tasted; and as much valued as any fruit that grows in Mexico.

Granadilla.

The Granadilla de China grows like Ivy, winding about some neighbouring tree 'till it perfectly covers it: The fruit is as big as a Hen's egg, white and yellow without, and white within; and has seeds like the Grape: There is a pretty mixture of sweet and sour in the taste. Most of these fruits are to be had, in the markets of Mexico, from March to September; and the Mammes and Black Sapote grow on the mountains all the year round.

Maghey-tree and liquor.

According to GEMELLI, there is not a plant of more general use than the Maghey; for the leaves, he says, furnish the natives with thread for linnen

and cordage: It also yields Balsam, and a liquor as sweet as Honey; into which the Indians infuse a root that makes it ferment like wine, and it is of equal strength, making people very drunk. They distil a spirit from it also as strong as Brandy: This was so universally drank in the city of Mexico, GEMELLI relates, that the excise of it came to eleven hundred thousand pieces of eight (about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling) per annum: But the Indians frequently getting drunk and mad with this liquor, and making an insurrection in the year 1692, when they set fire to the Viceroy's palace, and committed many other outrages, it was prohibited for some time: However, the duty being so considerable, GEMELLI says, there came orders from Spain to permit the making and drinking this liquor again, when he was at Mexico in the year 1698.

I proceed, in the next place, to enquire into the most remarkable balms, gums, and drugs, that are found in Mexico; among which are the Copal and Anime; both of them a kind of rosin, and not much unlike.

The Copal is very white and clear, and has a pretty good scent: Of this the Indians made incense and perfumes for their sacrifices in their temples; and, when the Spaniards first arrived, their Priests went out to meet them with little fire-pans, or censers, in which they burnt this Copal: And the Spanish Physicians now burn it under their patients' noses, for diseases arising from the coldness of the head.

The Anime also is a white gum, or rosin, distilling from a great tree, and more oily than Copal: It has an exceeding pleasant smell, when burnt: This also is used by Physicians for pains in the head, and in plaisters and scar-cloths applied to the stomach.

The gum Tacamahaca is got by making incisions in a tree like a Willow: It has a very fine scent, and is of great use to dissolve swellings, remove pains in the limbs, and in many other cases: And the gum Coranna hath much the same effects.

The liquid Amber is obtained by making incisions in a fine fair tree that grows in Mexico. The bark of this tree, as well as the liquor distilling from it, has an exceeding sweet smell, but more when it is burnt; a little of it being sufficient to perfume whole houses, and even streets: It is mighty refreshing to the head, and, used in plaisters, dissolves swellings, and eases pains in the stomach or limbs.

The oil of Amber is drawn from liquid Amber, and is esteemed an excellent medicine for pains in the limbs, or dead palsies, the patient being rubbed with it.

The Balm, or Balsam, usually called the Balsam of Peru, is also found in Mexico. The tree that yields it, is of the size and figure of the Pomegranate-tree: It is got by making incisions in the bark, and is almost of all colours, viz. white, red, green, and blackish: It is used both in medicine and as a perfume; and the Indians applied it to the healing of wounds before the Spaniards arrived there. Taken inwardly, it is good for coughs and shortness of breath; for diseases in the bladder, and for obstructions: It strengthens the stomach, and removes pains in it; and is said to have many other virtues. When the Spaniards first made use of it to cure their wounded men, at the siege of Mexico, as they had been taught by their Indian allies, the cures were performed so suddenly, that they imagined there was something miraculous in it. The best sort of this balsam, which is obtained by incision, is called Opo-balsamum. There is another sort they get by boiling the wood of the tree cut into small pieces, there arising

CHAP.
IX.

Gums and drugs.

Anime.

Tacamahaca.

Coranna.

Liquid Amber.

Oil of Amber.

Balsam.

CHAP.
IX.

arising a kind of oil on the top of the liquor, which, when cool, grows thick, and is called Xylobalsamum.

There are three sorts of wood also found in Mexico, of great use in medicine, viz. Guaiacum, China Root, and Sarfiparilla.

Guaiacum. The Guaiacum is a tree as large as an Oak; the bark dry, but full of gum; the heart of the tree almost black, very hard, and ponderous: It has a small leaf, and yields a yellow flower, out of which proceeds a round fruit, of the size of a Crab-apple, with small kernels. The Physicians make a decoction of the wood and bark, cut into thin slices, for their patients; and it is held to be an excellent remedy for the French disease. It is said also to cure the Dropsy, and many other distempers.

China-root. The China-root we received first from China: But this is also a Mexican plant, and is said to have much the same virtues as the former, and to give relief in the Gout and Sciatica.

Sarfiparilla. The Sarfiparilla also is chiefly remarkable for its roots, which are very long and large. It is found in the province of Honduras. They sometimes make a syrup of it; but it is taken several ways, for the same distempers, as the China-root is taken.

Mechoacan. The root Mechoacan, which takes its name from a province of Mexico, where it is found, is another excellent medicine in the Dropsy, Jaundice, and many other distempers.

Cassava-root. The roots which serve the Indians chiefly for food, are the Cassava, or Cassabi-root, Yams, and Potatoes.

The Cassava-root something resembles a Parsnip. There are two sorts of them; the one sweet and innocent, the other poisonous: The sweet sort they roast, and eat as they do Potatoes and other roots: Of the poisonous sort they first boil and press out all the juice, then dry and grind it to powder, and make biscuit of it; and this is the only bread or flour they have in most parts of South America, and in some provinces of North America. But the natives, for the most part, in North America, make bread and flour of Maiz, or Indian-corn, as they did before the Spaniards came thither.

As to Yams, Potatoes, Rhadishes, &c. they need no description: I shall only observe, that all manner of European roots and fruits grow much larger, and come to much greater perfection there than here; and that the Spaniards have transported thither almost every species of herbs and fallads.

Corn and husbandry. I come now to speak of their husbandry. The Spaniards have carried over Wheat and Barley, Peas and Beans, and other European grain, which thrive very well in some places; but their principal grain is still (as it was before the conquest) Maiz, or Indian-corn, which is the food of Men, of Horses, Mules and Oxen. This they plant in little hillocks, like those in our Hop-grounds, at the beginning of the rainy season, in May or June; and reap in October when the fair weather returns. They may, and some of them do, plant this grain at other times, and it grows pretty well; but the Spring is the general seed-time; and their principal harvest falls in our Autumn.

This Maiz, or Indian-corn, we see frequently brought to England: The stem is as big as a small cane, and usually bears two or three heads or ears, in each of which are several hundred grains, set as close as possible; being of a yellow colour, and tasting much like our dry'd Peas, pretty strong; and the bread or cakes made of the flour is harsh and unpalatable, if it is not eat the same day it is made. This grain they also steep in water, and make strong drink of it, as has been observed already. They sow Eu-

ropean Wheat, Barley, Peas and Beans almost at any time, only contriving that the harvest may be in the fair season.

The Spaniards of Mexico, besides their arable, have large grazing-farms, in which one Grazier shall have several hundred head of Black cattle, and a great many thousand Sheep. During the rainy season, which lasts near half the year, and for some months after, they never want good pasture. When the meadows and low grounds are overflow'd, their hills produce plenty of grafs. They are most put to it for fodder in February, March and April, when their grounds are burnt up; and there is very little grafs to be met with, except on the banks of their lakes and rivers, and in the woods; then they have little else to feed them with, but Barley and Indian-corn, straw, and the blades that shoot from the Indian-corn, which is not much better than straw; for they make no hay in any hot countries.

As to the Indians, who have hitherto preserved their liberties, and are not yet under the tyranny of the Spaniards, they have only small plantations among the woods, at a distance from the Spanish towns; where they plant a little Maiz, Yams and Potatoes, with some few Plantains, and other fruits. The men cut down the timber, and clear the ground at first; but both the planting and gathering in the grain and fruits are left entirely to the women, as well as the business within doors: And as the unconquer'd Indians subsist chiefly by hunting and fishing, many of them, 'tis said, plant little or nothing, but rob the Spanish plantations, of which they look upon themselves the true proprietors, and furnish themselves that way with Corn, Cacao, and other provisions.

The Spaniards, beside their Maiz, Wheat, and other European grain, sow some Rice; for which this country (being flooded every year) is extremely proper, that grain growing in water: They plant Rice therefore soon after the rainy season begins, and it is fit to be moved by that time the fair weather returns. They have also large farms or plantations of Sugar, Tobacco, and Indico; but of the cultivation and husbandry of these I shall enlarge in the description of the British plantations, where they are brought to as great perfection as any-where.

They are pretty much employ'd also in cutting Logwood in their Cochineal plantations, and looking after the Silvester, Otta, and other dying plants and herbs; in cultivating and dressing their Cotton; in the making of Salt, and in their fisheries, which are very considerable on their sea-coasts, and in their numerous lakes and rivers.

As to flowers, Acosta observes, that the Indians are extremely fond of them, and have great variety, which they make up into nosegays, and present to their superiors, when they have any favour to ask, or would testify their esteem and affection for them: That their great men are seldom seen without a nosegay in their hands; and they always present them to their guests at entertainments, expressing a great deal of art in the matching and disposing of the flowers: That they now use Spanish flowers, as well as those of the country; and that European flowers come to great perfection there; namely, Roses, Jessamin, Violets, Gilliflowers, and several others that have been transported from Spain. As to the names of the Indian flowers, Acosta does not mention them; only says, they have blue, red, violet, yellow and white, and a thousand different colours; which the Indians used to wear on their heads, as they did feathers, for ornament

CHAP.
IX.

Plantations of the Indians.

Sugar-farms, plantations of Tobacco, Indico, &c.

Logwood, Cochineal plantations, Silvester, Otta, Cotton, Salt, Fisheries.

Mexican flowers.

CHAP.

IX.

Flowers of trees.

ment: But he acknowledges, their flowers do not smell very sweet, unless they be the blossoms or flowers that grow upon trees; one of which he calls the Floripondro, which bears no fruit, but the flowers are larger than a Lilly, and remain upon the tree all the year round; the scent wherof is exceeding sweet and agreeable, morning and evening. Another tree bears a flower of the shape of a heart, whose scent is too strong and sweet to be borne with pleasure: And the tree Granadilla, the superstitious imagine, has the portraiture of the instruments of our Saviour's passion; as the nails, the pillar to which he was fasten'd, the scourge and crown of thorns, and the five wounds: But ACOSTA acknowledges, it requires a very lively imagination, and a great deal of faith, to discover these things.

Flowers have very little scent in hot countries.

But how beautiful soever the Indian flowers may be to the eye, every one, who has resided in hot countries, must know they have little or no scent (except those on their trees.) The sun appears to be a great enemy to fragrant flowers, where it shines with an intense heat. We may observe, even in this cool climate, that no flowers smell so sweetly in the heat of the day, as they do morning and evening. Therefore those who recommend Mexico for its odoriferous herbs and flowers, are certainly under a mistake; tho' it is true, they abound in sweet woods and aromatic gums, which make some amends for this defect. And thus having gone through their vegetables, as far as is consistent with a work of this general nature, I proceed to enquire into their minerals.

CHAP. X.

Of the Mexican minerals; their coin; their precious stones and pearls; and of their weights and measures.

Minerals.

IT was an insatiable thirst after these rich treasures, that chiefly incited the Spaniards to visit the Mexican shores, and plant colonies in that new world. A zeal for the propagation of Christianity, which they pretended, was certainly a very laudable motive for their passing the Atlantick ocean; but had there been no Gold, Silver, or Precious stones to be found there, possibly the Adventurers had not been very numerous.

The Gold and Silver mines of Mexico are in the rocky, mountainous, and barren parts of the country; and, indeed, neither these or any other metals are found in a fruitful soil.

Gold mines.

Gold is found here either in grains, in dust, in the sands of rivers, or in stone in the mines. The grains are small pieces of Gold, like the seeds or kernels of fruit, which are found without the mixture of any other metal, and have no need of melting or refining: And ACOSTA assures us, he has seen these so large as to weigh many pounds; and sometimes they find pieces very fine and pure, like small round roots. But much the greatest quantity of gold is found in dust in the sands of rivers and torrents, after the rains have fallen; and it is the business of many thousand Indians and Negroes to take up and wash such sands, in bowls and basons, 'till they have separated the gold from the sand. As to the gold which is found in the mines, it is intermix'd, and in a manner incorporated, with great hard stones; some of which, the same writer relates, he has seen, that were half gold and half stone: That it runs in veins like silver, and is exceeding hard to dig and separate: That this gold is usually mix'd with silver or copper; and that which

is incorporated with copper is the best. The gold seems to lie much nearer the surface than silver, it being found in large pieces at the roots of trees on the mountains, and wash'd into the rivers by the rains; and, as far as I can learn, if they do not find it pretty near the surface in the mines, they never dig so deep for it as they do for silver. Another observation they make is, that gold is usually found in very hot countries, and seldom in a cold climate; from whence some imagine, the sun has a great share in producing it. The purest gold in Mexico is found in the province of Veragua.

The reason that gold is more esteem'd than any other metal, ACOSTA observes, is, because it is the most durable and incorruptible; for fire, which consumes and diminishes other metals, amends this, and brings it to perfection. Golds keep its colour also, tho' it have often pass'd through the fire; and, notwithstanding the body is so firm and solid, yet is it the most soft and malleable, and the most easily wrought, of any other metal. But I take it, that the chief reason gold is more valued than other metals is, the scarcity of it, and the difficulty of coming at it; for iron, no doubt, is much more useful and serviceable than gold; and, were it as scarce, would be much more valued, all manner of tools, arms, and instruments of husbandry, being made of this metal, and no other so proper for these uses.

ACOSTA begins his description of Silver with the following passage out of the book of Job, viz. "Silver hath certain beginnings and roots in its veins; and gold hath a settled place where it engenders and thickens; iron, with digging, is drawn out of the earth; and stone, molten with heat, is turn'd into copper." Thus, says that writer, Job wisely shews, in few words, the nature of silver, gold, iron, and copper: But, methinks, very little of the nature of these metals is to be learnt from this passage. Thus much, however, may be observed from hence, That the ancients, in those very early ages, used to work such mines, and understood how to separate and purify such metals.

The same writer proceeds to observe, that the reason the second place among these metals is given to silver, is that it approaches nearer gold than any other; is more durable, less endamaged by fire, and more malleable; and even surpasses gold in its brightness, beauty, and sound: For the colour, says he, more resembles light, and the sound is more lively, than the other. But I must observe, as on the last head, that the principal reason silver has the second place in our esteem is, that it is more difficult to come at than any metal but gold; for iron is certainly much more useful than silver. But ACOSTA very justly observes farther, that there has been more silver found in America than in all parts of the world besides; tho' China and Guinea seem to have a greater plenty of gold.

The silver mines, as has been hinted already, are usually found in barren rocks and mountains; tho' they are sometimes met with in plain and champain fields. There are two several sorts of them; the one straggling here and there in spots, the other more continuous and fix'd. It is the fix'd mine that has the greatest depth and length; and these are said to resemble the branches and ramifications of trees and plants; and where they find one, they usually meet with a great many in the same place. The Indians, it seems, knew how to purify silver by fire, and to separate it from lead and other metals, before the Spaniards came amongst them; but

CHAP. X. they knew nothing of the art of refining it by quicksilver, which the Spaniards use at this day. There are some sorts of silver-ore, which cannot be purified and refined by fire alone without quicksilver: This kind of ore they call poor, from its yielding but little silver, and great quantity of baser metals.

The veins where they find silver run between two rocks; the one commonly hard as flint, and the other softer and easy to break. The ore is very unequal; for in the same vein they find that which is very rich, and that which is very poor: The richest ore is of an amber colour, and the second sort that which inclines to black; a third is red, and a fourth of an ash-colour; and some of the ore is scarce to be distinguish'd from common stone, unless by those who are well skill'd in minerals. It is usual to draw from one quintal (or five hundred weight) of ore, thirty, forty, and fifty peso's of silver, of the value of thirteen ryals (six shillings and six-pence): And ACOSTA relates, that he saw some from whence was extract'd two hundred and fifty peso's out of every quintal; but this is a very great rarity. The poorest ore yields from two to six peso's the quintal, or very little more: This the Indians look'd upon as rubbish before the Spaniards came, not being able to refine it by fire; but this is found to be much easier refined by quicksilver than the richest ore; and they use quicksilver now both in Mexico and Peru, which is found to extract more silver out of any ore than the fire will: But, as they have no mines of quicksilver in Mexico, as they have in Peru, the silver is refin'd at a much easier expence in Peru than it is in the country I am describing.

As the rich ore yields much silver, so it consumes a great deal of quicksilver; and that which yields but little silver, wastes but little quicksilver.

Refining
of silver.

The manner of refining silver, according to ACOSTA, is thus: They first grind or beat the ore to powder, and then sift it through a fine sieve: After which, they put the powder into vessels, and set it over furnaces, putting to every fifty quintals of ore five quintals of salt, the salt separating the earth and dross from the silver, and making way for the quicksilver to operate more effectually: Then they strain the quicksilver through a piece of fine linnen into the ore, stirring it about, so that it may the better incorporate with the other. Before they used furnaces, they mingled the ore with the quicksilver in great troughs, letting it remain some days, and then mixed and stirred it 'till they thought the quicksilver was well incorporated with the silver, which was about twenty days; but when they found that fire incorporated them much sooner, they set their vessels over furnaces, and, in five or six days, the quicksilver is incorporated with the silver. When the mercury has done its part, and assembled all the silver, leaving nothing behind, but is filled as a sponge with water, and has separated the silver from the lead and copper, with which it was engender'd; they put the ore into coppers and vessels full of water, turning it about with wheels, and washing of it: Whereupon the earth and dross goes off with the water that runs away, and the silver and quicksilver, being more ponderous, remains at bottom. Then they take it out, and wash it again in other tubs and vessels, until they have well cleansed the silver and quicksilver from all the dross: After which, they strain it through cloths, and make it into the form of sugar-loaves, of about an hundred pound weight each; on which they put earthen vessels or caps of the same shape; and, setting these over a violent fire,

the quicksilver exhales in smoke, which, striking CHAP. X. against the earthen cap, thickens and distils like the smoke of a pot cover'd; and by a pipe, like that of a limbeck, they receive the quicksilver, which distils from it, the silver remaining without changing its form; but its weight is diminish'd five parts in six, and is light and porous like a sponge. Thus the quicksilver is separated from the silver; and of two of these loaves they make one bar of silver, of sixty-five or sixty-six marks weight, eight ounces in every mark, and then carry them to be touch'd and mark'd.

GEMELLI CARERI relates, that when he was at Mexico, in the year 1698, he went to see the silver mines of Pachuca; one of which, call'd Santa Cruz, was 224 English yards deep; and the other, call'd Navarro, was 195 yards deep: That out of the first, the ore was drawn up by wheels, which were kept in perpetual motion by four mules, and as one bucket came up another went down; and that they drain'd the mine of water the same way: That out of the mine, call'd Navarro, the Indians brought up the ore on their backs with imminent danger, climbing up many ladders, or rather upright posts with notches in them: for which they were paid four ryals (two shillings) a day, and at night were allowed to carry up as much ore as they could at once, and share it with the owner of the mine. The same writer relates, that he went to see the mines on a neighbouring mountain, where he found a little city of thatch'd houses, not less than twelve thousand Indians getting a livelihood by digging in those mines; adding, that there are, within six leagues of that mountain, no less than a thousand mines; and that out of one of those, call'd the Trinity, nine hundred or a thousand men were employ'd every day, and, within the space of ten years, had drawn forty millions of silver (I presume he means pieces of eight or crowns): And that it had cost them two millions to prop up those mines with timber, and throw out the water; and it was then become so dangerous, that there was no working of it: And, indeed, nothing is so common with the Spaniards of Mexico and Peru, as to dig mountains perfectly hollow, in search of silver, and leave nothing but a crust of earth and rocks, which it requires no small skill and labour to support, 'till they have exhausted the treasure.

But tho' the Trinity-mine was become impracticable, our author says they funk another near it, no less rich; into which he had the curiosity to go and see the veins of silver; and, having gone down five ladders or stages, he was astonish'd to see how likely the mine was to tumble in, and would have gone up again, but the Miner, his guide, who carried a light in his hand, persuaded him to go down the rest; which he did, in great fear, because he found it difficult sometimes to clasp the post in his arms, in which the steps were cut, and fix his feet in the notches: But having, at length, gone down three times as far as the Miner told him it was, he came at last to the place where the workmen, with iron wedges, were splitting the hard ore, and made it fly about; but they inform'd him, that it was softer in some places, and of various colours.

When he was at the bottom of the mine, he began to reflect on the danger he run, not only of falling, but of the pestilential damps that frequently arise in these dismal caverns: After he had staid there about two hours, therefore, he went up again in the utmost terror, the ascent being exceeding difficult; and, when he got up into the open air again, he seem'd newly born into the world, and

CHAP. X. and condemn'd the rashness of the attempt, wherein he thought he ran more hazards than he had done in travelling round the globe.

From this mine GEMELLI went to see the oar separated at the silver-works in Pachuca; where he observed the workmen, when the oar was brought to them, first broke it in pieces with hammers, to separate the metal from the repate, or stone, that had no silver in it: After which, they sent the good oar to the mills to be reduced to powder, where they beat it as gun-powder is beaten in our mills. He afterwards proceeds to shew how it is refined; but, having taken this from ACOSTA, I omit that part of his relation, and observe, that quicksilver being scarce at Mexico, the owners of the mines have much less profit than in Peru: Whereupon the King, instead of a fifth he receives there, takes but a tenth part of the silver here.

Any one may open a mine.

Any person, who discovers a mine of gold or silver in Mexico, may work it, paying the King's tenth of the product; and the King's officers assign the discoverer sixty yards round about the place he chooses to dig; beyond which space another may open a mine, leaving five yards between them for a partition: And, as they sink under ground, one may work into another's division, 'till he meets with his workmen; but then he must desist, and retire into his own part.

Four millions sterling produced annually.

All the silver dug in the mines of Mexico, or New Spain, is brought to the King's exchequer in the capital city, and enter'd there; except what is run and concealed, which amounts to a great deal: And it is related, that there are two millions of marks, of eight ounces each, enter'd in one year; out of which they coin annually, in that mint, seven hundred thousand marks into pieces of eight.

Silver coin.

There are five sorts of money coin'd in the mint of Mexico, viz. pieces of eight (of the value of four shillings and six-pence each) half pieces of eight, quarter pieces, single ryals (about the value of six-pence english) and half ryals.

There being some gold frequently mixed with the silver, they are separated in this manner; viz. The metal being run and converted into little balls, these are put into vessels, with aqua-fortis, to dissolve, and the gold remains at the bottom of the vessel like black powder: Then the aqua-fortis, containing the silver, is put into two glasses, their mouths fix'd together, and fire being put to them, the silver remains in one of the glasses: The gold is afterwards run in a furnace, and cast first into round pieces, and then into bars; as is also the silver separated from it: And the gold is coined into pieces of sixteen, eight, four, or two pieces of eight; which are call'd crowns of gold.

Gold coin.

Officers of the mint at Mexico.

All the chief Officers of the mint at Mexico, such as the Treasurer, the Assayer, Cutter, Clerk, Weigher, two Guards, and two Alcalds, are appointed by the King; and all the inferior Officers by the Treasurer. The principal Officers purchase their places, and have the privilege of making them over, or assigning them to whom they please; but then the Officer that resigns must live twenty days after his resignation, to make it valid; and he, to whom the resignation is made, must acquaint the Viceroy with it within sixty days, and pay a third part of the value of his place to the King, and the other to his predecessor or his heirs.

Their salaries.

The Treasurer's place is worth between fifty and sixty thousand pieces of eight (four shillings and six-pence each) per annum; those of Assayer and Founder, settled for ever on the monastery and hermitage of the Barefooted Carmelites of Mexi-

co, fifteen or sixteen thousand pieces of eight per annum. The rest of the chief Officers have three thousand five hundred, and none of them less than eight hundred pieces of eight per annum. The Masters of the eight furnaces and twenty Coiners have each of them eight hundred or a thousand pieces of eight per annum, and the meanest servant earns a piece of eight a day, a great number of which being the Treasurer's slaves, he has the profit of their places.

No coin among the Indians.

As to the Indians, they had no coin of any sort when the Spaniards came amongst them; gold and silver served them only for ornament: Their traffick consisted in bartering and exchanging one thing for another; only the Cacao-nuts served them to purchase herbs and flowers, and things of small value; as they do still in the markets of Mexico, neither the Spaniards or Indians having any copper-coin.

As to weights, the Indians had none; but they had both dry and liquid measures, made either of Calabashes, Bamboe-canes, or wood, by which they distinguish'd quantity: And they had their numbers and characters, by which they adjusted the value of goods and the taxes imposed on them.

Stones for buildings.

As to stones for building, there are in Mexico quarries of Jasper, Porphyry, and all kinds of excellent Marble; for of such stones, the Spanish historians relate, the palaces and temples of Mexico were built before the conquest.

They mention also a great many precious stones and jewels in the ornaments of MONTEZUMA; but have not specified what they were, unless Emeralds and Pearls, and of these the world is furnish'd with great quantities from Mexico.

Precious stones and jewels.

The Emerald is a green stone, and, according to ACOSTA, grows in a stone like Crystal; and he says, they seem by little and little to harden and refine: Some he had seen that were half white and half green; others all white, and some perfectly green, which were most esteemed: He had seen some of them as big as a nut; and there were others larger: But as to the Emeralds, mentioned by the antients in the temples of Jupiter and Hercules, several cubits long, of which pillars were form'd, he says, there might be green stones called Emeralds; but they were certainly false Emeralds, and not comparable to the true.

Emeralds.

With their jewels and precious stones I may very well range their Pearls; of which there are great quantities found on the coasts of Mexico, as well as in the seas of South America. Multitudes of Indians and other slaves have been destroy'd by the Spaniards in this part of the world, in fishing up the Oysters that contain them. These slaves, ACOSTA relates, were forced to dive into six, nine, and even twelve fathoms water, in search of these Oysters, which are fasten'd to rocks and gravel in the sea; and that they continue above a quarter of an hour under water, as he himself had seen, being dieted in such a manner as might best enable them to hold their breath. The same writer observes, that Pearls differ much in their size, figure, colour, and lustre; and that it is very rare to find two of the same size, form and colour; and, when they do find two alike in all respects, it much increases the value of both, especially for ear-rings: He had seen several pair valued at a thousand ducats each; which, however, fell short of CLEOPATRA's two Pearls, one of which was valued at an hundred thousand ducats; and yet that Queen had the vanity, it seems, to beat one of them to powder, and swallow it at a draught, at a supper she made for MARK ANTHONY: And

the

CHAP. X. the other, 'tis said, was cut in two, and hung in the ears of the image of Venus in the Pantheon at Rome. But, as they are more plentiful now, especially since the discovery of America, there are none of near that value at present; tho' they are not inferior to those the antients mention, in any respect but the price.

CHAP. XI.

Of the traffick of Mexico; their carriages, inns, and way of travelling.

Traffick with foreigners prohibited.

THE people of Mexico, and the rest of the Spanish West-Indies, are prohibited trading with any but the subjects of Spain; nor are foreigners suffer'd to visit their coasts, unless the Assentists, who furnish them with slaves, and that under several restrictions, as will be related hereafter.

Notwithstanding which, the traffick of Mexico is one of the richest and most extensive in the world; for they trade with the Philippine islands near the Coast of China, through the South-sea, or Pacific-ocean; with Peru and Chili, through the same sea; and with Old Spain and the Spanish islands, through the North-sea and Atlantic-ocean. They carry on also a trade with our Assentists, or South-sea company, under certain limitations: All which trades are held lawful. There is also a very considerable smuggling or clandestine trade, carried on between the Mexicans and Indians on the one side, and the English, French and Dutch on the other; which five branches of their trade I shall endeavour to give some light into.

Their trade with the Philippines near China.

I shall first treat of their traffick with the Philippine islands, which are under the dominion of Spain, and lie between the 10th and the 20th degrees of north latitude, a little to the south-east of the province of Canton in China, lying 140 degrees of longitude from Mexico; which, reckoning sixty miles to a degree, makes it eight thousand four hundred miles from Mexico to Manila, the capital of the Philippine islands; and these the Spaniards sail in ten weeks, or three months, in going from Mexico to Manila, having a constant trade-wind from the north-east, and serene weather in 10 or 12 degrees of north latitude, which they get into as soon as they can; and have scarce any occasion to alter their sails 'till they arrive at the Ladrone islands, about four hundred leagues short of the Philippines, where they touch, and take in water and fresh provisions: And in this latitude the South-sea may well be stiled PACIFIC; for they scarce ever meet with any storms or bad weather all the way: But it is not so in their return from Manila, in the Philippine islands, to the port of Acapulco in Mexico: This is a voyage of incredible hazards and hardships, which no gain or advantages would induce a wise man to undertake twice; for, when they leave the Philippines, they are forced to abandon the pacific part of this ocean, and stand away to the north, 'till they come into 35, or perhaps 40 degrees, before they can meet with westerly, or even variable winds: And here they are toss'd with frequent storms, and their patience try'd by unconstant weather. DAMPIER observes, that this sea is very far from deserving the name of the Pacific-ocean, after we have pass'd the latitude of 30; and GEMELLI CARERI assures us, it is the most tempestuous of all seas. And yet this wide and tempestuous ocean must have been pass'd by the Chinese and the Asiatics, if we suppose they sent fleets and colonies from thence to people Mexico,

A tedious stormy passage from the Philippines to Mexico.

as some have fondly imagined. If the Europeans, now the art of ship-building and navigation is so much improved, and they have the compass to guide them, are six or seven months passing from Asia to America, and that with infinite labour and hazard; can any one, that has ever seen the China junks and Asiatic shipping, and knows what poor seamen they are even at this day, suppose that ever any fleets were sent from thence to America, in the early ages, sufficient to people that part of the world? Let any one but read GEMELLI's description of his voyage on board the Spanish galeon from Manila, in the Philippine islands, to Acapulco in Mexico, and he will need no arguments to convince him, that America was never peopled by the Chinese, or any Asiatic nation, by sea: Some particulars whereof I shall take the liberty to recite.

CHAP. XI. which it was impossible to perform before the compass was known.

This voyage, says GEMELLI, from the Philippine islands to America, may be looked upon as the longest and most dreadful of any in the world; as well because of the vast ocean to be cross'd, being a third (almost half, according to my author) of the terraqueous globe, with the wind always ahead; as for the terrible tempests that happen there one upon the back of another; and for the desperate diseases that seize people, who are sometimes so exceeding cold, and then so excessive hot, that it is enough to destroy a man made of steel, much more flesh and blood, where they have such indifferent food as sea-faring people feed on in long voyages.

Gemelli's account of this voyage.

For this tedious voyage, GEMELLI assures us, they were forced to lay in a thousand jars of water: And, at their first setting out, which was the latter end of June, the winds were so contrary, that they scarce sail'd three leagues in five days; and the heavy rains that fell at the same time, with the excessive heat of the climate, made the beginning of the voyage very uncomfortable. Before they got clear of the Philippines, he says, search was made to discover whether any of the seamen or passengers had filled their jars with merchandize instead of water; and several being found filled with pepper, China ware, and other goods, they were thrown into the sea; and the Captain took in two hundred jars of water more; under such apprehensions they were of being distress'd for water in this tedious voyage, where there is no land in the way to touch at.

The Spaniards, in sailing from the Philippine islands to America, always take advantage of the southerly monsoon, which sets in in May or June, on the coast of China, and blows 'till September or October; this carrying them as high as the latitude of 30 north, where they begin to meet with variable winds; it being very difficult for them to sail east, as the trade-wind is always in their teeth under the latitude of 30.

The south monsoon sets them to the northward.

GEMELLI relates, that when they had sail'd into this latitude, the weather became very tempestuous and cold; and that several galeons have been cast away in that vast ocean, between the 30th and 40th degrees of north latitude: That, in this voyage he made from Manila to Mexico, the wind was oftner contrary than fair, and they were very seldom free from storms; besides which, they were forced to endure hunger, thirst, cold, sickness, and continual watchings: That they were almost eat up with the scurvy; their biscuit was full of little insects, and their allowance of water was scarce a pint in a day's time: That, at length, all their provisions grew naught, except their chocolate and sweet-meats; whereupon many of the seamen, that wanted these, fell sick, and the rest suffer'd such hardships,

The hardships they suffer'd in this voyage.

CHAP.
XI.Seven
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ships, that they vow'd never to undertake the voyage again: And yet the seamen, when they arrived at the port of Acapulco in Mexico, for the sake of getting three hundred seventy-five pieces of eight (four shillings and six-pence english each) which the King allows them for returning to Manila, seem'd to slight their past sufferings, and went to the Philippines again, in the very same ship. He adds, that it was the latter end of January before they arrived at their desired port of Acapulco in Mexico, being about seven months after they set sail from Manila.

Thus much I thought was necessary to observe from GEMELLI, who made this voyage in the year 1697, to shew the length and difficulty of the passage from Asia to America at this day: From whence we may infer, how impracticable, and even impossible, it was for the Chinese, or any other Asiatic nation, to send colonies to America by sea; when navigation was in its infancy, and the use of the compass was not known. Nor do the difficulties of their passing to America by land, appear to me much less than those of their going thither by sea: For, in the first place, there has been no land yet discover'd between Japan and California, which are at least 80 degrees asunder; and, if there be any land within that space, it lies probably so far north, that it is neither habitable or passable, or we should have heard of the inhabitants by this time. Besides, if it might be pass'd at one time, it would have been so at another; and some people would have return'd from America to Asia, by the same way, in so long a tract of time as it is supposed that part of the world has been peopled.

But, farther, I believe it will be admitted, by all that are conversant in history, that the extremities of the north and south were peopled after that part of the world that lies in the more temperate climates; and that those countries which lie nearest the Poles are, at this day, and have ever been, more thinly inhabited than the temperate part of the earth. As to the Scythians of old, or the Goths and Vandals of later days, these none of them dwelt so far to the north as the natives of Lapland, Samoieda, and their brethren of the north-east Tartary (which some men will have contiguous to America) do. And, if America was planted by colonies that went by land from the north-west or north-east part of our continent, it must be by a people that dwelt as far to the northward as Lapland extends: Against which I have still more objections than were mention'd in the introduction; and, first, if America had been planted by people from the extremity of the north, this must have happen'd so lately, and by such small colonies, that those countries could never have been so populous as the Spaniards found them. Every one knows, that Lapland, and all countries in those cold latitudes, are extremely thin of people: For one man they have there, we have an hundred at least here. How then can it be supposed, that they should plant one half of the globe?

A farther reason against the Laplanders, or any people dwelling so far north, planting America, is, that they were, and must be all cloathed; even their very faces and hands, in the winter-season, must be cloathed, or their noses and fingers would perish: For which reason the Laplanders are actually wrapped up in Furs from head to foot; whereas most of the Americans went naked almost when the Spaniards arrived there; and, I believe, there is scarce any instance of a nation, that had once worn cloaths, leaving them quite off again. If they had not occasion for warm furs to cover them all over, when

they descended to warmer regions; yet it is not to be supposed they would have left off every rag of cloaths, and appeared without any, as many of the Indians did when the Spaniards arrived there.

Thirdly, Those northern people are the least polish'd, and have the meanest capacities, of any thing in human shape (the Hottentots not excepted); whereas the Americans were famous for their excellent parts and genius, and several pretty manufactures, as those of feathers, painting, &c. but, above all, for carving and architecture, which they perform'd to admiration, without the help of iron tools; far excelling any thing that was ever seen among the Laplanders; which makes it highly improbable they should derive their origin from them. And why should we endeavour to break through so many difficulties at last to people America from Asia, when there was so easy a way of doing it from Africa by sea, from whence the winds always fit fair for America, and the voyage is so short, that, considering the great fleets the Carthaginians had on those seas, it must have been a miracle if several of their ships had not been driven to America? Thus much I thought proper to add to my former argument, "That America was peopled from Africa, and not from Asia;" which the reader will excuse, when I had so fair an opportunity of introducing it again, in speaking of the commerce of the Spaniards between the Philippine islands and Mexico. I proceed, in the next place, to give a farther account of that traffick.

It seems, the Spaniards employ but two ships annually in this rich trade; but then they are of good force, and usually eight hundred or a thousand tons burden. These ships, according to DAMPIER, do not go together in company, but make the voyage alternately: One of them sets out from Acapulco in Mexico the latter end of March, or the beginning of April, and arrives at Manila in the Philippine islands some time in June; when the other is ready to sail from Manila to Acapulco in Mexico. This last ship, says the same writer, stretches away to the north, as far as 36, and sometimes into 40 degrees of north latitude, before she gets a wind to America; and falls in first with the coast of California, and then coasts along the shore to the south again, never missing a wind to bring her away from thence to Acapulco, where she usually arrives about Christmas.

The cargo of this ship consists of Diamonds, Rubies, Saphires, and other precious stones, found in the East-Indies; of Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, and Pepper; of the rich Carpets of Persia; of the Camphire of Borneo; the Benjamin and Ivory of Pegu and Cambodia; the Silks, Mullins and Calicoes of East-India; the Gold-dust, Tea, China-ware, Silk, Cabinets, &c. of China and Japan. All which amount to a prodigious value; this one ship having more riches in it than some whole fleets.

The Merchants, GEMELLI relates, get an hundred and fifty or two hundred per cent. by this voyage. It was computed, the Pilot of the ship he sailed in would make twenty thousand pieces of eight; his Mates nine thousand each; the Captain of the galeon forty thousand; the Boatswain, who has the privilege of taking several bales of goods on board, gets an estate in one voyage; the wages of every Sailor, is three hundred and seventy pieces of eight; and the King's duties of this one ship amounted to fourscore thousand pieces of eight.

At the time this ship arrives at Acapulco from Manila, there comes in two or three ships from Lima and Peru.

CHAP.
XI.The trade
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of the Mer-
chants.Trade be-
tween
Mexico
Lima and Peru.

CHAP. XI. Lima in Peru, very little inferior to the former in value, being laden with Silver, Quicksilver, Cacaonuts, and other rich merchandize of South America; with which they purchase the merchandize of Europe and the East-Indies: For, in the months of January and February, a great fair is held at Acapulco; and a vast concourse of Merchants come from Mexico to vend the goods of Europe, and buy those of China, the East-Indies, and Peru. There are such crowds of people at Acapulco at this time, that all provisions are excessive dear, and a Negroe Porter will earn fourteen or fifteen shillings a day.

Silver carried from Acapulco to the Philippines and China. The galeon from Manila, having sold all her effects, takes in a new cargo, chiefly of Silver, and returns in April, arriving at Manila again in the month of June, where she finds the other galeon, ready to sail to Acapulco. In the mean time, the ships of Peru, having furnish'd themselves with the merchandize of China, the East-Indies, and Europe, return to Lima.

Little coasting trade in Mexico. There is very little traffick carried on by sea on the coast of Mexico; all goods are carried from Acapulco to the city of Mexico by mules and pack-horses; and from thence to Vera Cruz on the North-sea, in like manner, in order to be shipped for Europe; which brings me to speak of the trade between Old Spain and Mexico, or New Spain.

The trade between Old Spain and Mexico. Thirty or forty ships carry on all the trade between Old Spain and the Spanish dominions in America; and these are almost all of them their own vessels, no trade being suffered to be carried on in foreign bottoms, except that of the Assistant, already mentioned. The vessels used by the Spaniards, in transporting merchandize from Old Spain to America, are generally large and of good force, and called galeons: They sail in fleets annually from Cadiz, laden with the goods of almost every country on this side the Atlantic; the woollen Cloth and Stuffs of England, the Linnen and Lace of Holland and Flanders, the Silks of Italy and France, the Muslins, Silks and Calicoes of the East-Indies, with the Merchandize of China, Turkey and Persia, make up their cargoes, which belong indeed to almost as many different nations: At least the English, Dutch, Italians and French, are proprietors of great part of their cargo, and the Spaniards in a great measure their Factors; for when the galeons return from America, with the treasure for which these effects have been sold, it is most of it distributed amongst the Merchants and Factors of the four nations last mention'd. But so true are the Spaniards to their trust, 'tis said, that those in whose names the effects are sent over, and the returns made, scarce ever abuse the confidence that is placed in them, or betray their principals: For the reader will please to remember, that, by the laws of Spain, no stranger can, directly or indirectly, trade to the Spanish West-Indies, but he forfeits his goods.

Cargoes of the galeons. However, it cannot be supposed but the Government of Spain is very well apprized that this trade is in a manner carried on by foreigners, and, for very good reasons, connive at it: They know their own people are not able to freight these fleets; and, if they were not enabled to do it by foreigners, their American dominions must want all manner of necessaries almost for cloathing and furniture. Besides, there is doubt, but the Spanish Merchants, Factors and Seafaring people have greater advantages from these effects passing through their hands, as well as by exporting them; and the revenues of the Crown must be vastly increased by the importation and exportation of them, which alone is a sufficient rea-

son for their conniving at this traffick, and encouraging of it: Tho' it must be confess'd, it would be much more for the advantage of the kingdom of Spain, to encourage manufactures at home, and traffick a little more with the product of their own country. But, since they are not easily to be brought to this, the next best thing they can do is, to turn Factors and Carriers for their neighbours, and supply their American colonies with the goods of foreigners.

The Government connive at it. The greatest part of the galeons sail to Carthagena and Porto-Bello, and are called the Flota; the other part, called the Flotilla, or Little Fleet, sail to Vera Cruz in Mexico. The former sell their merchandize chiefly at the fair of Porto-Bello, where they take on board the gold and silver, and other rich treasures, of Peru and Chili, in return for their merchandize. The latter sell their cargoes at the fair of Vera Cruz; to which place is brought the gold and silver of Mexico, with the gold-dust, precious-stones, and other treasures of China and the East-Indies; and with these the Flotilla is freighted, on its return to Europe.

CHAP. XI. The Galeons, on their going out, sail to the south-west, and get into the way of the trade-wind as soon as they can, which carries them into 11 or 12 degrees of north latitude; then, bending their course directly west, they leave the Caribbee islands on their right, or starboard-quarter, and continue their course to the westward, 'till they arrive at Rio de la Hacha, where they come to an anchor, and expresses are immediately dispatched to Carthagena, Panama, Porto-Bello, Vera Cruz, &c. to prepare the King's treasure for the galeons to take on board at their return. After which, the greatest part of the fleet sails to Carthagena and Porto-Bello, and the rest to Vera Cruz; the whole joining together usually, in their return, at the Havannah, in the island of Cuba; and, sailing from thence to Spain in company, take a very different course from that by which they came from Europe; for in their return they sail north through the Gulph of Florida, and continuing their course to the north-east 'till they come into the latitude of 36 or 40, where they meet with variable winds: They then shape their course as near to the east as the winds will permit them, 'till they come upon the coast of Spain; and are usually six or eight weeks in their passage. These fleets, 'tis said, have sometimes brought home near the value of sixty millions of pieces of eight (amounting to twelve or fifteen millions sterling) in gold and silver only; of which the King has a fifth, and great part of the remainder is distributed among the Factors of the several trading nations above-mention'd; the least share perhaps coming to the subjects of Spain.

Spain has the least share of the treasure. There is a trade carried on also between Mexico and the Spanish islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Porto Rico; as also between Mexico and Terra-firma in South-America, by the Barlavento fleet, so called from its surrounding the Barlavento, or Leeward islands, annually.

Trade between the continent and islands by the Barlavento fleet. This fleet comes to Vera Cruz in October or November, and remains there 'till March. It consists of six or seven sail of ships, of good burden and force, that serve both as men of war and merchant-men; for they are ordered to visit all the Spanish sea-ports in the North-sea every year, as well to supply one place with what another wants, as to prevent foreigners trading in their ports, and to clear the sea of Buccaneers or Pirates. From Vera Cruz this fleet sails to the Havannah, where they dispose of the merchandize they bring from Mexico: After which, they

CHAP. XI.

The course of the galeons to America.

From America.

CHAP. XI. they stand to the northward, through the Gulph of Florida, 'till they come into the latitude of 30 or 40; then they stretch away to the south-east, 'till they make the island of Porto Rico; and, having dispatch'd their business there, they continue their course to the southward, 'till they arrive at the island of the Trinity, near the mouth of the river Oroonoko, being the most easterly settlement the Spaniards have in the North-sea: From thence the fleet sails to Margarita, another considerable island near the main, coasting along to Comana, and so to Caracos; then they double Cape la Vela, and coast along by Rio de la Hacha, St. Martha, and Carthagena; on which coast they frequently meet with English and Dutch trading-ships, and make prize of them: And, having staid some time at Carthagena, they proceed to Porto Bello; and, having visited the Bay of Campeachy, they return at length to Vera Cruz again. And this is the annual navigation of the Barlavento fleet about the coast of the Spanish West-Indies in the North-sea, as well on account of their trade, as to drive all foreigners from their coasts; which, however, they are not able to effect entirely. And this brings me to say something of the smuggling or clandestine trade that is carried on between the English, French and Dutch; and the Spanish West-Indies.

A clandestine and smuggling trade.

I have already taken notice, that the Spaniards do not send more than thirty or forty ships annually from Old Spain to their territories in America, with the produce and merchandize of Europe; which is far from being sufficient to supply their extensive dominions in that new world. Indeed, most part of the merchandize carried over in the galleons is sold at the fair of Porto Bello, and bought up at extravagant rates, to be transported again by the South-sea to Peru; so that many of the Spanish provinces upon the North-sea would be destitute of necessary cloathing and furniture, and even provisions for their tables, if they were not supplied with them by foreigners. The English therefore from New-England, New-York, Jamaica, &c. the French from Hispaniola, and the Dutch from Curassaw, fit out ships, with all manner of provisions and necessities, which they know are wanting on the coast of Mexico, in order to trade with the Mexican Spaniards, who are no less ready to receive the goods of these foreigners, than they are to sell them, giving pieces of eight for what they buy; which makes this a very beneficial trade to the English, French, and Dutch. But then, if the Barlavento fleet, or the Spanish Guarda de Costa's, meet with such trading-ships and vessels, they never fail to make them all prize; and sometimes seize on ships that have never been concerned in this clandestine trade, on suspicion; and, finding pieces of eight on board, have frequently procured them to be condemned; which has been the occasion of those many complaints our Merchants have made of the Spanish Guarda de Costa's, to the Parliament and Board of Trade; and which it is high time was settled, that our trade and navigation in the West-Indies may not be interrupted, and the fair Trader brought under such hardships as may discourage him from carrying on a trade to our plantations, which is, of all others, the most advantageous to Britain.

Logwood trade.

There has been another trade or business carried on by the English in North America, which has occasion'd many disputes between the two nations of Britain and Spain, and is not yet adjusted; and that is, the business of Logwood-cutting in the Bay of Campeachy. This the English had follow'd, in a part of the country destitute of Spanish or Indian

inhabitants, for a great many years; and look'd upon it, that their long possession had given them at least as good a right to that part of the country, as the Spaniards had to any of the rest: And in some treaties the Spaniards seem to have yielded this business to the English. However, they have thought fit, of late years, to fall upon our Logwood-cutters, killed many of them, and carried the rest into perpetual imprisonment, not suffering them to be exchanged or ransomed. And thus have we been driven violently and unjustly from a very valuable branch of business, under pretence that because the Spaniards had forcibly settled themselves in one part of the continent, no other nation had any right to settle in another part of it: A rule, that we find the French are too wise and too brave to submit to. The Spaniards, indeed, the first of all Europeans, discover'd and sent colonies to America, and particularly to Florida; and yet we find the French make no scruple of settling in the heart of that country, and even in the neighbourhood of the Spanish settlements of New Mexico: Nay, after the Spaniards had been two hundred years in possession of the island of Hispaniola, the French took the liberty of making very considerable settlements in it; for this very good reason, That the Spaniards were not able to cultivate or people a tenth part of what they claimed in America; and it was highly unreasonable, that countries of a vast extent should remain uninhabited and uncultivated, only because the Spaniards were pleas'd to set up a title to them. And this sort of reasoning the Spaniards seem to allow of, by their neglecting to drive the French either from Florida or Hispaniola. While, on the other hand, our tame Britons are so extremely condescending, as to suffer the Spaniards to drive them from the Logwood trade in the Bay of Campeachy, which has been yielded to them by several treaties; and would frighten us also from extending our plantations in Carolina, Virginia, &c. farther to the westward, tho' we do it with the consent of the natives, only because they (the Spaniards) have the little Forts of St. Augustin and St. Matthew a little to the southward of us.

But, surely, if the French are permitted to settle in Florida, much more ought the English, who have so long been in possession of Virginia and Carolina (parts of Florida) and made such considerable improvements there, with the approbation of the natives who alone have a right of transferring their country to foreigners. And, I hope, neither French or Spanish assurance will ever prevail on our Governors to discourage the British subjects extending their trade or settlements to the westward, even through that part of Florida which the French have denominated Louisiana, and to the very banks of the famous river Mississippi; since we are at present at peace and in alliance with most of the nations that lie between Virginia and Carolina and that river; and actually traffick with them more than either the French or Spaniards yet do.

I proceed now to another branch of trade; namely, that which the English are entitled to carry on with the Spanish dominions in America, by virtue of the Asiento contract made between the two nations in the year 1713, and entitled, "The Assiento adjusted between their Britannick and Catholick Majesties, for the English Company's obliging itself to supply the Spanish West-Indies with Black slaves for the term of thirty years, to commence on the 1st day of May, 1713, and to end the 1st of May, 1743."

CHAP. XI.

The British subjects have the best title to extend their settlements in Florida.

The trade of the English by virtue of the Asiento. The title.

CHAP.

XI.

Preamble.

The preamble of this contract recites, That the French Guinea Company had formerly enjoy'd the benefit of the Asiento; and that their term being expired, his Catholick Majesty had determined to grant the same to the English Company.

ART. I. By the first article, her British Majesty undertakes, for the persons whom she should appoint Asientists, that they shall export to the Spanish West-Indies, within the said space of thirty years, one hundred forty-four thousand Negroes. viz. four thousand eight hundred Negroes in each of the said thirty years.

II. That for each Negroe, of the regular standard of seven quarters, neither old or defective, the Asientists shall pay to the Crown of Spain thirty-three pieces of eight (Escudo's) and one third of a piece of eight; in which sum shall be comprehended all manner of duties.

III. That the Asientists shall advance to his Catholick Majesty two hundred thousand pieces of eight, which shall not be reimbursed before the end of twenty years; and then it may be deducted, by equal portions, in the ten last remaining years, after the rate of twenty thousand pieces of eight yearly, out of the produce of the duty on Negroes, which they are to pay in those years.

IV. The Asientists shall pay the said duties half-yearly.

V. It is declared, that the Asientists shall not be obliged to pay the said duties for more than four thousand Negroes yearly; the duties payable for the remaining eight hundred being given to the Asientists, in consideration of the interest that ought to be paid them for the money to be advanced as aforesaid.

VI. That the Asientists, if they find a demand for more Negroes, may import a greater number than four thousand eight hundred during the first twenty-five years; for which supernumerary Negroes they shall pay no more than sixteen pieces of eight, and two thirds of a piece of eight for each Negroe.

VII. That the Asientists may employ either British or Spanish ships in this commerce, provided that neither the Commanders or Seamen give any offence or scandal to the Roman Catholick religion, on pain of being punish'd, as they would have been in Spain for the like misdemeanors.

VIII. That the Asientists may import and vend the said Negroes in all the ports of the North-sea, and that of Buenos Ayres, at their choice, provided they do not import or land any Negroe, except in ports where there are royal Officers to search the ships and their cargoes, and certify the numbers of Negroes imported. And it is farther provided, that the Negroes which are carried to the windward coast, viz. Sancta Martha, Cumana, and Maracaybo, shall not be sold by the Asientists for more than three hundred pieces of eight each, to encourage the inhabitants of those places to buy them. But as to the other ports of New Spain, its islands and Terra-firma, the Asientists are at liberty to sell their Negroes there for the best prices they can get.

IX. That the Asientists shall be at liberty to import into the river Plata, or Buenos Ayres, in four ships, twelve hundred of the said Negroes annually, and to sell them at such prices there as they can get; eight hundred of which shall be disposed of at Buenos Ayres, and the remaining four hundred serve in the provinces higher up the river, and in the kingdom of Chili. And it is declared, that her British Majesty, and the Asientists in her

name, may hold some parcels of land, to be assign'd them by his Catholick Majesty, in the river Plata, from the commencement of this Asiento, sufficient to plant, cultivate and breed cattle upon, for the subsistence of the persons belonging to the Asiento and their Negroes; and may build houses of timber only, but shall not throw up the earth, or make the slightest fortification: And his Catholick Majesty shall appoint an Officer to reside there, who shall have the command of all things relating to such lands; and all other matters, concerning the Asiento, shall be determined by the Governor and royal Officers at Buenos Ayres: But the Asientists shall not be obliged to pay any duties on account of the said lands.

X. In order to the carrying of Black slaves into the provinces of the South-sea, liberty is granted to the Asientists to freight, either at Panama, or any other port of the South-sea, ships of about four hundred tons each, to be navigated by such Officers and Seamen as the Asientists shall appoint; on board of which they may ship Negroes to all the other ports of Peru (and no others on that side) and to bring back the produce of their sale to the said port of Panama, as well in the fruits of the country, as in money, bars of silver, or ingots of gold, without being obliged to pay any duties for such silver or gold, it being stamp'd, and appearing to be the produce of their Negroes. And the said Asientists are at liberty to send from Europe to Porto Bello, and from Porto Bello to Panama, by the river Chagre, or by land-carriage, cables, sails, timber, and all other naval stores and provisions, necessary for the said ships; provided they do not sell the said stores, on any pretence whatsoever, on pain of confiscation, and farther punishments to be inflicted both on the buyers and sellers; and the Asientists, from that time, to be deprived of the privilege of sending such stores to the South-sea: Nor shall the Asientists, at the end of the said term of thirty years, be allow'd to carry the said ships to Europe.

XI. The Asientists are at liberty to employ English or Spaniards for the management of this Asiento, as well in the ports of America, as in the inland country; and the English shall be regarded and treated as the subjects of Spain, provided there do not reside in any one port more than four or six Englishmen, of whom they may send some into the countries where Negroes are allow'd to be carried, for the management and recovery of their effects.

XII. By this article two English ships of war, and another vessel, are permitted to carry over the Company's Factors to America.

XIII. The Asientists are allow'd, by this article, to nominate Judges-Conservators of the Asiento, in all the ports and chief places of America, provided they nominate some of his Catholick Majesty's Ministers; which said Judges are to have cognizance of all causes relating to the Asiento, exclusive of all Audiences, Tribunals, Governors, or Viceroy's, who are prohibited to intermeddle therein; and no appeal to lie from the Judges of the Asiento, but to the supreme Council of the Indies; and the President, Governor, or Dean of the said Council, is to be Protector of this Asiento.

XIV. No embargo shall be laid on the ships of the Asientists by the Viceroy's, or other Spanish Governors in America, for any cause or pretence whatever; but, on the contrary, they shall afford the said Asientists all the favour, assistance and succour they or their Factors shall desire, for the more speedy

CHAP.

XI.

CHAP.
XI.

speedy fitting out, lading and dispatching their ships; affording them such provisions as they shall want for their voyages, at the current prices, on pain of being obliged, at their own costs, to make good all such damages as the Assientists shall sustain by such impediment or detention.

XV. Nor shall any embargo be laid on the stock, goods or effects of the Assientists, or any of them seiz'd or detain'd by any Viceroy, Governor, Judge, or Officer, on any cause or motive whatever, on pain of their being punish'd, and paying, out of their own estates, the damages and losses the Assientists shall sustain; nor are the houses or warehouses of their Factors to be search'd, unless it is proved there has been some fraudulent importation; and then they are not to be search'd but by the assistance of the Judge-Conservator. And tho' prohibited goods may be seiz'd, the stock and effects of the Assientists are to remain free.

XVI. The Assientists are empower'd to employ such Mariners, Carriers, and Workmen, in lading and unlading their ships, as they think fit.

XVII. They are permitted to bring their goods from America, either in the galleons or their own ships, without paying any duties; but they are not allow'd to bring over Spanish passengers, or the effects of the Spaniards.

XVIII. During this Assiento, neither the French Guinea Company, nor any other persons, shall transport Negroes to Spanish America, but the Assientists, on pain of forfeiting such Negroes to the Assientists, who are empower'd to search such ships as they suspect are freighted with Negroes, and make prize of them, if any contraband Negroes are found on board; provided they first obtain leave of the Governor of the port.

XIX. The Assientists shall have power to navigate and import Negroes to all the northern ports of the Spanish West-Indies, and all others are prohibited to import them; his Catholick Majesty obliging himself, by his faith and royal word, to maintain the Assientists in the entire and full possession thereof.

XX. And if the Assientists shall be molested or disturbed by suits of law, or in any other manner, his Majesty will inhibit all other Courts to proceed therein, and take cognizance of such causes solely himself.

XXI. When the ships of the Assientists arrive at any port of the Indies with Negroes, the Captains thereof shall certify, that there is not any contagious distemper amongst them, before they shall be permitted to land.

XXII. Their ships shall be visited and searched on their arrival; and if any merchandize be found, besides the Negroes, and provisions for them, it shall be confiscated, and the Officers importing it shall be disabled to serve in the Assiento; and the Captain or Master of the ship, that suffers such goods to be brought on board, shall forfeit the value of them; and if he appear an accomplice, he shall be condemn'd to pay a forfeiture, be severely punish'd, and disabled to hold any employment in the service of the Assiento: But the ships, on board which such Negroes shall be, or the provisions brought for their subsistence, shall not be forfeited; and the persons who have the charge of them may go on with their traffick. And if it appears the Captain or Master was not an accomplice, he shall be obliged to deliver up the guilty person, but be free himself.

XXIII. The provisions put on shore for the subsistence of the Negroes shall pay no duties.

VOL. III. NUMB. CXVIII.

CHAP.
XI.

XXIV. The Assientists are obliged to pay the duties for all the Negroes landed, tho' they die before they are sold: But where the Factor desires a Negroe may be set on shore, only for the recovery of his health, and not for sale, they shall not be obliged to pay the duty for him, unless he live more than fifteen days on shore.

XXV. After the Assientists, or their Factors, have settled the duties, and sold part of their Negroes in one port, they may carry the remainder of their Negroes to any other port, together with their merchandize and treasure for which they have sold the first, without being obliged to pay any duties, except the common duties for the fruits and merchandize of the country, which they are permitted to receive in exchange for their slaves, where money is wanting; and they may sell such fruits and effects at the ports they go to, paying the accustomed duties for them.

XXVI. The ships of the Assientists may sail either from the ports of Great-Britain or Spain; but an account shall be given to his Catholick Majesty of what ships they dispatch yearly for the Negroe-trade, and the ports for which they are design'd: After which, they are at liberty to return, either with money, bars of silver, gold, fruits, or the merchandize of the country, being the produce of the sale of their Negroes. But if they return to the ports of Spain, the Commander of the ship shall give that Court an authentick register, by which it may appear what he hath on board: And if the ship return to Britain, an exact account shall be sent to Spain of their lading, that his Catholick Majesty may be fully inform'd thereof; provided that the Assientists shall not bring over any other silver, gold, or effects, but what shall be the produce of the sale of the Negroes.

XXVII. By this article, all prizes taken in time of war by the Assientists, on the coasts of Spanish America, are to be carried to Carthagena, or Porto Bello, and the goods sold by the King's Officers at the Fair of Porto Bello; three fourths of the produce whereof, after duties paid, to be enjoy'd by the Captors (together with the ship, tackle, guns, and furniture); and the other fourth by his Catholick Majesty.

XXVIII. Their British and Catholick Majesties are each of them to have a fourth part of the profits arising by this contract. And, as his Catholick Majesty ought to advance one million of pieces of eight, or a quarter of the sum adjudged necessary to carry on this trade, it is agreed, That if his Catholick Majesty shall not think fit to advance the said sum, the Assientists shall do it out of their own money, on condition his Majesty shall discharge the interest (out of what they shall be accountable to him for) after the rate of eight per cent. per annum, 'till they are reimbursed: And his Catholick Majesty is to name two Directors or Factors to reside at London, two more in the Indies, and one at Cadiz; who may be concerned, on his part, in all the directions, purchases, and accounts of this Assiento.

XXIX. The Assientists shall give in an account of their profits and gain, upon oath, at the end of the first five years; and, by legal instruments, certify the charge of the purchase, subsistence, transportation, and sale of the Negroes, and all other expences on their account; and also certificates of the produce of the sale in all the ports and parts of Spanish America: Which accounts shall be examined in the respective Courts of Great-Britain and Spain. And the said Assientists shall pay his Catholick

CHAP. XI. tholick Majesty's share of the said profits regularly and punctually.

XXX. If the amount of the gain made the first five years exceed the sum the Assientists are to advance, together with the said interest of eight per cent. they may reimburse themselves in the first place, and then pay his Catholick Majesty the remainder of the profits of his share: And this they shall do every five years during the term.

XXXI. The Assientists, after five years, also may reimburse themselves the quarter part and the interest, if they appear then to be gainers.

XXXII. The Assientists shall be allow'd three years, after the expiration of their term of thirty years, to adjust their accompts, and gather in their effects in the Spanish West-Indies.

XXXIII. The debtors to the Assientists shall be compelled to pay their debts, and the said debts be consider'd on the same foot as those due to his Catholick Majesty.

XXXIV. The Assientists shall be allow'd from time to time, to bring from Europe, or the British plantations in America, to the ports of Spanish America, where there shall be royal Officers, cloathing, medicines, provisions, and naval stores, for the use only of the Assientists, their Negroes, Factors, Servants, Mariners, and Ships, in vessels of about one hundred and fifty tons; giving a particular account of their cargoes, and the disposal thereof, to the Council of the Indies.

XXXV. For preserving the health of the Negroes, the Factors of the Assiento are allowed to hire parcels of land in the neighbourhood of their Factories, and to cultivate and plant the same, for raising fresh provisions; provided such cultivation be perform'd by the inhabitants, or by the Negroes.

XXXVI. The Assientists are allow'd to load a ship of three hundred tons, at the Canary islands, with such fruits as are usually taken on board there for America, once only during the said term.

XXXVII. This has nothing material in it that is not contain'd in the former articles.

XXXVIII. A Junta of three Spanish Ministers, the Fiscal, and Secretary of the Council of the Indies, shall take cognizance of all causes relating to the Assiento.

XXXIX. The concessions in former Assiento's to Portugal or France, not contrary to the contents of this, shall be construed in favour of the present, as if literally inserted.

XL. In case of a war between Britain and Spain, the Assiento shall be suspended: However, the Assientists shall be allow'd a year and half to remove their effects.

XLI. All laws in the Spanish West-Indies, prohibiting traffick with foreigners, &c. to be suspended, in favour of the Assientists, for thirty years.

XLII. His Catholick Majesty grants to the Assientists all favours, privileges, and exemptions, that were ever granted to former Assientists, not contrary to these articles.

An annual ship grant-
ed to the
Assientists.

His Catholick Majesty also, on condition that the Assientists shall not carry on any unlawful or clandestine trade, on any pretence whatsoever, grants them the privilege of sending out a ship of five hundred tons annually, to trade to the Indies, provided they give his Majesty a fourth part of the gain, and five per cent. out of the gain of the other three parts: And it is farther provided, that the Assientists shall not sell their merchandize, but at the Fair of Porto Bello only, when the galleons arrive there;

CHAP. XI. and then the merchandize or cargo of the said ship shall be free from all duties in the Indies.

The late Queen ANNE afterwards transferred to the South-sea Company the benefit of the Assiento contract, and granted them her fourth share of the profits arising by that commerce; and yet I don't perceive that company have reaped any advantage from it; for Sir JOHN EYLES, in a speech to the company, in the year 1731, giving them an account of this branch of their trade between the year 1721 and that time, says, Tho' the report of their having lost two millions by this trade was not true; yet such were the misfortunes they had undergone in the course of that commerce, their effects in the Indies having been twice seiz'd on those misadventures with Spain in the years 1718 and 1727, they had gain'd little by it, tho' they were not out of pocket: That, upon the treaties of accommodation, restitutions had been order'd, and in a good measure complied with; yet were those interruptions of their commerce attended with great losses, the expences of their factories having been as great under those long suspensions of trade, as while it was carried on.

Then he mentions the frauds of the Captain of their annual ship the Prince William, who took in an hundred and fifty ton of goods at St. Christopher's, outward-bound, in breach of the Assiento contract; which had very much embarrass'd their affairs with Spain: And, indeed, such have been the misadventures between Great Britain and Spain, ever since the Peace of Utrecht, whereby the Spaniards yielded Gibraltar and Port Mahon to this Crown, and let us into the traffick of the Spanish West-Indies, that we have been great sufferers in our commerce in general with that nation of late, and seem in a manner to have lost the affections of that people.

The Spaniards were under a necessity of clapping up a peace in the year 1713, and compelled to yield to such terms as we thought fit to impose on them at that time: But it is evident, they had no intention totally to relinquish those important fortresses, or acquiesce long in our trading with their American plantations, by the repeated attempts they have made to drive us from both; nor will they ever be hearty friends with this nation, probably, as long as we insist on the performance of those articles.

There is no doubt, but the Assiento, consider'd in itself, would be very advantageous to Britain: We send little, besides our own manufactures, to Guinea, to purchase those Negroes which we exchange with the Spaniards for gold and silver: The annual ship also goes to Porto Bello laden chiefly with British merchandize, for which she receives the treasures of Peru and Mexico in return. But still, if the French and other nations run away with the other branches of the Spanish trade, and we must ever remain in a state of hostility with that nation, whose friendship is of such importance to us (while we insist on those advantages we stipulated for at the treaty of Utrecht) it were better we had never insisted on them; better we had never possess'd Gibraltar, or traded with the Spanish West-Indies, if this should provoke that people to throw themselves into the arms of the French, and enter into a confederacy against us: For this may not only embarrass our affairs in Europe, but contribute more to the ruin of our plantation trade in America, than any thing that has hitherto happen'd. No doubt, it is the interest of Spain, as well as Britain, to prevent the French being too powerful in America; but if the Spaniards should, through pique and resentment,

CHAP. XI.

Qu. Anne transfers the Assiento to the South-sea company, and her fourth of the profits.

Nothing got by our traffick with Spanish America.

The Assiento, &c. sources of endless strife.

CHAP. XI. sentiment, connive at the encroachments of France in Florida, and other parts of the West-Indies, both we and they, may, too late, repent there were any misunderstandings between us; and that we did not, in time, consider our common interests, and oppose their establishing themselves in the neighbourhood of our settlements.

The Mexican carriages and way of travelling. I shall conclude this head with the Mexican carriages and way of travelling. It seems, the country is so mountainous, that in their inland traffick they use scarce any waggons or wheel-carriages; but all merchandize is carried on Mules or Pack-horses from one province to another; and, before the Spaniards transported Mules and Horses thither, all burdens were carried to the most distant places on the backs of Tamenes, or Porters. Their Princes and Great men were carried also on men's shoulders, lying or sitting on a kind of couch, with a canopy over it, not much unlike the Palankins, in which people are carried in the East-Indies at this day. There were no beasts fit for draught or burdens in the country. Indeed coaches are in use at Mexico, and in some other great towns, at present; but it is impracticable travelling long journeys over their mountains in coaches; and therefore they generally ride on Mules in the hilly parts of the country, and on Horses in the plains.

Their inns. They have some few inns upon their roads, but usually miserable houses, and destitute of tolerable provisions, if we may credit GEMELLI CARERI; and they are such a distance from each other in some places, that travellers are glad to take up their lodging under trees and poor huts, where they suffer pretty much from the snows and excessive cold on the mountains, as they do from the sultry heat and dust in their valleys, unless in the rainy season, when most of the plain country is covered with water, and every little brook a torrent: But travelling in that season is almost impracticable in the provinces of Mexico.

CHAP. XII.

Of the history and government of the ancient Mexicans.

BEFORE I treat of the government of modern Mexico, it may be proper to enquire into the history and government of its ancient inhabitants; and of these particulars, Father ACOSTA, who resided a considerable time in the Spanish West-Indies, and wrote the Natural and Moral history of that country, in the sixteenth century, hath given us the best account. Indeed all the rest of the histories I have met with, relating to the original and antiquities of the people of Mexico, seem to be chiefly copies and transcripts from that author; and particularly that of GEMELLI CARERI's, who acknowledges himself obliged to him for this part of his history: And ANTONIO DE HERERA seems to have used great freedom with him, finding ACOSTA's account supported by the concurrent relations of the best writers of those times.

ACOSTA relates, that, according to the tradition of the Mexicans, that country was first inhabited by a wild and barbarous people, who went perfectly naked, lived on the game they took in hunting, and on fruits and roots; never planting or manuring the ground: That they dwelt in caves of the rocks and mountains, or under trees; building no houses, nor associating together in communities, having scarce any religion or government amongst them: And assures us, there were some such people that inhabited the mountains of Mexico in his time, being call-

ed Chichemeca's and Otomies, from their savage way of life.

The next people that possess'd this country were the Navatlas, who give no other account of their original, but that they came out of seven caves. These were seven nations, or rather tribes, that anciently dwelt between the 30th and 40th degrees of northern latitude; but, about the year 820, began to remove to the southward, and possess themselves of that country, now denominated Mexico, or New Spain; which they did very gradually; for they did not move all together, only one tribe at a time; and that so leisurely, planting colonies by the way, that it was the year 900, according to our computation, that the first tribe, called the Suchimilcans (or Gardiners of Flowers) fix'd themselves on the south bank of the Lake of Mexico, founding a city there, and calling it after their own name.

The second tribe were the Chalci, who quitted their first seats a great while after the Suchimilcans, and, arriving on the banks of the Lake of Mexico, fix'd themselves next to them, and built a city, calling the name of it Chalcas.

The third tribe, call'd the Tapeneca's, or People of the Bridge, came next to the Lake of Mexico, and inhabited the west-side, building a city there, and calling the name of it Acapazulco, or Ants-Nests, from their multiplying so fast. And the fourth tribe, called Culhua, or the People of the Bending Mountains, from whence they came, planted the east-side of the lake, and built the city of Tescuco.

The fifth tribe were the Tlatelvica's, who, finding all the lands possess'd about the lake, continued their march over the mountains, and possess'd themselves of the valley of Quernavaca, or Eagle Valley; where they built a city, and gave it the same name. And the sixth tribe, called the Tlascalteca's, went still farther, and possess'd themselves of Tlascala, or the Country of Bread-Corn, so denominated from its fruitfulness: And here, it is pretended they met with a race of giants, who for some time defended their country against the new-comers; but were, at length, driven to the mountains and inaccessible parts of the country, as the rest of the Chichemeca's and Otomies had been by the other tribes.

Three hundred and two years after the peregrination of the first tribe, according to ACOSTA, the seventh tribe, call'd Mexicans, from their leader Mexi, set forward towards the south, to find new seats; being told, as 'tis said, by their god *Uitziliputli* (or his Priests) that they should obtain the dominion of all the tribes that went before them, and possess a country abounding in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers and rich mantles. To which prophecy they gave such credit, that they began their march, carrying the image of their god with them in a chest, or ark, on the shoulders of four of their chief Priests; to whom, says ACOSTA, their god revealed what way they should take, and what accidents they should meet with. By these Priests also he gave them laws, instructed them how they should offer sacrifices to him, and in the other rites of religious worship: Nor did they ever remove their camp, but by the command of their god; the Priests directed when they should decamp, and how long they should remain in any place. And the first thing they did, wherever they came, was to erect a tabernacle in the midst of their camp, for the ark to rest in upon an altar: And they continued their wandrings for many years before they came to the promis'd land. Thus did the Prince of darkness,

CHAP. XII.

The second nation that possess'd Mexico, consisting of seven tribes.

1. The tribe of Suchimilcans.

2. Of the Chalci.

3. The Tapeneca's.

4. The Culhua's.

5. Tlatelvica's.

6. Tlascalteca's.

7. The Mexicans.

The first inhabitants of Mexico.

CHAP. XII. darkness, says ACOSTA, in all things, make these people imitate the children of Israel in their march from Egypt to the land of Canaan.

This tribe of Mexicans, like the former, made several long halts, remaining a great while in many places, building towns, and cultivating the ground, and, when they removed, left colonies of their people behind them, 'till they came to Mechoacan, or the Land of Fish, where they would have set up their rest; but their god appeared angry with them, and killed many of the Mexicans in one night, for presuming to stay here: Whereupon they proceeded to the lake of Mexico; and, the lands about it being possess'd by the former tribes, they, partly by force, and partly by treaty, obtained leave to settle on some islands in the lake, agreeing to pay a certain tribute for what they were permitted to possess. Soon after, the Mexican Priests inform'd their people, that their god *Uitziliputli* had appeared to them in a dream, and commanded the Mexicans to fix themselves in that part of the lake where they should find an Eagle perching on a Fig-tree that was rooted in a rock; which they immediately went in search of, and found a Fig-tree growing out of a rock, and on it a most beautiful Eagle, looking at the sun, with her wings display'd, and holding a little bird in her talons: Upon the sight of which, they all fell down, and worshipped the Eagle; and afterwards built a city on the very spot, to which they gave the name of Tenochtitlan, or the Fig-tree on a Rock; and the arms of the city (which afterwards obtained the name of Mexico, from their first leader) were an Eagle, with her wings display'd, looking on the sun, holding a Snake in her talons, and standing with one foot on the branch of an Indian Fig-tree; to which the Emperor CHARLES the Vth added a Castle Or, on a Field Azure, to express the lake, with a bridge over it, and two others on the sides, on which are two Lions Rampant.

The Mexicans, having first erected a tabernacle in the midst of the rock, or island, for their god *Uitziliputli*, then, by the Priests direction, laid out the four quarters, or wards, of their town, which now go by the names of St. John, St. Mary Rotunda, St. Paul, and St. Sebastian; every ward having its tutelar deity, or guardian, assign'd to it; as had also every one of the subdivisions of the several wards.

The Mexican Chiefs afterwards falling into parties and factions, and being at the same time insulted and oppress'd by the other tribes, to prevent the ruin that threaten'd them, resolv'd to elect a King, that might have the government of their State, and send them out to war; and, not being able to agree upon any one of their own tribe, they made choice of ACAMAPIXTLI, the grandson of the King of Culucan, under whose administration they soon began to make a considerable figure; which drew upon them the envy of the neighbouring tribes; and the King of Azcapuzalco, 'tis said, did not only exact an increase of tribute, but required some things of them that were looked upon as impracticable, with no other view than to fall out with the Mexicans, and expel them the country: One of which demands, the story says, was, that they should supply him with a quantity of corn that should grow in the water of the Lake; which they performed by the advice of their god, or his Priests, who directed them to make floats of canes and rushes, and to lay earth upon them, which, being sow'd with grain, yielded considerable crops, and enabled them to pay their tribute: But, what-

ever truth there may be in this relation, certain it is, the Mexicans had floating-islands, or gardens, on the water, with fruits and flowers upon them, which they row'd to what part of the Lake they pleas'd: A curiosity, that I don't remember to have met with in any other part of the world, and deserves as much to be admired as the hanging-gardens of Babylon. But to proceed: The King of Azcapuzalco continued to impose several other hard and whimsical kinds of tribute on the Mexicans, who remained in a manner vassals to that Prince fifty years.

In the mean time, ACAMAPIXTLI, the first King of the Mexicans, died, having reigned forty years, and very much improved the city, by buildings, canals, aqueducts, and bridges: He left several children, but appointed none of them to succeed him; telling his subjects, that as they had freely elected him their Sovereign, so he now left them at liberty to chuse whom they pleas'd to succeed him. And this generous confidence in his subjects had the effect he probably forefaw it would; for they had no sooner perform'd the funeral obsequies of ACAMAPIXTLI, but they made choice of one of his sons for their King, whose name was VITZILOVITLI, or the Rich Feather; whom they crown'd and anointed with a divine ointment, as they call'd it, being the same with which they us'd to anoint the images of their gods. This Prince, by the advice of his Council, married the daughter of AZCAPUZALCO, who thereupon remitted all their tribute, but a couple of ducks and some fish, which he took as a testimony of their subjection, and that their country was a province of his kingdom.

VITZILOVITLI and his Queen dying, the Mexicans chose his son CHIMALPOPOCA their King, out of regard to his grandfather AZCAPUZALCO, though the young Prince was but ten years of age: But the grandfather dying soon after, the Tapenecans, his subjects, treacherously murder'd the minor King of Mexico, which occasion'd a war between the two nations; for the management whereof the Mexicans chose IZCOALT their fourth King, a Prince of great courage and experience, being the son of ACAMAPIXTLI, their first monarch, by his concubine.

This Prince declared war against the King of AZCAPUZALCO, and, having made his nephew TLACAELEEC his General, perfectly subdued his enemies, and divided their country among his Mexicans: After which, he made a conquest of Tacuba, Cuyoacan, the Suchimilca's, and all the tribes that inhabited the banks of the Lake; and became the most potent monarch that had been known in that part of the world; but died after a prosperous reign of twelve years.

Hitherto the Mexicans in general had all of them a voice in the election of their Kings; but TLACAELEEC the General, who had now a great influence in the Mexican State, shewing them the inconvenience of these popular elections, persuad'd them to transfer their right of electing a Sovereign to fix electors, viz. to the Kings of Tezcuco and Tacuba, and four Princes of the royal blood; which the people consented to, and were never after suffered to intermeddle in elections.

These electors (probably) by the direction of the General, chose his nephew MONTEZUMA their fifth monarch, who first instituted the custom of the elected King's sacrificing some of his enemies taken in war by himself at his coronation; and, to set his successors an example, he invaded the Chalci, made several prisoners, and sacrificed them on the day of his

Mexico built.

Second King, Vitzilovitti.

Third King, Chimalpopoca.

Fourth King, Izcoalt.

He subdued several of the tribes.

First King of the Mexicans, Acamapixtli.

Fifth King, Montezuma.

CHAP. XII. his inauguration. He also drew blood from his ears and legs before the sacred fire in the temple; which was another ceremony he required future Kings to imitate him in at their coronations. The same day the several provinces brought him their tribute in kind, consisting of gold, silver, rich feathers painted, cotton, cloaths, cacao, and other fruits; grain, venison, and whatever the kingdom afforded: Whereupon he made a grand entertainment for those who came to attend the Solemnity.

He afterwards continued the war against the Chalci, who having taken the brother of MONTEZUMA prisoner, would have made him their King; but he refused the honour they intended him, and killed himself rather than engage against his brother. Whereupon MONTEZUMA increased his forces, and made an entire conquest of the territories of the Chalci; and his General TLACAELEC soon after subdued all the nations bordering on the North and South-seas, except the Tlascalans, which tribe, says ACOSTA, they suffer'd to retain their independency; that they might have an enemy to exercise their youth in the discipline of war, and to furnish them with prisoners to sacrifice to their gods. MONTEZUMA also applied himself to regulate the Civil Government and the Officers of his household, and built that celebrated temple in Mexico that was dedicated to their god *Uitziliputli*, and died after he had reigned twenty-eight years.

The electors, assembling on this demise, would have set the crown upon the head of their General TLACAELEC, who had contributed exceedingly to the enlargement of their territories, and settling the Civil Government; and, when he refused to accept it, they chose the person he was pleased to recommend to them; namely, TICOCIC, one of the sons of the deceased King; but he, proving an unfortunate Prince, was poison'd by his subjects, after he had reigned four years: Whereupon the electors, by the advice of the same General, chose AXAYACA, another of the sons of MONTEZUMA, for their Sovereign; and the General TLACAELEC dying soon after his election, AXAYACA gratefully constituted his eldest son General of the Mexican armies; and, having solemnized the exequies of TLACAELEC with great splendor, march'd with his army, to the southward of Mexico, two hundred leagues, subduing the provinces of Tecontipique and Guatulco; from whence he brought several captives, whom he sacrificed at his coronation. ACOSTA relates, that he afterwards invaded the country of TLATELULCO; and that his enemies, in order to surprize him, metamorphos'd themselves into frogs, and other animals; which ACOSTA seems to have been so weak as to believe; And, indeed, it must be admitted, that ACOSTA had a pretty deal of credulity and superstition in his constitution; but, making an allowance for these foibles, he is esteem'd a good author.

To return to our history: AXAYACA died after he had reigned eleven years; and the electors thought fit to chuse AUTZOL, one of their number, his successor; who added Guatemala, and several other large provinces, to his dominions: He also rebuilt and beautified the city of Mexico; but, endeavouring to bring a river of fresh water into the town, drowned great part of it: However, he found means to draw off the water again, and repair the damage. And here ACOSTA entertains us with another whimsical piece of Mexican tradition. He says, when the King was about to turn the river into Mexico, being told by a certain Magician that he would drown the country by it, he order'd the man to be apprehended,

designing to put him to death; but that the Magician preserved himself some time, by turning himself into the form of an Eagle, then into a Tyger, and afterwards into a Serpent: However, that he surrender'd himself to the King at length, and was executed. AUTZOL, having reigned eleven years, died; and MONTEZUMA the second was elected King, being the same Prince that sat upon the throne when the Spaniards first invaded Mexico.

This Prince was elected by the unanimous suffrages of the electors, and the approbation of all his subjects; for he was, or appeared to be, the best qualified for that high dignity, of any of the royal family; wife, valiant, generous, affable, and endow'd with every other royal virtue. He refused the crown when it was offer'd him, and was in a manner forced to accept it: But he no sooner ascended the Throne, than he gave his subjects good reason to believe his humility and condescension were counterfeited, only to render himself popular; for he commanded that no Commoner should be admitted into his Court, or hold any place or office under him: He would be served only by his vassal Princes and Nobility; and made it death, 'tis said, for any Plebeian to look upon him. However, they admit, he caus'd justice to be duly administer'd throughout his empire, and severely punish'd his Officers and Magistrates that were guilty of corruption or oppression: That he was also a great General; ever returned victorious from the wars, and added several provinces to his dominions.

It was in the fourteenth year of his reign, anno 1517, when the Spaniards first appeared upon his coasts. In the following year, 1518, CORTEZ arrived, and so amazed the Mexicans with his shipping, artillery, and horses, that in the opinion of ACOSTA, they would have submitted to any terms the Spaniards would have imposed, without striking a stroke, or offering at a defence, if that would have satisfied the Spanish General. The Mexicans, at first, looked upon these foreigners as Gods, or good Angels, sent for their protection. ACOSTA observes the same. But they, by their outrages and devastations, soon gave the Indians occasion to alter their opinion, and dread them as a kind of evil Genii sent to destroy them. But, having already given a full account of the negotiations and transactions between MONTEZUMA and the Spaniards, I shall not weary the reader with a repetition of them; only observe, that MONTEZUMA the second is looked upon as the last of the Mexican Emperors; for tho' there were two elected afterwards, one was set up in the life-time of MONTEZUMA, which made his election void; and the other was taken prisoner by CORTEZ, before he was well settled on the throne, and at length put to death by that General, under pretence that he was engaged in a conspiracy against the Spaniards: Nor do authors agree in the names of either.

I proceed in the next place, to enquire into the learning and qualifications of the Mexicans, that we may be the better able to judge what credit is to be given to this history: And, for ought appears to me, they had neither letters or characters; as the Chinese have, to express their meaning by; statuary and painting were the only ways they had to record what was past: An image or picture; with a crown on its head, signified a King; and an image, habited like a Priest, a Priest: But they had no word or character that would express either; as the Chinese have. There were some few things indeed that represented others, and may be stiled hieroglyphicks; as the painted wheel, that distinguish'd their age; and

CHAP. XII.

Ninth King, Montezuma the second.

The Spaniards arrive 1517.

The learning of the ancient Mexicans.

Sixth King Ticocic.

Seventh King Axayaca.

Eighth King Autzol.

CHAP. XII. and lesser circles, their years: And this brings me to speak of their kalendar.

Their kalendar.

This they regulated and adjusted by the motion of the sun making his altitude and declination the measure of times and seasons. Their year consisted of three hundred sixty-five days, and was divided into eighteen months, to each of which was assign'd twenty days, which made three hundred and sixty; but then there were five more, a kind of intercalary days, which they added at the end of every year, to make it answer the course of the sun; during which five days, 'tis said, they gave themselves up entirely to pleasure, or at least a relaxation from business; tradesmen shut up their shops, no causes were heard in their courts of justice, and even their sacrifices and the service of the temple were disused at these times. At the end of the five days, the new year began, which happen'd on the 26th of our month of February. Their weeks consisted of thirteen days each, distinguished in their kalendar by different figures; and their age consisted of two and fifty years, or four weeks of years; for the describing whereof they made a large circle, which they divided into two and fifty degrees, allowing a year for every degree: In the center of the circle, the sun was painted, from whose rays proceeded four lines of different colours, which equally divided the circumference, leaving thirteen degrees to each semidiameter; and these divisions served as signs of their Zodiack, upon which their ages had their revolutions, and the sun his aspects, prosperous or adverse, according to the colour of the line. In a larger circle, inclosing the other, they mark'd, with the figures of animals, plants, weapons, or other instruments, the most remarkable occurrences that happen'd; which, however, they seem'd conscious, could not be perfectly understood by posterity; and therefore schools were instituted, wherein the youth were taught to celebrate the great actions of their ancient heroes, and to repeat the most memorable transactions of the preceding ages; on which they relied much more than on their hieroglyphicks. So that their history, at last, must be resolved into oral tradition; and how much this may have been alter'd or corrupted, by design or negligence, we may guess, by what has happen'd in other parts of the world. For my part, I never yet met with that nation whose traditions could be relied on; even the Egyptians, Grecians, and Romans, and of later days the Chinese and East-Indians, we find have mixed so many improbable relations with their story, that we know not what to make of their ancient history; much less can we depend upon the Mexican, where they had neither the use of letters or characters to transmit the actions of their ancestors to posterity.

The end of the world expected at the conclusion of every age.

At the end of every age, the Mexicans were taught to expect the end of the world, and prepared themselves to take leave of it: On the last night they extinguish'd their fires, neglected their food, and abandon'd themselves to sorrow; not daring to take their natural rest, but remained with their eyes fixed towards the east, till they saw the dawn of the succeeding day appear; and then prepared to welcome the Sun, and salute him, both with vocal and instrumental musick, on his first appearance: They also congratulated each other that a new age was begun, and they should no more be in danger of the like calamity for two and fifty years; for which blessing they crowded to their temples, to give thanks, and sacrifice to their gods, and to receive from their Priests new fires from the altar; concluding the day with songs and dances, and other expressions of their joy.

I proceed, in the next place, to enquire into the government of the ancient Mexicans, which, it appears, was at first popular or republican; but falling frequently into factions, which had near endanger'd the ruin of their state, they elected ACAMAPIXTLI their first King, soon after their arrival on the Mexican lake; and all his successors were elected afterwards, as has been related already; at first by the whole community; but, on the death of IZCOALT, the Kings of Tacuba and Tezcuco, and four Princes of the royal blood, assumed the privilege of electing their King or Emperor; and the rest of the Nobility, as well as the People, were ever after excluded from having any share in the election.

CHAP. XII. Government of the ancient Mexicans.

The King elect, after the reign of MONTEZUMA the first, was obliged to invade some neighbouring nation, if the Mexicans were not at that time engaged in war, and to bring home a certain number of captives, to be sacrificed at his coronation: And, on his return in triumph, was met by the Nobility, Ministers of State, and chief Priests, and conducted to the temple of the god of war; where, after the sacrifice was ended, he was clothed by the Electors in the imperial robes; a golden sword, edg'd with flints, was put into his right hand, and into his left a bow and arrows; by which he seems to have been invested both with the civil and military powers: After which, the King of Tezcuco set the crown upon his head, as first elector of the empire: Then one of the ministers made a speech in the name of all the Mexicans, congratulating him upon his accession, and putting him in mind of the duties incumbent on those who were raised to sovereign power; and, above all, with what attention and diligence he ought to apply himself, to promote the happiness of the people committed to his care: Then the High Priest anointed him with a thick balm or oil, as black as ink; blessed the King, and four times sprinkled him with a consecrated water, putting a mantle over his shoulders, painted with skulls and human bones, to put him in mind, says my author, that Princes were subject to mortality. They also used some drugs at the coronation, to preserve him from diseases and enchantments. After which, he offer'd incense to the god *Uitziliputli*, and took an oath to maintain the religion and customs of his ancestors. He also took an oath, 'tis said, that, during his reign, the sun should give his light, and the rains fall in their proper seasons; and that there should be no inundations, famine, or pestilential diseases: Not that the people of Mexico thought these things in the power of their Sovereign; but they put him in mind that his conduct should be such as not to draw the vengeance of Heaven upon them; being sensible, that the publick sometimes suffer'd for the faults of their Governors.

Ceremonies of the coronation.

Having seen the prince crown'd, it may be proper to say something of his Court, especially in the time of MONTEZUMA the second, who lived in the greatest splendor of any of their monarchs. He had, as DE SOLIS relates, two sorts of guards; one of soldiers, with which the courts of the palace were in a manner crowded; and the other of Noblemen, introduced in this Prince's time, consisting of two hundred, who daily attended in their turns, not only as a guard, but to add to the splendor of the Court.

The Courts of their ancient Kings.

He had also no less than three thousand women in his palace, being the most beautiful young ladies the Governors of the several provinces could pick out, to adorn the royal palace: These were taken from their relations either with or without their consent, as a tribute due to their Prince; and among them there

CHAP. XII. there were two, the daughters of some of the vassal Kings, whom he treated with great regard; and these the Spanish historians call his wives, and give them the title of Queens, probably because there was some sort of contract or ceremony used before he took them to his bed.

Their women. There was a perpetual succession of women in the palace; for the King frequently gave them to his Courtiers and Favourites in marriage, and supplied their places with others, which were daily sent up by his officers: And, while they remained in the palace, it seems, they were as strictly watch'd and guarded, as in a Mahometan Seraglio, by the good old Prudes and Gouvernantes, who had the care of the royal Concubines.

This Prince appeared but seldom in publick; and when he admitted any of his vassals to petition him, they were not suffer'd to look him in the face. He eat alone, but in great state, having above two hundred dishes at his table, which were distributed among the Nobility in waiting when he had done with them: Beside which, tables were kept for all others who resided in the palace, or whose business or employments brought them thither.

The King sat at table on a little stool, and the room was divided in the middle to keep off the crowd: Three or four of the eldest Courtiers waited within the rail, and near it stood an Officer to receive the dishes, which were brought in by young ladies richly dress'd. The dishes, which were of fine earthen ware, and the table-linnen, were every day distributed among the servants, being never used twice. He drank out of golden cups frequently, a privilege never allow'd to his subjects; tho' he sometimes drank out of the shell of a Cacao-nut, or other natural shells.

There were generally attending at his table three or four buffoons, who did not only divert him with their impertinence, but frequently acquainted him with things that others durst not name; which, 'tis said, was his principal reason for entertaining them.

Having repos'd himself a little after dinner, he was entertain'd with such vocal and instrumental musick as his country afforded; their instruments consisting chiefly of horns, hollow canes, or sea-shells, and wooden drums; and might entertain those that never heard better, but does not seem to be much admired by the Spaniards.

Courts of justice. As to their Courts of Justice, there was one supreme tribunal in Mexico, consisting of twelve Judges, who determin'd all appeals from the respective provinces; and both the town and country had their proper Judges and Officers, who heard the parties, and determin'd causes in a summary way. There could be no bills and answers, no written declarations or pleadings, where there was no such thing as writing: But the Judges were usually govern'd by the decisions of their predecessors and ancient custom, unless the royal authority interpos'd.

The crimes of treason, murder, sodomy, and adultery, were punish'd with death; and some authors add, that robbery and theft were punish'd in the like manner; but others relate, that the first theft was only punish'd with loss of liberty: However, all agree, that corruption in the Judges and Magistrates was punish'd capitally; and that bribery in an Officer or Minister was never pardon'd; into which this Prince examin'd more narrowly than any other offence whatever.

Military power. There was also a Council of war establish'd at Mexico, which regulated all things relating to the militia; for the soldiery were more favoured than any set of men in the empire, and more rais'd their

CHAP. XII. fortunes, and acquired posts and titles of honour in this profession than any other. In every great town the military men were distinguish'd from the rest of the inhabitants, by several privileges and immunities; and their armies were easily rais'd, every Cacique and Governor of a town or province being obliged to bring a certain number of men into the field upon a summons. And it is said, by DE SOLIS, and several other Spanish historians, that MONTEZUMA had thirty vassal Princes in his dominions that could each of them bring an hundred thousand men into the field. These Princes commanded their respective troops in person, but received their orders from the Generalissimo, which was usually the Emperor himself in any war of consequence; these Princes esteeming it very impolitic to trust large armies to the conduct of any subject.

Honours. There were several military honours instituted, for distinguishing and rewarding those who had behaved well in the army; some were created Knights of the Eagle, some of the Tyger, and others of the Lion, who bore the device of their respective orders on their habits. There was still a superior order of Knighthood, to which none but Princes, and those of the blood royal, were admitted; which the Emperor himself was of: These had their hair tied back with a red string, and a number of tassels hung down their shoulders, according to the exploits they had perform'd, a new one being added every time they performed any signal action.

Revenues of the Crown. There was still another Court, or Council, which had the management of the royal revenues which arose from the produce of the gold and silver mines, and from the tributes or taxes paid in kind of the fruits of the earth and their manufactures; which were said to be greatly increased in the reign of MONTEZUMA the second, who compelled his subjects, whether tradesmen or husbandmen, to yield him one third part of their profits; and the poorest people were obliged to work in the publick buildings, without any other wages than their food, when required. As to the Nobility, indeed, they were not obliged to pay taxes; but they were, by their tenures, required to serve in the army, with a certain number of their vassals, or give their attendance at court, upon every summons.

The last Council I shall mention, is the Council of state, to which all others were subject. This was compos'd of the six Electors of the empire, and usually held in the presence of the Emperor; four of the members always residing in the royal palace, without consulting whom the Emperor scarce ever determin'd any thing of consequence: They were the last resort in all cases, and without their advice were no laws made or alter'd.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the modern government of Mexico, and of the forces and revenues of that viceroyalty.

MEXICO, like the Spanish provinces in the old world, is govern'd by a Viceroy, and each of the larger divisions of that viceroyalty has its Court of audience, to which all the lesser provinces and districts are subject. The Viceroy, or Governor, is President of each Court of audience; and the Alcald-Majors, Fiscals, and Counsellors of State, are Members of it. These take cognizance of all causes, criminal or civil, within a certain circuit round the city where the respective Courts are held, in the first instance; and, by way of appeal, of all causes which are removed from the Courts of inferior Judges, within their several jurisdictions, parti-

CHAP.
XIII.

particularly from the Courts of the respective Alcalds, Rigidors and Corrigidors of the respective towns and districts. Those cities which have not a Corrigidor for their chief Magistrate, have a Rigidor, or Alcald-Major, who has a certain number of Rigidors, or Aldermen, for his Assessors, who determine all causes within their several districts. Those towns which are not cities, have their Alcalds only, from whose sentence the people may appeal to the Courts establish'd in the cities, and from them to the Court of audience.

In the Viceroy is vested the supreme military power, and he has the nomination to many civil and military employments; but most of the principal posts are filled up by the King, or the Council of the Indies in Old Spain; to whom also there lies an appeal from the Courts of audience in Mexico: And the Spaniards make it an inviolable rule never to prefer any Mexican, tho' born of Spanish parents, to any considerable post in the Indies. These must be all natives of Old Spain; and the term of the Viceroy's administration is usually limited to five years; but sometimes he amasses wealth enough in that time to purchase a continuance in his office for another five years. And the misery of it is, that such Governors are sent over usually as are necessitous or covetous; and, having given great sums to purchase their places, are forced to oppress all under them, to make up what has been extorted from them by the Ministers in Europe: They therefore usually sell all the posts they have to dispose of, without regard to the qualification or merit of the person preferred; so that there is a train of bribery, corruption, and oppression, that runs through the whole administration: And, as the Spaniards oppress each other, it is not to be supposed, that the poor Indians, that lie at their mercy, escape better.

In the towns that are purely Indian, the Spaniards constitute the same sort of Magistrates, and the Government is administer'd in the same manner by Indians, as it is in the Spanish towns by Spanish Magistrates: But there are some tribes of Indians that are rather in alliance with the Spaniards than subject to them. However, most of the Indians acknowledge the King of Spain for their Sovereign; and their Chiefs accept a staff with a silver head, which is in a manner a Spanish commission to govern their own people. These the Spaniards are cautious of disoblighing, and suffer them to live according to their own laws and customs; only sending Missionaries amongst them, to endeavour, by fair means, to make them conform to their religion and government: For, if the Spaniards attempt to compel or force them to submit, DAMPIER relates, whole towns of them will fly to the woods and mountains; and, if they are accidentally discover'd, they will remove again, which is not very difficult for them to do, having scarce any household-stuff but their hammocks and calabashes; and they soon build them new huts when they come into another part of the country, and raise a plantation sufficient for their subsistence. The Indians who have no dependence on the Spaniards, have some Chief they obey as their Prince, who acts the part of a General when they take the field, and that of a Judge in time of peace; and, in his determinations, is govern'd by ancient custom: But, it seems, he enters upon no business of consequence, without consulting the heads of their tribes or families.

The forces
of Mexico.

The regular forces the Spaniards have in the viceroyalty of Mexico are very inconsiderable: In the Metropolis there are scarce five hundred soldiers; and at Vera Cruz, the port of the greatest

consequence on the North-sea, they have not half that number; and their fortifications are as contemptible as their garrisons. There is scarce a town, of any name, near the coast of the North-sea, but has been taken and plunder'd by the Buccaneers more than once, tho' these Rovers seldom consist of more than a thousand or fifteen hundred men: These small bodies have in a manner defied all the militia of the country; tho' they have frequently remained long enough on the coasts for the Spaniards to assemble their whole posse, yet have they generally carried off their booty in spite of them. The same Buccaneers have fought their royal fleets on the South-sea, taken some of their stoutest ships, and seldom been unsuccessful in their encounters with the Spaniards, by sea or land. And if the Buccaneers and Privateers have appeared so much superior to all the forces the Spaniards have in that part of the world, what might not an English or French squadron of fifteen or twenty men of war, and five or six thousand land-forces, effect in the Spanish West-Indies? We see the Scots fix'd themselves at Darien with much less force; and, had not the English themselves opposed and discouraged that expedition, it would not have been in the power of the Spaniards to have removed them. And, indeed, it is not the want of power, but the want of inclination, that has prevented the English fixing themselves in the richest parts of the Spanish West-Indies. Our Governors seem to have been of opinion, that we should lose more by dispossessing the Spaniards of their acquisitions in the new world, than we should get by the conquest, if we succeeded. And, I must confess, I am entirely of that mind; for tho' we might come in for a share of their gold and silver, yet, if we lost our traffick by it, we should be no gainers in the end. I look upon it to be the interest both of Great Britain and Spain, to live in perpetual amity and good understanding, and to unite their whole powers to oppose the encroaching French, particularly in Florida, to which France hath already given the name of Louisiana; for if the French succeed there, as they will be very uneasy neighbours to the British plantations, they will be much more terrible to the Spaniard on the side of Mexico, which lies contiguous to it; since the gold and silver mines in Mexico may be supposed to draw them sooner that way than to the British plantations, where there is nothing that can come in competition with those treasures: Nay, the Spaniards can never secure their mines in Mexico from the French, but by introducing the English into the western part of Florida, before the French are too well establish'd there. The English would be their best barrier for their Mexican dominions: They find the French have already driven them from their forts at the mouth of the river Mississippi, and some of their settlements on the frontiers of New Mexico; and they may assure themselves they will advance to the mines, if they are not disappointed by the English. It is therefore undoubtedly the interest of Spain to cultivate a good understanding with Great Britain.

Nor is it less our interest to have the Spaniards for our friends: If we do not drive them into the arms of France, we may have the cloathing of the greatest part of the Spanish West-Indies; and we shall not only lose that most valuable branch of our trade by quarrelling with them, but, should the Spaniard be provoked to join with the French in Florida, they would greatly distress our colonies that border on that country, and put a stop to our extending our plantations to the westward. And tho' this

The interest
of
Britain
and Spain
to unite a-
gainst the
French in
America.

CHAP. XIII. this would be a great step to their own destruction, we can't be assured they will never take such measures; for we find pique and resentment go a great way, and that Courts, as well as private men, are sometimes governed more by passion than reason. And if both our foreign traffick and plantations must evidently suffer by our quarrelling with Spain, it is not the possession of a mine or two that would be an equivalent for them. Besides, if ever we should attempt to make ourselves masters of any part of the Spanish West-Indies, we shall infallibly be opposed by the French, and perhaps by the Dutch, and other European nations. We have already suffered in our trade by quarrelling with Spain: A great part of the woollen and other manufactures and merchandize, they formerly took from us, are now furnish'd them by the French and Dutch; and where trade has found a new channel, it is difficult to reduce it to the old one. I hope, therefore, both Britain and Spain will consider their mutual interests better for the future. We are not possess'd of the mines of Mexico indeed; but great part of the treasure the Spaniards dig there flows into this kingdom, as has been observed by others, in return for our manufactures: They have the labour, but we already share the profit with them. On the other hand, Spain will not fail to be protected by us against the encroachments of the French, if they use us well; and I don't know any other Power that can protect their American dominions against that potent and enterprising people.

The revenues of Mexico. The revenues the King of Spain receives from the viceroyalty of Mexico are very considerable, and arise principally from three branches, viz. 1. The King's fifth or tenth of the treasure dug out of their mines; 2. From the duties of excise and custom; and, 3. From the rents and services by which they hold their estates, and the produce of their husbandry and manufactures.

Arising from the mines. GEMELLI CARERI informs us, that the King has but a tenth of the silver in Mexico, though he has a fifth of the silver of Peru, because the Mexicans are at a very great charge in purchasing quicksilver to refine their silver; whereas the Peruvians have mines of quicksilver in their country. Gold, however, pays a fifth to the King, both in Mexico and Peru. The same gentleman relates, that when he was at Mexico, in the year 1698, the King's part for that year came to six hundred thousand marks, every mark eight ounces of silver (which must make twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling of our money); and that the Assayer assured him, the King's share came to eight hundred thousand marks, or sixteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, in the year 1691: And the King's part of the plate of Peru comes to four times as much at least.

Excise and customs. The customs and excise also must raise a great deal of money; for the same GEMELLI informs us, that the King's duties paid by the Manila ship, in which he came from the East-Indies, amounted to fourscore thousand pieces of eight; and those ships which arrive from Peru and Europe annually, also are vastly rich, and pay very high duties to the Crown. The same writer relates, that the excise on a spirituous liquor, drawn from the plant Maghey only, amounted to eleven hundred thousand pieces of eight per annum in the city of Mexico.

Rents and services. The third branch of the revenue, viz. the rents and services due to the Crown, must be equal, if not superior, to either of the former branches; for GAGE observes, that the poorest married Indian pays four, six, and, in some places, eight ryals (four shillings) per ann. to the Crown; and others

in proportion to their estates. There are lands also held immediately of the Crown, that pay very great rents. Others are held of the Encomendero's, that resemble our Lords of Manors, or rather the ancient Barons; to whom their tenants pay a large portion of the produce of their grounds and manufactures in kind: And these Lords hold of the Crown by certain tenures or rents; for all lands there, as with us, hold mediately or immediately of the Crown, and the owners of them contribute to the support of the government, either by their personal service, or the rents they pay in lieu of such service.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the religion of the Mexicans, ancient and modern.

THE people that inhabited this country immediately before the Mexicans, according to tradition, were the Chichimeca's, who are represented by the Mexicans, that dispossest'd them of their country, as a very brutish generation, without religion, without government, without cloathing, ignorant of husbandry, building, and every other art and science.

But, notwithstanding they are said to be without religion, the Spanish historians, most of them, agree, that this savage people worshipped the sun and moon, and sacrificed fowls and other animals to them. And GEMELLI CARERI relates, that when he was at Mexico, in the year 1698, being carried to the village of Teotiguacan, which signifies a place of gods, about a days journey from that city, to see some Indian antiquities; he found two pyramids of earth, with steps from the bottom to the top, like those of Egypt; the one being the pyramid of the moon, and the other of the sun: That two sides of the pyramid of the moon were two hundred Spanish yards in length each, and the other two hundred and fifty Spanish yards in length (a Spanish yard being near a fourth less than an English yard). He had no instrument to take the height, but he guess'd it to be fifty English yards: That there once stood on the top of this pyramid a vast idol of the moon (of human form, as I understand him) made of a hard coarse stone, which the first Bishop of Mexico, out of a religious zeal, caused to be broke in pieces: However, there lay then three great pieces of it at the foot of the pyramid: That within the pyramid were several vaults, where Kings had been buried; for which reason the road to it was called Micaotli, or the Highway of the Dead; and about it were several little mounts, or tumuli, supposed to be the burying-places of their Great men.

Our author afterwards viewed the pyramid of the sun, called Tonagli, which stood two hundred paces south of the former; and he found two sides of it three hundred Spanish yards in length, and the other two about two hundred; and it was a fourth part higher than that of the moon: The statue on the top of it was broken; but, however, the best part of it then remained there, being too large to be easily removed. This image had a great hollow place in the breast, where the figure of the sun was placed; and all the rest of it had been covered with gold, as was the image of the moon; and he found some great stones at the foot of the pyramid, that were part of the arms and legs of the idol.

According to their traditions, these pyramids were built by the Ulmeco's, a people which came by sea from the east; which gave some Europeans reason

CHAP. XIII.

Religion of the Chichimeca's.

They worshipped the sun and moon.

Pyramids erected to them.

Image of the moon.

Kings buried here.

Image of the sun.

A tradition they were erected by an eastern people.

CHAP.
XIV.

reason to conjecture, they were colonies of the Egyptians and Carthaginians, who sometimes joined in their naval expeditions to the western coasts of Africa and the islands in the Atlantic ocean.

GEMELLI adds, that the Mexicans do not pretend to know when these pyramids were erected; and Dr. SIGUENZA, a learned Spaniard, looks upon them to be almost as ancient as the Flood. Certain it is, says my author, there was formerly a great city where they stand, as appears by the vast ruins about them: They must have been built by a people who inhabited the country before the Mexicans the Spaniards found there; for it appears, the Mexicans came from the north but four or five hundred years before the Spanish conquest; and, consequently, they could not be the founders of these pyramids, the structure whereof they don't pretend to have any traditions or memoirs.

Religion
of the
Mexicans.

I proceed, in the next place, to enquire into the religion of the Mexican tribes, who succeeded the Chichimeca's; and these, according to ACOSTA, DE SOLIS, and other Spanish writers of figure, acknowledged one supreme God as well as the Peruvians, and worshipped the idol *Uitziliputli* as the image of this great God: But they contradict themselves in other parts of their history; telling us, that *Uitziliputli* was their Mars, or God of War; and that he had a brother, named *Tlalock*, of equal power; and that the like prayers and sacrifices were made before each of them. How then, could the idol *Uitziliputli* be adored as the one supreme God? Besides, the same writers acknowledge, that there was not one Indian nation that had a word in their language, or any term, that signified God. Indeed ACOSTA says, the Peruvians did worship a being, to whom they gave the names of *Pachamat*, *Pachania*, or the Creator of Heaven and Earth; and of *Utsapu*, the most Admirable; which I shall consider of when I treat of Peru. But neither he, nor any other writer I have met with, will pretend to say, that the Mexicans gave any of their gods such titles or appellations. Indeed, most of their writers copy from ACOSTA, and give us nothing more, unless their own conjectures; and ACOSTA tells us, that their Missionaries were forced to use the Spanish word *Dios*, both in Mexico and Peru, when they spoke of God; the natives having no word of the like import.

If the Mexicans had any god which they imagined presided over the rest, it was the Sun. It is evident, they had a great veneration for this planet, from the speeches of MONTEZUMA, and their ascribing whatever was great and wonderful to his direction and influence; but they had no image of the sun or moon in the temples of Mexico, as the former inhabitants of the country (the Chichimeca's) had: Either they imagined it unnecessary to make any resemblance of those glorious luminaries, which appeared to them every day; or, rather, they imagined they governed the world by the mediation of inferior deities; and therefore built temples, and paid their devotions only to the latter, as mediators for them to those mighty beings they did not think themselves worthy to approach directly: For this seems to have been the opinion of other idolaters, both Pagan and Christian. I proceed therefore, in the next place, to enumerate the principal idols the Spaniards found in the temples of Mexico.

Their
idols *Vitziliputli*,
Tlalock,
Tescalcupa.

The first idol the Spanish writers mention, was *Uitziliputli*, and the second *Tlalock*; which the reader will find already described, p. 142, 143. The third idol was *Tescalcupa*, called the god of

penance; to whom they addressed themselves in their distresses, and in their fasts. It was an image of human form, carved out of a black shining stone, and represented sitting on a chair in the middle of the altar: The hair was tied up with a golden fillet: He held four darts in his right hand, and in his left a golden mirror; and in the same hand a fan, made of feathers of all colours.

CHAP.
XIV.

The fourth image was the Mercury of the Mexicans, represented under a human shape, and called *Quitlalcoatl*: He was more particularly address'd to by merchants and tradesmen.

They had also a goddess called *Tozi*, or our *Tozi*, great grandmother; a deity of their own framing; for, it is reported, their god *Uitziliputli* directed them to demand of the King of Culiacan his daughter, for their Queen; which being complied with, they put her to death, flaid off her skin, and put it on a young lad, and ever after adored her as their goddess.

Another idol was formed of a paste composed of the flour of several sorts of grain mixed with honey; which they obliged their prisoners to adore that were destined to be sacrificed: And this brings me to enquire into their human sacrifices, with which the Spaniards charge them; making these a colour for all the outrages they committed in America. They insist, that a people, which made the sacrificing their own species the chief part of their religion, ought to have been extirpated. But the Spanish Bishop of Chiapa, who resided in Mexico at the time of the conquest, and was sent over thither to enquire into these matters, and to protect the Indians against the barbarous usage they met with from CORTEZ and his fellow-adventurers; assures us, that most part of the charge was false: That instead of the Mexicans sacrificing thousands and twenty thousands annually, as those adventurers reported, they never sacrificed fifty in any one year. And, for ought I can learn, they neither sacrificed beasts or men constantly; but only on some grand festivals, or in the time of some general calamity, such as famine, or ill success in war, to appease their angry gods, as the Phenicians and Carthaginians did, from whom it is highly probable they were descended. "These adventurers, says

"the good Bishop, invented such stories to justify their own barbarity. It may truly be said, that the Spaniards, since their arrival in the Indies, have annually sacrificed to their adored goddesses avarice, more people than the Indians sacrificed in an hundred years." And, if their own writers have reduced these sacrifices from twenty thousand per annum to fifty, possibly there is very little truth in the rest of those relations we meet with, of their sacrificing men, much less eating them. All writers agree, that their Priests offered incense four times a day to their gods; but those that speak of the sacrificing men to their idols, mention it as done upon extraordinary occasions only, and no part of their constant worship. If we might believe some authors, indeed, they did not only sacrifice men, but eat them; and had shambles of human flesh in their markets. But, as I should with great difficulty believe this of any people, it being a thing so generally abhorred by all men I have ever seen or known; I should believe it less of the Indians than any other people, since it is agreed, that they lived for the most part on fruits, roots and herbs, and very little on flesh of any kind. The same Bishop of Chiapa informs us, they were temperate and abstemious to a very great degree; and that one Spaniard would eat as much as four Indians usually

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CHAP.
XIV.

usually did. And it is very strange, if such a people should feast on human flesh, which, I am apt to think, is a stronger food, and harder to digest than that of any other animal; it must create a strange disorder in men that generally lived so abstemiously. And, as I am inclined to doubt of many of the stories we meet with in the Spanish historians, relating to human sacrifices; so I must absolutely reject those relations that charge the Indians, or any other nation, with devouring their own species. It is strange, if there ever were such a people in America, there should be none of them left at this day. There are many nations, yet unconquer'd by the Europeans, who still retain their ancient rites and customs in other particulars; and yet I can't learn there is one cannibal amongst them.

I shall proceed, however, to give a fair and impartial account of the religion of the Mexicans, as we find it in Father ACOSTA the Jesuit, from whom most of the other Spanish writers have transcribed their relations; only premising, that tho' this Father be an author of very good credit, where he relates what he saw himself; yet he seems to have had a great share of credulity and superstition in his constitution, as will appear from the pretended miracles he relates upon trust, and the credit he requires his readers to give them.

A resemblance between the Mexican and Christian rites.

And, in the first place, ACOSTA observes, that the Devil has taught the Mexicans to imitate both Jews and Christians in the worship and service of their idols: That they had their Temples, Priests, Sacrifices, Sacraments, Prophets, and Ministers, as the people of God had: And then proceeds to describe the Mexican temples; of which having treated already, I shall, in the next place enquire into the Priest's office.

Their Pope.

Their chief Priest, he informs us, was stiled their Papas, or Pope, vested with sovereign authority, and held his office by inheritance, as the rest of the Priests of *Uitzliputli* did: But that the other Priests were elected or dedicated to that office in their infancy.

Incense offer'd to their idols.

That the daily employment of their Priests was to offer incense to their idols: This they did four times within the space of twenty-four hours, viz. at break of day, at noon, at sun-set, and at midnight; when they sounded their drums and trumpets: The chief Priest in waiting, being clothed in a kind of surplice, took fire from the altar at midnight; and, having incensed the idol, was followed into a chappel by the rest of the Priests and Officers of the temple; where they perform'd a very rigorous penance, lashing and cutting themselves 'till the blood follow'd, and then besmear'd their faces with their own blood.

Penances.

The Priests and Religious also fasted five or ten days before their grand festivals; and some of them cut and disabled themselves in such a manner, as to render them incapable of enjoying women: Neither did they drink strong liquor, or indulge themselves in sleep, most of their penances being perform'd in the night-time.

The manner of sacrificing men.

Their sacrifices come next to be consider'd. ACOSTA relates, that the captives design'd to be offer'd, being brought to the foot of the temple-stairs, were met by one of the chief Priests, who presenting them the image made of the flour of Wheat, Maize and Honey, declared, that "This was their god;" and, after some other ceremonies, one of these unhappy men was led up to the platform on the top of the steps, where he found six Priests ready for the execution; two seiz'd upon his arms, two on his legs, a fifth put a wooden col-

lar about his neck; and, having thrown him on his back on a pointed stone about 4 foot high, the sixth, being the chief Priest, ripped open his breast with a knife edg'd with flint; and, tearing out the heart first, presented it to the sun, and then threw it in the face of the image of *Uitzliputli* (or some other image) which stood on an altar in the chappel just before the place of execution: Then the body was thrown down the steps, and, being taken up by those that took him prisoner, was carried away, boil'd, broil'd, or otherwise cook'd, and serv'd up for the entertainment of their friends, who feasted on the flesh of the sacrifice. And thus, according to this writer, were fifty and more sacrificed in a day sometimes. The hands and faces of all the sacrificing Priests were painted black when they officiated; and the chief Priest had on a red robe or mantle, with a crown of feathers of various colours on his head, pendants at his ears, and jewels hung on his lips. The rest of the Priests had painted coronets on their heads, and were clothed in white robes.

CHAP.
XIV.

At some of their festivals, they steal a captive, and cloath'd another man in his skin, who went through the streets begging the charity of the people, who gave liberally on these occasions, the money being applied to the service of the temple.

Sometimes they would stake a prisoner down, and giving him weapons, suffer him to defend himself against the sacrificing Priest; and, if he were too hard for the Priest that attack'd him, they gave him his liberty, otherwise he underwent the same fate as the rest.

Their festivals, 'tis said, were usually celebrated with human sacrifices. The last day of every month, which consisted of twenty days, they sacrificed some captives, and ran about the streets, clothed in their skins, to beg money, in the manner above related.

A captive also was annually given to the Priests, to be the representative of their god. This man they clothed with all the robes and ornaments of the idol he was to personate, and gave him the same name; and he was honoured and adored all that year as the idol was, lodged in the best apartment in the temple, feasted and entertain'd by those of the first rank, and, when he went through the streets, he was attended by their Princes and Nobility; he play'd upon a pipe, or flute, and the people ador'd him as he pass'd: But at the end of the year he was sacrificed, and sent to increase the number of their gods.

The Priests put both the King and People upon these barbarous sacrifices, according to ACOSTA, who says, "They were weary of them when the Spaniards arrived amongst them, and were determin'd to have left them off themselves."

In their great feast of *Uitzliputli*, which was held the beginning of May, their Nuns (for they had cloisters of Nuns and Friars belonging to every temple) made an image of their god in paste, of the flour of Maize and Honey; which having dress'd up, and seated on an azure throne, the Nuns, who at that feast call'd themselves the sisters of *Uitzliputli*, carried it in procession on their shoulders to the area before the temple, where a set of young Friars received it, and carried it on their shoulders to the steps of the altar, where the people came and worshipped it, throwing dust on their heads.

Festival of Uitzliputli.

They afterwards went in procession with the image to a mountain, a league distant from Mexico, taking a tour through several of the neighbouring villages: After which they returned to the temple

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CHAP.
XIV.CHAP.
XIV.Their
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the god of
hunting.

in a triumphant manner, sounding their drums and trumpets, covering the idol with roses, and strewing the ground with all manner of flowers.

Then the Nuns took paste, and made it into the form of human bones, which were laid at the feet of the idol, and being consecrated by the Priests, were called, *The Flesh and Bones of Uitzliputli*: About which they sung and danced, and paid the same divine honours to them as to the idol itself. After which, the Priests stripped the idol of paste of its ornaments, broke that and the bones in pieces, which they distributed to the people, bidding them "eat the flesh of their god;" the whole ceremony concluding with a sermon or exhortation of the Priests.

On the 19th of the same month of May, was annually celebrated the feast of *Tescalipuca*, when the Priests absolved the people from their sins. The temple gates being opened, one of the Priests appeared, and blew a horn, turning himself to the four winds: After which, he took up dust and put in his mouth, pointing to the heavens; in which he was imitated by the people, who sigh'd, wept and mourn'd for their offences; and prostrating themselves on the ground, implored the divine mercy. The horn was blown for ten days successively, viz. from the 9th to the 19th of May; all which time was spent in weeping and mourning; and, on the last day the image of the god *Tescalipuca* was carried in procession, two Priests walking before it with censers in their hands; and, every time they censured the people, they lifted up their hands to heaven, adoring the sun and their idol: And, during the ceremony, the penitents scourg'd themselves with whips and knotted cords.

After the procession, the people made their oblations, consisting of gold, silver, the fruits of the earth, or of their labour. They also set all manner of delicious meats before the idol, which were afterwards carried by the servants of the temple to the apartments of the Priests; the whole ceremony concluding with the sacrifice of the person who had been the living image of the god of penance the preceding year, and the usual songs and dances at such solemnities.

The next festival I shall mention, is that of *Quitzalcoatl*, the god of trade. Forty days before this feast, the Merchants purchased a beautiful young slave, without any manner of defect, to be the living representative of this god; and, having wash'd and purified him, they clothed him with the same robes and ornaments with which the idol was adorn'd he was to represent: They danced, sung, and adored him; furnishing him with every thing that could render life desirable: But, nine days before the intended execution, they put him in mind of his approaching fate; and, if he appear'd to be dispirited and melancholy, they ply'd him with intoxicating liquors 'till he returned to his usual gaiety, and became insensible of his sufferings: And, on the night of the feast-day, about twelve o'clock, they sacrificed the unhappy wretch in the usual manner, ripping open his breast, and taking out his heart, which they first offer'd to the moon, and then threw in the face of the idol, tumbling the body down the stairs of the temple, which the Merchants took up, dress'd, and eat with their friends.

It is not pretended, that the Mexicans had any constant daily sacrifices, either of men or other animals: But our author relates, that they adored the god of hunting; and, at certain seasons of the year, used to surround the woods and mountains, where they expected to meet with wild beasts, or

game: And, having lighted fires on all sides, and driven the beasts to the centre, there they used to kill, and offer them to this god, who was placed on an altar on the top of the mountain thus invaded.

The inhabitants of Honduras, Jucatan, Nicaragua, and the rest of the provinces, had idols of different figures, that were worshipped with different rites: But most of them, we are told, sacrificed men on some occasions, particularly those of the district of Tlascala; and the island of Cozumel, on the coast of Jucatan, was famous for such sacrifices, as well as for its oracles. But we are inform'd, that the Priests here, as well as the Pagan Priests of old, used to abuse the people with pretended answers from their idols, which they themselves pronounced unseen from a hollow place, where they stood conceal'd.

I shall take an opportunity here to recite some of the miracles related by Father *Acosta*, which have any relation to these sacrifices, or other parts of their religion.

He says, that some Spaniards standing at the foot of the temple stairs, when a body that had been sacrificed, and the heart pulled out, was rolled down, the body spoke to them, and cry'd, "Knights, they have slain me;" adding, that it is no incredible thing for a person to speak after his heart is pull'd out.

The second miracle he relates, was done by a Spanish soldier, who having committed some capital crimes, fled to the Indians in the mountains to conceal himself; and observing the Indians in great distress for water, and that they in vain called on their gods for rain, advised them to erect a Cross, and offer up their prayers to it for relief; which they did, and there immediately fell abundance of rain, which so convinced the Indians of the virtue and holiness of the Cross, that they applied to it in all their distresses, obtaining whatever they demanded; which induced them to break their idols in pieces, and apply themselves to the Christian Priests to be baptized; and that the province was ever after called *The Holy Cross of the Mountain*. However, *Acosta* is so good to tell us, that this miracle-working soldier was afterwards taken by the Spaniards, and hang'd for new offences, not being able to leave his wicked courses.

The same writer proceeds to inform us, that some Spanish soldiers, who wander'd about in Florida several years, cured whole towns and provinces of their diseases, by saying over some prayers of the church, and signing their patients with the sign of the cross, without administering any medicine to them.

He observes also, that in several battles a horseman was seen in the air, mounted upon a white horse, with a sword in his hand, fighting for the Spaniards; and at other times the image of the blessed Virgin appeared fighting for them.

So very credulous and superstitious are the best Spanish authors, that treat of the conquest of Mexico: From whence it is natural to infer, how little their accounts are to be depended on, where it is their interest to traduce the Indians to advance the glory of their church, or magnify the actions of those pretended conquerors that destroy'd the inhabitants of that new world.

Notwithstanding 'tis pretended, that the Mexicans sacrificed twenty and fifty thousand men in one year, we find, when the same authors come to give a particular account of their religion, they confess, that on some of their greatest festivals they were contented with the life of one single victim; which it is not probable they would, if they had sacrificed such numbers at other times.

CHAP.
XIV.CHAP.
XIV.Miracles
related by
Acosta.

CHAP.
XIV.CHAP.
XIV.

It is observable also, that in some parts of their history, they represent them rejoicing at these sacrifices, cooking, dressing and eating the victims with an uncommon gust; and yet, in other passages, we are required to believe, that they detested human sacrifices, were put upon them only by their Priests, and were determined to have left them off before the Spaniards came: So inconsistent are these writers with themselves. And we find the Bishop of Chiapa, who was upon the spot at the time of the conquest, absolutely denies the Indians sacrificed such numbers as was pretended, or any thing near so many.

I can't help taking notice also, that their historians relates, that the legs and arms only of the sacrifice were chosen to eat, the body being neglected and thrown away; whereas in other animals, the loin, the breast and rump are looked upon as the choicest pieces, and the legs the most indifferent food. They also give us pictures and cuts of the Indians roasting human flesh on spits; whereas, every one knows, they roast no kind of flesh, but stew or broil (which they call barbacuing) their meat. From whence I am confirm'd in my former opinion, that the Indians never eat any human flesh; and if ever they sacrificed men, it was but very seldom, and upon extraordinary occasions. But to proceed in the description of their religious rites.

Convents
and nun-
neries.

Within the bounds of every temple there were two convents, the one of Nuns, and the other of Friars: The Nuns were clothed in white, and called the daughters of penance, being admitted into the cloister at twelve or thirteen years of age, when their heads were shaved: Their business was to keep the temple clean, and dress the sacred meats presented to the idols, and afterwards eaten by the Priests; and they made the furniture and ornaments for the temple, and the idols it contain'd: They rose at midnight to attend the service of the temple, and perform the penances imposed on them; and it was death to suffer their chastity to be violated while they remained in the cloister; but then they were to continue here but a few years; after which, they were allowed to leave their cells, and marry.

The young Friars were admitted at eight or nine years of age, had their crowns shaved, and attended the service of the temple also: They were obliged to live abstemiously, and practise great austerities; but were, however, at twenty years of age, allowed to go into the world, and marry. There were no such things among the Mexicans as vows of perpetual virginity and chastity; but, at proper ages, both Nuns and Monks entered into the married state, which render'd their condition preferable to that of cloister'd Catholics.

Circumci-
sion and
baptism.

The Spanish writers also relate, that the Mexicans had the rites of baptism and circumcision amongst them; by which they initiated young children, especially those of noble extraction, into their religion.

Confessi-
on.

Their Priests also obliged their people to come to confession, and enjoin'd them penance, after the manner of the Roman Catholics. Thus the rites of the Mexicans and Spaniards being pretty much the same, the latter had little more to do than to give them one set of images for another, and require them to direct their devotion to different objects represented by images consisting of the same materials their former idols were made.

Oracles.

Another part of the Mexican religion, or superstition, consisted in consulting their idols as to future events: But I find the Priests, for the most part, deliver'd their oracles; or, if the idol itself was ap-

ply'd to, there were some pious frauds used to impose on the bigotted enquirer. The voice, indeed, proceeded from the place where the image stood; but it was the voice of a man, artfully placed in or behind the image, and not the voice of a daemon (as some have supposed) that resolv'd their doubts. And, to me, the Idol-priest, the Conjurer, and the Physician, seem to have been the same person, only acting different parts: They all pretend to charm away distempers, and do a multitude of other feats, above the power of nature; which every one is at liberty to believe or reject, as he is disposed, these being no articles of faith.

As to the Christian religion, which the Spaniards boast they introduc'd into this new world, it appears, that the first adventurers, CORTEZ and his companions, studied nothing less than the conversion of the Indians, whatever they pretended: They only summoned the Indians to submit to the Pope and the Emperor CHARLES the Vth; and, on their refusal, to become Christians (before they were at all instructed in the Christian rites) they seiz'd their country, murder'd many millions of them, and enslav'd the rest: And afterwards, when these abuses were in some measure redress'd, and Missionaries sent over, they perfectly dragoon'd the Indians that were left alive into Christianity, driving 'em by hundreds and thousands into the rivers to be baptized, on pain of having their throats cut. One of these Missionaries boasted, to CHARLES the Vth, that he had baptized above thirty thousand Indians himself: And GAGE relates, that it was frequent, in his time, to baptize the Mexican Indians before they were at all instructed in the doctrines of Christianity. See GAGE's *Survey of the West-Indies*, p. 357, &c.

The same writer relates, that there are Missionaries sent over from Spain to every province in Mexico, from all the religious orders, annually; and that it is very seldom that any considerable dignity in the church of Mexico is conferred on a native of that country, tho' born of Spanish ancestors; which has created an implacable enmity between the Clergy that are natives of Mexico, and called Crioli, and those that are natives of Old Spain. The same policy is used in relation to posts in the Civil Government, as has been observed already: Most of the superior Governments and Offices are filled with the natives of old Spain, who treat the Crioli, or Mexican Spaniards, with great contempt; from whence, some have been inclined to think, the latter would be ready to revolt, and join any foreign Power that should appear in the West-Indies, to free themselves from the Spanish yoke. But as that of France would be still more insupportable to the Spanish Indians, and they are too much bigotted to their superstition to submit to Hereticks, it is highly probable, notwithstanding their aversion to the Spanish Administration, they would all unite against a foreign invader; and whatever European shall attack them, ought to depend on his own force, and not rely much on the disaffection of the natives.

GAGE's other observation, however, in relation to the Missionaries sent from Spain, "That they are frequently Monks of very little merit, and of lewd lives," may be true enough; for, so we find it in other countries, men of worth and character are seldom fond of travelling and undergoing such hazards and fatigues as are to be met with in passing the seas, and changing the climate; and therefore leave these missions to those whose necessities or slender reputation at home induces them

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CHAP. XIV. to go abroad: Not but that there have been men of very great worth found sometimes among these Missionaries.

GAGE insinuates, that the principal motives that draw the Spanish Clergy over to America, are a view of gaining great riches, to free themselves from the confinement of their cloisters, and enjoy an unrestrained liberty; for it is frequent for a Priest to lay up ten or twelve thousand crowns in ten years time, who has but an ordinary cure in Mexico, and to live plentifully and luxuriously all the time, and be in a manner adored by the common people there.

The loose lives of the Monks and Missionaries. He was amazed, he said, to find the Monks in the Mexican cloisters and the parochial Clergy rivaling the quality in their dress and luxurious way of life: They drank, they gamed, they swore, they wench'd, and made a jest of their vows of poverty; getting money enough, many of them, to return to Old Spain, and purchase bishopricks.

The Laity proportionably lewd. And as to the Laity, he says there is not a more bigotted or a lewder people upon the face of the earth: A present to the church wipes off the odium of the greatest crimes; and that the way the people are instructed in their religion here, as in Old Spain, is by plays and theatrical entertainments in their churches.

Pious playr. There is scarce any part of the history of the Gospel but is the subject of a play, which the lowest of the people are taught to act; one personates our SAVIOUR, another PILATE, a third HEROD, and so on: And as their churches are exquisitely fine, so is their musick, both vocal and instrumental. The Clergy collect the most harmonious voices, and have them taught not only to sing anthems, but merry songs; and in their cloisters they have masques, dances, and all manner of entertainments the Laity in this part of the world indulge themselves in: And yet have they their seasons for penance and mortification, particularly in Lent, when the people do not only keep a strict fast, but lash and cut themselves unmercifully in their processions. This is the exercise of the Holy-week before Easter, and in case of an earthquake, famine, or other general calamity, when they endeavour to appease the wrath of Heaven by such austerities.

Seasons of mortification.

CHAP. XV.

Of the marriages of the Mexicans; of the education of their children, and of their funerals.

Marriages. According to ACOSTA, the Mexicans were married by their Priests in the temple: The bride and bridegroom standing before him, he took each of them by the hand, and demanded, if they were agreed to marry; and, on their answering in the affirmative, he tied a corner of the woman's veil to a corner of the man's mantle; and, leading them in this manner from the temple to the bridegroom's house, he made the bride surround the fire (that was kindled in the middle of the house for that purpose) seven times: After which, the man and woman sat down by the fire; and thus the marriage was concluded without farther ceremony, and consummated the same night. But if the man did not find his bride a virgin, she was returned the next day to her friends, which was no small reproach to the family. On the contrary, if he had no objections to her virtue, the bridegroom gave a handsome entertainment to the wife's friends the next day, made them considerable presents, and sacrifices were offered to the gods on the joyful occasion. A schedule was afterwards made of all the

jewels, cloaths and goods the wife brought with her, which her father kept; and, in case of a divorce, which happen'd frequently where they could not agree, all the effects mention'd in the schedule were return'd, with the wife, to her friends: And, it seems, people once divorced were prohibited coming together again, by the Mexican laws, on pain of death.

CHAP. XV. Divorces.

ACOSTA, in speaking of their marriages, does not inform us, whether polygamy was allowed amongst them; but, in other parts of his history, he confirms the relations of other writers, who unanimously observe, that their Kings and Great men had a great variety of women, both wives and concubines. Adultery (that is, the enjoying another man's wife) was capital; but neither polygamy or concubinage were deemed any offence against their law: Even the common people had probably more wives than one, because they were so far from being a charge to a man, that they might well be reckon'd part of his stock, as well as his slaves; for the wives of the common people cultivated the grounds, carried the husband's baggage and provision in every expedition, whether in war, in hunting, or upon a journey: They also spun and wove their cloaths, and did all the business of the house besides; consequently, the more wives a man had, the richer he must be: Whether they brought fortunes with them or not, they improved and increased his estate every day.

Polygamy and concubinage allowed.

WAFER, who resided a great while among the Indians of Darien, adjoining to Mexico, relates, that the fathers of the bride and bridegroom only were concerned in tying the matrimonial knot. He does not mention any Priests being concerned in it; adding, that, seven days after the contract was made, the bride's father deliver'd her to her husband; when all the Indians for several miles round were invited to an entertainment, and every one of them brought the married couple a present, consisting of provisions and fruits. The men also brought their tools, to clear a spot of ground for a plantation for the married couple, and assist in building them a house: which being finish'd in seven or eight days, the men sat down to drinking, continuing at it night and day 'till all the liquor was spent; the women waiting upon them, and taking a great deal of care of their drunken husbands when they found them disorder'd. And, notwithstanding the wives are put to all manner of drudgery in their plantations and houses, and carry the baggage on journeys, WAFER observes, they do all this readily and cheerfully: That they have no quarrels with their husbands, or with one another, and are extremely good and courteous to strangers: That their husbands also are very kind to them: He never knew an Indian beat his wife, or give her a hard word, all the while he was amongst them; and, indeed it would be very hard, if they should abuse their wives, when they are contented to be their slaves.

A woman is no sooner deliver'd of a child, but she and the infant are immediately wash'd in some river: After which, the child is swathed or tied to a board, and the mother suckles it with the board at its back: It also sleeps in a hammock thus fasten'd to a board. And, when they grow up, the boys are bred to their father's exercises, namely, shooting, fishing, or hunting; while the girls are taught husbandry as well as housewifery, and to spin and weave. He adds, that the Prince of that country (who was a Pagan, and not at all subject to the Spaniards) had seven wives; and, whenever he

Child-bed women.

Education.

CHAP. XV. went a long journey, so contrived matters, that he had always a wife at the end of every stage.

Marriages of the Musquito Indians. The Musquito Indians, who inhabit the province of Honduras, allow of polygamy also, or a plurality of wives, as we are inform'd by one of our own countrymen, who resided amongst them about the year 1699: Nor do they marry 'till they have cohabited some time together, and try'd whether their humours and every thing else are agreeable; and then the man, to make sure of his wife, gives her father a present, enters into a contract with him for his daughter, and the bargain is ratified at a notable drinking-bout, where the friends on both sides are made as merry as heart can wish. And as these Musquito men frequently make long journeys, or go abroad in the service of the English and other foreigners, they do not take it amiss if a friend cohabits with their wives in their absence, provided they take care of them and their children.

Of Indians subject to the Spaniards. As to the Indians that are subject to the Spaniards, and obliged to profess themselves Christians, DAMPIER informs us, their Priests oblige them to marry when the lads are fourteen, and the girls twelve: And if they are not then provided with a spouse, the Priests find one for them. And in this, it seems, the Civil Government concur, looking upon it that married people make the best subjects: A wife and children are the surest pledges of a man's fidelity. An Indian seldom leaves his family, and retires to his untamed countrymen in the mountains, after he is married; but becomes an industrious and profitable member of the commonwealth, paying duties both to the Church and his Civil Governors. The marrying them so young also renders the country the more populous, which was impolitically deprived of its inhabitants by the first Adventurers. Nor do the Spaniards only take care to see the young Indians married to each other, but they encourage, or at least suffer, the native Spaniards, and the Criols their descendants, to marry with the Indians; whereby the Americans are so incorporated and allied to many Spanish families, that they are in a manner become the same people in several towns and provinces. The like policy the French observe in their American plantations; while the English stupidly prohibit their people marrying with the Indians, and consequently lose many advantages in planting and establishing themselves, which other European nations have.

Impolitic in us not to marry with the Indians.

The Spaniards, French and Portuguese also endeavour to make the natives profelytes to their religion, wherever they come; representing, at the same time, all Protestants as impious and barbarous monsters of men, and so far from being Christians, that they are perfect Infidels, and strangers to all virtue and morality: Which the poor Indians, who are incorporated with them by marriage, and now bigotted to their superstition, are too apt to believe. They entertain insuperable prejudices therefore against our nation, and have scarce any opportunities of being undeceiv'd. Thus the nations above-mention'd daily securing their interest in the natives, by the two strongest ties of blood and religion, our frontier settlements must ever remain expos'd to the invasions of their Indians. It will be very difficult to defend and establish them where the French or Spaniards lie in our neighbourhood, and continually incite the Indians in alliance with them to fall upon our colonies; especially as we use no arts to countermince our rivals, and ingratiate ourselves with the Indians, as other nations do. This is the true reason we have yet penetrated no farther into the continent; nor shall we ever be able to bring over many

Indian nations to our interest, unless we employ more CHAP. XV. Missionaries to instruct them in our faith, and encourage our people to intermarry with them. Our colonies, indeed, are yet more powerful in North America than either those of France or Spain, and we can supply the natives with what they stand in need of on easier terms than either of those nations can; but still they are shy of us, and do not appear hearty friends. The French and Spaniards frequently distress our settlements, only by stirring up the Indians against them, tho' they have scarce any forces of their own to back them; but were our people suffer'd to intermarry and incorporate with the Indians, and some pains were taken to bring them over to our religion, Florida, and most part of North America, would, in a few years, become entirely British; and our plantations might enjoy perfect tranquility, without a rival in that part of the world.

The ancient Mexicans, ACOSTA observes, were exceeding careful of the education of their children: They had almost publick schools and academies belonging to every great temple, where their masters studied the genius of the children under their care, and qualified them for the church, the state, or the army, according as they were inclined: They suffer'd them to take but little sleep, obliged them to live abstemiously, to carry burdens, and perform the roughest exercises; and those design'd for the army were obliged to attend the camp, and give proofs of their courage, before they were admitted to be enrolled among the soldiery, which was esteem'd the most honourable employment of all others.

The young ladies also were educated in convents, instructed in the principles of religion and virtue, taught to paint and match beautiful feathers, and such other works as might render them useful and agreeable when they enter'd on the married state. Both sexes were taught to sing and dance, and to repeat the heroick actions of their ancestors, and other remarkable occurrences in their history; which, in some measure, supplied the want of books and records; for, tho' they had some characters and hieroglyphicks amongst them, these were far from enabling them to form a tolerable history: They could give but a very dark and confused account of what had happen'd two or three hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards, whatever some writers may have suggested to the contrary.

The author of the *Conquest of Mexico*, written about an hundred and forty years since, as well as ANTONIO DE HERERA, informs us, that the Mexicans sometimes burnt, and at others, buried their dead: That their Princes and Great men were generally burnt, and their ashes, being afterwards collected, and put into an urn, were then buried: That the funeral solemnity was perform'd by their Priests, and the places of interment were usually their gardens or court-yards, tho' some were buried within the walls of their temples, and others in the fields or woods; the Mexican Emperors had burying-places appropriated to their family some distance from Mexico.

Soon after the party died, the corpse was wash'd; and, being dress'd in the mantles the deceased usually wore in his life-time, and set upright, all his friends and relations came and took a solemn leave of him. The corpse was carried to the place of interment, attended by the Priests, who sung mournful funeral songs, and play'd upon their wind-musick. And where a Prince was to be interr'd, the Nobility and Officers of state attended the procession: They were buried with their arms, and in their habits. In some places, abundance of treasure and precious moveables

CHAP.
XV.The state
of depart-
ed souls.

moveables were thrown into the grave with them, and a great number of slaves and officers killed to bear their Great men company. But this seems to have been practised more in Peru than Mexico. I question whether any slaves were put to death at the burial of a Great man in Mexico. But the Spanish writers have very confusedly intermixed the rites of several countries, which makes it difficult to distinguish what were their respective customs.

The same writers assure us, that the Mexicans believed that the soul was immortal, and that there was another state, where every one was to be rewarded according to his works; but they had no notion of the resurrection of the body. They held also, that there were nine different places to which departed souls were sent, according to the time of their respective ages, and the different lives they had led; but that the place of the greatest happiness was near the Sun: This was to be the portion of the brave who died in battle, and of such as had been sacrificed to their gods. Some of the latter were canonized, and even deified; which might be some excuse for their sacrificing men: They imagin'd, they did them no injury, when they depriv'd them of a life of care and anxiety, and sent them to share the joys of paradise, or, rather, to be number'd with the gods.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the province of New-Mexico.

New Mex-
ico.
Situation
and extent.

NEW MEXICO, or Granada, is bounded by unknown lands on the north; by Florida on the east; by Mexico, or New Spain, on the south; and by the Bay or Gulph of California, which separates it from California, on the west; lying between the 28th and 45th degrees of northern latitude, according to the Spaniards; and between 100 and 130 degrees of western longitude, from the meridian of London. But whether we should extend or contract these limits on the north and east, I will not pretend to determine. We know no people north of New Mexico. The Spaniards, if they please, may call the countries theirs as far as the Pole; but there is not a twentieth part of the country, within the bounds already described, either peopled or cultivated: And how far we should extend the limits of New Mexico to the eastward on the side of Florida, is equally uncertain; no one having attempted to fix the bounds between these two countries, unless the French, who have introduced that imaginary country of Louisiana into their maps in the room of Florida, bounding it with the British Plantations on the east, and New Mexico on the west. But if the English should (as I see nothing can prevent them, but their own sloth and negligence) extend their settlements to the westward, as far as the river Mississippi; and the Spaniards theirs to the eastward, as far as the same river, which may easily be done, as their settlements already come very near the banks of that river; Louisiana, probably, will be no more heard of in a few years.

All the
countries
north of
the Gulph
of Mexico
formerly
called Flo-
rida.

Certain it is, that all those countries which now go under the name of the British Plantations on the continent of America on the east, and those to which the Spaniards have given the name of New Mexico on the west, with all those countries that lie between them, and to which the French have given the names of Louisiana and New France, on the first discovery, went under the name of Florida. As to the English and the Spaniards, they have been a considerable

time possess'd of the east and west parts of this country, and have peopled and cultivated it in many places; and the English traffick with the natives as far eastward as the river Mississippi: Whereas the French have only here and there an inconsiderable fort, near the mouth of the river Mississippi, or in Canada; by which they pretend to entitle themselves to the whole country of Florida, and will never want a pretence for excluding both the English and the Spaniards from the whole, if ever they are strong enough to do it. Tho' forty years ago they had scarce any footing in the country they have denominated Louisiana, and are not at this day possess'd of more of it than the county of Middlesex contains; tho' the country they lay claim to is a fine square of fifteen hundred miles of a side, the most temperate, fruitful and beautiful spot of earth upon the face of the globe; from whence it obtained its ancient name of Florida. If we suffer the encroaching French to establish themselves there, and drive us from this terrestrial paradise, when nothing is so easy as to prevent it, by uniting our forces with the Spaniards, both nations richly deserve to enjoy the fruits of their supine negligence. But to return to New Mexico: We know little more of it, than that it abounds in rich silver mines, and has some of gold: That it is an exceeding fruitful country, well water'd with rivers, and abounding with the same plants and animals as our plantations of Virginia and Carolina do; and, according to the Spanish accounts, is very thinly inhabited by scatter'd clans or tribes of savage people, who live chiefly by what they take in hunting, and on the fruits of the earth that grow spontaneously; neither building towns, or cloathing themselves, or being acquainted with any art or science.

CHAP.
XVI.Gold and
silver
mines in
New Mex-
ico.The na-
tives.

GEMELLI CARERI, who was at New Mexico in the year 1698, gives us the following account of that country. He says, part of it is newly conquer'd, and there remains still much more to conquer. As to the natives, he was inform'd, they were such skilful archers, that they would hit a fixpence thrown up into the air, and shake all the grain out of an ear of corn without breaking it off: That they are great lovers of Mule's flesh; for which reason they often robbed travellers, and carried away only the beasts, leaving behind the chests of silver, which they do not value: That they paint their bodies, and pricking the skin render the colours indelible. The King of Spain maintains six hundred horse in New Mexico, with an allowance of four hundred and fifty pieces of eight per annum to each man; but the soldiers have the least part of it, the Governor putting most of it into his own pocket; for he sells them all manner of cloathing and necessaries, and, setting his price upon them, makes the soldiers give twenty pieces of eight for that which is not worth two; and, by such means, makes his post worth three hundred thousand pieces of eight per annum. The Spanish soldiers in this country are arm'd with a shield, musket, and half-pike, or spear; not to fight (says our author) but to hunt them out like wild beasts: They are order'd by the Government not to kill this savage people, but to bring them in, that they may be instructed in their religion, and civilized. Thus an hundred and fifty leagues have been conquer'd to the westward, tho' the people endeavour'd to defend themselves with their bows and arrows. The worst is (says GEMELLI) that, being five hundred leagues from the city of Mexico, those barbarians quickly revolt, knowing there cannot be supplies of soldiers sent against them suddenly. The country is plain, and

Gemelli's
account of
New Mex-
ico.

CHAP. XVI. and convenient for carriages for some months every year; but the King's forces are obliged to pass such wide deserts, that they usually intrench every night, and keep guard, for fear of being surpriz'd by the savages. The Franciscans have the charge of the conversion of these wild people, called Chichimeca's, who are rather atheists than idolaters, and have brought a great number of them to live like men; but their wild nature always inclines them to solitude. The country is so thinly peopled, that they travel several days journey without meeting with a village; for which reason the Viceroy has sent several families thither of late years to people it, the soil plentifully producing all things that are sowed or planted in it, even of the fruits of Europe: And there are, besides, rich mines of gold and silver. The length of the way not allowing travellers to carry their quilts to lie on, the Jesuits that go to their missions in this country have learnt of the Indians to carry before them, on their saddles, mattresses and pillows made of leather, which at night they blow full of wind, and they are as soft as a feather bed.

The enter-
prizes of
the Spani-
ards in
Florida.

The Spaniards formerly over-ran great part of the eastern as well as western Florida, but made few settlements in it. The gold and silver mines of Mexico were so attractive, that they in a manner abandon'd this fruitful country again, retaining only the forts of St. Augustine, St. Matthew, and some other inconsiderable places on the confines of Carolina: None of which I should envy them, if they would unite with Britain against France. There is room enough in Florida for the Spaniards, the English, and the natives; and, indeed, more than they can cultivate: But it is impossible they should enjoy any part of it in quiet, if the French are suffer'd to establish themselves in what they call Louisiana. There is no medium: The French must either be driven from Florida, or they will drive both the English and Spaniards out of it; and, indeed, out of all their American plantations: Therefore, as the Earl of SHAFTSBURY said in relation to the Dutch, *DELEND A EST CARTHAGO*. The French are a much more formidable enemy, both in the old and new world, than any other Power; and, I hope, Great Britain and Spain will discover their mutual interest before it be too late. The Spaniards can never do Britain any hurt, but by confederating with the French: Nor is it our interest to fall out with, or encroach on the Spaniards; their plantations take off our English manufactures, and, while we maintain a good understanding with them, are almost as advantageous to Britain as our own: Whereas, if the French are allow'd to fix in Florida, we not only lose our trade; but our very plantations. To return to New Mexico.

The
French
must be
driven
from Flo-
rida, or
the British
and Span-
ish settle-
ments will
be ruin'd.

Some writers have subdivided it into twenty or five and twenty provinces, and furnish'd us with the names of as many towns, the capitals of the respective provinces: But, as they have not given us the situation, boundaries, or description of any of these provinces, and most authors agree, that not one twentieth part of the country is yet inhabited or cultivated; I shall content myself with observing, that Santa Fé, the capital town of New Mexico, is situated in 36 degrees odd minutes north latitude, a little to the westward of the North River; and that it is a Bishop's see, and the residence of the Governor; and said to be regularly built of stone.

California
describ'd.

I shall conclude this chapter, and the description of the Spanish dominions in North America,

with the best account I could get of California, which may well be look'd upon as a part of New Mexico, since it is joined to it by a narrow isthmus, or only separated from it by the Bay or Gulph of California; and, if not under the same Governor, is subject in a great measure to Spanish influence, as will appear hereafter.

California, formerly deemed an island, is laid down in our latest charts and maps as a peninsula adjoining to the continent of New Mexico. It is bounded by unknown lands on the north; by the Bay or Gulph of California and a narrow isthmus, which separate it from Old and New Mexico, towards the west; and by the South-sea on the south and west; stretching in length from the Tropic of Cancer to the 45th degree of north-latitude; and lies between the 115th and 136th degrees of western longitude, reckoning from the Meridian of London. It is of an unequal breadth, narrow in the south, and growing broader towards the north; indented by many considerable bays and gulphs of the sea; said to be about fifteen hundred miles in length, and three hundred in breadth in the broadest part.

Situation
and ex-
tent.

This country was first discovered by CORTEZ, (who had the honour of subduing Mexico) in the year 1535; but the Spaniards did not, 'till very lately, penetrate far into it, contenting themselves with the rich Pearl-fishery on the coast.

The celebrated Sir FRANCIS DRAKE touched upon this coast in the year 1578, and took possession of it in the name of the then Queen of England, giving it the name of New Albion; but the British Government has never thought fit to attempt any farther discoveries in California; and it is at this day, or will be in a very short time, in the power of Spain, and annex'd to their Mexican dominions, as we may conjecture from the following description of that country.

In the letters of the Missionary Jesuits, we meet with one written by FR. MARIA PICCOLO, who relates, "That in October 1697 (being then in New Mexico) he embark'd, with Father SAL-
"VIETTERA and a guard of soldiers, for Califor-
"nia, in order to attempt the conversion of the
"natives of that country; and that having pass'd
"the Bay of California, and landed their people,
"the natives, imagining they came to dispossess
"them of their pearl-fishery, as others had endea-
"vour'd to do before, attack'd them with great
"fury, throwing at the Spaniards abundance of
"darts and stones: But, being repulsed by their
"guard, the people became more tractable, and
"enter'd into a parley with them; and, when
"they understood the Missionaries came with no
"other intention than to instruct them in the Chri-
"stian religion, they express'd a great deal of joy,
"and suffer'd them to settle four missions in their
"country, some of which extend to the coasts of
"the South-sea. Here they spent five years in
"learning the languages of the several tribes, and
"in preaching to the people; and had an opportu-
"nity of making the following remarks on that
"country.

The Je-
suits de-
scription
of Califor-
nia.

"California, this Father observes, is pretty well
"laid down in our common maps: That the heats
"in summer are very great along the sea-coasts,
"and it seldom rains; but the air of the inland
"country is more temperate, and the heats not so
"excessive: It is the same in winter in proportion.
"In the rainy season there are floods; but, when
"that is over, instead of rain, the dews fall in such
"plenty every morning, that one would think it
"had

CHAP.
XVI.

" had rained ; which renders the earth very fruitful. In the months of April, May, and June, there falls with the dew a sort of Manna, which congeals and hardens upon the leaves of reeds, from whence they gather it : It is as sweet as sugar, but not altogether so white.

" The climate must needs be healthful, if we may judge of it by ourselves, and those that were with us ; for, during the five years we were in this kingdom, we continued very well in health, notwithstanding the great fatigues we underwent ; and of the other Spaniards there died but two, one of which was a woman, who occasioned her own death, by imprudently bathing herself when she was near lying-in.

" There are in California large plains, pleasant valleys, excellent pastures at all times for great and small cattle, fine springs of running water, brooks, and rivers, with their banks cover'd with Willows, Reeds and wild Vines. In their rivers they have plenty of fish, especially Cray-fish, which they keep in reservoirs 'till they have occasion for them. There is also plenty of Xicames, of a better taste than those of Mexico. So that we may conclude California to be a very fruitful country. On the mountains there are, all the year long, Mescales, a fruit peculiar to this country ; and, in most seasons, large Pistachio's of several sorts, and Figs of different colours. The trees are very beautiful ; and, amongst others, that which the Chinos (who are natives of the country) call Palo Santo, bears a great deal of fruit : From this they draw excellent Frankincense.

" As this country abounds in fruits, it does not less in grain, of which there are fourteen sorts, that the people feed on. They use the fruits of trees and plants, and among others those of the Yuca (or Cassavi) to make bread of. There are excellent Skirrets, a sort of red Strawberries, of which they eat plentifully : Citrons and Water-melons of an extraordinary size. The land is so good, that most plants bear fruit three times a year ; so that, with some labour in cultivating it, and skill in managing the water, they render the country extremely fertile. Nor is there any sort of fruit or grain, but what they gather in great abundance, which we experienced ourselves ; for bringing with us from New Spain, Indian-wheat, Peas, Lentils, &c. we sowed them, and had a very plentiful increase, tho' we had not any cattle or proper instruments to till the ground.

" Besides several sorts of animals that we knew, which are here in plenty, and are good to eat, as Deer, Hares, Rabbits, we found two sorts of Deer that we knew nothing of ; we call them Sheep, because they somewhat resembled ours in make. The first sort is as large as a Calf of one or two years old : Its head is much like that of a Stag, and its horns, which are very large, like those of a Ram : Its tail and hair are speckled, and shorter than a Stag's ; but its hoof is large, round, and cleft like that of an Ox. I have eaten of these beasts ; their flesh is very tender and delicious. The other sort of Sheep, some of which are white, and others black, differ less from ours : They are larger, and have a great deal more wool, which is very good, and easy to be spun and wrought. Beside these animals, that serve for food, there are Lions, wild Cats, and many others, like those in New Spain. We brought to California some Cows, and store of

CHAP.
XVI.

" small cattle, as Sheep and Goats, which would have increased very much, had not the necessity we were once in obliged us to kill the greatest part of them. We also brought with us Horses and Colts, to stock the country, and began to breed up Hogs ; but, as these do a great deal of damage to the villages, and the women are afraid of them, we have resolved to extirpate them.

" As for fowls, there are in California all that are in Mexico and New Spain, as Pigeons, Turtle-doves, Larks, Partridges, of an exquisite taste, and in great quantities ; Geese, Ducks, and many other sorts, both of river and sea fowls.

" The sea affords plenty of very good fish : They take Pilchards, Anchovies, and Tunnies ; which last they catch with their hands on the shore. We often see Whales, and all sorts of Tortoises. The shores are filled with heaps of shells, larger than those of Mother of Pearl. The Salt they have is not from the sea, but out of pits : It is as bright as Crystal, and so hard, that they are often forced to break it with hammers : It is a very good commodity in New Spain, where Salt is scarce.

" California has been known near these two centuries, and its coasts are famous for the Pearl-fishery, which has made the Europeans so desirous of establishing a trade here. It is certain, if the King would erect a fishery here, at his own charge, he might draw great advantage from it. Nor do I doubt, but that there are mines to be found in several places, if they were sought for ; since the country is under the same degree as the provinces of Cinulao and Sonora (in Mexico) where there are rich ones.

" Tho' heaven as been so bountiful to the Californians, and the earth brings forth of itself what it does not produce elsewhere without a great deal of labour and pains ; yet they make no esteem of the plenty and riches of their country, contenting themselves with what is only necessary for life ; they take little care for the rest. The inland parts of the country are very populous, especially towards the north : And tho' there is scarce a town, but what has twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty families in it ; yet they have no houses, but defend themselves from the heat of the sun in the day-time under the shade of the trees ; and of their leaves and branches make a sort of roof against the inclemency of the night. In the winter they shut themselves up in caves in the earth, and live there together little better than so many beasts.

" The men go naked, at least all were so that we saw : They wear about their head a fine linnen fillet, or sort of net-work ; and about their neck, and sometimes about their arms, for ornament, Mother of Pearl, in divers figures, very finely wrought, and prettily intermix'd with little round fruits, somewhat like the beads of a chaplet. They have no other arms than bows and arrows, and a sort of spear or lance, which they always carry in their hands, either to kill game, or defend themselves ; for their towns are frequently at war with each other.

" The women wear, from their waist down to their knees, a kind of apron made of reeds, very neatly wrought, and platted together : They cover their shoulders with the skins of beasts, and wear about their heads, like the men, a very curious kind of net-work ; which our soldiers find

" so

CHAP.
XVI.

“ so convenient, that they make use of them to tie up their hair with. They, as well as the men, have necklaces of Mother of Pearl, mixed with the stones of some sorts of fruit and sea-shells, hanging down to their waist; and bracelets of the same.

“ The common employment both of men and women is spinning: They make their thread of long plants, which serve them instead of Hemp and Flax, or else of a cotton-like substance found in the shell of some sorts of fruit. Of the finer thread they make the ornaments above-mentioned, and of the coarser, fishing-nets and sacks, or bags for several uses. The men moreover, of certain plants, whose fibres are very close and thick set, and which they are well skilled in working, employ themselves in making dishes and other kitchen necessities, of all fashions and sizes. The smaller pieces serve for drinking-cups; those that are larger for plates and dishes, and sometimes for umbrellas for the women; and the largest sort for baskets to gather fruit in, and sometimes for pans and basins to dress their meat in: But they take care to keep them perpetually moving while they are over the fire, for if the flame catch them they are soon burnt.

“ The Californians have a great deal of vivacity, and are naturally addicted to raillery, as we found when we began first to instruct them; for if we

“ committed any error in their language, they jeested and made sport with us: But after we were grown better acquainted with them, if we committed any faults, they civilly advised us of them. And if at any time we explained any mystery or point of morality, not conformable to their prejudices and errors, they waited for the Preacher after sermon, and disputed against him with a great deal of force and wit. If we could give them good reasons for it, they listen'd very attentively, and, when convinced, submitted, and did accordingly. We have not found amongst them any form of religion or regular worship, only they adore the Moon, and cut their hair (as I remember) in her decrease, in honour of their deity, which they give to their Priests, who employ it to several superstitious uses. Every family is a distinct State, and hath different laws and customs, which is plainly the reason that they are so often at war with one another.”

Captain ROGERS, our countryman, late Governor of the Bahama islands, touch'd at California in the year 1709, in his voyage round the globe, and confirms many of the particulars mention'd by this Jesuit: Neither do I perceive he contradicts him in any material circumstance, which inclines me to give the more credit to that Father's description of California.

CHAP.
XVI.

THE

THE PRESENT STATE OF TERRA-FIRMA.

CHAP. I.

Of the province of TERRA-FIRMA.

CHAP. I. **H**AVING finished the description of the Spanish dominions on the continent of North America, I enter on the state of their territories in South America, which are divided into six large provinces, viz. 1. That of the Terra Firma; 2. Peru; 3. Chili; 4. Patagonia, or Terra-Magellenica; 5. Paragua, or La-plata; and 6. the country of the Amazons.

Terra-Firma, the countries included under that name. 1. And first I shall treat of Terra-Firma; under which name I comprehend, 1. Terra-Firma Proper; 2. Carthagena; 3. St. Martha; 4. Rio de la Hacha; 5. Venezuela; 6. Comana; 7. New Andalusia; 8. Caribiana; 9. Guiana; 10. Paria; 11. New Granada; and 12. Popayan.

Its situation and extent. These countries, comprehended under the general name of Terra-Firma; are bounded by the North-sea or Atlantic-ocean, on the north and east; by Peru and the country of the Amazons, on the south; and by the South-sea, and the province of Veragua in Mexico, on the west; being upwards of two thousand miles in length from east to west, and generally about five hundred miles in breadth from north to south.

Terra-Firma Proper described. The province of Terra-Firma Proper, which frequently goes under the name of Darien, is bounded by the North-sea on the north; by the gulph or river of Darien, which separates it from Carthagena on the east; by Popayan and the South-sea on the south; and by the same sea and the province of Veragua on the west; lying between 8 and 10 degrees of north latitude, and between 78 and 83 degrees of western longitude. The most exact boundary of this province on the west, is a line drawn from the fort at the mouth of the river Chagre on the North-sea, to the town of Nata on the South-sea; and the truest southern boundary, a line drawn from Point Garrachina, on the south part of the gulph of St. Michael, in the bay of Panama, directly eastward to the river of Darien. It lies in the form of a bow or crescent, about that noble bay of Panama, being about 300 miles in length, and 60 in breadth, from sea to sea. I am the more particular in describing the situation of this province, because it is, in proportion, the richest, and of most importance to the Spaniard, (as it would be to any European nation that should possess themselves of

CHAP. I. it) and has been the scene of more action than any province in America. Its situation, both on the North and South-seas, and on the confines of North and South America, and the gold mines, gold sands and pearls with which this province and the adjacent seas are replenished, render it invaluable, and make it the darling object of all enterprizing people.

The face of Terra-Firma Proper. The face of this province is thus described by the English Buccaneers, who have often traversed it: They tell us, the surface is very unequal, consisting of exceeding high hills, and long deep valleys: That the valleys are water'd with rivers, brooks, and perennial springs, with which the country abounds; some of them falling into the North, and others into the South-sea, most of them having their sources in a ridge or chain of mountains that surmount and over-top the other hills, running the whole length of the isthmus parallel to the coasts, spreading along, and bending as the isthmus bends. This vast ridge of hills is nearest the coast of the North-sea, seldom more than ten or fifteen miles distant from it. WAFER observes, when he passed over them, that the hills between these mountains and the South-sea were nothing, in comparison of them: That those hills did not only appear much beneath this high ridge, but the clouds were considerably below them, and intercepted their sight of the country, and all their people grew giddy with the height, when they had climb'd to the top; but this giddiness went off again as they descended lower. The hills between this and the South-sea are covered with fine tall woods, with little or no under-wood to interrupt the passage: But those on the north side, are full of bushes, bamboes and mangroves, near the shore, that render them almost impenetrable.

The rivers. The rivers on the isthmus, are some of them pretty large, but few of them navigable, having bars of sand at their mouths. Those on the north side, rising in the high ridge of mountains, have generally a very short course, running precipitately into the sea, tho' there are exceptions to this rule, some of them having a winding course through the valleys, almost from the South to the North-sea.

The chief rivers are, 1. the river, or rather gulph of Darien; 2. the river of Conception; and 3. the river

CHAP. I. river Chagre on the North-sea; 4. the river of St. Mary's; 5. the river Congo; 6. the river Cheapo; which last three fall into the bay of Panama.

Darien river.

1. The river or gulph of Darien, the eastern boundary of this province, rises in the south; and running directly north, upwards of an hundred miles, falls into the North-sea, near Golden island. It is six or seven leagues wide at the mouth, but hath not above six foot water in a spring-tide. It is deep enough within the bar for great ships, and navigable fourscore or an hundred miles; but, as no vessels of burthen can get over the bar, there is very little traffick carried on upon it.

Conception river.

2. The river of Conception rises about the middle of the great ridge of mountains, and running precipitately to the north-west, falls into the North-sea over-against an island called La Sounds-Key, being one of the Sanbalas islands. This river is pretty broad, and makes a good appearance at the mouth, but has a bar also, that prevents any ships of burthen getting in; however, it is fine riding in the channel at the mouth of this river, between the islands and the main-land, which form a pretty good harbour.

Chagre river.

3. The river Chagre, the most navigated of any river of this province. It rises not far from Panama on the South-sea, and taking its course to the north-west, finds a way through very deep winding valleys, falling into the North-sea ten leagues to the westward of Porto Bello: Upon this river therefore is embarked all the merchandize that is sent from Panama to Porto Bello for the galleons, except the gold and silver, which are carried directly over land upon the backs of mules to Porto Bello.

Santa Maria river.

4. The river Santa Maria, or St. Mary's, which rising on the mountains on the North-east part of this province, runs to the westward, and falls into the gulph of St. Michael's on the south side of the bay of Panama. This is a pretty large navigable river, and considerable, on account of its lying in the neighbourhood of the gold mines, and for the rivulets which fall into it; in whose sands are found abundance of gold. One of these is called the Golden River: Hither the Spaniards come with their slaves from Panama, and other towns, in the dry season, which lasts three months, to gather gold. These brooks at that time not being more than a foot deep, the slaves take up the sand in little wooden dishes, in which they find such a quantity of gold, that in some seasons, 'tis said, they carry off eighteen or twenty thousand pound weight of pure gold, out of that brook alone, which goes by the name of the Golden River.

Congo river.

5. The river Congo rises in the mountains on the east part of this province, and running to the south-west, almost parallel to the river of Santa Maria, falls into the same Gulph of St. Michael's to the northwards of it. It is a large river, navigable for great vessels within the bar, but so shallow at the mouth, that it is very difficult entering. There are a great many small streams fall into this river, both on the east and west.

Cheapo river.

6. The river of Cheapo, which rising in the mountains near the North-sea, first bends its course to the westward, and then turning to the south, falls into the bay of Panama, seven leagues to the westward of that city. It is a considerable navigable river, and runs a long course; but has the same misfortune as the rest, to have a bar at the mouth, that large ships cannot enter it.

Air and seasons.

This province being very narrow, and lying between two great oceans, viz. the North and South-seas, is observed to have more wet weather, than

any other place within the Torrid Zone. The rains usually begin here in April or May: In June, July and August they are very heavy; and it is extreme hot at this time, whenever the sun shines out: There are then no breezes to cool the air; but it is, in my author's phrase, glowing hot. In September, the rains begin to abate; but it is November or December, and sometimes January before the fair season returns: So that the country is very wet for two thirds, if not three quarters of the year. But in the wettest season, there are some fair days, with only a tornado or thunder-shower now and then. The floods and torrents caused by these rains, often bear down trees, which dam up the rivers, overflowing all the neighbouring plains. The low countries appear at this time like one great lake. The coolest time of the year, is after the rains, about Christmas, when the fair weather approaches.

The chief towns in Terra-Firma Proper, are, Chief towns.
1. Panama; 2. Porto Bello; 3. Venta de Cruzes; 4. Cheapo; 5. Nata; 6. Conception; 7. Santa Maria; 8. Scuchadero; and, 9. (lately) New Edinburgh.

1. The city of Panama is situated in 9 degrees of north latitude, and 82 degrees of western longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. It stands upon the finest and most capacious bay in the South-sea, and is built with brick and stone, being surrounded by a stone wall, fortified with bastions and other works, planted with great guns both towards the sea and land. It lies in the form of a half-moon upon the bay; affording a most beautiful prospect, all the best houses and publick buildings appearing above the walls: And what adds to the prospect, are the beautiful orchards and gardens, and the pleasant country about it, diversified with hills, valleys, and delightful groves. There are no large woods or marshes near Panama, but a fine dry champaign land (according to DAMPIER) not subject to fogs. The island of Perica, three miles distant, is the port to Panama: For the water is so shallow near the town, that great ships cannot come up to it, tho' small vessels lie close to the walls.

This town, according to FUNNEL, contains upwards of six thousand houses, eight parish-churches, besides the cathedral, thirty chapels, and several monasteries and nunneries. It is a Bishop's see, Suffragan to the Archbishop of Lima in Peru; the seat of the Governor and of the Courts of justice of this province. But what renders it most considerable, are the treasures of gold and silver, and the rich merchandizes of Peru, which are lodged in the magazines of this town 'till they are sent to Europe, as well as the merchandize sent over by the galleons from Spain, to be transported to the several cities and provinces of Peru and Chili.

Old Panama stood about four miles to the eastward of this city, and was destroyed by the Buccaneers commanded by Captain HARRY MORGAN (afterwards Sir HARRY MORGAN, an Englishman) in the year 1670; which is too remarkable an occurrence to be omitted in this place; especially, as it shews how easily the Spaniards might be dispossest of this important town and province, if we should be compelled to fall out with them; which I am confident we never shall, if Spain understands her true interest, and does not too much interrupt our commerce with the British plantations.

Captain MORGAN was the son of a rich yeoman, of a good family in Wales, who having a tory mind to see the world (about the year 1652, during CROMWELL's usurpation) agreed with the Master

CHAP. I. Master of a ship of Bristol (or some other port in the neighbourhood of Wales) to carry him to Barbadoes, whither the ship was bound; which the treacherous seaman performed; but sold his passenger for seven years to a planter of that island, as soon as he arrived. This practice of kidnapping young fellows, whom they enticed on board, with false representations of the country, and an assurance of making their fortunes in the plantations, being very common in those days.

Having served his seven years, and obtained his liberty, he transported himself to Jamaica; where, finding two ships of Buccaneers ready to put to sea, he resolved to go on board one of them; and, having met with success, in three or four voyages, he and some of his comrades determined to purchase a ship and set up for themselves: Accordingly, they bought a vessel for their purpose; and, choosing MORGAN their Captain, they cruised upon the coast of Campeachy, where they took several Spanish prizes, and returned with their booty to Jamaica.

Vice-Admiral to Mansvelt the Buccaneer. MANSVELT, a celebrated Buccaneer, was at this time at Jamaica, fitting out ships for an expedition against the continent; and, being informed of the bravery and conduct of MORGAN, offered to make him his Vice-Admiral, which our Adventurer accepted of; and they set sail from Jamaica, with fifteen vessels, great and small, mann'd with five hundred men, of which the greatest part were French and Dutch. Their first attempt was against the island of St. Catharine's, or Providence, which lies fifty leagues north-west of Porto Bello, and then in possession of the Spaniards; and altho' the island was of itself naturally strong, and fortified with several forts and castles, they soon made themselves masters of it, and left a garrison in the principal castle, designing to make this island a place of arms, from whence they proposed to plunder and harra'ss the neighbouring continent, and then retreat thither with the booty they should acquire from time to time.

In pursuance of this project, they landed at several places in the province of Costa Rica, and plundered the open towns; but receiving advice that the Governor of Panama was marching against them with a great body of troops, they reembarked their men, and returned to the island of St. Catharine's: Afterwards MANSVELT came with his fleet to Jamaica, and applied himself to the Governor for a reinforcement of troops, to enable him to attack the Spanish settlements; which the Governor not complying with, MANSVELT sailed to the island of Tortuga, to invite the Buccaneers of that island to join him; but, while he was negotiating this affair at Tortuga, he fell sick and died.

In the mean time the Spanish General of the Terra-Firma, assembled a fleet and attacked the island of St. Catharine's, which surrendered to him on the same terms the Buccaneers had granted the Spaniards when they took it.

After the death of MANSVELT, Captain MORGAN commanded the Buccaneers of Jamaica; and, assembling a fleet of twelve sail, consisting of ships and great boats, with seven hundred bold seamen, English and French, he attacked the town of Puerto del Principe, on the north coast of the island of Cuba, and took it: In the plunder of which place, they found about the value of fifty thousand pieces of eight. But there happening a misunderstanding between the English and French, they parted company, and MORGAN returned to Jamaica with the English.

CHAP. I. The Buccaneers having soon spent the money they got by plundering Puerto del Principe, Captain MORGAN proposed their entering upon another expedition: and, tho' he did not acquaint them whether he designed to lead them, four hundred and sixty brisk young fellows offer'd to follow his fortunes, whom he embarked on a fleet of nine sail of ships and sloops; and being arrived upon the coast of Terra-Firma, let his people know, that his design was upon Porto Bello, one of the strongest, as well as the richest towns the Spaniards had on the North-sea: And his men (confiding in the conduct and bravery of their Commander) readily consented to engage in it. Some indeed did observe, that their number was but small to attack so considerable a place: But the Captain replying, "If our number is small, our hearts are great, and the fewer we are, the greater will be our share of the spoil," they appeared impatient to begin the attack, and desired he would lead them on: But, as the Captain was well aware of the hazard of the undertaking, and sensible the success must be very doubtful, if he did not use some stratagem to surprize the place before they could put themselves in a posture of defence; he landed in the dusk of the evening, at a distance from the town, and taking a Spanish soldier prisoner, that stood sentinel without the works, from whom he learned the condition the garrison was in, he surrounded one of the castles that defended the entrance of the harbour, before the people of the town knew he was landed, and ordered the soldier he had taken, to call to his comrades in the castle, and let them know, that if they did not immediately surrender, he would give them no quarter; and the garrison thereupon firing upon the Buccaneers, with great and small shot, the Captain ordered his men immediately to scale the walls; which they did in an instant, with their pistols in their hands (no men being so dextrous at clambering walls as seamen; and, tho' a stout resistance was made, the Buccaneers entered the castle at so many different places in the dark, that the garrison were confounded, and surrendered at discretion: Whereupon MORGAN, to strike a terror into the town and the rest of the castles, resolved to put his threats in execution; and, having shut up all the officers and soldiers in one room, set fire to a great quantity of powder he had placed underneath it, and blew up the castle into the air, with all the prisoners in it: After which, he stormed the city, and took it with very little resistance, ordering a party of his men to search the cloysters, and bring him all the Monks and Nuns they could find.

In the mean time, the Governor and principal townsmen retired into another of the castles, with their treasure and valuable goods, and the plate belonging to the churches, and play'd upon the Buccaneers from their artillery with that fury, that MORGAN was about to abandon the place, when some of his men possessing themselves of another fort, and crying out *Victoria*, gave him fresh hopes of success. Having caused ladders therefore to be made so broad, that three or four men might mount them a-breast, he forced the Monks and Nuns to fix them to the walls of the principal castle; and the Governor still continuing to fire both great and small shot, many of the Religious, men and women, were killed and wounded, crying out for mercy both to friends and enemies, each side seeming equally deaf to their cries: If they advanced, they were killed by the Spaniards; and if they retired, they were slaughtered by the Buccaneers. At length the Pirates mounted the walls, with their pistols

CHAP. I. pistols and earthen pots full of gun-powder and combustible matter in their hands, and drove the Spaniards from the walls, who thereupon threw down their arms, and cried quarter: Only the Governor refused to accept quarter, and compelled the Buccaneers to kill him, having first killed several of the enemy that endeavoured to make him prisoner, tho' his wife and daughter begg'd of him with tears to accept of quarter; to whom, 'tis said, he answer'd, "No; he had rather die like a soldier, than be hang'd for a coward."

The Buccaneers having made an entire conquest of the place, and secur'd their prisoners, fell to drinking and revelling, after their usual manner, compelling the women to submit to their embraces; and every thing was in such disorder the first night, that fifty men, 'tis said, might easily have retaken the place, and cut off every man of them: However, the next day, being recovered from their debauch, they fell to plundering the city, and torturing the inhabitants, to make them confess where they had concealed their wealth; some of them having thrown their jewels, money and plate into wells, and others buried them in the earth.

Fifteen days these Free-booters spent in search of treasure, and carrying it on board their ships; and, tho' they received advice that the Governor of Panama was assembling all the forces of Terra-Firma, to march against them, they made no great haste to quit the place, but remained here 'till they had victualled their fleet, and provided for another expedition: Captain MORGAN also demanded an hundred thousand pieces of eight, to redeem their city from the flames, assuring them, that if they did not send to Panama, and provide that sum, he would lay it in ashes, and blow up all the fortifications: But the Governor of Panama, instead of sending the sum demanded, immediately began his march, to rescue Porto Bello and the prisoners out of MORGAN's hands: Whereupon he possessed himself of a narrow pass, through which he knew the Spaniards must march; and, after a sharp engagement, obliged the Governor to retire with some precipitation; and, the people of Porto Bello were in the end compelled to pay the hundred thousand pieces of eight that were demanded to ransom the town and themselves.

The Governor of Panama, astonished that Porto Bello, and all its castles, should be taken by four hundred men, without great guns, or any breach made in the walls, 'tis said, sent to MORGAN, desiring to know what arms he made use of, to reduce so strong a place: Whereupon the Captain sent him a pistol, and some small leaden bullets, desiring he would accept of that pattern of the arms with which he had taken Porto Bello, and keep them a twelve-month, when he assured the Governor, he would come to Panama and fetch them away; which promise it seems, he kept faithfully, that city undergoing the like fate within a year or two.

Captain MORGAN having taken the best guns out of the castle, with such stores, arms and ammunition as he wanted, and nailed up and spoiled the rest of the cannon, set sail from Porto Bello for the island of Cuba, where he divided the spoil with his people, and found they had in ready money two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, besides silks and other rich merchandize; with which returning to Jamaica, the private seamen soon consumed every shilling they had gotten with such infinite hazard, in wenching and drinking, which made money more plentiful in that island than ever it had been known before.

The next year Captain MORGAN assembled another fleet, and upwards of five hundred men, with which he took and plundered the towns of Maricaibo, and Gibraltar, situate on the lake of Maricaibo, in the province of Venizuela, and brought off the value of two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight: But of this enterprize I shall give an account when I come to treat of that province, and only observe, that his men having spent the money they got there, in the same manner they used to do their prize-money, were easily prevailed on by the Captain, to undertake another adventure. And indeed he had by this time gained such a reputation, by his bravery and conduct, and the many successful actions he had engaged in against the Spaniards, that every enterprising seaman appeared ready to serve under him; of which the Captain being well apprised, invited all seafaring men to come to the rendezvous he appointed at the island of Tortuga, near the north shore of Hispaniola, where he was sure to find a great many men fit for his purpose, and might victual his fleet with the cattle that run wild in the woods of Hispaniola.

The Captain arrived at Tortuga the latter end of October, 1670, and finding himself at the head of upwards of two thousand brave fellows, and between thirty and forty ships, employed part of his people in hunting and salting up beef for his fleet in the island of Hispaniola, and at the same time sent four ships and four hundred men to Rio de la Hacha on the continent, where he knew there was great plenty of Indian-corn to be met with, to procure a sufficient quantity of it to victual his ships for his intended expedition; in both which attempts he was very successful, getting both beef and corn enough for his purpose, within the space of five or six weeks.

And now, being ready to sail, he divided his fleet, consisting of thirty-seven ships, into two squadrons, constituting Vice-admirals, Rear-admirals, and other officers, to whom he gave formal commissions, to commit hostilities against the Spanish nation, and take their ships, declaring them enemies to his master the King of England. After which, he caused articles to be drawn and signed by his Officers; wherein it was agreed, that MORGAN the Admiral should have a hundredth part of all the prizes and plunder that should be taken; every Captain the shares of eight men for the expences of his ship, besides his own; every Surgeon two hundred pieces of eight for his chest of medicines, besides his pay and share; each Carpenter a hundred pieces of eight, besides his usual salary; and that the following rewards should be allowed for smart-money, viz. one thousand five hundred pieces of eight, or fifteen slaves, to every one who should lose both his legs; and one thousand eight hundred pieces of eight, or eighteen slaves, to him that should lose both his hands, at the option of the wounded men; six hundred pieces of eight, or six slaves, for the loss of one hand, and as much for the loss of one leg; and one hundred pieces of eight for the loss of an eye; and to him that should signalize himself in battle, by taking a colour, entering a breach first, or the like, a reward of fifty pieces of eight was to be allowed; which recompences and rewards were agreed to be paid out of the first prizes or plunder that should be obtained, after the respective events or accidents.

A council of war being afterwards held on board the Admiral, it was debated, whether they should attempt Carthage, Vera Cruz or Panama; and it was resolved to attack Panama; which town they imagined to be the richest of the three, tho' it was much

Articles
between
Morgan
and his
men.

CHAP. I. much the most difficult to reduce, being situated on the South-sea, where their ships and great guns could be of no use to them, and they must, of necessity leave a considerable part of their forces behind them to guard their fleet, nor were any of their people acquainted with the avenues to that city.

To obviate the last of these difficulties, it was determined in the first place to attack the island of St. Catharine's, or Providence again, which lies between forty and fifty leagues to the northward of the river Chagre; for here they were sure to find Outlaws and Banditti banished thither from the city of Panama, who were acquainted with all the by-ways to the town, and would probably enter into the service of the Buccaneers: Nor were they disappointed in their expectations; for the Spanish Governor of the island of Providence surrendering on the first summons, three Banditti, who were acquainted with all the avenues to Panama, offered to be their guides, on being promised to share in the expected plunder.

The castle of Chagre taken.

While MORGAN lay with his fleet at the island of Providence; in order to facilitate the grand enterprize, he dispatched his Vice-admiral BONDLEY, with four ships and four hundred men, to make themselves masters of the castle of Chagre, which stood at the mouth of the river of the same name: For by this river he proposed to transport his people in boats and canoes to the south side of the isthmus. But the taking this castle proved a more difficult and hazardous enterprize than had been expected: For the castle stood on a mountain at the entrance of the river; the top of the hill divided, in a manner, in two parts, by a trench or ditch thirty foot deep; nor was there any entrance to the castle, but by a draw-bridge over this ditch; there were four bastions, with batteries of great guns towards the land side, and two more that looked towards the sea; to the south side of the castle there was no possible access, the rock on which it stood was so very steep; the north side was encompassed by the river, which was very broad; and at the foot of the castle, or rather of the mountain, was a strong fort mounted with eight guns, which commanded the entrance of the river; from whence the way to the castle was by a pair of stairs hew'd out of the rock; and at the entrance of the harbour there were rocks under water, which made the coming in very hazardous: And, lastly, this terrible castle was garrison'd by upwards of three hundred regular European forces, as brave men as any the Spaniards had in their service. And yet, in these circumstances, did four hundred desperate Buccaneers venture to attack this almost impregnable fortress. They landed at some distance from the place, and marched through thick woods and morasses, from day-light 'till late in the afternoon, that they might come to that side of the castle on which alone it was possible to approach it; and here they found themselves so exposed to the fire of the enemy, that they were once resolved to have turn'd their backs, and fled out of the reach of the guns, and were actually retiring, when one of their company that was wounded by an arrow shot from the castle by an Indian, drew the same arrow out of his body, and having wound some cotton about the head of it, fired it out of his musket at a thatch'd building within the castle, which was immediately in flames, and burnt with that fierceness, that it set fire to the magazine of powder, that blew up part of the wall, and threw it into the ditch; and while the Spaniards were put in the utmost confusion by this accident, the English entered the breach; which being defended by the Governor in person, they met with a very obsti-

nate resistance; the Spaniards with their fire-arms, CHAP. I. pikes, stones and swords, did all that could be expected from brave men: However, the Buccaneers forced their way through, and, after a very terrible slaughter, made themselves master of the castle. The Governor retir'd to the Corps du Garde, before which he planted two pieces of cannon, determining to ask no quarter, but to sell his life as dear as he could, but he was in a little time shot through the head; whereupon the guard surrendered: Out of three hundred and fourteen the garrison consisted of at the beginning of the attack, there were but thirty left alive, and of these twenty were wounded: Nor did the English take the castle without great loss; for of the four hundred Buccaneers, one hundred were killed outright, and seventy more wounded.

The prisoners related, that the Governor of Panama had notice three weeks before from Carthagena, that the Buccaneers were equipping a fleet, with a design to attack the city of Panama, and that upon this advice, he sent a hundred and sixty four soldiers to reinforce the garrison of the castle of Chagre, which did not usually consist of more than a hundred and fifty men: That the Governor had placed several ambuscades on the river, between fort Chagre and Panama, to interrupt their march; which, if they should escape, he had a body of near four thousand men, with which he proposed to engage them before they could approach that city; which intelligence did not at all dishearten Captain MORGAN: But as soon as he received advice of the taking of the castle of Chagre, he came with his whole fleet into the mouth of that river, but with so little caution, that his own ship and two more were split upon the rocks that lay under water, tho' he had the good fortune to save the men with their arms and ammunition. MORGAN was no sooner come on shore, but he entered the castle of Chagre in triumph, and immediately made preparations for his march to Panama, but neglected, it seems, to lay in such a stock of food as was necessary for so long a march through a barren country, where the enemy also had destroyed every thing that might be of service to his people.

Having selected twelve hundred men for this bold and hazardous enterprize, he left five hundred in the castle, and an hundred and fifty more to take care of the fleet, and embarked his troops and artillery on board such boats and canoes as he found in the river. Having sailed six leagues up the stream, he went on shore, and sent out parties in search of provisions; but they found all the villages and plantations deserted, and every thing carried off that could afford them any subsistence; and continuing his voyage the next day, he found the river impassable for large vessels any higher, and therefore was obliged to leave his great boats and artillery behind him, under a guard, and advance only with the canoes and small boats, some of his people going by land, and others by water, and suffering intolerable hardships for want of provisions; insomuch, that they were obliged to live on roots, and glad to eat leather and vermin, to preserve themselves from starving. At length, after six days laborious march, they arrived at Venta de Cruz, where the Spaniards of Panama embark their goods on the river Chagre for Porto Bello: And here they met with fifteen or sixteen jars of Peruvian wine, which the Buccaneers drinking plentifully of, and having eat nothing but trash for a week before, they every man fell sick, which made them conjecture the wine was poisoned: However, they found themselves pretty well the next day, and the river being navigable no higher, they

Morgan marches to Panama with 1200 men.

CHAP. I. they continued their march by land to Panama, being attacked by several parties of Spanish Indians, who killed and wounded several of their men with their arrows in the woods and defiles, through which they were obliged to pass, the way being frequently so narrow that ten men could not march a-breast: Nor did the heavy rains that fall at this season, and the morasses through which they were forced to wade up to the middle, incommode the Buccaneers less than the arrows of the Indians.

On the ninth day some parties of Spanish horse appeared, and threatened to oppose their march; but having ascended a mountain, and obtained a view of the South-sea and the Bay of Panama, they were so overjoyed, that they despised all danger, threw up their caps, sounded their drums and trumpets, and shouted as if they had already been masters of the city; and seeing a herd of cattle in the plain, they shot as many as they wanted, cut them to pieces, and roasted and broiled the flesh, without stealing off the skin, in such haste were they to devour the meat, after they had been forced to fast so many days; and that night encamped, or rather lodged in the open air (for I don't find they had any tents with them) in view of the town, designing the next morning to begin the attack, but were prevented by the Governor's marching out against them with four regiments of foot and two squadrons of horse, a force much superior to that of the Buccaneers. However, MORGAN advanced, and joined battle with the Spaniards, who maintained their ground very resolutely for two hours, when victory declaring for our Welsh hero, the enemy turned their backs and fled, leaving six hundred of their friends dead upon the field of battle. The loss on the side of the Buccaneers also, was considerable: However, they press'd towards the city, and within three hours more scaled the walls, and became masters of the place, without making the least breach; for they had not indeed any artillery with them: MORGAN finding himself in possession of the city, gave out that all the wine was poisoned, apprehending that his men would get drunk as usual, and the Spaniards might rally and cut them in pieces, his numbers being yet so much inferior to the enemy: He placed his guards also in the most proper places to secure his conquest, and gave as great instances of his military skill and conduct, in preserving what he had so bravely won, as the most consummate General could have done; when, on a sudden, the whole city appeared in flames, having been set on fire in several places at the same instant; which some charge upon MORGAN, tho' 'tis admitted he gave orders for extinguishing it; others say, that it was set on fire by the inhabitants, to deprive the Buccaneers of the rich treasures and plunder they expected, which seems much the most probable; for why MORGAN should burn the town, before he had plunder'd it, and destroy the prize he had in his hands, is not easy to conceive.

But however it happened, all agree the fire continued several days, inasmuch that scarce a house was left standing in the place, which a little before contained two thousand houses magnificently built, all the beams whereof were cedar, and the furniture answerably rich; besides which, were five thousand houses more of the inferior tradesmen, and several beautiful churches and monasteries; for this, as has been observed, was the repository of all the treasures of Peru annually brought hither to be sent to Europe.

VOL. III.

CHAP. I. While the fire continued, the Buccaneers encamped without the walls; but after it ceased, they returned, and quartered in the ruins, making a very strict search for the plate and money that was not consumed, of which they found great quantities melted down: They also discovered abundance of treasure hid in wells, and reservoirs of water, and out of a ship in the harbour they took two hundred thousand pieces of eight; and not content with this, 'tis said they tortur'd the miserable inhabitants various ways, to make them discover more, or offer large ransoms for their liberty; and, according to my author, they were more severe upon the Priests and Monks than any other people, knowing them to be possessed of very great treasures, either of their own, or belonging to their several churches and convents.

My Dutch author exclaims loudly also against the Buccaneers, for the innumerable rapes they committed, charging MORGAN their Commander, with being as guilty of these outrages, as his men: Particularly, he relates, that a beautiful young lady, wife to a rich Spanish merchant of Panama, refusing to submit to his embraces, he shut her up in a dungeon, and used her very hardly; but he acknowledges, the Captain afterwards, pleased to have found a woman that was not to be tempted to be false to her husband's bed, generously gave her her liberty. But to return from this digression; MORGAN having remained near a month in Panama, and collected the ransoms he required for his prisoners, loaded near two hundred beasts with the treasure he had got, and returned to Venta de Cruz, where he put it into boats, and conveyed it down the river to the castle of Chagre; but the Buccaneers finding there did not come more than two hundred pieces of eight to the share of every private man, began to threaten the Captain for concealing the most valuable part of the plunder; at least the French, and some other foreigners, among whom was our author, pretended to be highly disgusted: Whereupon MORGAN, having blown up the fortifications of the castle of Chagre, went on board his ship, and with only four sail of English, whom the foreigners suspected were in the secret, and shared with him the best of the plunder, returned to Jamaica: After which, the French joined their countrymen in the islands of Tortuga and Hispaniola, and the rest of the Buccaneers went in search of new adventures.

Captain MORGAN, and the Buccaneers that returned to Jamaica, brought with them four hundred thousand pieces of eight, and the Captain was not only knighted by King CHARLES II. for his bravery and conduct in taking Panama, but he was made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty in that island; and the Earl of CARLISLE, Governor of Jamaica, returning to England for the recovery of his health, in the year 1680, left Sir HARRY MORGAN Deputy-governor there. However, upon the repeated complaints of the Spanish Ambassador, of the depredations of the Buccaneers in the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies, Sir HARRY was sent for over to England, and committed to the Tower, where he lay three years; and then his health being pretty much impaired, he obtained his liberty, but did not long survive his imprisonment, according to the best information I can get.

It may be thought strange, that the Government of England should encourage, or even connive at the depredations of the Buccaneers in the Spanish West-Indies, at a time when the two nations

Morgan routs the Spaniards.

Storms and takes Panama.

The city burnt and entirely demolish'd.

Morgan brings 400,000 pieces of eight to Jamaica. Knighted for his bravery in taking Panama.

Some account of the reason of these attempts of the Buccaneers.

CHAP.

I.

tions were at peace in Europe. But nothing appears more frequent, than for the nations of Europe to commit acts of hostility on each other, in the East and West-Indies, without any regard to treaties or alliances concluded in Europe.

The Spaniards, by virtue of the Pope's grant to them of that new world, did for a great while make no scruple to fall upon the English, French and Dutch, and every other nation that attempted to make settlements in America: As they had discovered the country, they held that no other nation had a right to plant or inhabit it, tho' it was impossible they could use or cultivate a third part of the country, and had not obtained the leave of the natives to possess any part of it. This was a claim and pretension that the rest of the nations of Europe would by no means submit to, but in time planted great part of the islands and continent, which the Spaniards called their property; and as the Spaniards endeavoured to disturb these new settlements, took their shipping, and sometimes massacred their men. Tho' the English, for political reasons, did not think fit to declare open war against them in Europe, yet they suffered private Adventurers (who afterwards obtained the name of Buccaneers) to retaliate the injury, in order to bring the Spaniards to reason, and that they might be induced to suffer our shipping to trade with our own plantations and settlements without disturbance: Those therefore, that have given Sir HARRY MORGAN and his men the denomination of Pirates, have done them a great deal of injury; if it be considered, in the first place, that the Spaniards had no other title to America, than what was founded in force and usurpation; and that they at this very time oppressed and tyrannized over the Indian Princes, who alone had a right to this country; and would not suffer any other European nation to have any commerce with them, but fell in a hostile manner on all European shipping that appeared in those seas, whether they were at peace with Spain in Europe or not: which sufficiently justifies the Buccaneers in attacking their settlements, tho' the cruelties they are said to have exercised upon the People of Panama, and some other towns, are not to be excused: But these have possibly been greatly exaggerated by their enemies; for the person who wrote the history of the Buccaneers, acknowledges himself an enemy to MORGAN, and to have been highly disoblged by him, and therefore cannot be looked upon as very impartial in his relation. But admitting those stories of their barbarities are true; with what face can the Spaniards complain of cruelty, who tortured and massacred so many millions of Indians, but three score years before, and dispossessed them of this very country, without the least shadow of title to it? unless the Pope's grant, which all mankind (Papists as well as Protestants) laugh at at this day, being sensible, that neither they, nor any other European nation, can have a just right to any part of America that was inhabited, but what they gained by treaty with the inhabitants. And if the Spaniards fall upon the English, or any other nation, for trafficking with the Indians, and entering into alliances with them, we may justly repel force with force, and retaliate the injuries they do us. Sir HARRY MORGAN was indeed imprisoned at the instance of the Spanish Ambassador, after he had performed the greatest actions, perhaps, that ever man did, with such a handful of men, and in such circumstances, and had been in some measure rewarded for them by the Government, tho' they quarrelled with him afterwards. But he is not the

only brave man that has been sacrificed to Spain for reasons of state, when he ought to have had a statue erected to his memory: For he it is, has shewn us the way, if ever we should be compelled to fall out with Spain, to make our selves masters of the gold and silver mines. He has shewn us, that if we possess the Isthmus with a good force, and erect fortresses on the North and South-seas, we may with ease render ourselves masters of the treasures of North and South America: If a thousand men could effect such great things against their principal settlements there, what might not a royal fleet and army do? Tho' I am still of opinion this ought never to be attempted, unless the Spaniards compel us to fall out with them. The nation will get more by trafficking with Spain and the Spanish West-Indies, and improving our own plantations in Florida, than by possessing their mines. Gold and silver possibly may have the same effect upon us it has had upon them, render us indolent, and enervate our people, and Britain might become as despicable a nation in time, as Spain has been almost ever since they possessed Potofi.

2. Porto Bello is situated on a bay of the North-sea, in 10 degrees of north latitude, and 82 degrees of western longitude, about 70 miles north of Panama, and had this name given it by COLUMBUS, on account of the security of its harbour.

WAFER gives the following description of the harbour and town: Portobel, says this writer, is a very fair large and commodious harbour, affording good anchorage and shelter for ships, having a narrow entrance, and spreading wider within: The galleons from Spain find good riding here, while they take in the treasures of Peru, that are brought thither from Panama. The entrance is secured by a fort on the left hand going in, and by a blockhouse on the other side, opposite to it. At the bottom of the harbour lies the town, bending with the shore like a half-moon: In the middle of which, upon the sea, is another small low fort; and at the west-end of the town, upon an eminence, lies another strong fort, yet commanded by a neighbouring hill; and in all these forts, there are usually about two or three hundred men in garrison. The town lies open towards the country without wall or works; and at the east end is a long stable for the King's Mules. The Governor's house stands upon the eminence near the great fort at the west end of the town. It is an unhealthful place, the east end being situated in a low swampy ground, and the sea at low-water leaving the shore within the harbour bare, a great way from the houses, which having a black filthy mud or ouze, occasions very noisome vapours in this hot climate. From the south and east part of it, the country rises gradually in hills, which are partly wood-lands, and partly savannah or pasture; but there are few fruit-trees or plantations near the town.

Much the greatest part of the inhabitants are Indians, Mulattoes and Negroes, no Spaniard of any substance caring to reside in so unhealthful a place, tho' at the time of the Fair, it is so crowded with rich Merchants, that above an hundred crowns are given for a poor lodging, and a thousand crowns for a shop, during the short time that the galleons stay there, and all provisions are proportionably dear, tho' they are cheap enough at other times; and so subject is the place to pestilential Fevers, that five hundred people have died there during the time of the Fair only. No people ever experienced the unhealthfulness of this climate more than the English, when the Squadron under the command of Admiral

CHAP.

I.

Porto Bello described.

The English lose their ships and men here without fighting.

CHAP. I. **HOSIER** lay before it, without being suffered to enter upon action, in the year 1727; For here we did not only lose Admiral **HOSIER**, but the seamen twice over; and what added to the misfortune was, that all the ships were so damaged by the worms, that it was with difficulty they were brought back to England again. We might have fixed our selves on the isthmus, with less expence of men, ships and treasure, than it cost us to lie here, and render the Spaniards our irreconcilable enemies, without acquiring the least advantage to our selves.

Venta de Cruz. 3. **Venta de Cruz** is situated on the banks of the river Chagre, where it begins to be navigable, about thirty miles to the northward of Panama: And here the merchandize brought is embark'd for Porto Bello, in order to be sent to Europe; but I don't find this place to be considerable upon any other account.

Cheapo. 4. The town of **Cheapo** is situated on a river of the same name, about twenty-five miles north-east of Panama, and eighteen or twenty from the sea, and is but a small place.

Nata. 5. **Nata** is a port-town on the west side of the bay of Panama, about seventy miles south-west of the city of Panama. Their chief dependance is on cattle, hogs and poultry, with which they serve the markets of Panama; for the country about that city is so very barren, that they would frequently be in danger of famishing, if they were not supplied by shipping with provisions from the towns that lie at a distance from it.

Conception. 6. The town of **Conception** is situated near the mouth of the river **Conception**, which falls into the North-sea, over-against **La Sounds Key**, one of the **Sambalas** islands; but I meet with no particular description of this place.

Santa Maria. 7. **Santa Maria** is situated 6 leagues from the sea, on the south bank of the river to which it communicates its name, in 7 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, about 30 leagues south-east of Panama, and is considerable on account of the gold mines in the neighbourhood of it, but does not seem to be of any great strength, the Buccaneers and Privateers having plunder'd it several times. The country about it is low and woody, and the ouze and mud on the banks of the river, occasions a noisome stinking smell, which makes the air very unwholesome.

Seuchadero. 1. **Seuchadero**, a small town situated on the north side of the same river nearer its mouth, but standing on a good dry soil, and open to the Gulph of **St. Michael**, from whence it is refresh'd by the sea-breezes. This is esteemed a healthful place; and what contributes to render it more so, is a fine rivulet of fresh water that runs by it, for the waters of this province are frequently brackish: The Spaniards therefore, who resort with their slaves to the gold mines and rivulets at the proper seasons, frequently come hither for their health and refreshments.

New Edinburgh. The last place I shall mention in this province, is **New Edinburgh**, or the place which the Scots gave this name to, when they attempted to make a settlement on the coast of Darien, or **Terra-Firma** Proper, and denominated the country about it **New Calidonia**. This fortress was situated on the continent, near the north-west point of the Gulph of Darien, in 9 degrees odd minutes north latitude, on a most excellent harbour (according to **Dr. WALLARE**) being about a league in length from the north-west to the south-east, half a mile broad at the entrance, and upwards of a mile broad within, and large enough to contain five hundred

fail of ships untouch'd from any wind that can blow: **CHAP. I.** The forts stood upon a peninsula, almost surrounded by the harbour and the North-sea, and the access to the peninsula so defended by rocks and precipices, that a very little art would have render'd it

impregnable; and there was as much land contained in it, as would have produced ten thousand hogheads of sugar annually, if it had been cultivated (according to **WALLARE**) the soil being rich, the air temperate, and the water sweet; every thing contributed to render it healthful and convenient: The land abounded in venison and poultry, and the seas with the best fish; and what were still greater advantages, it stood in the neighbourhood of the richest gold mines in America, and a communication with the South-sea might easily have been open'd from thence by the way of the river Darien, and the Gulph of **St. Michael's**. The Scots thought themselves extremely fortunate in happening upon this important agreeable situation, which they tell us the English, Dutch and French, tho' they had been all over this coast, from Porto Bello to Carthagena, never once discover'd, and the Spaniards themselves were strangers to it. Here it was the Scots arrived in the month of November 1699, in order to fix a colony of their countrymen on the continent; the occasion whereof it may be proper to mention in this place.

The Parliament of Scotland pass'd an Act in the year 1695, for erecting a Company to trade to Africa and the Indies: By which they were authorized to plant colonies and settlements in the East and West-Indies under his Majesty's Letters Patent, which they also obtained; and both the English and **Hamburgh** Merchants contributing very largely to this enterprize, they equipped several ships, which sailed with forces, and every thing requisite to plant a colony on or near the isthmus of Darien in the year 1698. They landed first on **Golden Island**, at the mouth of the river Darien; but not liking the situation, they went over to the continent, and built the fort of **Edinburgh** on the spot of ground already described, with the permission of the natives, calling the country which the Indians assigned them to plant and cultivate, **New Calidonia**. That part of the isthmus, which the Indians their friends then possess'd, the Scots inform us, extended along the North-sea, from the Gulph of Darien to **Port Scrivan** on the North-sea, being about an hundred and forty miles; and from **Caret Bay**, in the south-west part of the Gulph of Darien, to the head of the river **Cheapo** on the south, about an hundred and fifty miles; the breadth in some places sixty, and in others an hundred miles, and upwards.

The Indian Princes within these limits were eight at least, all of them then at war with the Spaniards, and received the Scots into their country with a great deal of joy, in hopes of their assistance against their ancient enemies the Spaniards. The settlement went on prosperously at first; but the Spaniards complaining to the Court of England, and declaring that they should look upon this as an act of hostility, Darien having long been subject to that Crown, as they alledg'd: The English East-India Company also complaining of this settlement at the same time, as an infringement of their charter, the English Parliament thought fit to interpose and address King **WILLIAM** to recal his Patent to the Scots Company.

The Scots, on the other hand, sent up their Agents to the Court of England, to represent that this was no invasion of the Spanish dominions, because

The healthfulness and fertility of the country, try about it, according to **WALLARE**.

Near the gold mines.

The occasion of settling a Scots colony here.

The extent of the country under the dominion of the Indians.

They are well received by the Indian Princes.

The Spaniards and the English East-India Company oppose them.

CHAP.
I.

cause they were either never possess'd of that part of the isthmus; or, if they were, they had been driven from it by the natives, who were at that time in the actual possession of the country, and at war with the Spaniards, as they had been many years before the arrival of the Scots: But how much sooner the Scots might be in the right, such was the influence of the Court of Spain and the English East-India Company, that all measures were taken to ruin the Scots settlement. The English Ministry prevailed on the Hamburgers to draw their money out of the stock; and the Parliament of England threatened the Merchants of London, who had any shares in it, with their displeasure, if they did not disengage themselves: And orders being sent at the same time to Jamaica, and the English plantations in the West-Indies, not to suffer the Scots to furnish themselves with provisions there, or give them any assistance, our northern neighbours were unfortunately compelled to quit the enterprize, which we ourselves found reason to regret a few years afterwards, when France, in a manner, possessed herself of all the Spanish dominions, and among the rest, of this important place, which, had Britain remained possess'd of, she might easily have stopp'd those treasures coming to Europe, which so long enabled the French to carry on the second war against the Confederates. Another ill consequence this piece of injustice was attended with, was the making the Scots our enemies, and obliging us to purchase their friendship again, at the expence of almost four hundred thousand pounds; and whether any thing will perfectly satisfy them, but the subversion of the English Constitution, is still a question. On the other hand, the Scots offer'd to share the settlement with the English, and would have been infinitely obliged to them, if they had encouraged and supported it: Nor is there a spot of ground, it is agreed, on the continent of America, that could be of greater service to Britain, than that of New Edinburgh, if ever we are doom'd to have a war with Spain and France again.

The Scots
obliged to
quit New
Edin-
burgh.

Having taken a view of the principal places upon the continent of Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper, I proceed to give some description of the islands near the coasts of this province, both in the North and South-seas, which are very numerous, and of great use to sea-faring men, who traffick in those seas, tho' scarce any of them are inhabited.

On the North-sea, at the entrance of the Gulph of Darien, lie three islands almost in a triangle, which form a very good harbour. The eastermost of the three, and the smallest, is called Golden Island: There is a fair deep channel between this and the main; it is naturally strongly fortified, being defended by a steep rock almost all round, except the landing-place, which is a small sandy bay on the south side. The island is moderately high, and cover'd with small trees and shrubs, and was recommended to the Scots India Company, as a proper place to fix their first colony on; but finding it barren, and destitute of provisions, the Scots pitch'd upon a place on the opposite shore (as has been observed already) which was excellent fruitful land, and no less scarce than the island. The largest of the three islands lies to the west of Golden Island, being swampy or marshy ground, and so beset with Mangroves, that it is difficult getting on shore. It lies near a point of the isthmus, which is the same sort of ground for a mile or two, and is scarce parted from the main-land, but at high-water, and even then ships cannot pass between.

Islands on
the coast
of Terra
Firma
Proper.

Golden
Island.

The third, called the Isle of Pines, is a small island, north of the other two; and, rising into hills, is a good sea-mark: It is covered with tall trees fit for building, or any other use, and has a fine rivulet of fresh water in it.

CHAP.
I.

Three leagues north-west of these, lie a multitude of small islands, extending as far as Point Samballas, generally denominated, the Samballas Islands; some of them lie one mile from the opposite shore of the continent; some two miles, and others two miles and a half from the shore, and about as far from each other, and there are navigable channels between them: The sea between this long range of islands and the continent, is navigable also from one end to the other, and affords every-where good anchoring in hard sandy ground: It is good landing either on the islands, or the main; and let the wind sit how it will, ships never want a good road to ride in on the inside of one or other of these islands, on which account this channel was the general rendezvous of the Buccaneers and Privateers on this coast, especially La Sounds Key and Springers Key (or Island) which do not only afford good shelter for careening, but good wells of fresh water not far from the surface, if they dig for them. But tho' it be such good riding on the inside of these keys or islands, there lies a ridge of dangerous rocks on the outside, at about half a mile distance; and there are others lie under water, between these islands and the Gulph of Darien.

The Sam-
ballas
Islands.

The Samballas are generally low, flat, sandy islands, but have variety of fruit-trees and forest-trees upon them; particularly the Mammeees, Sapadillo's and Manchinel trees: Their shores also afford good shell-fish; but no people have thought fit to plant or inhabit any of them. From the Samballas islands passing to the westward by Port Scrivan, and the bay where the town of Nombre de Dios once stood, we arrive at the islands of Bafimento, being four or five in number, and lying about a mile from the continent: They are, for the most part, high land covered with wood; and one of them has a spring of fresh water in it. These, with the main-land opposite to them, form a good harbour, into which there is an easy passage, with the sea-breeze between the eastermost island and the next to it, and as good going out with the land-breeze the same way. A little farther westward, over-against Porto Bello, are two small flat islands without wood or water: They lie so near the continent, that there is but a very narrow channel between. Beyond the Bafimentos, to Porto Bello, the coast is generally rocky; and within the land the country is full of high steep hills, covered with wood, unless where they are cleared for plantations by the Spanish Indians tributary to Porto Bello; and these, in WAFER's time, ann. 1681, were the first settlements on the north coast of Darien under the Spanish Government: The Spaniards had then neither command over the Indians, or commerce with them to the eastward of Port Scrivan. The same writer indeed says, he was inform'd, the Spaniards had courted the natives since, and won them over to their party; but 'tis certain this was not effected in the year 1698, when the Scots landed on the isthmus; for they found all the Indians between the Gulph of Darien and Port Scrivan at open war with the Spaniards. I proceed, in the next place, to this description of the islands belonging to this province of Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper, that lie in the Bay of Panama in the South-sea.

Nombre
de Dios.
Bafimento
islands.

The Indi-
ans on the
isthmus at
war with
the Spani-
ards.

The

CHAP.

I.
The Bay
of Pana-
ma.
The
islands
in it.
The
Kings or
Pearl
islands.

The Bay of Panama is of a semicircular form, and made by Point Garrachina on the south-east, and Panta Mala on the north-west, being about an hundred miles over, and three hundred in circumference, including the Gulph of St. Michael's at the mouth of the river of St. Mary's.

The Kings or Pearl islands, being low, woody islands, and very numerous, lie almost in the middle of this bay, stretching from the south-east to the north-west, in length about 14 leagues. The northernmost of them, call'd Pacheque, lies 12 leagues south-east of Panama; and the southernmost of them, call'd St. Paul, 12 leagues north-west of Point Garrachina; and they are generally about seven leagues distant from the main-land of Darien.

These islands belong to the citizens of Panama, who keep Negroes here to plant and cultivate them: They afford some fruits, particularly Plantains and Bonana's, and in some of them Rice is sown; but many of them, especially the largest, are wholly uncultivated, and almost over-run with weeds, tho' it seems to be a fruitful soil that would produce any thing. These unplanted islands shelter their fugitive Negroes, who lie concealed in the woods in the day-time, and in the night rob the Spanish plantations.

There are narrow channels between most of these islands, only fit for boats to pass; but betwixt the islands and the main-land, is a channel 7 leagues over, where there is a sufficient depth of water, and good anchoring all the way: The prospects on each side extremely pleasant; for, on the continent, are little rising hills, always green; and the King's islands on the other side the channel are no less beautiful.

Chepelio
island.

The island of Chepelio, situated 7 leagues east of Panama, and a league from the continent, is the pleasantest island in the Bay of Panama. It is about two miles over either way, partly high land, and partly valleys. The low-lands are planted with the best Indian fruits; such as Sapadillo's, Avagato Pears, Mammee's, Mammee Sapota's, Star-apples, &c. and the middle of the island with Plantains. The islands of Perico are three small islands, which lie before the city of Panama, about three miles from it, and may be called the port to that city, the great ships lying here, because there is not depth of water to approach nearer.

Tabago
island.

The island of Tabago lies about six leagues south of Panama, being about three miles long, and two broad: A mountainous island, the north side whereof affords a pleasant prospect, appearing like a garden of fruit, surrounded with high trees. Close by the sea stand abundance of Cocoa-nut-trees; and on this side a fine rivulet of fresh water falls from the top of the mountain. There is a small island on the north-west side of this, called Tabogilla; and another about a mile from it on the north-east, with a good channel between them.

Otoque
island.

Otoque is an island south-west of Tabago; in which there are good Plantain-walks with Negroes upon them, belonging to the citizens of Panama, who look after them, and breed fowls and hogs for their masters, as they do at the Pearl islands. The island of Chuche is a small low woody island, that lies west of the Pearl islands, and does not appear to be either inhabited or planted; but could not be omitted, because it has a place in our maps: As

Chuche
island.

Gallera
island.

has also that of Gallera, another small, flat, barren island, which lies between Point Garrachina and the Pearl islands, only remarkable for an engagement between the Spaniards and Captain HARRIS, who was attacked by them here, as he was sharing the

gold with his men that he took in Santa Maria; but the Privateers made such a brave defence, that the Spaniards thought fit to retire, and leave them in possession of their plunder.

CHAP.

I.

The soil of the isthmus of Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper, is good in the middle of the province, according to WAFER; but both the shores of the North and South-seas are generally either a dry barren sand, or drowned mangrove land, that will scarce produce any kind of grain. Mr. WALLACE indeed informs us, that his countrymen, the Scots, were so fortunate to meet with a spot of ground, where they built the fort of New Edinburgh, almost surrounded by the sea; the soil whereof was rich; the air temperate, the water sweet, and every thing about it contributing to make it healthful and convenient: That the land afforded Deer, Rabbits, wild Hogs, Guanoes, Turkeys, Pheasants, Partridges and Parrots; and the sea, Manatee, Turtle, and a vast variety of smaller fish, from the bigness of a Salmon, to that of a Perch.

The soil
and pro-
duce of
Terra-Fir-
ma Pro-
per.

It is very possible, in the most barren and unhealthy countries, to meet with some small portions of it, that differ from the rest; and such was that, it seems, the Scots proposed to fix their colony upon: But still it is very certain, that the sea-coasts of this province are generally unhealthy, being excessive hot, and very wet two thirds of the year; and all travellers agree, that the mountains, which have mines in them, produce scarce any thing, but shrubs. The country about Panama, the capital city, is so exceeding poor, that their corn, flesh, and other provisions, are brought them by sea, from countries at a very great distance; and that city would be starved, if their communication with their neighbours by sea was cut off half a year; for tho' the heart of the country is said to be fruitful, yet very little of it is cleared of wood, or cultivated. As to the Indians, they are not very numerous; and they clear no more ground than just serves their respective families, sowing a little Indian-corn; and having small gardens in the woods, that produce Plantains and Potatoes, and some other fruits and roots, which, with what they take in hunting and fishing, furnishes them with a poor subsistence; and as to the Spaniards, they seem to be above working and cultivating the ground, both in the old and new world: The little that is cleared and planted in America, is done by the Negroes or the Indians; and though the country might yield good crops of grain and grass, if it were inhabited by an industrious people, yet, in the present situation of affairs, it affords but little provision, inasmuch that our Buccaneers, the hardiest race of men upon earth, who have marched through it, and plundered the Spanish towns, have been more in danger of famine, than any other enemy: And should the English ever attempt to dislodge the Spaniards from the isthmus, they must carry a double stock of provisions with them; for I question whether the country would be able to subsist a thousand men in their march.

The air.

The Indians of Darien resemble those in the eastern provinces of Mexico; only it is observed, as they approach nearer the Equator, their complexions are darker. When they are engaged in hunting, fishing, planting, or any laborious exercise, they usually go naked, having their skins painted with various colours and figures; but they have their robes of ceremony (as WAFER informs us) both white and black, that are made of cotton linnen, and reach down to their heels; and the men wear coronets of cane on their heads, adorned with feathers:

CHAP. I. others: Nor do they ever stir abroad without their arms, their bows, arrows, lances, and daggers, or great knives; and many of them of late use fire-arms, which they purchase of the Europeans.

WAFER observes, that both men and women are of a round visage; have short bottle noses; their eyes large, generally grey, yet lively and sparkling: They have high fore-heads, white even teeth, thin lips, and mouths moderately large, their cheeks and chins well proportion'd; and that they are in general finely featur'd, but the men more so than the women. Both sexes have long black hair, coarse and strong, which they usually wear down to the middle of their backs, or lower, at full length; only the women tie it together with a string just behind the head, from whence it flows loose like the mens. They suffer no other hair to grow, but that on their heads, their eye-brows and eye-lids. Their beards, and all below, are pulled up by the roots, as soon as any appears; and they have the same custom as the East-Indians and Africans have of anointing their heads and bodies with oil or fat.

A race of white Indians. There are, it seems, among these dark complexion'd Indians, some that are perfectly white in the province of Terra-Firma Proper. Their skins, says my author, are not of such a white, as our fair people in Europe, who have some tincture of red in their complexion: Nor is it like that of our paler people, but a pure milk-white; and there grows upon their bodies a fine short milk-white down, through which however the skin appears. The hair of their heads and eye-brows also is white, growing to the length of six or eight inches, and inclining to curl. These people are less in stature than the other Indians. Their eye-lids are also differently form'd, bending like the horns of the moon; from whence, and their seeing so well by moon-light, the Buccaneers call them moon-ey'd. They cannot see at all in the sun-shine; and therefore scarce ever go abroad in the day-time, unless in dark cloudy weather. In moon-shiny nights they are all life and activity, says my author, skipping about like wild bucks, and hunting in the woods; for they are as nimble as the other Indians, tho' not so strong and big-boned.

They are condemn'd by the copper-coloured Indians, who look upon this white complexion as monstrous, and to proceed from some infirmity or defect: They are not a distinct race by themselves, but proceed from tawny parents on both sides: And though some have suspected these white children to be the issue of some Europeans upon Indian women, my author says, that it is not at all probable: First, because few Europeans come into this country: Secondly, because the issue of an European and an Indian is not white, but only a brighter tawny than the Indians: And, thirdly, this complexion is a different white, as has been observed already, from any thing seen amongst us; but it is very unaccountable, that the issue of these white Indians are not white like their parents, but copper-colour'd: And WAFER relates it as the conjecture of one of the Indian Princes, that this whiteness proceeds from the force of the mother's imagination, looking at the moon at the time of conception; but perhaps the reason of this very white complexion of the Darien Indians, and the very dark complexion of the Negroes, will be found out together: I shall only observe here, that though a great deal is ascribed to the strength of the woman's imagination in both cases; yet other causes probably concur to make such remarkable differences in the complexions of mankind.

CHAP. I. The men in this province, like those in Mexico, wear silver and gold plates in their noses, which hang down over their lips; and the women rings of the same metal. They have also pendants in their ears, chains of beads and shells about their necks, and other ornaments, as the Mexican Indians wear. Their houses also are built in the same manner, and their lodging is generally in hammocks: Nor is their food or exercise different from what has been related already of the other Indians, who have preserved their liberties, and are not yet under the dominion of the Spaniards; and therefore I shall not weary my readers with the repetition of these articles.

WAFER informs us, that the country was governed by the heads of their respective tribes or families, at the time of his being there in the year 1681; but that there was a Prince, named LACINTA, superior to the rest, in the south part of the isthmus; and those on the north side paid him great respect. WALLARE, on the other hand, who was in Darien in the year 1699, says, the people, where the Scots were about establishing a colony, were under no formal government; but every Captain commanded his own river, bay, or island, where he resided; and that the Commander, who lived near the Samballas Point, could bring into the field all the people for 20 leagues round. What WALLARE therefore means by no formal government, I do not fully apprehend, unless he would intimate, that the General, who commanded them in war, had no authority over them at other times; or that they were not governed by laws, but by their Prince's will: However, WAFER assures us, they were governed by laws; and that murder, adultery and theft were punished by death, and rapes very severely.

The reason the Indians of Darien have so long maintained their independency, notwithstanding it was the first province on the Terra-Firma the Spaniards discovered, and is of such importance to them, to be masters of, as it lies upon both seas, is, that the country, in many places, is inaccessible. The torrents that fall for two-thirds of the year from the mountains into the North and South-seas, are scarce passable by any but the natives. These and the thick woods cut off all manner of communication between Panama and Peru by land: There is therefore no road through the country; but whoever goes from Panama to Peru, is forced to go by sea. Our Buccaneers have ever found it extremely difficult to cross the country, from the North to the South-sea; but it would have been much more difficult to travel the length of the country, from east to west, as they must have crossed ten times more rivers than they did the other way: However, the country people, men, women and children, if we may credit WAFER, swim over these torrents frequently, and are in no danger of being overtaken, or surprized by the Spaniards; their horse finding it impracticable to march over their numerous rivers and mountains. And since the Spaniards have found it impossible to subdue this province entirely, and that other nations have treated with the natives, and endeavoured to establish colonies amongst them, they have at length seen their error in treating these Indians as enemies; and therefore, of late years, have endeavour'd to cultivate a friendship with them. However, as the natives are still in possession of the best part of their country, I cannot see why we might not treat with them, and endeavour to plant English colonies in the isthmus, if Spain persists in her depredations on our people in that part of the world.

Their government.

The Darien Indians still preserve their liberty.

CHAP. I. world, and cannot by fair means be prevailed on to accommodate the differences between the two nations.

The importance of the isthmus to any European power.

I have taken a great deal of pains, and been more inquisitive than ordinary, in searching out the state of this small province, because of the vast importance it would be to us to make settlements; and erect forts here, if we should ever be at war with Spain; and we may also conjecture, from this account, what a disadvantage it would be to us, if the French, or any powerful and enterprising people, should possess themselves of it: Since therefore we have it not ourselves, it is much better it should remain in the hands of the Spaniard, than any other nation; for they are a lazy indolent generation, who take off the manufactures of the rest of the countries of Europe, and give us the gold and silver of the Indies in return for them: Whereas, were any other people possess'd of those prodigious treasures, probably they would take but little of the manufactures of Britain, and become dangerous neighbours to us.

Carthage-na province.

Carthage-na, the second province of Terra-Firma I am to describe, received its name from the capital city, and is bounded by the North-sea on the north; by the province of St. Martha on the east; by Popagan and New Granada on the south; and by the Gulph of Darien, which separates it from Terra-Firma Proper, on the west; and is said to be about three hundred miles in length, from north to south; and about two hundred in breadth, from east to west. The chief towns are, 1. Carthage-na, the capital; 2. Madre de Popa; 3. Cenu; and 4. Tolu.

Chief towns.

Carthage-na city.

Carthage-na is situated in a peninsula, on a bay of the North-sea, in 11 degrees north latitude, and 76 degrees of western longitude, lying about 100 leagues to the eastward of Porto Bello; and is said to have been so named by the Spaniards that founded it in the year 1532, either because they were natives of Carthage-na in Old Spain, or because it resembled that harbour in the Mediterranean. But however that be, it is generally esteemed one of the strongest and securest ports in the West-Indies; which is the reason great part of the treasures of the rest of the provinces of the Terra-Firma are lodged here, to be put on board the galleons on their return to Europe. The galleons also dispose of great part of the cargoes they bring from Europe in this city, from whence they are distributed to the neighbouring provinces.

The town is built of free-stone, and has several fine churches and monasteries in it; but the Jesuits cloister and church excels all the rest. As to the form of the town, it is like others of Spanish foundation, with a square in the middle; from whence most of the streets run in parallel lines: It is wall'd round, and defended by forts, block-houses, and other works; which render it one of the strongest places in the West-Indies. However, Sir FRANCIS DRAKE took it by storm in the year 1585, and was much censured that he did not keep possession of it; for it would have enabled us to have commanded the navigation of those seas, and to have made what settlements we pleased upon the isthmus and the adjacent continent, from whence the Spaniards bring such prodigious treasures. The French Admiral POINTI also had this city betray'd to him, in the year 1697, by a discontented Spaniard of the garrison; and, 'tis said, the plunder the French brought off amounted to eight or ten millions of pieces of eight. This city is a Bishop's see, Suffragan to the Archbishop of Santa Fé in Granada,

Taken by Sir Francis Drake.

Taken by the French.

and the seat of the Governor and of the Courts of justice of this province.

2. Madre de Popa, situated on a high mountain, about fifty miles south-east of Carthage-na, chiefly famous for a convent and chappel dedicated to the Virgin MARY, so vastly rich, that it is only exceeded by that of Loretto. Innumerable miracles are said to be wrought at this shrine; and pious Pilgrims from all parts of Spanish-America continually resort hither with their richest offerings: All their blessings, and all the misfortunes of their enemies, the Spaniards ascribe to the image of the Blessed Virgin, which is worshipped here, according to DAMPIER. When the Oxford man of war was blown up near Hispaniola, the Spaniards reported, that the Blessed Virgin, or rather her image, was abroad all night, and came home very wet; and often returns with her cloaths rent and dirty, when she has been out upon any expedition against the Buccaneers or Privateers that infest their coasts; thus being deem'd the grand patroness and protector of the maritime places, Merchants and sea-faring people. Her devotees, that inhabit the coasts of this and the adjacent provinces, are exceeding bountiful when they come in pilgrimage to this celebrated shrine; and particularly take care to furnish her with new cloaths and ornaments, instead of those they are taught to believe she has worn out or spoil'd in their service.

CHAP. I. Madre de Popa.

3. Zenu, or Cenu, situated upon a river of the same name, 10 leagues from the North-sea, and about 25 leagues south of Carthage-na, most remarkable for the Salt that is made here, and its fisheries.

Cenu.

4. Tolu, situated on the North-sea, about 25 leagues south-west of Carthage-na, celebrated for the excellent Balm or Balsam found in the neighbourhood of this town, from whence it derives its name.

Tolu.

The province of Carthage-na is a mountainous woody country, the valleys tolerably fruitful; but I don't find there are any mines of gold or silver in it: Some emeralds, 'tis said, are found here; and the balm, gums and drugs it produces are in great esteem.

The face of this province, and produce.

The principal river of this province is that of Rio Grande de Magdalena, which, rising to the southward of Granada, runs directly north, and afterwards divides the province of Carthage-na from that of St. Martha; falling into the North-sea, in 12 degrees north latitude, about 24 leagues north-east of the city of Carthage-na. This river is 2 leagues broad at the mouth, but large ships cannot enter it, on account of the rocks and sands that lie before; and the stream is so rapid, that they are forced to drag their boats up the river with men or horses. There is an island at the entrance of the river, which divides it into two channels.

River Magdalena.

3. The province of St. Martha is bounded by the North-sea on the north; by the province of Rio de la Hacha on the east; by New Granada on the south, and by Carthage-na on the west; being about three hundred miles in length, from east to west; and two hundred in breadth, from north to south. This is a very mountainous country, and, according to DAMPIER, higher land than the Pike of Teneriff, or any other land in the known world, being seen at sea near two hundred miles. From these mountains run a chain of hills, almost directly south, quite through South-America, to the Straits of Magellan. Those which bound Peru on the east, and are usually call'd The Andes, are a part of them.

St. Martha province, situation and extent.

Face of the country mountainous.

The

CHAP. I.
Soil and produce. The soil produces Indian-corn and fruits; and almost all manner of fruits and plants come to great perfection, which are carried thither from Old Spain: They have also mines of Gold and Copper in their mountains, Emeralds, Sapphires, and many other precious-stones. The sea-coasts are excessive hot, but their mountains cool, being cover'd with snow, even in this warm climate.

Air.

Chief towns.

St. Martha.

Ramada.

Baranca.

Los Reyes.

Tamalameque.

Rio de la Hacha province, situation and extent.

Produce.

Chief towns.

Rio de la Hacha town.

Rancheria.

Venezuela province.

Situation and extent.

Face of the country.

The chief towns of this province are, 1. St. Martha; 2. Ramada; 3. Baranca; 4. Ciudad de los Reyes; and 5. Tamalameque.

1. St. Martha, the capital, which gives name to the province, is situated on a bay of the North-sea, in 11 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and 74 degrees of western longitude: It has a large harbour form'd by the continent, and two islands that lie before it. This town is a Bishop's see, and the seat of the Governor and Courts of justice.

2. Ramada, situated also on the North-sea, to the eastward of St. Martha; it stands at the foot of a mountain, and is remarkable for its copper mines.

3. Baranca, situated on the east side of the river Grande, south-west of St. Martha; a place of great traffick, the merchandize of New Granda being brought down thither by the river.

4. Ciudad de los Reyes, situated at the conflux of two small rivers, about a hundred miles to the southward of St. Martha; of which I meet with no farther description.

5. Tamalameque, situated on the east bank of the river Grande, two hundred miles to the southward of St. Martha, sometimes called the City of Palms, from the Palm-trees in the neighbourhood.

4. The province of Rio de la Hacha, bounded by the North-sea on the north; by the province of Venezuela, on the east; by Granada, on the south; and by that of St. Martha, on the west: It is a small province, and frequently reckon'd a part of that of St. Martha: It abounds in corn and cattle, and has a pearl-fishery upon the coast, and some salt works.

The chief towns are, 1. Rio de la Hacha; and 2. Rancheria.

1. The town of Rio de la Hacha, situated near the North-sea, on a river of the same name, in 11 degrees odd minutes northern latitude, to the eastward of the town of St. Martha. This place has been so often plunder'd by enemies and Buccaneers, that the Spaniards abandoned it for a time; but have taken possession of it again.

2. Rancheria, situated on the same coast, about 20 leagues north-east of Rio de la Hacha, and inhabited chiefly by the Pearl-fishermen, that fishery lying about 4 or 5 leagues from the town.

5. The province of Venezuela, in which I include the district of Caracos, is bounded by the North-sea on the north; by New Andaluzia on the east; by Granada on the south, and Rio de la Hacha on the west; being about four hundred miles in length, from east to west; and three hundred in breadth, from north to south. This is the most northerly province of South-America, the Capes of La Vela and Conquibacoa lying in 12 degrees odd minutes north latitude. In this province we find abundance of exceeding high mountains and deep valleys, especially in the district of Caracos, which stretches along the North-sea for twenty leagues.

This part of the country, DAMPIER observes, is a continued tract of high ridges of hills, intermixed with small valleys, pointing upon the shore from south to north; the valleys not half a mile wide: And farther within land, the mountains are still higher, and the valleys so narrow, that the land appears like one great mountain at a distance. The

tops of these hills are barren; but the lower part of them, and the valleys between, have a rich mould; so that here is plenty of sugar, tobacco, corn, cattle, and rich pastures, and good store of venison, fish, fowl, and fruits. Their plantations of Cacao-nuts are esteem'd the best in the Spanish West-Indies, of which they export great quantities, as they do of corn and salted flesh. There are also several gold mines in this province. These advantages have drawn great numbers of Spaniards and Indians hither; and it has as many populous towns as any part of South-America; the chief whereof are, 1. Chief Venezuela; 2. Caracos; 3. Maracaibo; 4. Gibraltar; 5. St. Jago de León; 6. New Segovia; 7. Tucuyo; 8. Trugillo; 9. Laguna; and, 10. Maricapano.

1. Venezuela, or Little Venice, so called from its situation in the waters, stands upon a peninsula near a gulph, to which it communicates its name, in 11 degrees of north latitude, and 69 degrees of western longitude, and has frequently the name of Coro in our maps: It is the capital of the province, the residence of the Governor, and the Courts of justice, and a Bishop's see, Suffragan to the Archbishop of St. Domingo in Hispaniola.

2. Caracos, the capital of a district on the coast of the North-sea, to which it gives its name, is situated in 10 degrees north latitude, and 68 degrees of western longitude: The country about it is remarkable for the best Cocoa-nuts to make Chocolate.

3. Maracaibo, pleasantly situated on the west side of a great lake, to which it gives its name, in 10 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and 70 degrees of western longitude. The neighbouring lake is fresh water, 60 leagues in length, and 30 in breadth, and discharges itself into the North-sea. Upon the coasts of this lake the towns and villages stand very thick; among which is,

4. New Gibraltar, a large town, situated 40 leagues within the lake, in a pleasant country, abounding in Cocoa, Sugar, and Tobacco, and affording abundance of Cedar-trees, and other valuable timber, fit for building ships or houses.

Both these towns of Maracaibo and Gibraltar were taken and plunder'd by LOLONOIS, Captain of the French Buccaneers, in the year —; and afterwards by Captain MORGAN, in the year 1669; an enterprize that deserves to be recorded, being one of the boldest attempts that ever was made on the Spanish settlements in America; of which we have the following relation from a person engaged in it; viz.

Captain MORGAN, having assembled a fleet of fifteen vessels, of all sorts, mann'd with nine hundred and sixty men, appointed them to rendezvous at the port of Occa, a little to the westward of St. Domingo in Hispaniola; where he propos'd to take in cattle, and victual his fleet. The Governor of Jamaica also order'd an English ship of thirty-six guns to join him, which MORGAN design'd for his Admiral: But as he was feasting his Officers, drinking of healths, and firing guns, on board this ship, it blew up, and three hundred and fifty of the men perish'd in her; but MORGAN and his Officers, who were drinking in the great cabin, with about thirty more, which happen'd to be at some distance from the powder-room, escap'd with their lives. The loss of this great ship, with so many men, one would have thought should have discouraged MORGAN from prosecuting his intended enterprize, especially when seven more of his fleet were, by some accident, separated from the rest, and

CHAP. I.
Produce.

Chief towns.

Venezuela.

Caracos.

Maracaibo.

New Gibraltar.

Both the last towns taken by Sir Harry Morgan.

CHAP. I. and never join'd him afterwards. But the Captain, with eight small vessels only, of which the largest carried fourteen guns, and five hundred men, resolved still to stand over to the continent, and attempt the town of Maracaibo. Setting sail therefore from Hispaniola, he arrived at the island of Araba, situated about 12 leagues to the westward of the Dutch island of Curaçow; and here having furnish'd himself with wood and fresh provisions, he set sail again, and arrived the next day at the mouth of the gulph of Maracaibo, the entrance whereof he found defended by two forts, which he attack'd with great vigour, and the Spaniards defended them with no less bravery the whole day, but in the night abandon'd them; and MORGAN took possession of the forts, in which he had another very narrow escape; for the Spaniards left behind them a kindled match near a train of gun-powder, which would have blown up all the Buccaneers in a few minutes, if it had not been discovered by Captain MORGAN himself, who, snatching up the match hastily, saved his own and the lives of all his people.

In these forts they found great quantities of small arms, ammunition and provision, and sixteen pieces of cannon, between twelve and twenty-four pounders: The next day, the Captain, having distributed the small arms and powder among his men, nailed up the cannon, and demolished part of the walls; order'd his fleet to get over the bar at the entrance of the lake, and advanced to the town of Maracaibo, which he found abandon'd by the inhabitants: Whereupon he posted his main-guard in the principal church, and sent out parties every way in search of the Spaniards; and, having taken about an hundred of them, he put several to the torture (as my author says) to make them discover their wealth: And having continued these practices for three weeks, he marched to Gibraltar, situated about 40 leagues further on the same lake; where being arrived, he was very warmly saluted, both by great and small shot, from the walls; but, after some resistance, this town also was abandon'd to the Buccaneers. MORGAN thereupon order'd out some parties in pursuit of the Spaniards, and two or three hundred were taken, and tortur'd by various ways (if we may credit our author) to make them discover their treasure and effects; and the Governor of Gibraltar, who had retired to an island in a river that falls into the lake, very narrowly escaped their hands, being removed further to an inaccessible rock but a little before the Buccaneers came to search for him.

MORGAN, having spent twelve days in pursuit of the Governor, through woods and bogs, and continual rains, returned to Gibraltar, with his men, so harrassed and fatigued, that fifty Spaniards, 'tis said, might have defeated and cut them to pieces in their march, if they durst have attack'd them; but so much were these Adventurers dreaded by the Spaniards, that they fled if they heard a leaf stir.

The Buccaneers, having remained full five weeks in possession of Gibraltar, and extorted five thousand pieces of eight from the inhabitants for ransoming the town from fire, began their march towards the mouth of the lake, taking along with them some of the principal Spaniards, as a security for the money the people had promised for their liberty: Being arrived at Maracaibo, they understood, that three large Spanish men of war waited at the entrance of the lake to cut off their retreat, which occasioned some consternation amongst the Buccaneers: However, Captain MORGAN put a good face upon the matter, and sent one of his prisoners to the Com-

mander of that Squadron, demanding of him a considerable sum of money to redeem Maracaibo from the flames: To which the grave Spaniard sent the following answer, viz.

DON ALONZO DEL CAMPO ET ESPINOSA,
Admiral of the Spanish fleet, to Captain MORGAN, Commander of the Pirates.

“ Understanding that you have dared to attempt
“ and commit hostilities in the countries, cities and
“ towns belonging to the dominions of his Catho-
“ lick Majesty, my sovereign Lord; I let you
“ know, by these lines, that I am come, accord-
“ ing to my duty, to that castle which you took
“ out of the hands of a parcel of cowards, and have
“ repaired the fortifications, and remounted the ar-
“ tillery you nail'd up. My intent is to dispute
“ your passage out of the lake, and pursue you
“ wherever you go: However, if you will submit
“ to surrender the plunder you have taken, toge-
“ ther with the slaves and prisoners, I will let you
“ pass to sea without molestation; but if you refuse
“ this offer, I will send for forces to Caracos, and
“ put every man of you to the sword. Be prudent
“ therefore, and do not abuse my bounty: My sol-
“ diers desire nothing more ardently than to revenge
“ on you the cruelties and outrages you have com-
“ mitted on the Spanish nation in America. Da-
“ ted on board the Royal Magdalen, lying at an-
“ chor at the entrance of the lake of Maracaibo,
“ April 24, 1669.”

Upon the receipt of this letter, Captain MORGAN assembled his men in the market-place of Maracaibo; and, having acquainted them with the contents of it, he demanded if they chose to surrender their plunder, or fight their way through the enemy? And they answer'd unanimously, they would spend the last drop of blood in defence of their booty; and one of them propos'd the fitting up a great vessel they had taken in the gulph for a fire-ship, with which he engag'd to set fire to the Admiral: However, the difficulties of getting out of the lake by force appear'd so insuperable, that it was thought proper to make some further overtures to the Spaniards, in order to obtain a passage without fighting: And, 1. They offer'd to quit Maracaibo, without requiring any ransom for the town; 2. They offer'd to release their prisoners and one half of the slaves; 3. To release the hostages they had taken for the contributions required. But Don ALONZO reject'd these proposals with scorn, and would grant no other terms than those he first offer'd them: Whereupon the Buccaneers prepared to force their way through; and having fitted up their fire-ship with combustible matter, and disguis'd her like a man of war, they sail'd to the entrance of the lake, and came to an anchor in sight of the enemy, on the 30th of April, in the evening. The next morning early, being May-day, Captain MORGAN, weigh'd anchor again, and sail'd directly towards the enemy, with the fire-ship at the head of his little fleet; which the Spanish Admiral looking upon as the ship of the best force, was preparing to engage her, when he was suddenly clapp'd aboard, and grappled by the fire-ship; and tho' the Admiral made great efforts to disengage himself, he had the mortification to see his ship consumed in the flames with most part of his men. At which another of the Spanish ships was so terrified, that the Captain run her aground near the castle, and set fire to her himself; and the third was taken by the Buccaneers.

CHAP.

I.

After this victory, Captain MORGAN made a descent, and attack'd the castle; for, without being master of this fortress, he found it would still be very difficult to get out to sea, the channel for ships to pass lying just under it: But Don ALONZO, the Spanish Admiral, having thrown himself into the castle, with a numerous garrison, repaired the works, and mounted abundance of artillery on the walls; fir'd on the Buccaneers so briskly, that they were forced to retire to their ships, having had thirty of their men kill'd, and as many wounded.

MORGAN, after this repulse, enquired of his prisoners what forces the Spaniards had sent against him, and whether any more ships were expected to oppose his passage out of the lake. To which a Pilot, that belonged to one of the Spanish men of war that was burnt, answer'd, That their fleet at first consisted of six men of war; whereof the largest carried eight and forty guns, and another forty-four, which were equipped out in Old Spain, to cruise on the English Pirates, who infested their American plantations; but, being arrived at Carthagena, the two largest ships received orders to return to Spain, being judg'd too big to cruise upon these coasts; and Don ALONZO, the Vice-admiral, sail'd with the other four to Campeachy, in quest of the English, and lost one of the four in a violent storm that blew from the north in that bay. From Campeachy, Don ALONZO sail'd with the three remaining men of war to Hispaniola, and from thence to Caracas on the continent; where he understood, Captain MORGAN had plunder'd Maracaibo and Gibraltar; and therefore determined to lie with his squadron at the mouth of the lake, to prevent the Buccaneers returning home with their plunder: And, tho' the Admiral received advice they were preparing a fire-ship, he slighted the intelligence, believing they had neither skill nor materials to fit out a fire-ship; and suffering himself to be surprized, Captain MORGAN had obtained that easy and unexpected victory.

The Pilot also informed the Captain, that one of the ships that was burnt had forty thousand pieces of eight on board: Whereupon he ordered one of his ships to fish up as much of the treasure as they could, and returned with the man of war he had taken, and the rest of his fleet, to Maracaibo; and sent a message to the Admiral, that he would entirely destroy that town, unless he gave him thirty thousand pieces of eight to redeem it from the flames, and five hundred oxen to victual his fleet; which the Governor refusing to comply with, the inhabitants, however, agreed among themselves to raise twenty thousand pieces of eight, and furnish him with the oxen he requir'd; which the Captain accepted, and received advice, about the same time, that the ship he left to fish up the treasure, had got fifteen thousand pieces of eight more. But still the great difficulty remain'd, how they should pass the castle, and get out of the lake: Whereupon Captain MORGAN sent another message to Don ALONZO, the Admiral, to let him know, he would hang up all his prisoners if he attempted to interrupt his passage. The Admiral, however, was not moved with this threat; but prepared to oppose the passage of the Buccaneers with all his force. Whereupon Captain MORGAN had recourse to another stratagem: He landed great part of his men, as if he intended to attack the castle a second time, which induced the Governor to remove most of his great guns to the land side, and place the best part of his forces there: But it was no sooner dark, than MORGAN reembark'd his men again; and,

suffering his ships to fall down with the tide, without one sail standing, pass'd the castle with his fleet before he was well perceived; and then spreading his sails, in an instant got out of the reach of their guns before they could do him any considerable damage; and the Buccaneers, not long after, arrived safely at Jamaica, with their plunder, which amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, besides a vast quantity of rich merchandise.

6. The sixth province of Terra-Firma I shall describe, is New Andalusia; in which I shall comprehend the districts of Comana and Paria, and bound it by the North sea on the north; by the river Oronoque, which divides it from Caribiana, or Guiana, on the east; by the country of the Amazons on the south; and by the provinces of Granada and Venezuela on the west; extending in length, from north to south, five hundred miles and upwards; and in breadth, from east to west, between two and three hundred miles. The principal river which waters this country, and into which fall many other considerable streams, is that of Oronoque, or Paria, which rises in the mountains of Andes, in the kingdom of Peru, not far from the South-sea, and running directly east for near two thousand miles; then turns to the north, and, continuing that course above a thousand miles more, falls into the North-sea by several channels, between 8 and 9 degrees of north latitude.

The inland part of this country is mountainous, and covered with woods, intermixed with valleys and meadows that yield corn and pasturage; but it is not near so fruitful as that of Venezuela, or so full of towns and inhabitants: It is the most easterly province the Spaniards have in South-America; for tho' Caribiana, or Guiana, is usually included in their Terra-Firma, the Spaniards have very few settlements there. The produce of New Andalusia is chiefly Sugar and Tobacco, Brazil-wood, and some other valuable timber and woods for dying, with some gums and drugs. The Spaniards also have introduced most of the fruits of Europe here; and there was formerly a valuable Pearl-fishery on this coast. The chief towns are, 1. Comana, or New Cordaba; 2. Verina; and 3. St. Thomas.

1. Comana is situated on a bay of the North-sea, in 10 degrees north latitude, and 65 degrees of western longitude; said to have a good harbour, and surrounded with hills and woods; so that the town cannot be discerned 'till a ship enters the harbour: And it is a place of that strength, that we find they repulsed the Buccaneers who attack'd it in the year 1670.

2. Verina is situated on the same coast, a little to the eastward of Comana; being a small town, but remarkable for the excellent Tobacco that grows in the neighbouring fields.

3. St. Thomas is situated on the east side of the river Paria, or Oronoque, near its mouth in 8 degrees north latitude, and is the only considerable settlement the Spaniards have to the eastward of that river, as far as I can learn: The forces Sir WALTER RALEIGH carried over to plant a colony in this country, attack'd and took this town, which proved fatal to him; for he lost his son in the enterprise, and afterwards his own head, on the complaint of the Spanish Ambassador to the Court of England; the Spaniards being more apprehensive than ordinary of our fixing a settlement here, as it lay in the neighbourhood of some of their gold mines, which they were then beginning to work: But I don't find these mines have answered their expectations,

CHAP.

I.

New Andalusia, with Comana and Paria situated.

The river Oronoque.

The face of the country and produce.

Chief towns.

Comana.

St. Thomas.

CHAP.

I.

The province of Guiana, or Caribiana.

pectations, or that any others have been discovered of any consequence in this province.

7. The province of Guiana, or Caribiana, bounded by the Northern or Atlantic ocean on the north and east; by the country of the Amazons on the south; and by the provinces of Granada and New Andalusia on the west: It extends from the Equator to the 8th degree of north latitude, and lies between 50 and 63 degrees of western longitude, extending twelve hundred miles and upwards along the Atlantic ocean, viz. from the mouth of the river Oronoque, to the mouth of the river of Amazons. Some divide it into two parts, calling that on the sea-coast Caribiana, and the inland country Guiana.

European settlements in this province.

Rivers.

Several European Powers have settlements on or near the sea-coasts of this country, particularly the Spaniards, the French and Dutch; but the natives are yet possessed of much the greatest part of it, and are not in subjection to any of them, unless upon the sea-coast. There are abundance of considerable rivers (besides those of Oronoque, and the river Amazon, already mention'd); and these, having their sources in the mountains on the south-west, generally run towards the north-east, and fall into the Atlantic ocean: The principal whereof are, 1. Esqueba; 2. Brebue; 3. Coratine; 4. Surinam; 5. Marwyen, or Maroni; 6. Cayenne; 7. Wia; 8. Catwo, or Courwo; 9. Aperwacca, or Aprouaque; 10. Wiapoco; 11. Aracawo; and 12. Arabony.

The face of the country and air.

The sea-coast of this country is generally low, and subject to inundations, such a multitude of rivers running precipitately from the mountains in the inland country during the rainy season. The air is excessive hot and unhealthful, especially in such parts of the country as are not cleared of the woods; but there are even here some elevated situations tolerably cool and healthful, where the air hath a free passage. Indeed the Europeans generally choose to fix their colonies near the mouths of rivers, among the salt-marshes and stinking ouze, for the convenience of importation and exportation; and such situations are unhealthful in all countries; but if they advance never so little up into the country, make choice of an elevated situation, and a hard firm soil, they find a very sensible difference, even in countries most dreaded by foreigners; of which we made a very happy experiment at Bencouli in Sumatra, which rotted all the Soldiers and Factors we sent thither for many years: But, upon removing the town to an eminence three miles distant from the former fort, we found the country as healthful as any other. From whence it is evident, that if we chuse a situation for health, we can scarce miss of it in any country; but if our view is solely to trade, and the convenience of navigation, we must be content to want that health we never sought after.

Indian towns.

As for towns in this country, I find no other among the natives, who possess all the inland part of it, but straggling villages, consisting of poor huts, of the form of ordinary barns, which they frequently remove also, living a kind of vagrant life. Their furniture consists of little more than the hammocks they sleep in (which are sometimes fastened to the ridge-poles of their houses, and as often to the trees without doors) baskets, earthen-pots and pans, gourds and calabashes, that serve them for bowls, bottles, pails, and all manner of uses: These make up the rest of their household equipage.

The English settlements yielded to the Dutch.

The English had formerly several settlements on this coast, which were yielded to the Dutch, by the

treaty of Breda, in the year 1667; and the Dutch and French have still a great many forts and settlements here, with a good extent of country near the mouths of the rivers, which furnish them with sugar, tobacco, cotton, flax, skins or paltry drugs, dying-woods, and several other considerable articles: But I don't find they have met with any mines of gold or silver, which our first Adventurers expected.

The chief Dutch settlement is that of Surinam, situated 5 leagues within the river of the same name, in 6 degrees odd minutes north latitude. They have given the name of Surinam to all the country about this fortress for several hundred miles; and look upon themselves as Sovereigns of it; and, indeed, these are the only considerable acquisitions the Dutch have had in America since the Portuguese drove them from Brazil, and the English from New York.

The chief French settlement is that of Cayenne, situated on an island at the mouth of a river of the same name, in 5 degrees of north latitude, above 100 leagues to the northward of the river of Amazons. The island is about 7 leagues long, and 3 broad; well wooded and watered with rivulets; and has several good French towns upon it, besides villages of Indians, producing sugar, tobacco, Indian-corn, and other grain and plants, like the neighbouring continent; and is held to be more healthful, as it lies open to the sea-breezes. The Dutch Admiral BRINKS took it from the French in the year 1676; and the Count D'ESTREES, the French Admiral, recovered it the same year; and it was long contended for by France and Holland, but the French are now in possession of this island; and, as their settlements extend to the southward, as far as the Equinoctial, 'tis said, they have given the name of Equinoctial France to all the sea-coasts between the river of Cayenne and the river of Amazons.

As to the persons of the Indians of Guiana and Caribiana, their complexion is a dark copper-colour, as all those are that lie so near the Equator; but they resemble their more northern neighbours of Terra-Firma in size and features. Here are no nations or tribes of a gigantic or diminutive stature, as the first Discoverers pretended. Those who live in the neighbourhood of the Europeans wear some little cloathing, for decency sake; but the rest scarce any, either men or women: Tho' in ornaments most of the Americans seem to agree, as in plates and rings for their lips and noses; heavy strings of beads and shells about their necks, that reach almost down to their bellies; and in anointing and painting their faces and bodies: And, instead of beds, they use hammocks in most places, both of North and South-America. And as Giants, Dwarfs and Monsters seem at present to be expelled from this continent, tho' our first Discoverers met with scarce any thing else, the case seems much the same as to Canibals. There was not a province in America, where we were not assured there were tribes of these; but in Caribiana, the country I am now describing, we were told there was nothing else but devourers of their own species: That it was dangerous for a man to sleep near his best friend, lest he should take that opportunity of murdering him, in order to feast upon his carcase; and yet, for these last hundred years, we meet with no Canibals here, or any where else. That people have eaten one another, driven to it by famine, I make no manner of doubt; and an instance or two of this nature has been thought sufficient to denominate the whole country Canibals. Men may sometimes also

CHAP.

I.

Surinam the chief Dutch settlement.

Cayenne the chief French settlement.

The persons of the Caribbees.

Cloathing and ornaments.

Reputed Canibals by the first Discoverers; the truth whereof is enquired into.

have

CHAP.

I.

have sacrificed their own species to their gods; of which others have had such an abhorrence, that they made no difficulty to believe they eat the sacrifice, especially when it was usual to feast upon other animals sacrificed to idols by almost all people. But further, every nation, in countries where ignorance prevails, looks upon other nations, especially their enemies, as barbarous; and are perpetually making or telling stories to create in their acquaintance an abhorrence of them: And, as nothing is more detestable than the killing and eating our own species, all people almost seem to have agreed in charging this piece of barbarity upon their enemies, and those they have little acquaintance with. I make no doubt, but many of the American nations, as others had done in Asia and Europe, charged their enemies with this instance of barbarism; and, when the Europeans came amongst them, were full of these stories, which our credulous seamen took upon trust; and some of them, possibly, went so far, as to say they had seen the Americans kill, dress, and make a meal of their enemies: After which, no man was thought to have made any discoveries in that part of the world, who could not say he was conversant with those supposed devourers of human flesh. And this was the reason every traveller almost brought home some account of the Canibals he had seen in every other part of America, as well as this. But can we suppose that the Popish Missionaries, and others, would so often have ventured themselves in the inland and unsubdued parts of America, and especially in Caribiana, without a guard, as we are assured they have done, if they had not been satisfied these relations were fabulous? A very credible traveller informs us, indeed, that being about to pass through Caribiana, the many relations he had met with of their devouring their enemies and strangers, had made such an impression on him, that he communicated his fears to one of their Caciques, who could not help expressing his indignation, that he should entertain such thoughts of their people; declaring, that a foreigner might pass through their country with as much security as he could propose in travelling through any other. To this give me leave to add what I have observed before in treating of Asia: That it appears several nations, who have been charged with eating human flesh, have been so far from it, that they have eat no flesh at all; but lived upon roots, herbs, fruits, or pulse; scarce eating any thing that had life, some of them making conscience of eating any animal.

Our Buccaneers, who have traversed the most barbarous and uncultivated parts of America, and seem to be very ready to give into these stories of Canibals, have not, as I remember, been able to give us one instance of their having seen any one man eaten; only they tell us, that one of their comrades being taken by the Indians, they supposed he was roasted and eaten; because, the next day, they came to a place where a great fire had been made, and discovered human bones in the ashes: Which they might have done, if the Indians had only burnt their friend in *terrorem*, as well as if they had broiled and eaten him: Nor is it at all improbable, the man was burnt; for the Buccaneers have frequently committed such outrages, both upon the Spaniards and Indians, as to induce them to retaliate the injuries they have received, by putting them to the cruellest deaths. I shall conclude this topic with Mr. DAMPIER's opinion of the matter, who had visited as many parts of the world as any Englishman ever did, and especially several places

of America, said to be inhabited by Canibals, having been himself a Buccaneer.

CHAP.

I.

“As for the common opinion of Man-eaters, (says that gentleman) I did never meet with any such people; all nations and families in the world, that I have seen or heard of, having some sort of food to live on; either fruit, grain, pulse, or roots, which grow naturally, or else are planted by them; if not fish and land-animals besides: Yea, even the people of New Holland had fish amidst all their penury, and would scarce kill a man purposely to eat him. I know not what barbarous customs may have formerly been in the world: To sacrifice their enemies to their gods, is a thing that is much talked of, with relation to the Savages of America. I am a stranger to that also, if it be, or have been, customary in any nation there: And yet, if they sacrifice their enemies, it is not necessary they should eat them too. After all, I will not be peremptory in the negative; but I speak as to the compass of my own knowledge, and know some of these Canibal stories to be false; and many of them have been disproved since I went to the West-Indies. At that time how barbarous were the poor Florida Indians accounted, whom now we find to be civil enough! What strange stories have we heard of the Indians! Whole islands were called The Isles of Canibals (Caribbees); yet we find they trade very civilly with the French and Spaniards, and have done so with us. I do own, that they have formerly endeavoured to destroy our plantations at Barbadoes, and have hindered us from settling in the island of St. Lucia, by destroying two or three colonies successively; and even the island of Tabago has been often annoyed and ravaged by them, when settled by the Dutch, and still lies waste (tho' a delicate fruitful island) as being too near the Caribbee's on the continent, who visit it every year. But this was to preserve their own right, by endeavouring to keep out any that should settle themselves on those islands where they had planted themselves; yet, even these would not hurt a single person, as I have been told by some that have been prisoners amongst them. I could instance also in the Indians of Boca Toro and Boca Drago, and many other places where they do live, as the Spaniards call it, wild and savage; yet there they have been familiar with Privateers, but by abuses have withdrawn their friendship again. And as for the Nicobar people (an island in the Gulph of Bengal, reported to be inhabited by Canibals) I found them affable enough; and therefore did not fear them.”

The relations of there being nations of Giants and Dwarfs in South-America, seems to have no better authority than their stories of Canibals. There may have been men seen above the common size there, as we find some tall people in Ireland and Germany; but these are not common any where any more than a race of Dwarfs; tho' some travellers relate, they have seen nations, where a person 3 foot high was looked upon as a tall man amongst them.

But there is nothing the common people in every country seem to have been more universally agreed in, than in their notions of magic, witchcraft, and a visible and familiar conversation that some pretend to the black-art have with the Spirit of darkness; by whose assistance they gratify their revenge upon their enemies, foretel future events, and know things transacted at the greatest distance the very moment they are done. Every

Of witchcraft and magic.

CHAP. I. Every nation of the Americans, and especially the Caribbees, pretend to have some such adepts amongst them; and this office of Conjuror or Diviner is generally assign'd to their Priests, possibly for no other reason, but because they are something superior to the common people in their experience and knowledge of nature; which has made many a man looked upon as a Conjuror in this part of the world, particularly the celebrated Friar BACON; and it is not unlikely, that the Priest or Conjuror endeavours sometimes to contribute to the cheat, to keep up or advance his reputation among ignorant people.

Wafer's account of the Indian Pawawers or Conjurors.

Mr. WAFER (Surgeon to a company of Buccaneers) who resided a considerable time among the Darien Indians in the year 1681, gives the following account of these Pawawers, or pretended Conjurors, of Terra-Firma: He says, enquiring of the Indians when they expected any ships, they sent for some of their Conjurors, who immediately went to work to raise the Devil, and enquire at what time a ship would arrive; and first, they made a partition in the house with hammocks, that the Pawawers might be by themselves; they continued some time at their exercise, and WAFER and his comrades heard them making most hideous yellings and shrieks, imitating the voices of all manner of animals; they beat also on their wooden-drums, founded their court-shells, and had some string-instruments they play'd upon; making altogether a horrible noise: Then they broke out into loud exclamations, which were followed with a profound silence; and receiving no answer, after they had waited a considerable time, they came and turned all the Christians out of the house, and then went to work again, but still receiving no answer, after an hour or more, they made a new search, and finding some of the Christians cloaths hanging up in a basket, they threw them out of doors, and then fell to pawawing again: After a little time, they came out in a muck-sweat, and going down the river and washing themselves, they returned and delivered their oracle to this effect: "That the tenth day, from that time, there would arrive two ships; and in the morning of that day they should hear the first gun, and some time after another: That one of the Christians should die soon after; and that going on board they should lose one of their muskets." They were so particular also to tell them, that the Demon informed them, one of them would be an English ship; of the other they were doubtful, but said they were afraid it would prove a Spanish ship; which prediction, WAFER assures us, was exactly fulfilled, even as to that circumstance that one of the ships was Spanish, and under the command of a Spaniard at the time of the pawawing; but was afterwards taken by the English Privateer, which arrived with her upon the coast; and WAFER and his comrades were no sooner on board the English Privateer, but Gopsov one of their number died, having been overfet and half drowned in going on board, and lost his musket, as the Pawawers had foretold.

As these things are no part of our creed, people are at liberty to give what credit to them they please; but WAFER's taking notice, that these Pawawers could do nothing as long as the Christians, or any thing that belong'd to them, was in the house, puts me in mind of the pretensions of the East-Indians to the like commerce with Satan, to whom (if we may believe them) he appears personally, and entertains frequent conversation with them in the night; but

VOL. III.

when any of our soldiers have offered to go with them, and be witnesses of their conferences with the Spirit of darkness, they always refused them this favour, alledging, he would not appear if any Christian was present, which smells strongly of a cheat; for many of our people, who resort to these countries, have not more Christianity than the Indians themselves, if we may judge by their morals: Satan need not be afraid to appear before them on account of their sanctity; and even WAFER tells us, in another place, that he gave very little credit to these appearances of the Devil; for, when one of these Pawawers told the company he appeared, and pretended to entertain a conversation with him, they saw nothing, nor heard any voice but their own.

As to religion, we are told, that these people have a great veneration for the Sun and Moon, as the Mexicans have; but pay them no divine honours, or apply to them in their distresses, but to inferior demons, to which our travellers have given the appellation of devils; though 'tis very possible, that the Indians, as well as the Pagans of old, look upon them as a kind of mediators to the supreme Deity, and worship them as such. They may also be apprehensive of mischief from an evil spirit, as the East-Indians are, and endeavour to appease him, by paying him divine honours; but most of the accounts we have yet received of these things, have very much the air of a fable.

Religion of the Caribbees.

8. New Granada, the next province I am to describe, is bounded by the provinces of St. Martha, Venezuela, and New Andalusia, on the north; by Guiana, or Caribiana, on the east; by the country of the Amazons on the south; and by Popayan on the west; being about six hundred miles in length, from the north-east to the south-west; and five hundred in breadth. This large inland country affords vast variety of hills and fruitful valleys; is well watered with navigable rivers, and esteem'd as healthful as any part of Terra-Firma. The chief rivers are, 1. The river Grande, or Magdalena, which, rising in the south, runs directly cross it; falling into the North-sea, to the northward of Carthagena. 2. The river Oronoque, which rising in Popayan, runs directly east the whole length of this province; and then turning to the northward, falls into the North-sea against the island of Trinidad.

New Granada. The situation and extent.

Face of the country.

Rivers. Magdalena.

Oronoque.

Their mountains have mines of gold and silver in them: They have Cedar-trees, and a great deal of other good timber; and no want of Horses, Oxen, Hogs, Goats, Venison, Fish and Fowl; but the country is not proper for Sheep. Here is also great plenty of corn and fruits, both Spanish and American, Guaiacum, Balm, and several other valuable gums and drugs.

Gold mines.

Timber.

Cattle.

Corn. Fruits.

The chief towns are, 1. Santa-Fé de Bagota; Chief 2. Tocama; 3. Pampeluna; 4. Velez; 5. Trinidad; 6. Palma; 7. Tunia; and 8. St. John de Lanos.

Chief towns.

Santa-Fé de Bagota, is situated in the Lake Guatavita, a little to the eastward of the river Magdalena, in 4 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and 74 degrees of western longitude, in a plentiful country, that abounds in corn and cattle: This is the most considerable town in all the Terra-Firma; the seat of the Governor and the Courts of justice, and an Archbishop's see; to whom the Bishops of St. Martha, Carthagena, and Popayan are Suffragans.

Santa-Fé.

2. Tocama, situated at the conflux of the rivers Magdalena and Pati, a little to the northward of Santa-Fé; remarkable for the salt-springs in the neighbourhood of it.

Tocama.

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3. Pam-

CHAP.

I.

Pampeluna.

na.

Velez.

Trinidad.

Palma.

Tunia.

St. John of the Plains.

Popayan Province.

Face of the country.

Gold in their mountains and rivers.

Rivers.

Bonaventura river and bay.

Tomaco river.

St. Jago river.

Manglars point.

Chief towns.

Popayan.

St. John de Pasto.

3. Pampeluna, situated at the foot of the mountains, 60 leagues north of Santa-Fé, has some gold mines near it.

4. Velez, situated almost in the midway between Pampeluna and Santa-Fé, near a remarkable volcano, by whose eruptions this and the adjacent towns are sometimes damaged and endangered.

5. Trinidad, situated on the river Magdalena, 20 leagues to the northward of Santa-Fé, near which, 'tis said, are found quarries of fine Marble, rocks of Crystal, Emeralds, and other precious stones.

6. Palma, situated thirty miles south-east of Trinidad.

7. Tunia, a fortress situated on a mountain four-score miles south-east of Trinidad, erected by the Spaniards to keep the Indians in awe, and received its name from the Indian nation that inhabits this part of the country.

8. St. Juan de los Llanos, or St. John of the Plains, situated on the river Baraguan, an hundred and thirty miles south-east of Santa-Fé, near which, 'tis said, there are gold mines; but as this is an inland country, seldom visited by foreigners, and the Spaniards industriously conceal the produce of it from the rest of the world, lest they should be tempted to disturb them in the enjoyment of these valuable acquisitions; it must be confessed, the accounts we have received of these places are very imperfect.

The last province I am to describe in Terra-Firma, is that of Popayan, bounded by the province of Terra-Firma Proper on the north; by New Granada on the east; by the Audience of Quito in Peru on the south; and by the Pacific ocean on the west; extending in length from north to south four hundred miles, and in breadth three hundred. A chain of barren mountains, almost impassable, runs through the country from north to south; some of which are volcano's, and in one of them the loadstone is found. Towards the shores of the South-sea the land is low and flat; and, as it rains near three quarters of the year, innumerable rivers and torrents fall from the mountains into the South-sea, in the sands whereof is found a great deal of gold-dust; and there are mines of the same metal in the mountains, which induces the Spaniards to build towns and reside in some parts of it, how uncomfortable soever it may be to live just under or near the Equator, where the heat and rains are extremely troublesome, as well as unwholesome.

The chief rivers are, 1. Bonaventura, which rising in the mountains, runs to the westward, and falls into a bay of the sea of the same name, in 4 degrees, odd minutes north latitude. 2. The river Tomaco, which rises in the same mountains, and running parallel to the former, falls into the South-sea, to the southward of it, in 2 degrees, odd minutes north latitude. 3. The river of St. Jago, which takes its course in like manner to the westward, and falls into the same sea, near the point or promontory of Manglars, about 20 leagues to the southward of Tomaco.

The chief towns of the province of Popayan are, 1. Popayan; 2. Agreda, or St. John de Pasto; and 3. Madrigal.

The city of Popayan is situated at the foot of the mountains, on a fruitful plain, in 3 degrees of north latitude, and 76 degrees of western longitude. It is a Bishop's see, Suffragan of Santa-Fé; the seat of the Governor and of the Courts of justice; and is said to be a large town, and a place of good trade.

St. John de Pasto is situated upwards of an hundred miles south-west of Popayan, in a pleasant

plain, well watered with rivers; in the neighbourhood whereof are many sugar-farms; and they feed great herds of cattle in their savannahs, or meadows.

Madrigal lies an hundred and forty miles to the southward of the city of Popayan, in a barren country, but rich in gold mines.

I shall, in the next place, give some description of the remaining islands that lie on the coast of Terra-Firma (those near Terra-Firma Proper, both in the North and South-seas, having been already described.)

Those that lie in the South-sea, on the coast of Popayan, are, 1. Gorgona, a pretty high woody island, producing large tall trees, and several springs of good water, lies in 3 degrees north latitude, and 4 leagues west of the continent: The anchoring-place in a deep sandy bay at the west end of the island. It is about six miles in length, and four in breadth, but uninhabited; and at the east end is a small island that looks white with the dung of fowls; and another like it at the west end. The coast on the continent over against it is low land; but there are exceeding high mountains beyond in the inland country. Between the island Gorgona and the river Bonaventura, 25 leagues north-east of it, are several small rivers, in the sands whereof the Spanish Indians find gold-dust, that it washed down from the neighbouring mountains.

The island of Gallo lies 25 leagues to the southward of Gorgona, in a deep bay, on the north-east part whereof is good riding for ships. This also is pretty high land, well furnished with good timber, and has several springs of fresh water in it: There are also several fine sandy bays in the island, where a ship may be cleaned. The water is shallow all round the island; and both at the north and south points are several rocks, some whereof look like barns, and others like ships under sail. To the north-east, on the main land, 3 leagues distance, is the large river Tomaco; and a league and half within the river an Indian village of the same name, where shipping frequently touches to take in refreshments. From this river, a wood of fine timber-trees extends 10 or 12 leagues to the southwards, whither the Buccaneers and Privateers resort, when they want masts and other ship-timber; for neither the islands nor the neighbouring coast on the continent are inhabited by Spaniards, only they come hither in the dry season to search the sands of the numerous rivulets on this coast for gold.

The islands of Gorgona and Gallo have been frequently visited by the Buccaneers and other Adventurers, who take in wood and water, careen their ships, and wait for Spanish prizes here; these islands lying in the road from Peru to Panama. Near Cape Francisco, about 25 leagues to the southward of Gallo, Sir FRANCIS DRAKE took that rich prize from the Spaniards, called the Cacafogo, in which he found eighty pounds weight of refined gold, twenty-six tons of silver, and a considerable quantity of precious-stones and pearls: And, near the same cape, our countryman DAMPIER took two prizes from the Spaniards in the year 1704; but these were laden only with provisions, viz. Wine, Brandy, Sugar, Marmalade, Flour, Bacon, Chocolate, &c. that the Spaniards were carrying from Peru to supply the city of Panama. This Cape Francisco lies in 1 degree north latitude, and in 81 degrees, odd minutes western longitude.

To the southward of Cape Francisco lies Cape Passeeo, just under the Equator, or rather 8 minutes south of it; which is another nation where our Privateers

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CHAP. I. vateers use to wait for the Spanish plate-fleets going from Peru to Panama. The land near this cape is mountainous and woody.

I proceed in the next place, to describe the rest of the islands on the coast of Terra-Firma in the North-sea, which lie between the mouth of the river Oronoque on the east, and the entrance of the gulph of Venezuela or Maracaibo on the west.

Trinity island.

The principal of these islands, and the most easterly, is that of the Trinity, subject to the Spaniards; so named by COLUMBUS, who discovered it in his third voyage, ann. 1498. It is situated near the mouth of the river Oronoque, three miles from the continent of Paria, or New Andalusia; between 9 and 10 degrees of north latitude, and 60 and 64 degrees of western longitude; and is about 30 leagues in length, and 20 in breadth. The air is deemed unhealthful, but the soil tolerable fertile, producing Sugar, Cotton, Indian-corn and fruits, and the best Tobacco the Spaniards are masters of. The chief town is named St. Joseph, situated on a bay of the sea, over-against the continent. It was taken by Sir WALTER RALEIGH in the year 1595, and by the French in 1676, who, besides their plunder, extorted eighty thousand pieces of eight from the Spaniards, to ransom it from the flames.

Tabago island.

Tabago lies a little to the north-east of Trinity; but this belonging to Great Britain, will be described among the rest of the British islands in America.

Margaretta.

The most considerable Spanish island on this coast, next to Trinity, is that of Margaretta, situate in 12 degrees north-latitude, about 49 leagues to the westward of Trinity, and 7 or 8 leagues from the continent. It is about 16 leagues in length, and eight in breadth, high land; and had the name given it by the Spaniards, on account of the fine pearl-fishery they found there, which seems to be exhausted at present. The soil affords Indian-corn and fruits, and the Spaniards have introduced many of the plants and fruits of Spain; but they are forced to import all the water they drink from the continent; and there is very little wood or pasture to be met with on the island. The chief town is that of Monpater, at the east end of the island, defended by a good fort, where the Governor resides.

Salt Tortuga.

Salt Tortuga, 14 leagues to the westward of Margaretta, so named from its salt-pits, and to distinguish it from French Tortuga, on the north coast of Hispaniola and Tortuga, near the south cape of Florida; every one of which received their names from the numbers of Tortoises that resort thither at the season to lay their eggs. This Tortuga is a barren desert island, yielding neither corn or grass, and is not more than ten or twelve miles in circumference; only valuable to the Spaniards, on account of the salt they sell to foreigners, particularly to the inhabitants of the Caribbee islands.

Orchilla, Roca, Aves.

The islands of Orchilla, Roca and Aves, are small inconsiderable islands, situated to the westward of Tortuga, and scarce deserves mentioning, except for a good harbour in the middle of that of Aves, on the north side, whither the Buccaneers frequently resort to careen their ships, and take in fresh water. A French Squadron of men of war, commanded by Count D'ESTREES, was cast away on the rocks that lie before this island, in the year 1678, and not two of their ships saved.

Bonayre.

A little to the westward of Aves, lies the island of Bonayre, in form of a crescent, about 16 leagues in compass, and situated about 20 leagues north of the coast of Caracoe: The middle of the island in 12 degrees, 16 minutes north latitude. This belongs to the Dutch, who have seven or eight soldiers here,

and five or six families of Indians, who plant Maize, Guinea-corn, Yams and Potatoes for their masters; but their chief employment is the looking after their Goats, of which the Dutch salt up great numbers every year: They have also some Horses, Cows and Oxen upon the island, and the Dutch make Salt at the east end of the island.

Nine or ten leagues farther to the westward, and about as many from the continent, lies the island of Curassow, or Querisao; the most northerly point of it in 12 degrees, 40 minutes north latitude. There is a good harbour on the south-east part of the island, where the Dutch have a considerable town, defended by a strong fort. The country is level, and feeds abundance of cattle; they have also some sugar-farms, and small plantations of fruits and roots; but DAMPIER observes, it is not so much esteemed for its produce, as its situation for trade with the Spanish West-Indies: Formerly the harbour was never without ships from Carthage and Porto-Bello; the Spaniards purchasing a thousand or fifteen hundred Negroes at a time of them, besides great quantities of European commodities; but part of this trade has of late fallen into the hands of the English: However, the Dutch have still a very extensive trade in the Spanish West-Indies, sending ships of good force from Holland, freighted with European goods to this coast, from whence they make very profitable returns. Let the Spanish Governors prohibit this smuggling trade never so severely, the Spaniards stand so much in need of European commodities, that they will run any hazards to deal with the Dutch; and as it is their common interest to connive at this kind of traffick, the people cannot be very hearty in their endeavours to prevent it.

The island of Araba, or Oraba, lies 7 or 8 leagues to the westward of Curassow, at the entrance of the gulph of Venezuela, or Maracaibo, being about 5 or 6 leagues in compass. It is a level country, except only one hill, that rises like a sugar-loaf in the middle of it: This island also belongs to the Dutch, and furnishes Curassow with goats and sheep; and there are some few sugar-plantations in it. These are all the islands the Dutch are masters of in America; nor have they any thing upon the continent, unless Surinam in Guiana, or Caribiana.

Before I discontinue the description of Terra-Firma, it may be proper to take notice of the discovery and conquest of it by the Spaniards; of which we have not so large and particular an account as we have of the conquest of Mexico and Peru; this being reduced under the Spanish yoke by abundance of inferior Adventurers, who bought or begg'd the respective provinces, comprehended under the general name of TERRA-FIRMA, of the King of Spain; or usurped upon those that had obtained patents or grants from that Prince. These, after a miserable slaughter of the naked and defenceless Indians, fell out among themselves, and cut one another's throats, scarce any of the Adventurers dying natural deaths, or by the swords of the Indians, but generally by each others hands.

COLUMBUS barely discovered this north-coast of South-America, from the mouth of the river Oronoque in the east, to Porto-Bello in the west; and tho' he went on shore in several parts of it, with an intent to erect forts, and plant colonies, in proper places, he was diverted from it, and did not fix one settlement upon that coast.

VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA, who attended General ENCISO in an expedition from Cuba to Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper, first settled a colony, and built a fort on the west side of the Gulph

CHAP. I.

Curassow.

Araba.

The Discoverers of Terra-Firma.

The first colony planted in Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper.

CHAP. I. of Darien, about the year 1510, to which he gave the name of Santa Maria el Antigua, or Old St. Mary's.

ENCISO, it seems, was very unfortunate in this enterprize, lost a great many men in several engagements with the Indians, and more by the hardships his people underwent for want of provisions; whereupon those that escaped, having a great opinion of the bravery and conduct of VASCO, to whose prudence they ow'd their preservation in a great measure, refused to obey ENCISO any longer, and elected VASCO NUNEZ their Commander, a man every-way qualified for great undertakings: And ENCISO thereupon returned to Spain, to complain of the desertion of his people, and get his commission confirmed and enlarged.

In the mean time, VASCO applied himself to make farther discoveries; and, in order to it, endeavoured to cultivate a friendship with CARETA the Cacique, who commanded that part of the country, which lies to the westward of the Gulph of Darien; and when he found he was not disposed to enter into a treaty with the Spaniards, he surpris'd the Cacique in the night-time, making him prisoner, and killing some of his people: But VASCO offering to give the Cacique his liberty, on condition he would furnish him with provisions, they made an alliance; and, to cement it the closer, the Cacique gave VASCO one of his daughters, a beautiful young Indian, for his wife; or, as the Spaniard understood it, for a concubine; and he us'd her with great tenderness, tho' he afterwards married a Spanish lady. VASCO also found two Spaniards in the territories of CARETA, that escaped thither out of a ship, and lived almost two years among the Indians, who were very serviceable to him, as interpreters, in his succeeding enterprizes.

CARETA being engaged in war with PONCA, a neighbouring Cacique, at the arrival of the Spaniards, put them upon invading his territories; and PONCA finding himself unable to resist his old enemy, supported by these strangers, abandoned his country, where the Spaniards found considerable quantities of gold. COMAGRE, another Cacique, a friend of CARETA, voluntarily submitted to VASCO, and furnished him with gold to a considerable value; and the son of this Cacique, observing the Spaniards ready to fight about dividing their treasure, having handsomely reprov'd their covetous fordid temper, told them, he would direct them to a country where they would find as much gold and silver as their hearts could wish, if they thought it worth the while to undergo the fatigues, and run the hazards, that were necessary to obtain it; for the country lay beyond high mountains of difficult access, and they must afterwards traverse another ocean beyond those hills, before they came at it; and as they were to pass through the territories of several powerful Princes before they arrived at that sea, the Indian Prince advis'd, they should increase their forces to a thousand men, before they entered upon so great an undertaking.

VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA was overjoy'd to hear of countries thus abounding with treasure, and of another ocean; and upon this intelligence returned to Darien again, in order to make suitable preparations for the discovery of them. He also dispatched expresses to Hispaniola, and to Spain, with the joyful news; desiring such a reinforcement, as might enable him to reduce those countries under the obedience of his Catholick Majesty. He also sent over to Spain the value of fifteen thousand pieces of eight in gold, as a specimen of what those coun-

tries produced; and every man sent some present to his friends of the same metal: Upon seeing whereof, and hearing the representations that were made of the country, by those that were sent over, it was named Castilla del Oro, or Golden Castile; tho' it afterwards recovered the name, first given it by COLUMBUS, of Terra-Firma.

But these fortunate beginnings met with a considerable check from the divisions among the Adventurers; for VASCO, having no other authority than what the troops had conferred upon him, every one expected to have his advice attended to, and if he was not considered as he expected, became a male-content: So strong was the party form'd against him, that he was once compelled to quit the town of Darien to the mutineers; but a supply of an hundred and fifty men being sent him from Hispaniola, with a commission to be Captain-General of Terra-Firma, his enemies all submitted to him, and he continued his preparations for the discovery of the South-sea; tho' he received intelligence from Spain, that ENCISO had so far prevail'd in his complaints against him, that he would be soon sent for over, and another Governor appointed for that service. He considered, 'tis said, that if he prov'd successful in this expedition, it would probably obliterate all his faults; and if he did not, death would put an end to his cares.

He made choice therefore of two hundred Spaniards and a thousand Indians, whom he embarked on board a brigantine, and some canoes, the beginning of September 1513; and went by water to the territories of the Cacique CARETA, who had given him his daughter; and being joined by the forces of that Cacique, advanced towards the mountains, through the dominions of the Cacique PONCA, who fled at first at the approach of the Spaniards; but upon an assurance that VASCO intended no hurt to him, or his people, PONCA returned, and furnish'd the Spaniards with such provisions as the country afforded; for which the Indians were paid in axes, knives, and such other tools and implements as they valued most. This Cacique also furnished them with guides to pass the mountains, and with porters to carry their baggage.

VASCO continued his march up the mountains 'till he came to the territories of another Cacique, nam'd QUAREQUA, who assembled his forces, and made some shew of opposing their passage: This Prince, the historian relates, was cloth'd in a quilted cotton coat, which he wore as armour, and was sufficient to break the force of their country weapons (but his subjects were most of them naked) their arms being bows and arrows, slings, spears and darts, pointed and hardned in the fire, and clubs; but, upon the firing two or three muskets, these warriors all turn'd their backs and fled, imagining, says my author, that their enemies had the command of thunder and lightning, as they saw their men drop down dead at the time the guns were fired, and they heard the report: While the Spaniards, to increase their terror, and that the Indians might no more dare to oppose them, killed upwards of six hundred of these poor defenceless people as they fled, among whom was the Cacique QUAREQUA himself. The Spaniards had no horse with them at this time, and as the Indians were naked, and much swifter of foot, they would probably have escap'd this slaughter, had not the Spaniards carried packs of great dogs with them, which overtook and worried these miserable people, 'till their cruel masters came up, and slaughtered them at pleasure. This was the way the Spaniards made war upon the Indians in almost every part of America; neither woods or mountains could

Intimations given the Spaniards of the South-sea, and the treasures of Peru.

Several hundred Indians cut in pieces by the Spaniards.

CHAP. I. save the natives from their rage; they hunted them out, and tore in pieces men, women and children; which made the Americans, who at first took the Spaniards to be gods, change their minds, and look upon them as devils.

After this victory, as the Spaniards call it, they plunder'd the houses of the Indians, where they found great quantities of gold; and, what was still more barbarous, caus'd many of the people they found in them to be torn to pieces by dogs, under pretence they were Sodomites, tho' they had no manner of proof of it, as their own historian ANTONIO DE HERRERA acknowledges.

The South Sea discovered.

From the place where the Spaniards landed, to the tops of the mountains, was reckoned about six days journey; but the want of provisions, and other interruptions, occasioned their spending five and twenty days in their march, before they arrived at the hills where the South-sea might be discerned: And now VASCO NUNEZ having notice, that they should have a view of that sea, on advancing a little farther, order'd all his forces to halt; and going up to the top of the hill alone, saw that vast ocean; whereupon he fell upon his knees, and with hands lifted up, gave thanks to heaven, that he was the first European who had seen it: Then calling up his men after him, great rejoicings were made upon the occasion; and an instrument was drawn up, importing, That here VASCO NUNEZ took possession of the South-sea, and all the countries bordering upon it, for the Crown of Castile. Crosses were erected, and great heaps of stones raised, and the King of Spain's name engraved on several trees: This was performed on the 25th of September 1513. The Indians stood amazed at all this formality, not being yet acquainted with the ambition and avarice of the Spaniards, who came to take their country from them, and had already swallowed this new world, and all its treasures, in their imaginations.

From this mountain, the Spaniards descending into the country of the Cacique CHIAPA, found that Prince and his forces assembled to oppose their march; but these also fled, on the firing two or three muskets; and many of them were slaughtered by the Spaniards, or torn in pieces by their dogs; which execution so terrified CHIAPA and his subjects, that they immediately submitted, and made the General a present of all the gold they had, in order to appease him; and the Spaniards took up their quarters in CHIAPA's chief town; from whence VASCO afterwards marched to the South-sea, and going into it up to his knees, again took possession of this sea, and all that belonged to it, for the King of Castile and Leon, and then returned to his quarters. He afterwards cross'd a great river, and made an incursion into the territories of the Cacique COCARA; and having destroyed some of his people, this Prince also submitted, and desired the Spaniards friendship, making them a present of his gold, for which he received European tools and toys in exchange.

VASCO NUNEZ arriving at a fine bay of the sea, on the 29th of September, gave it the name of St. Michael's, which it still retains: And the Caciques informing him, that there were some islands not far off, where great quantities of pearls were to be had, he desired them to bear him company thither; but they represented it was dangerous going thither in canoes at that time of the year: However, since he would not be dissuaded from the enterprize, they went off with him in their canoes, but were soon driven back again, and the Spaniards very narrowly escaped being drowned.

VOL. III.

CHAP. I. He afterwards invaded the territories of a Cacique, named TUMACO, which lay upon this bay; who being terrified into a submission, as his neighbours had been, presented the General with gold to a very great value, but much more in large pearls, which had received some damage by the fire the Indians 'till then used in opening the pearl-oysters: TUMACO also informed VASCO, that the coast extended without end to the southward, pointing towards Peru, where he said there were prodigious treasures of gold and silver to be found.

VASCO NUNEZ, having made these discoveries, resolv'd to return to Darien not directly, but took a circuit through the territories of several other Caciques, some of whom he subdued by force, and others voluntarily entered into alliances with him: But the conditions on which the Spaniards generally afforded them their friendship, were, that the Indians should deliver up the gold they were possessed of, and afterwards procure what they could more of the same precious metal, and send after them. Upon these terms the Spaniards engaged to remain for ever their good allies and protectors.

The General, being arrived at Darien, the 19th of January, 1514, was received by his people with transports of joy, when they understood the discoveries he had made, and the vast quantities of gold and pearls he had acquired; for he divided the treasure equally, as well among those that remained behind in the fortrefs of Darien, as among the troops he took with him; first deducting the King's fifth, which he immediately sent over to Spain; together with a full account of the situation of his affairs, desiring a reinforcement of a thousand men, to prosecute and improve the discoveries he had already made.

This news was very acceptable to the Court of Spain, and twelve or fifteen hundred men were embarked immediately for Darien, under the command of PETER DE ARIAS, or PEDRARIAS, as he is usually call'd, to whom the government of that province also was committed; and with him were sent over Father JOHN QUEVEDO, a Franciscan Friar, as Bishop of the place, with several other Monks of that order, to instruct the natives in the Christian religion.

Pedrarias made Governor of Terra-Firma.

But a more covetous and barbarous wretch was never sent abroad with a command, than this PEDRARIAS. He arrived at Darien the latter end of July, 1514, and was received by VASCO with all the respect due to his commission; but the government was no sooner surrendered to him, than he began a prosecution against the man who had made all those important discoveries, that he might engross the wealth of those countries to himself, and have no rival or check upon his savage disposition. Then he ordered his troops out every way, and without any regard to the treaties and alliances that VASCO had made with the neighbouring Caciques, plundered their countries, and massacred their subjects without mercy; and, above all, he endeavoured to establish a communication with the South-sea, in order to make himself master of the gold and pearls he understood were to be found on that side; but the Indians finding themselves thus slaughter'd and abused, notwithstanding their former submission, assembled their forces, and laying ambuscades, cut off a great many of his parties, and he was not for some time able to fix colonies in any part of the isthmus.

In the mean time, the friends of VASCO having represented the hardship of his case to the Court of Spain, and the important services he had done or

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might do the Crown, a commission was sent him to be Adelantado, or Lord-lieutenant of the coast of the South-sea, that he might prosecute the discoveries he had begun on that side; with orders to PEDRARIAS, to furnish him with such forces as were necessary for such an expedition: but VASCO however remained as a prisoner at Darien for some time: At length Bishop QUEVEDO interposed his good offices, and procured a reconciliation between the two Generals; and, in order to cement their friendship the stronger, VASCO married the daughter of PEDRARIAS. Soon after which he applied himself to the building of brigantines and vessels; the timber whereof he caused to be carried cross the mountains of the isthmus to the South-sea, and put together there; and these being destroyed by the worms in a short time, he built more on the other side, with which he sailed to the Pearl-islands in the Bay of Panama, and afterwards as far as Port-Pinas in Peru; but some malicious Officer informed PEDRARIAS, or rather the Governor pretending to be informed, that VASCO was about to renounce all dependance on the Crown of Spain, and to set up for himself, commanded him to return to Darien, and answer the accusation; which summons VASCO readily obey'd, being conscious of his innocence; but PEDRARIAS so managed the matter, that he got him convicted, by the forms of law at least, and caused him to be beheaded, to the great surprize of all men who were acquainted with the services he had done the Crown of Spain.

And now PEDRARIAS, being without a rival, or any one to check his fury, ravaged the country in a terrible manner from sea to sea, and even as far as the province of Veragua, planting a colony at Nata, and another at Panama, on the South-sea. Nata, it seems, took its name from the Cacique, who was Governor of that part of the country when the Spaniards subdued it; and Panama, which was then only a small village, inhabited by Indian Fishermen, received its name from the employment of its inhabitants; Panama, in their language, signifying a Fishing-town. PEDRARIAS also founded another town on the North-sea, which was named Nombre de Dios, between which and Panama all the trade was carried on from the North to the South-seas, for some time; but the Spaniards, not liking the situation of Nombre de Dios, abandoned it afterwards, and built the town of Porto-Bello, removing the trade thither; and this still continues the most considerable port on the North-sea.

PEDRARIAS also reduced the provinces of Veragua and Nicaragua, by the forces he sent thither under the command of FRANCIS HERNANDEZ; but entertaining some suspicion that HERNANDEZ had too great a regard to his own interest, he serv'd him as he had done VASCO NUNEZ, and cut off his head, under pretence he was about to throw off his dependance on the Crown of Spain, and set up for himself; and expecting to be called to an account for the many outrages he had committed, both on the Spaniards and Indians, he quitted Darien, before his successor arrived there, and removed to his acquisitions in Veragua, where he looked upon himself to be out of the reach of justice; but what became of him afterwards, history does not inform us, only Father BARTHOLOMEW DE CASAS, Bishop of Chiapa, has given us a very melancholy relation of the numerous cruelties and ravages committed by this Commander, in reducing these provinces under the dominion of the Crown of Spain.

There landed (says the Bishop) in Terra-Firma, in the year 1514, a mischievous Governor, who

not only wasted and dispeopled the sea-coast, but plundered and ravaged large realms and countries, murdering infinite numbers of people from Darien to the province of Nicaragua, being upwards of fifteen hundred miles, full of people, governed by several Princes and great Lords in their respective territories, who were possessed of more gold than any Princes upon the face of the earth at that time.

This Governor and his Officers every day invented new torments, to make the Indians discover their gold; some they racked, others they burnt by inches 'till they expired in torments; and instances in a great Lord or Cacique, who having given PEDRARIAS the weight of nine thousand ducats to obtain his favour, ordered him to be set on the ground, with his legs stretched out, and then fastened to a stake: After which, he ordered fire to be applied to his feet, 'till he sent for three thousand Castellans more, and still continued to burn him 'till the marrow dropp'd from his bones, and he died in the most exquisite torment; all which was insisted on this unhappy Prince, without any other provocation given the merciless PEDRARIAS, than that he could not, or would not discover such a quantity of gold as he expected; and many other great Lords were used in the same barbarous manner, when they could not produce as much gold as was demanded of them: That another great Cacique, named PARIS, making his submission, and presenting the Spaniards with gold to the value of fifty thousand pieces of eight, they pretend'd to be satisfied with it, and agreed to march out of his territories; but returning again at midnight, they set fire to the town, massacred the inhabitants, and carried off the value of fifty or threescore thousand pieces of eight more: The Cacique himself however escaping, assembled several thousands of his subjects, overtook the Spaniards, of whom he kill'd fifty, and recovered most part of the plunder; which PEDRARIAS and his Officers severely revenged a little afterwards; for they sent another body of forces into the territories of the Cacique PARIS, and massacred or made slaves of all his people, insomuch that the Bishop assures us, when he wrote this relation, there was not of the natives one man, woman or child to be found in that country for 30 leagues, though it was before very populous.

That PEDRARIAS and his successors did not destroy less (in that Government only) than eight hundred thousand people, and plundered the country of several millions of gold, of which they did not send the King more than the value of three thousand crowns.

The rest of Terra-Firma, or the north part of South-America, from Darien to the river Oro-noque, was subdued by private Adventurers, at their own charges; every one begged a certain extent of country of the Court of Spain, and used the natives as they thought fit, ravaging and plundering the several countries, and murdering or enslaving the miserable inhabitants, who were able to make but little resistance to these tyrants, as the Bishop of Chiapa calls them.

GRACIA DE LERMA brought the Indians of Santa-Martha under the Spanish yoke, about the year 1529; AMBROSE ALFRINGER got the grant of VENEZUELA, and carried over eight hundred or a thousand Germans thither about the same time, with whom he harraided the country in a terrible manner for some hundreds of miles to the southward, spending upwards of three years in this expedition.

CHAP. I. The province of Carthage was begged by Don PETER DE HEREDIA, who enslaved the natives, and settled Spanish colonies there in the year 1532.

Carthage. GONSALE XIMENES DE QUESADA, and GEORGE FEDERMAN the Dutchman, with the rest of the Governors of these three northern provinces last mentioned, penetrated far within the land to the southward, and subdued that large province which **Granada.** now bears the name of New Granada, about the year 1535.

Guiana, and Caribiana. ALONZO DE HERERA, and ANTHONY SEDONY, made large discoveries and planted colonies in Guiana, Paria and Caribiana, now called New Andalusia, about the year 1533. The province of Popayan was discovered and subdued by SEBASTIAN DE BELALCAZAR, Governor of Quitto, in the year 1536; and if we may credit the relation of the Bishop of Chiapa, whose business it was to enquire into the usage of the oppressed Indians, the conduct of all these Adventurers was rather more barbarous than that of CORTEZ in Mexico, or of PEDRARIAS in Darien and Veragua.

Those who reduced Santa-Martha, he says, perfectly depopulated a country which was before crowded with people for the space of 400 leagues; nor were they content with barely massacring these miserable people, but so tortured and oppressed those that survived, that they chose death rather than to live under the tyranny of these barbarous Spaniards.

That they had carried into slavery two millions of people, from the coast of Guiana, or New Andalusia, many of whom perished at sea for want of provisions, and the rest in the mines; and that in the pearl-fisheries on this coast they destroyed many thousands more, by compelling them to dive for pearls beyond their strength.

In the province of Venezuela (tho' the people readily submitted to the Dutch and German Adventurers sent thither, and treated them with all the goodness and hospitality imaginable) they destroyed four millions of souls and upwards; and most of their Princes and Great men were rack'd and tortured 'till they expired, to make them discover the gold these savage Christians suspected they had concealed.

That they sometimes drove the Indians into barns, and threatened them with death, unless they redeemed themselves with gold; and when they had procured as much as was required for their liberties, then they used to imprison them again, and demand as much more; which, if they could not produce, they were shut up sometimes 'till they were starved; and others were cut to pieces, or burnt by hundreds, for not answering the expectations of their conquerors, as they called themselves.

Father BARTHOLOMEW DE CASAS adds, that those who had been eye-witnesses of the Spanish cruelties in New Granada, deposed on their oaths before the Court of Spain, that the Indian Caciques or Princes in that province quietly submitted to the Spaniards and Germans, with all their people, and were contented to become their vassals; and the several lordships and districts were divided among the Spanish and German officers and soldiers, with all the natives upon them, as their respective properties. That the Indians did not only cultivate the grounds for their new masters, and furnished them with provisions, but presented them with gold and precious stones to a very great value; which was so far from satisfying their avarice, that these new Lords proceeded to exercise all manner of cruelties on the miserable natives, to extort more gold from them.

That the greatest Prince of this country, named BOGATA (from whom the capital city was after-

CHAP. I. wards called Santa-Fé de Bogata) was tortured by the General for several months, to make him discover his gold and emeralds; who, in hopes of being released from his tormenters, promised them at length to furnish them with a house full of gold; and dispatching expresses to every part of his dominions, brought in a prodigious quantity: But the house being not quite filled, he was still racked and tortured to make him produce more; which being impossible, he expired in torments under the hands of his merciless persecutors.

And as this great Prince had been used by the Spanish General, so his Officers and Soldiers used those of an inferior rank, torturing and burning them to pieces by inches, to make them discover their treasures: That it was a common thing to cut off the hands and noses of men in women in sport, and give them to their dogs: That when the poor natives fled to the woods and mountains, to shelter themselves from their rage, this was called a rebellion, and they were hunted out by dogs, torn in pieces, slaughtered, and thrown from the tops of the rocks by hundreds: And when any of them had secured themselves in inaccessible places, the Spaniards would treacherously offer them their lives and liberties, to induce them to surrender, and then cut them in pieces as soon as they had them in their power: That it was impossible to describe the mischiefs and cruelties of these monsters of mankind; and if they were suffered to go on, the inhabitants must be totally extirpated, and these populous and fertile countries become a wilderness (as in reality it happened not long afterwards, for upwards of 600 leagues) the Emperor's commands for redressing these outrages being very ill observed.

That these Adventurers here, as well as those in other parts of America, kept packs of great mastiffs on purpose to hunt and tear in pieces the Indians: It was an ordinary thing to kill an Indian, without any offence given them; and to lend a brother Spaniard a quarter of a man, as they would lend a neighbour a quarter of Pork or Mutton to feed their dogs; promising to return it in kind when they killed a slave.

That others would go out a hunting for Indians with their dogs as they would hunt wild beasts, and boast of their having killed twenty or thirty in a day: Which fact, how monstrous soever, appeared to be true, by the testimony of numbers of witnesses, on the trials of causes in the Courts of Spain, between the several Adventurers, who frequently fell out about the limits of their respective provinces, the distribution of the natives, and the rest of their plunder; and in these contests, the truth frequently came out.

CHAP. II.

Of the name, situation, and extent of Peru; and of the face of the country.

I DO not find that the natives had any general name for this country, only it was looked upon as the dominion of the Great King, or Emperor of South-America, who was called The Inca, and so it might be stiled the empire of the Inca's, as the East-Indies is called The empire of the Great Mogul.

As to the modern name of Peru, GARCILASSO **Peru de-**
DE LA VEGA gives us this account of its obtain-
ing that appellation: He says, that **VASCO NU-**
NEZ DE BALBAO having first discovered the South-
sea, the King of Spain, as a reward of that service,
constituted
Its name.

CHAP.
II.

constituted him Admiral of that sea, in the year 1514, and Governor of all the kingdoms and countries he should discover in it. Whereupon Vasco built three or four ships, to go upon discoveries in that ocean, one whereof stretching to the southward beyond the Equinoctial-line, and sailing close by the shore, discovered an Indian Fisherman in the mouth of a river; who, while he stood staring at the ship as she was under sail (a most amazing sight to a man that had never seen one) they sent out their boat and surprized the Indian, making him their prisoner; and demanding of him by the Indians they carried with them (or by signs, according to DE LA VEGA) what country it was? He mistaking them, and supposing they had asked him his own name, answered BERU; and the Spaniards still seeming importunate to know something more, he answered, Pelu; which was the name of the river; or, according to some, is a common name in the language of those people for any river; however, from both these words the Spaniards formed another, and called the country Peru; and some of their writers, Piru; but however that was, the dominions of the Inca's, of which this was the most northerly province, have ever since gone under the name of Peru.

The limits
of the do-
minions
of the In-
ca's.The limits
of Peru.The face
of the
country.

When the Spaniards arrived here, the country was divided by the Inca's into four grand divisions, the limits on the north being the river Passao, or the Azure river, just under the Equinoctial; the southern limits were the Aranco's, in 40 degrees of south latitude (now part of Chili) the eastern limits were the Cordelero's, or mountains of the Andes; and the western boundary the South-sea, or Pacific-ocean.

The limits of modern Peru are much the same now, except on the south; for the Spaniards still bound it by the province of Popayan (which extends to the Equator) on the north, by the mountains of the Andes on the east, by Chili on the south, and the Pacific-Ocean on the west; extending it from the Equator to 25 degrees of south latitude only; so that as the land extends, or runs from the north-west to the south-east, Peru must be near two thousand miles in length, and in breadth it is generally about two hundred; but in the south, it may be four or five hundred miles broad.

The face of the country, according to ACOSTA, is very different, as it is distant from, or approaches near the sea. He divides the country into three long narrow slips, viz. 1. The Lanos, which are sandy plains that run along the sea-coast. 2. The Sierras, which are hills beyond those plains, intermixed with valleys. 3. The Andes, or Cordelero's, still further within the land, which are steep craggy mountains, far surpassing all the rest in height. The Lanos, which lie along the coast, are about 10 leagues in breadth; in some places more, in others less. The Sierras 25 leagues in breadth, and the Andes something more than 25 leagues over.

The Andes and Sierras are two ridges of mountains that run from north to south, parallel to each other for above a thousand leagues: Nor are the Lanos that lie between the Sierras and the sea-shore low land. Both DAMPIER and WAFER inform us, that Peru has generally a high bold shore, and that there is no landing on it, but at the ports, or in some particular bays: However, these plains may be called low in comparison of the Sierras that surmount them, and of the Andes that far surpass both, and are esteemed the highest land in the known world. Beyond the city of Casco, which lies in 14 degrees, odd minutes south latitude, the two ridges of mountains separate themselves to a greater distance, inclosing a fruitful plain of a vast extent,

which is called the province of Callao, watered by many rivers, and by the great lake Titicaca, which is fourscore leagues in compass; most of these rivers falling into the lake.

The Lanos, or sandy plains near the sea, are perfectly barren, except some few valleys, into which they turn small winding streams, and that part of the coast which lies within 3 or 4 degrees of the Equator, where they have very heavy rains great part of the year.

The Sierras also are barren hills; but then there are fine fruitful valleys between them, that yield all manner of grain and fruits; and these being temperate between the extremes of heat and cold, are best inhabited; for the Lanos by the sea are for the most part excessive hot: The Andes, on the contrary, are cold barren mountains, the snow lying upon them great part of the year. Timber and wood in general seems to be very scarce, here, and in all parts of Peru, unless near the Line, and there they meet with enough.

ACOSTA, speaking of the unparallel'd height of the Andes, and of the disorders the air occasioned in all that passed them, says, he once resolved to make the experiment himself, and mounted one of the highest tops of these hills, called Pariacaca; that he went prepared for the adventure according to the best instructions he could get with several more who had the like curiosity; but notwithstanding all his precaution, when he came to mount the stairs or ladders near the top, he was seized with such pains, that he thought he should have fallen to the ground; and the rest of the company being under the like disorder, they all made haste to get down the mountain as fast as they could, none staying for his companion: That they were all taken with such reachings to vomit, that he thought they should have brought up their hearts; for not only green phlegm and choler came up, but a great deal of blood; and that this lasted for three or four hours, till they had descended to the lower part of the hill; and some of them purged violently: But generally this sickness goes off as they come down the hill, and is attended with no ill consequences.

And not only this passage of Pariacaca has these properties, but the whole ridge of mountains, called the Andes, for upwards of five hundred leagues; in what place soever people pass it they meet with strange disorders, but more in some parts than others; and those are more sensible of the ill effects who ascended from the sea, than those that ascended from the neighbouring plains; for he had passed the Andes, in four other different places, and always felt the like disorder, but not so violently as at Pariacaca; and the best remedy they found against it was to stop their mouths, noses, and ears, as much as possible, and to cover their breasts; for the air was so subtle and piercing, that it penetrated the entrails, not only of men, but beasts; and he had known horses so affected by it, that no spurs could make them move. And such is the height of the Andes, that the Pyrenees and the Alps were but as ordinary hills in comparison of them; from whence he concluded, that the air here was too pure and subtle for animals to breath in (they requiring a grosser medium) and this he supposed occasioned that disorder in the stomach.

He observed farther, that the high mountains he had passed in Europe were only excessive cold, and made him cloath himself the warmer when he passed them; but the stomach and appetite for meat was still stronger, and they had no reachings to vomit there, as here; the outward parts only were affected: On the contrary, on the Andes, they were not

CHAP.
II.

The Lanos.

The Sierras.

The Andes.

not

CHAP. II. not affected with cold at the time of the year they passed them, either in their hands or feet, or any part of their bodies; only their entrails were affected, and that most when the sun was hottest; which confirmed him in the opinion, that the disorder proceeded from the pureness and subtilty of the air.

He adds, that this ridge of mountains is for the most part desert, without villages or habitations for men, not so much as to lodge a night in: Nor are there any beasts upon them, wild or tame, except their country sheep, whose great excellency lies in their climbing rocks and precipices, with burthens on their backs, where neither man nor beast can follow them. But to return to the mountains; he relates, that the grass upon them is frequently burnt up and black, and that these deserts are 25 or 30 leagues over, and 500 leagues long, tho' in other places he makes them but 20 leagues broad.

Pestilential blasts in other parts of Peru.

The same writer informs us, that there are other mountainous uninhabited deserts in Peru, where a sudden blast of air sometimes strikes a traveller dead in an instant: That the Spaniards formerly passed these mountains in their way to Chili, but now either go by sea, or by the side of these mountains, to avoid the danger, so many having perished in going over them; and others, that have escaped with their lives, have lost their fingers and toes, and been lamed. ACOSTA says, he was informed by General COSTILLA, who lost three or four toes in passing this desert to Chili, that they fell off without any pain; and that the same General marching over it once before with an army, great part of his men suddenly fell down dead, and their bodies remained there without stench or corruption: That he had relations of the same kind from others; and conjectured that these people were killed by the excessive coldness of the air, which preserved their bodies also from putrefaction after they were dead. But as he says in other places, that they met with these pestilential blasts in the valleys between the hills, I am apt to think they were rather hot than cold winds, and that it was the hot sands that preserved their bodies from corruption; for near the same latitude, viz. between 20 and 30 degrees north, in the deserts of East-India, Persia and Africa, we frequently meet with the Samiel, or hot winds, which have the like effects: And some English seamen, who have been ashore in this very country of Peru, assure us, that they have seen great numbers of bodies lying dead upon the sands there; particularly, our countryman WAFER relates, that landing with thirty more at Verneio, in 10 degrees south latitude, in search of water, and marching four miles up a sandy bay, they found the ground covered with men, women and children, which lay so thick, that a man might have walked on them half a mile. That these bodies to appearance seem'd as if they had not been dead a week; but when he handled them, they proved as dry and light as a sponge or a piece of cork: That he carried on board the body of a boy of about nine or ten years of age, designing to have brought it to England; but the seamen had a foolish conceit that the compass would not traverse aright so long as a dead body was on board, and compelled him to throw it into the sea. These people were very probably destroyed by such hot winds as we meet with in Persia, and the East-Indies, there appearing no signs of wounds or violence upon them; tho' WAFER said he was informed by an old man, that they buried themselves in the sands, to avoid the cruelties of the Spaniards in the preceding age (which is scarce credible.) However, thus much will be agreed on all hands, that the heat of the sands and the dry-

ness of the Peruvian air preserved these bodies from putrefaction, whatever was the cause of their deaths. If it be objected, that the desert, ACOSTA mentions, was in a much cooler climate, viz. between 25 and 30 degrees of latitude, and therefore it could not be supposed the soldiers he speaks of were killed by the hot winds; it may be answered, that the deserts of Persia, Africa, and Arabia, where the like hot winds are met with, lie between the Tropic and 30 degrees of latitude; and that the heat is frequently as great in this climate as within 10 degrees of the Line; for the situation of the country, the length of the days, and the nature of the soil, contribute almost as much to extreme heat as the sun itself: Sandy valleys between hills are usually excessive hot, and the hot winds are occasioned by their blowing over a long tract of burning sand for some hundreds of miles; the sun also continuing longer about either Tropic, and the days being longer there than under the Equinoctial, that luminary gives more intense heat usually in countries seated near either Tropic, than it does in those about the Equator.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. III.

Of the seas, rivers, lakes, springs, winds, tides, air, and seasons of Peru.

THE only sea that borders upon Peru is the Pacific-Ocean, which obtained its name from the constant serene weather that reigns here from 4 degrees to 30 or 35 degrees south latitude, in which is comprehended part of Chili. If we go farther southward, this sea, tho' it still retains the name of the Pacific-Ocean, is as tempestuous as any other; and within 3 or 4 degrees of the Line they have the like variable winds and heavy rains, most part of the year, as we meet with in other seas in the same climate: And to the northward of the Tropic of Cancer (and sometimes within it) DAMPIER and other seamen relate, they frequently meet with storms and hurricanes, tho' this part of that sea also bears the name of the Pacific-Ocean. When I speak therefore of that which is properly the Pacific-sea, in this description of Peru and Chili, I would be understood to mean only that part of it between the 4th and the 35th degrees of south latitude; and from the American shore westward, indefinitely: Here we have no rain or dark clouds, says DAMPIER, tho' 'tis often so thick and hazy as to hinder an observation of the sun with a quadrant; and in the morning there is hazy weather frequently, and thick mists that wet a little; but there are not in this sea, says the same writer, any tempests, tornadoes, or hurricanes: Tho', north of the Equator, they are met with in this sea as well as in the Atlantic-Ocean: This Pacific-sea, however, at the new and full moon swells and runs with high long surges, or waves; but such as never break at sea, and so are safe enough. On the contrary, where they fall in and break upon the shore, they make it very dangerous landing. At Guayaquil, on the Peruvian coast, situated in 3 degrees south latitude, the tide runs very strong, and rises 16 or 18 feet perpendicular; but it does not rise so high on any part of the coast to the southward, where there are not such bays, or so many rivers, as there are here; for, according to DAMPIER's observation, the tides always run strongest and rise highest in gulphs or bays of the sea, and up the mouths of rivers. FUNNELL observes, that the winds in the Peruvian-seas, and on all the western side of America, from 38 degrees south, to 7 degrees north, are always southerly two points

The sea of Peru.

Winds in this ocean.

CHAP. III. points upon the shore; so that where the coast runs due north and south, the wind is at south-south-west; and where the coast runs south-south-east, the wind is due south (except it be in the night, when the sea-wind generally ceases, and there comes a fine moderate gale from the land, which they call the land-breeze;) but DAMPIER observes, that on promontories and head-lands, and such places as lie open to the sea, they have scarce any of these land-breezes, it being in creeks and bays chiefly that they have the advantage of land-breezes.

DAMPIER also observes, that the southerly winds on the coast of Peru continue to blow 140 or 150 leagues from the shore before they alter; but then they may be perceived to come about more easterly; and about 200 leagues to the westward of that shore the true trade-wind sets in at east-south-east, which never alters 'till they have passed the Pacific-ocean, and arrive at the East-Indies.

But both DAMPIER and FUNNEL relate, that at Arica, which lies on the coast of Peru, in 18 degrees, odd minutes south latitude, for near 100 leagues to the southward, this sea is very subject to calms, within 35 or 40 leagues of the shore; but that these calms are not usual on any other part of this coast: It is observed also, that when the sun is in the northern signs, viz. from March to September, the sky is generally bright and clear: But when the sun retorts back to the southern signs, then the weather is frequently so thick and hazy, that they cannot take an observation, tho' they have no rain even then, either at sea or on the coast.

As to the weather on shore it is various, according to the situation of the land; the Lanos, or sandy plains by the sea-side, never have a drop of rain upon them; but frequently thick mists rise here. On the Sierras, or hills beyond, the rains fall when the sun is in the southern signs, as they do in other countries that lie between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn. And on the Cordelero's, or Andes, the high mountains that are situated farthest from the sea, it rains or snows two thirds of the year, and is excessive cold; and as the valleys between the hills, called Sierras, are the most fruitful parts of the country, their season for planting and sowing there is at the beginning of the rains, and their harvest at the return of the dry weather: Their vintage also is in the fair season, and their vines thrive best in those valleys near the sea, where there is little or no rain, and which are watered by rivulets that fall from the hills in the rainy season; but most part of the Lanos, or sandy plains by the sea-side, are barren deserts, bearing neither trees nor herbs; and are very little inhabited, except some few port-towns situated at the mouths of rivers.

ACOSTA, and other writers, have endeavoured to account for this everlasting draught on the sea-coast of Peru and Chili: They suppose, in the first place, that the country being a dry sandy soil affords no vapours, or not enough to furnish them with rain, tho' mists arise here. And, secondly, That the mountains called the Andes or Cordelero's are so exceeding high, that the clouds are stopped there, and can come no farther westward: But to this it may be answered, if the land affords but few vapours, one would think that the South-sea that adjoins to it might afford as many vapours as any other sea; and the wind constantly blows obliquely from that sea upon the coast. And as to the mountains of Andes intercepting the clouds that come from the eastward, this is not true in fact; for the Sierras or hills which lie between the Andes, and the Lanos or plains on the sea-coast, have their periodical rains,

as all other countries have that lie between the Tropics; tho' the plains on the sea-shore have no rain; and this is the more strange, inasmuch as the sea-coasts in other countries are usually more subject to rain and cloudy weather, than either the ocean at a great distance from land, or the middle of any continent; as the low countries in Holland and Flanders, that lie on the sea, have more wet and cloudy weather than either the middle of Germany or France; and in like manner, when we are at sea four or five hundred miles from land, especially between the Tropics, we have usually serene settled weather, and judge ourselves near land when we see thick clouds, which usually hang over it: Sea-men also observe, that tornadoes and hurricanes are more frequent and violent near land, than they are an hundred leagues out at sea, tho' in this peaceful ocean, and on the coast, they know not what storms or hurricanes mean; insomuch that this sea is navigated by barklogs; and in these awkward floats they carry on great part of their coasting-trade from port to port, as they did before the Spaniards arrived there: These barklogs are only rough timber logs laid in squares a-cross each other, and built up two or three stories high; of which I shall give a more particular description, when I come to treat of their navigation.

I proceed in the next place to give some description of the most considerable capes, islands, and ports on the coast of Peru and Chili, from the Equator to 30 degrees of south latitude; and, 1. Of Cape Paffao, which lies in 8 minutes south latitude, and 82 degrees of western longitude. It is an high round cape, with some few trees upon it; and further up in the country the land is mountainous and very woody. 2. Cape Lorenzo, in one degree south latitude; near which, shipping may furnish themselves with fresh water. This cape also is high land, and has some trees and bushes upon it: Five leagues west-south-west of Cape Lorenzo, is a small barren island, called La Plata, from its being the place where Sir FRANCIS DRAKE shared the plate with his company which he took out of the Spanish galeon, called the Calefogo. 3. Cape St. Helena, in 2 degrees, 20 minutes south latitude; near which is a small town of Spaniards and Indians, that keep store-houses of flour, salted flesh, fish, biscuit, and other provisions, with which they supply the shipping that touches there in their passage to and from Panama. The point itself is high land, and level on the top; but the land about it is low. 4. The island of St. Clara, in 3 degrees south latitude; it is pretty high land, covered with small trees. 5. Cape Blanco, in 3 degrees, 45 minutes south latitude (pointing St. Helena) makes the north point of the bay of Guaiquil, as Cape Blanco does the south point. The town of Guaiquil, which will be described hereafter, and gives name to the bay, is situated about 6 leagues up a navigable river, and is the port to Quitto. 6. The port of Payta, in 5 degrees, 15 minutes south latitude, a fine large bay, capable of containing an hundred sail of ships; the town consists of about fourscore houses, most of them Spaniards; and the bay is seldom without ships, it lying very convenient for the ships of Peru, in going to and from Panama, who put in here for refreshments that are brought down hither from Colon; for the town of Payta itself does not so much as afford fresh water. In this bay, the sea and land-winds succeed each other very regularly; The sea-winds blowing in the day-time south-and-by-west, and the land winds in the night-time, from the east. 7. The island of Lobos, in 6 degrees, 20 minutes south latitude, in which is an harbour.

Weather at sea.

Weather at land.

The reasons for the general draught on the Peruvian coast enquired into.

CHAP. III.

The capes, islands, and port towns on the coast of Peru.

Cape Paffao.

Cape Lorenzo.

La Plata island.

Cape St. Helena.

St. Clara island.

Cape Blanco.

Guaiquil island.

Payta port.

Payta port.

Payta port.

Payta port.

Payta port.

Payta port.

Payta port.

CHAP. III. bour on the north-east, but no fresh water: The island is about two leagues in compass, but produces neither trees, bushes, or herbage. 8. The port of Malabrigo, in 8 degrees south latitude, which is known by a mountain near it of the same name. The best place to anchor in is, to leeward of the mountain, bringing it to bear due south: Here is five fathom water good fast anchor-ground. 9. Guanchaco, in 8 degrees, 15 minutes south latitude, being but an indifferent harbour, as it lies almost exposed to all winds; and there usually runs so great a sea upon the shore, that boats cannot go or come on board sometimes for three or four days; notwithstanding which, Guanchaco is a place of pretty brisk trade, being the port-town to the city of Truxillo, which lies six miles up the river; from whence, flour, wine, brandy, sugar, and marmalade are exported to Panama every year, in great quantities. 10. Cosma, a very good port, in 9 degrees, 50 minutes south latitude, and 78 degrees of western longitude; the common anchoring-place being at the mouth of a fresh water river. 11. Vermeio is a very good port, a little to the southward of Cosma; but here is no town or inhabitants, or any fresh water within a mile of the sea. The mountain Mongou, which lies about 7 leagues to the northward of this port, is said to be one of the highest mountains on the coast. 12. The port of Guara lies in 11 degrees south latitude, and 77 degrees of western longitude, near which is a mountain, with several pyramids on the top of it; and a little to the northward is the small port of Salinas, from whence they export great quantities of salt beef, both to Lima and Panama. 13. The island of Callao, a high barren island, 2 leagues in length, that has neither fresh water, wood, or any green thing upon it; and yet, on this barren spot, stands the town of Callao, the port-town to Lima, the capital of Peru.

The port is defended by a strong castle, that has seventy brass guns mounted on the walls, close under which is the usual place of anchoring; and here the ships ride in six fathom water, good fast ground; tho' in all the bay and port of Callao, it is very secure riding; it growing shallow gradually from twelve to four fathom water; and the ships are defended from the southerly winds, which reign on this coast, by a small island.

This port of Callao lies in 12 degrees, 20 minutes south latitude, and is about 2 leagues distant from Lima. The Armadilla, or little Armada, sails annually from hence to Arica, where most of the silver and gold of Peru is embarked on board this fleet; and returning to Callao the latter end of March, the same treasure is transported in the month of May to Panama, and from thence by land-carriage conveyed to Porto-Bello, as has been intimated already. 14. The Port Ylo lies in 18 degrees south latitude, and is a good harbour; and near it is a stream of fresh water called the river Ylo, which is very rapid from the beginning of January till the latter end of June, when it begins to decrease, and in September it is quite dried up; which is the case of most of the rivers on the coast of Peru. 15. The port of Arica, situate in 18 degrees, 20 minutes south latitude, and in 72 degrees western longitude: Here the treasure brought from the mines of Potosi is constantly embarked every year for Lima. It is a good harbour, the best anchoring-place close under mount Arica, in eight fathom water, where ships ride secure from the south winds. It is a large town, inhabited by Spaniards, Indians, and Mulattoes. 16. The port of Co-

piapo, a good harbour, defended from all winds, lies in 21 degrees south latitude; the inhabitants most of them Indians, who make good wine here, and have plenty of corn, flesh, fruits, and other provisions. 17. Coquimbo, situated in 30 degrees south latitude, at the foot of a mountain, in the form of a sugar-loaf; a rich city, driving a great trade with Lima and Panama, and is a very good harbour.

Altho' there is no other sea borders upon Peru but the Pacific-ocean, yet have they some lakes that may be called seas, if we regard the greatness of their extent.

The lake Titicaca (already mentioned to be 80 leagues in circumference) is situated in the province and valley of Callao, the middle of it being in 15 degrees south latitude, and 67 degrees of western longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London: Upon this lake they sail in ships, and other vessels, as upon the ocean; but 'tis subject to storms sometimes; for the first ship the Spaniards built upon it was broken to pieces by a tempest that drove it on shore. The water of it is not so salt as the sea, but too thick and foul to be drunk. There are a bundance of large fish in the lake not esteemed wholesome food: There are also great shoals of small fish, very bony, but better eating than the former; and there are prodigious flocks of wild ducks, and other water-fowls, in it. The towns and villages bordering upon the lake are esteemed the most agreeable dwellings in Peru: From this lake issues a large stream to the southward, which forms another lake called Paria, not much inferior to the former in its dimensions, and has several islands in it. On the banks of these lakes are rich savannahs, or meadows, that feed great herds of cattle. There are also many lakes upon the mountains, which are the sources of several large rivers. Acosta mentions two lakes, particularly on the high mountains, one on each side of the great road leading from Arequipa to Callao; from one of which issues a river that falls into the Pacific-ocean, and from the other the river Apurima, said to be the principal stream that forms the celebrated river Amazon, which falls into the Atlantic-ocean, esteemed the largest river in the world.

The same writer observes, that it is very strange there should be so many lakes on the tops of the mountains into which no rivers enter, and from whence many streams issue, and yet these lakes do not appear to be much diminished at any season of the year. Some conjecture, that these lakes proceed from melted snow, or rain; but this does not entirely satisfy him, he says, because there are several of these mountains on which there does not fall much snow or rain. He is of opinion, therefore, that they are springs which rise naturally; tho' he admits it probable, that they may sometimes be increased by snow and rain. He adds, that these lakes are so common in the highest tops of the Peruvian mountains, that there is scarce a considerable river but has its source in one of them: Their waters are usually very clear, but breed few fish, and those very small, the water being generally extreme cold.

However, the waters of some lakes in the valleys are extremely hot, particularly one in the valley of Tarpaya near Potosi, the waters whereof in the middle are so hot, that they perfectly boil up for more than twenty foot square, which is the spring; but the heat is so moderate near the shore, that the inhabitants frequently bathe in it. The waters of this lake, Acosta observes, are never known to increase.

CHAP. III.

Coquimbo.

Lakes of Peru.

The lake Titicaca.

This the best part of Peru.

Lake of Paria.

Lakes on the tops of mountains.

One of them the source of the river Amazon.

tall golden mountain.

should result in red.

A lake of hot water.

Malabrigo port.

Guanchaco port to Truxillo.

Cosma port.

Vermeio harbour.

Guara port.

Salinas port.

Callao the port to Lima.

Ylo port.

Arica port.

Copiapo port.

CHAP. III. increase or decrease, tho' they have drawn a stream from it that turns several mills for grinding their metals.

The springs of Peru. As to the Peruvian springs, they have great variety of them in that part of the country which is remote from the sea, but very few on the sandy plains near the shore: ACOSTA mentions one of a very extraordinary nature near the quicksilver mines in Guancavilica. This fountain, he says, throws out hot water, which, in running a little way, turns into stone, and forms a rock; of which stone the inhabitants build their houses, it being soft, light, and easily wrought, and yet very durable: As this water turns into stone after running a little way, the passages are frequently stopped up, and the stream alters its course as the rock increases, and is branched out into many small channels: There are also at Cape St. Helena, and many other parts of Peru, fountains of liquid matter called Coppey, very much resembling tar, or pitch, and put to the same uses by sea-faring men, to preserve their ropes, planks and tackle; as we learn not only from ACOSTA, but from DAMPIER, FUNNEL, and several other English Buccaneers.

Hot springs. As the Inca's-baths, as they are called, is a spring of water that issues out hot and boiling, and near it another as cold as ice, which those Princes used to temper and mingle together in their course to bathe in; and in the province of Charcas, the most southern province of Peru, are abundance of springs so hot, that a man cannot bear his hand in their waters.

A salt spring. At a farm near the city of Cusco is a fountain, the waters whereof in a short course turn into salt; which ACOSTA observes, would be an estate to a man in any other country, but is not valued in this, where salt is plentiful.

Salutary waters. The waters near Guiaquil are famous for curing the French-disease; which is the reason why multitudes of people resort thither continually; for no disease prevails more in Peru than this. These waters are supposed to receive their virtue from the roots of Salsiparella, which abound in this country, and communicate this healing quality to the waters that run by them.

Hot smoking waters. From the top of the mountain Balconotta, esteemed the highest in Peru, which in some places looks black, as if it was burnt, ACOSTA relates, there rise two fountains, which run different ways, and soon form two large streams: These springs, when they first issue from their respective rocks, are of an ash-colour, hot and smoking, and smell of burning coals; and thus they run a great way, 'till, mixing with other streams, they become cool, and lose that burning smell. The same writer says, he has seen another fountain in Peru, from whence there runs a stream as red as blood, and has from thence obtained the name of the Red River.

Most of the rivers of South-America rise in the Peruvian mountains, that go under the name of the Cordelero's, or Andes, which run from north to south, from 10 degrees north latitude, to 50 south, almost parallel to the coast of the South-sea, and for the most part 40 or 50 leagues to the eastward of it.

Those rivers which rise on the eastward of the Andes, and fall into the North or Atlantic-ocean, have a very long course, and are some of them the largest rivers in the known world. Those that rise on the west side of the Andes, are rather torrents than rivers, made by the annual rains, which fall on the mountains, for the most part, between May and

September, and before January are perfectly dry'd up; but as the mountains they fall from are exceeding high, and their course scarce ever more than 50 leagues, before they fall into the South-sea, their streams are so shallow and rapid, that scarce any of them are navigable.

The four principal rivers, that rise on the east side of the Andes, are, 1. The river Magdalena, or Grande; which rising in the province of Quito, near the Equator, runs above a thousand miles directly northward, falling into the North-sea between Carthagena and St. Martha.

2. The river of Oronoque; whose source is near that of Magdalena, almost under the Line, and takes its course first to the eastward for fifteen hundred miles, and upwards; and then turning directly north, runs almost as far to the northward, falling into the North-sea, against the island of Trinity, in 8 degrees of north latitude.

3. The river of Amazons, generally held to be the largest river in the world, is formed at first by two streams, that rise near 11 degrees asunder; each of which, by different travellers, is said to be the true river Amazon. The first of these rises near Quito, a little south of the Equator, and runs south-east; the other rises from the lake of Lauricocha, in 11 degrees south latitude; and running first northward 5 degrees, then turns about to the eastward, and unites its waters with the former: From thence the united streams run between three and four thousand miles farther eastward, being enlarged by a multitude of other considerable rivers, that fall into this stream, both on the north and south side, and discharges itself into the Atlantic-ocean under the Equator, being 50 leagues wide, at least, at the mouth; of which I shall speak more particularly, when I come to describe the country of the Amazons.

4. The fourth river, which rises on the east side of the Andes, and is very little inferior to the last, is the river of Plata; which rises near the town of Plata in Peru, in 20 degrees of south latitude; and running first to the eastward, 'till join'd and enlarg'd by many other streams, then bends its course directly south, 'till it comes into 34 degrees south; then stretches away to the eastward, falling into the Atlantic-ocean, in 35 degrees of south latitude, near the town of Buenos Aires, in the province of La Plata, being 30 leagues broad at the mouth of it; but this river will be further described also, in treating of the province of La Plata.

As to the rivers that rise on the west-side of the mountains of Andes, and fall into the Pacific-ocean; the chief of them mentioned by the Buccaneers, who have visited that coast, are, 1. The river Colanche, in 2 degrees south latitude; 2. The river of Guiaquil, in 3 degrees; 3. The river Payta, in 5 degrees, 15 minutes; 4. The river Ylo, which discharges itself into the sea, in 18 degrees; 5. The river of Arica, which falls into the same sea, near the town of Arica, in 18 degrees, 20 minutes; besides which, there are a great many other small rivers, that fall into the sea, within 18 or 20 degrees of south latitude; but farther southward, DAMPIER informs us, they did not meet with a river on the coast of Peru or Chili, once in 100, or 150 leagues. ACOSTA indeed mentions abundance of rivers he had crossed; but this must be either near the Equator, or in the province of Callao; where a great many rivers discharge themselves into the lakes of Titicaca, Paria, &c. and never reach the sea.

CHAP. IV.

The provinces the kingdom of Peru is divided into; its sub-divisions, and chief towns; and their public and private buildings.

CHAP. IV.

Peru divided into three audiences. Quito audience.

THE kingdom of Peru, like that of Mexico, is divided into three audiences, viz. 1. The audience of Quito; 2. The audience of Lima; and, 3. The audience of Los Charcas.

Sub-divisions of it.

Quito Proper.

The audience of Quito, the most northerly of the three, is bounded by Popayan on the north; by the country of the Amazons on the east; by the audience of Lima on the south; and by the Pacific-ocean on the west; being about four hundred miles in length, from north to south; and two hundred in breadth, from east to west; and is sub-divided into three provinces, viz. 1. Quito Proper; 2. Quixos; and 3. Pacamores.

Chief towns.

Quito City.

The province of Quito Proper lies upon the sea-coast, being bounded by Popayan on the north; by the provinces of Quixos and Pacamores on the east; by the audience of Lima on the south; and by the Pacific-ocean on the west; and is about two hundred miles in length, from north to south; and upwards of an hundred miles in breadth, from east to west.

The chief towns of Quito Proper are, 1. Quito; 2. St. Jago de Puerto Veijo; 3. Guaiquil; 4. Tombes; 5. Thomebamba; 6. Loxa; 7. Zamora; 8. St. Michael's; and 9. Payta.

The city of Quito, the capital of this province, and of the whole audience, is situated in 30 minutes south latitude, and in 78 degrees of western longitude, at the foot of the mountains, which almost surround it. It is a rich populous city, built after the Spanish model, with a great square in the middle, and spacious streets running from it on every side; and a canal runs through the middle of it, over which are several bridges. It is the seat of the Governor, and of the Courts of justice; a University, and a Bishop's see, Suffragan to the Archbishop of Lima. They have a good trade in woollen-cloths, sugar, salt, and cattle; but their greatest riches proceed from the gold that is found in the adjacent mines and rivers: This, as all other countries near the Equator, is subject to annual periodical rains and floods, which make the town unhealthful. The Peruvian Emperor had made a conquest of Quito, which was the residence of the former Kings of this country, but a very few years before the Spaniards arrived there; and there are still to be seen the ruins of some of their palaces, and of the temple of the Sun, the chief object of their adoration.

There is a vulcano in one of the mountains near this town, whose eruptions have, more than once, endangered to the ruin of it.

Puerto Veijo.

St. Jago de Puerto Veijo is situated on the coast, in 1 degree south latitude, a little to the eastward of Cape Lorenzo, in an unhealthful part of the country; near which, there was formerly a quarry of Emeralds, that made it much resorted to; but the quarry being exhausted, the town declined with it.

Guaiquil.

Guaiquil is situated upon a navigable river, 6 or 7 leagues from the mouth of it, in 3 degrees south latitude, about two hundred miles to the southward of Quito; part of it lying on the ascent of a steep hill, and the other part in a bottom on a bog; it is divided into the new and old town, by the river that runs through it, and consists chiefly of one long street, about a mile and half in length; there are four or five hundred houses in the place, whereof

some are built of brick, and others of timber; but the common people have only huts of Bamboecanes: It contains also five churches, and several convents, some of which are built of stone; and it is defended by three forts, two whereof are upon the river, and the third and largest upon the hill. There being plenty of timber in the neighbourhood of this place, a great many ships are built here for the King of Spain; and it has a pretty brisk trade, especially in timber, and cocoa-nuts, for chocolate; they export also a great deal of salt, salt-fish, dried beef, rice and cotton; but there is no gold or silver mines near it, nor have they any corn, but Indian-corn: They are supplied with wheat-flour from Truxillo, and other southern parts, and with several sorts of good woollen-cloth, and strong bays, from Quito, where they are made; they receive wine, brandy, oil, olives, and sugar, from Pisca, La Nasta, and other towns farther south; and a market is held daily in boats and barklogs on the river, where flesh, fish, fruits, and other provisions, in which the country abound, are sold very cheap. Governor ROGERS relates, that the river is so wide at the mouth, that a man can scarce see cross the channel; that the country on the sides of it, is low, marshy ground, incumber'd with mangrove-trees and shrubs; that the tide flows above 18 feet perpendicular, and is quicker and stronger than that in the Thames; that the river is navigable 14 leagues beyond Guaiquil, for large vessels; and the tide flows 20 leagues above it.

Both the civil and military government of this town, and the territory belonging to it, according to the same writer, is lodg'd in the Corregidore, and his Lieutenant, tho' they have a Council for managing the affairs of the Government, and determining causes of consequence, which consists of the Lieutenant, two Alcalds, or Judges, who are Lawyers; the Alguizil, Major, a Sheriff, and eight Regidores, or Aldermen; from whom, however, there lies an appeal to the Court of Lima. The Officers of the Inquisition act more arbitrarily here, 'tis said, than in Spain itself. Their Magistrates and Officers, all, affect pompous titles; the Corregidore styles himself General; and his Deputy, Lieutenant-General; besides whom, they have a Camp-Master-General, a Serjeant-Major, a Commissary of Horse; four Dons, Captains of large companies of foot; and another Don, that commands two hundred horse; and yet have all these great Officers, with a proportionable number of troops under their command, suffered this important town of Guaiquil to be taken and plunder'd, by a handful of men, several times; which has given some occasion to think, that the American Spaniards are so much degenerated from their ancestors of Old Spain, that they might be driven from the West-Indies, as easily as they drove out the Indians two hundred years ago. Most of the towns within the jurisdiction of Guaiquil lie upon the river, and are governed by Lieutenants, appointed by the Corregidore, and can join him with their whole forces within two tides, which makes it the more to be admir'd, that they should so often suffer themselves to be surpris'd, as it appears they have been.

In the year 1687, the French Buccaneers came to an anchor in the mouth of the river Guaiquil, and sent a detachment of two hundred and sixty men up the river, in the night-time, who landed within cannon-shot of the town, about two hours before day; but the garrison was alarmed by the firing of a musket accidentally; however, they advanced, and attack'd the town at break of day; and

CHAP. IV.

Guaiquil taken by the French Buccaneers.

CHAP.
IV.

and after a very little opposition, drove the Spaniards out of their forts, and took possession of the place, with no other loss, than nine men kill'd, and twelve wounded; however, they put to the sword nine hundred Spaniards, and took seven hundred prisoners of both sexes, among whom were the Governor and his family. Here they found abundance of pearls and precious stones, a great quantity of silver plate, and near an hundred thousand pieces of eight in money, besides a great deal of rich merchandize, particularly, they took a Vermilion Eagle, that had two large Emeralds for its eyes, said to belong to one of their churches; and nothing could be richer than the furniture of the Governor's house; they found also two of the King's ships upon the stocks, several galleys, and fourteen or fifteen barks; and the Governor agreed to ransom himself and family, the city, cannon, forts, and ships, at a million of pieces of eight; but the town being set on fire, either by design, or accident, the Governor refused to pay the ransom: Whereupon the Buccaneers cut off the heads of four of the prisoners, and threatened the rest, if the ransom was not immediately paid; however, they contented themselves, at length, with two hundred and sixty thousand pieces of eight; upon the receipt whereof, they released their prisoners, and retired to their ships.

The French relate, that the Spanish Friars had represented the Buccaneers as monsters and cannibals; and that some of the women, that were taken prisoners, were ready to grant them any favours, on condition they should not be devoured; especially, when they observed nothing shocking in their figure.

DAMPIER, and the English Buccaneers, attempted this town in the year 1685, and very narrowly missed surprising it: And Captain ROGERS, who had the Queen's Commission during the last war between the confederates and the French, took Guaiquil by storm, with very little loss, in the year 1703; and plunder'd it of some treasure, and rich effects; making the Spaniards pay thirty thousand pieces of eight, to ransom the town, and ships in the harbour: But most of the treasure was carried away, before the Captain made himself master of the place.

Tombes. Tombes, or Tumbes, is situated at the foot of the mountains, about 20 leagues south of Guaiquil, upon a good fresh-water river: Here the Spaniards, at their arrival, found a temple dedicated to the Sun, and abundance of Silver-smiths in the place, who made vessels of gold and silver for the temple, and the palace the Inca had here; and they relate, that the walls of the temple were lined or covered with silver plate.

Thomebamba. Thomebamba is situated on the great road of the Inca's, one hundred and sixty miles south of Quito, in a plain, at the conflux of two rivers: Here also was a royal palace of the Inca's, and a temple dedicated to the Sun; both of them adorned with gold, and images made of Touch-stone and Jasper, of a very great value. In the year 1544, there were discovered gold mines near this place, incredibly rich.

Loxa. Loxa also is situated at the conflux of two rivers, on the great road of the Inca's, in 5 degrees south latitude. It is a pretty large town, and has several monasteries in it.

Zamora. Zamora is situated an hundred miles to the eastward of Loxa, well built with stone, and hath very rich gold mines in the neighbouring mountains of the Andes; and their rivers replenished with gold sands.

CHAP. IV. The town of St. Michael's is situated in 5 degrees south latitude, on the river Shuquimayo, 2 leagues east of the ocean, and as many from the port of Payta; a large town, chiefly inhabited by fishermen, and such as carry on a coasting-trade in barklogs, as far as Panama; by which many of them grow very rich.

Payta is situated in 5 degrees, some odd minutes south latitude, being one of the best harbours upon the coast, and the town pretty well fortified: But this has been describ'd already among the port-towns.

The province of Quixos is bounded by Popayan on the north, the country of the Amazons on the east, the province of Pacamores on the south, and by Quito Proper on the west. The only town I met with of any note in this province is that of Quixos, situate about sixty miles south-east of Quito, at the head of a river said to be one of the sources of the river Amazon.

The province of Pacamores is bounded by that of Quixos on the north, by the country of the Amazons on the east, by the audience of Lima on the south, and by Quito on the west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Loyola; 2. Valladolid; 3. St. Jago; 4. St. Francisco de Borgia.

Loyola is situated in 6 degrees south latitude, and 74 degrees of western longitude.

Valladolid is situated seventy miles north-west of Loyola.

St. Jago de Montanas lies in 5 degrees south latitude, and 71 degrees of western longitude.

St. Francis de Borgia stands about sixty miles north of St. Jago de Montanas, on one of the branches of the river Amazon; but I meet with no other description of these four towns than their situation.

The audience of Lima, or Los Reyes, is bounded by that of Quito on the north, by the country of the Amazons on the east; by the audience of Los Charcas on the south; and by the ocean on the west; being about eight hundred miles in length from north to south, but the breadth very unequal, and uncertain, not four hundred miles in any part, except on the south.

The chief towns are, 1. Lima; 2. Caxamalca; 3. Guanuco; 4. Truxillo; 5. Pisco; 6. Guamanga; 7. Cusco; 8. Arequipa.

Lima, the capital of this audience, and of the whole kingdom of Peru, is situated in 12 degrees and an half of south latitude, and 76 degrees of western longitude, on the banks of a river of the same name, about six miles from the sea, and as many from the island and port of Callao, lying in one of the most spacious and fruitful plains of Peru: It is built like other Spanish cities, having a large square or parade in the centre, with piazza's on every side; all the principal streets terminating in the square; on the sides whereof stand the cathedral, the Archbishop's palace, the Viceroy's palace, the treasury, the town-hall, the armory, or publick magazine, and a school or college of the Jesuits, where the Indian languages, and arts and sciences are taught.

There are, besides the cathedral, a great many parochial and conventual churches, a university, abundance of monasteries and nunneries of every order, and five or six large hospitals. The whole city being about four miles in length, and two in breadth; the air moderately temperate and healthful, considering the climate; prodigiously wealthy, and plentifully supply'd with provisions, and Indian and European fruits; and well watered with canals, that are supply'd from the river. The outlides of their

CHAP.
IV.

their houses make but a mean appearance, being built with bricks dry'd in the sun; many of them have only clay walls, and scarce any of them are more than one story high; the roofs exceeding light, cover'd with reeds and mats, and sometimes only a cloth, for which they give two very good reasons; one is, that they are subject to earthquakes; and the other, that the sun does not heat these roofs as it does tiles or slate: And they have no occasion to provide against wet or stormy weather, for it never rains on this coast, and they are never disturb'd by storms or tempests, but enjoy constant serene weather; and the heats are much abated by the sea and land-breezes. But this great city, thus happily situated, is not without its allays: The earthquakes they are frequently subject to must necessarily cast a damp on all their enjoyments; especially when great part of their town has been several times laid in ruins by them; particularly in the years 1586 and 1687; in the last of which years, the sea ebb'd so far from the shore, that there was no water to be seen; and after the sea had disappeared a considerable time, it return'd in rowling mountains of water, which carried the ships in the harbour of Callao (the port to Lima) a league up into the country; overflow'd the town of Callao, tho' situated on a hill, together with the fort, and drown'd both men and cattle for 50 leagues along the shore. The ships, 150 leagues at sea, to the westward of Lima, were sensible of it, as WAFER assures us, who was then in those seas: The ship he was in felt so violent a shock, he relates, that they thought they had struck upon a rock; but after their consternation was a little over, they cast the lead and found, but could find no ground; tho' the sea, which usually looks green, was then of a whitish colour, and the water they took up mixed with sand; which made them conclude the shock was occasioned by an earthquake; and a little after, they were informed there had been a terrible earthquake at Lima, at the same time. But to return to the town: The city is surrounded by a wall fortified with bastions, but of no great strength, if compared with European fortifications. However, as it is very populous, it may be strong enough to resist any force that can be brought against it in that part of the world. The plain of Lima, in which it stands, produces plenty of corn, wine, oil, sugar, flax and fruits.

Caxamalca. Caxamalca is situated at the foot of a mountain, in 7 degrees, odd minutes south latitude, on the great road of the Inca's, 30 leagues east of the Pacific-ocean. This was an ancient town when the Spaniards arrived there, and, if we may credit their writers, well-built, surrounded with a stone wall, and defended by a castle: On one side of the city stood the temple of the Sun, and on the other a magnificent palace of the Inca ATABALIPA, who was taken here in the year 1533, by PIZARRO, and afterwards murdered by him.

Guanuco. Guanuco is situated near the lake of Bombon, an hundred and fifty miles north of Lima, a well built town, and standing in a good air. Here also was a fine palace of the Inca's, and a temple dedicated to the Sun, when the Spaniards arriv'd.

Truxillo. Truxillo is situated on the banks of a pleasant river in the valley of Chinca, six miles from the port of Guancacho and the ocean, in 8 degrees, odd minutes south latitude. It is a handsome Spanish town, consisting of five hundred houses; the air healthful; the country fruitful; abounding in corn, wine, figs, oranges, and other merchandize and provisions, of which they export a great deal

to Panama, and the more northern settlements. CHAP. IV. The sea beats with that violence on the coast, that it is bad landing frequently at the port of Guancacho, that lies exposed to almost every wind.

Pisca, or Pisco, is a port-town situated in 14 degrees south latitude, in a mountainous country; but the valleys produce good wine, and they export more of it than any town on the coast of Peru.

Guamanga is situated on the great road of the Inca's, in a fine plain, an hundred and eighty miles east of Lima. It is a well built Spanish town, and stands in a healthful air. The country about it abounds in corn and cattle; and it is considerable for the mines of gold, silver, copper, sulphur, and loadstone, in the neighbouring hills.

Cusco (the metropolis of Peru, during the reigns of the Inca's) is situated in 13 degrees, odd minutes south latitude, and in 70 degrees of western longitude, 350 miles to the eastward of Lima. It is built on the side of a hill, in the midst of a spacious plain surrounded by mountains, from whence there fall four small rivers that water the country, and altogether afford a most agreeable prospect from the town, which proudly overlooks the vale. The city itself also is watered by one of these rivers that runs through it, and supplies several canals that are cut through the principal streets.

The climate, here, is said to be exceeding temperate and healthful, and there is very little difference between summer and winter; the air rather dry than moist; insomuch that meat hung up will keep without corrupting, and grow as dry as mummy if it hangs long; and this dryness of the air preserves the natives from Musketo's, Gnats, Flies, and all other noxious insects, which are scarce ever found here, tho' they are the plague of other hot countries.

The chief streets of the old town pointed to the four winds; and the houses were generally built with stone, cover'd with reeds, or thatch'd. The principal buildings in it were, the temple of the Sun, the palace of the Inca, and the castle.

What the form or dimensions of the temple of the Sun were, neither DE LA VEGA or any other writers pretend to describe; but relate, that amongst all their buildings, none was comparable to this temple: That it was enrich'd with the greatest treasures that ever the world beheld. Every one of their Inca's, or Emperors, adding something to it, and improving and perfecting what his predecessor had omitted.

It was built of freeze-stone, and lined or wainscotted (if I may use the expression) with gold plate, the ceiling being of the same metal; however, the roof was no better than common thatch, that people not knowing the use of tiles or slate: It was divided into several chapels, cloisters or apartments; in the principal whereof, which stood towards the east, was placed the image of the sun, consisting of one gold plate that cover'd the whole breadth of the chapel, almost from the top to the bottom, and was twice as thick as the plates that cover'd the other walls.

This image, representing the sun, was of a round form, with all his rays and emissions of fire and light proceeding from him, much in the same manner as the European Painters draw him: On each side of this image were placed the several bodies of the deceased Inca's, so embalm'd, 'tis said, that they seem'd to be alive. These were seated on thrones of gold, supported by pedestals of the same metal, all of them looking to the west, except the Inca HAANA CAPAC, the eldest of the Sun's children, who sat directly opposite to it. Upon the arrival of the

CHAP.
IV.

the Spaniards, the Indians carried off and concealed the embalmed bodies, with most of the treasures of the temple; only the image of the sun was not removed, which falling to the share of a Spanish Nobleman, named MACIO SERRA DE LEQUICANO, known to our author DE LA VEGA, he play'd it away before sun-rise the next morning.

The temple had several gates cover'd with gold, the principal whereof open'd towards the north; and round the top of the temple, on the outside, was a kind of cornice a yard deep, consisting of gold plate.

The chapel of the Moon.

Besides the chapel of the Sun, there were five others of a pyramidal form. The first being dedicated to the Moon, deem'd the sister and wife of the Sun. The doors and walls whereof were cover'd with silver: And here was the image of the moon, of a round form, with a woman's face in the middle of it. She was called Mama Quilca, or Mother Moon, being esteem'd the mother of their Inca's; but no sacrifices were offered to her as to the sun. On each side of this image, were placed the bodies of their deceased Empreses, ranged in order; only that of MAMA OELLO, the mother of HUAYNA CAPAC, sat with her face towards the moon.

The chapel of the Stars.

Next to this chapel was that of Venus, called Chasca, the Pleiades, and all the other stars. Venus was much esteem'd, as an attendant on the Sun, and the rest were deem'd Maids of honour to the Moon. This chapel had its walls and doors plated with silver, like that of the moon; the cieling representing the sky, adorned with stars of different magnitude.

Of thunder.

The third chapel was dedicated to thunder and lightning; which they did not esteem gods, but as servants of the sun; and they were not represented by any image or picture. The chapel, however, was cieled and wainscotted with gold plates like that of the sun.

Of the rainbow.

The fourth chapel was dedicated to Iris, or the rainbow, as owing its original to the sun. This chapel also was cover'd with gold, and a representation of the rainbow on one side of it. They had a great veneration for this Phenomenon, and whenever it appeared in the air, clapped their hands before their mouths, as a testimony of their regard for it, I presume; and not, as my author surmises, lest their teeth should drop out.

The Priests chapel or apartment.

The fifth apartment was for the use of the High Priest, and of the rest of the Priests, who were all of the royal blood; not intended for eating or sleeping in, but was the place where they gave audience to the Sun's votaries, and consulted concerning their sacrifices: This also was adorn'd with gold, from the top to the bottom, like the chapel of the Sun.

And tho' there was no other image worshipped in this temple but that of the sun, yet had they the figures of men, women and children, and of all manner of birds, beasts, and other animals, of wrought gold, placed in it for ornament, as big as life; and having many more than were sufficient for this purpose, the rest were laid up in chambers and magazines, piled one upon another; and still every year the people, at their great festivals, presented more gold and silver, which the Goldsmiths, who resided near the temple, and were dedicated to the sun, form'd into one figure or other, as the offerer desired; for besides the figures of animals, they made all sorts of vessels and utensils, as pots, pans, bowls, fire-shovels, and even spades and rakes for their gardens, of the same precious metal.

The royal palace.

DE LA VEGA does not give so particular a description of the palaces of the Inca's in Cusco, as could be wish'd. He only relates, they were vastly

large and magnificent, and mentions some particular rooms, and the manner of their building them: CHAP. IV.

He says, there were galleries, or rather halls, two hundred paces in length, and fifty or sixty in breadth:

One of which, in his time, was left undemolished,

and converted into the cathedral church. He adds,

that the Indians of Peru never raised one story above

of building.

another in their buildings; nor did they join one

room to another, but always left some space between

the rooms, and perhaps a whole court or quadrangle,

unless sometimes in the largest halls they built

closets or withdrawing-rooms at the corners. He

observes also, that when they had built the four

walls of stone or brick, they erected pillars in the

middle of the room, to support the roof; for they

knew not how to cross their beams, or fasten them

with nails or wooden pins, but laid their timbers upon

the walls, and fastened them with withs or cords.

These main beams they crossed with rafters, and

fasten'd in like manner, and thereon laid a covering

of thatch or straw a yard deep, extending the eaves

a yard beyond the walls, which served for a pent-

house. Besides their walls of stone, they had those

of sun-dry'd bricks, which they formed in moulds,

mixing the clay with straw; the least of their

moulds being a yard long, a sixth part of a yard

broad, and a sixth in thickness. These being dry'd in

the sun, were laid upon each other in the shade; and

after they had lain out of the sun and weather three

years more, were used in building, cemented with

the same clay, mix'd with straw; but they never

attempted to make common clay or mud-walls.

Whenever one of the Inca's died, they lock'd up

the room where he usually slept, with all the furni-

ture, ornaments, gold and silver in it, and none

were ever suffered to enter it afterwards, the place

being looked upon as sacred; but they kept it in

repair on the outside as long as it would stand. The

like ceremony was observed as to all other rooms

where the deceased Inca had slept, tho' it was but

one night on a journey, or by accident: Therefore

on the death of the Inca, they immediately fell to

building a new apartment for the successor. The

stones of these buildings were generally so well laid

and join'd, 'tis said, that they needed no cement;

and if any were used, it was a slimy liquor, like

cream, which so united and closed the stones to-

gether, that no seam or crevice appear'd: And in ma-

ny of the royal palaces and temples, for the greater

magnificence, says PEDRO DE SIECA, they closed

up the seams of their buildings with melted gold and

silver; which afterwards occasioned the total de-

struction of most of them, the Spaniards subverting

the very foundations, in hopes of finding treasure.

The furniture, or rather ornaments, of these palaces,

like that of their temples, were the figures of men,

beasts, birds and other animals, cast in gold; and

on the walls, instead of tapestry, were plants and

flowers irritated, of the same metal, intermixed

with serpents, butter-flies, and other insects, that

appear'd extremely natural.

I don't find they had any chairs; but the Inca

himself sat on a stool made of gold, without arms or

back, having a pedestal of the same metal: And

they had no other bedding but blankets, or rather

beds, carpets, made of the wool of their country sheep,

spread on the floor; which serv'd both to lie on,

and cover themselves with; and in some parts of

the country they lay in hammocks.

They had bagnios, and cisterns of gold also in

their palaces; and all the utensils of their kitchens,

and in the meanest offices about the palace, were of

gold.

that metal. Inasmuch that PEDRO DE SIECA

avers

CHAP. IV. **avers**, that if all the treasures in their temples and palaces, which were then lost, should be recovered, they would be found so great, that all the riches the Spaniards had possessed themselves of, would be no more, in comparison of them, than a drop of water to a bushel. However, the Indians neither purchased lands or houses with it, or esteemed it the sinews of war, as the Europeans do; but only adorned themselves, their houses and temples with it while alive, and buried it with them when they died: And the Indians, observing how the Spaniards thirsted after gold, and transported into Spain all they could seize or lay their hands on, buried and concealed whatever they could from them.

They buried their treasures with them.

Their gardens.

The castle of Cusco.

Vast stones in the walls.

DE LA VEGA also informs us, that the royal gardens of the palace were not only planted with a great variety of trees, fruits and flowers; but the figures of these, and all manner of animals, were made of gold, and placed in the walks and squares to adorn them.

The same writer, speaking of the castle of Cusco, says, its works are incredible to those who have not seen it; and those that have, are apt to look upon it as erected by enchantment, seeming to surpass the art or power of man. This fortress stood upon the top of the hill on which the city was built, and towards the town was defended by a high rock, perfectly perpendicular; so that there was no approach on this side, and towards the country it was defended by triple semicircular walls, of such thickness and height, that they were proof against all the force that could be brought against it, the innermost wall rising above, and commanding the other two. The stones of these walls were so very large, especially the three first rounds, that they appeared to be entire rocks; and it was past man's understanding to conceive, how they were hewn out of the quarry, or brought thither, the Indians having no iron tools, or instruments to fasten them, or beasts to draw them thither; or any pulleys or engines to lift them into the places where they were fixed; such was their bulk and weight, that they must have broken down any carriages they could be laid upon. ACOSTA relates, that he measured a stone in the walls of an Indian castle, that was thirty-eight foot long, eighteen broad, and six in thickness; and yet the stones in the fortress of Cusco were still larger; and these were dragg'd by the strength of men, ten, twelve and fifteen leagues over hills and valleys, and the most difficult ways to that place: There is one stone to which the Indians give the name of Syacusa, that is, the tired or weary, because it never arrived at the place it was design'd for, but remains still on the road.

This rock was drawn by twenty thousand Indians, 15 leagues over very rugged and uneven ways; one half of them drew before, the rest came after it, and on each side, to poise its weight, and keep it in a direct course, lest it should fall into a precipice, or be wedg'd into any place from whence it could not be recovered; but notwithstanding all their care, it got the better of them; and tumbling down a steep hill, kill'd several hundred of the Indians, who were endeavouring to poise the weight: However, they raised it once again, and with incredible pains dragged it to the plain in the neighbourhood of Cusco, and there they were forced to leave it, never being able to get it up the hill; here, according to their way of expression, it tired, fainted and wept, and was able to travel no further, but bled with the fatigue and labour it underwent in the passage. Which the reader will have the sagacity to discern, no doubt, is to be apply'd to the poor wretches who

VOL. III.

CHAP. IV. drew it, and perished in the enterprize; and seems to me, to resemble another expression that has been frequently made use of in this part of the world, where abundance of people have been destroyed by the labour and hardships imposed on them by tyrannical Princes, in erecting cities and magnificent works, to eternize their memories. In these cases, it is frequently said, "that the walls or the foundations were laid in blood, or cemented with the blood of so many thousand men:" Which metaphorical expressions have, indeed, by some unthinking readers been interpreted literally, or rejected as fabulous, when a very moderate share of reflection might have set them right.

To return to the castle: In the outward wall were found the stones of the largest size, which, DE LA VEGA was of opinion, were never dug out of any quarry, but loose rocks found in the mountains, and piled one upon another in a rustick manner, without polishing; but so well fitted, however, to each other, 'tis said, that there were no chafins or seams left open: A work so prodigious, that had they been masters of all our modern engines, it would have been thought beyond all human force to erect such another fortress.

Between each wall, there was a space of 25 or 30 foot, which was fill'd up with earth, and every wall had a breast-work on the top of it: Beyond these three walls, were three spacious towers, standing in a triangle, answerable to the bending of the walls, which were in the form of a crescent on this side, as has been observed already. The principal of these towers, which stood in the middle, and was called Mayoc Marca, or the round fortress, had a fountain of excellent water in it, brought a great way by a subterraneous aqueduct; but from whence, DE LA VEGA says, the natives themselves did not know; for these were secrets communicated to none but the Inca or his Council, possibly lest an enemy should discover the stream, and cut it off, in case of a siege. In this fortress, the Inca's had an apartment, which was adorned and furnished with gold plate, vessels, and images of all kinds, of the same metal, like their other palaces. The other two towers on the right and left were both square, and contained rooms for the lodging and quartering the garrison, who were all of the blood of the Inca's, no others being admitted into any of them; the whole fortress being consecrated to the Sun for the exercise of arms, as the temple was for prayers and sacrifices.

Under the foundation of these towers was as much room as above; and they had a communication with each other by a subterraneous labyrinth, so difficult to pass, that no stranger could find his way through without a guide, or a line fastened at the entrance, by which he might discover the turnings and windings in his return. This labyrinth, DE LA VEGA assures us, was remaining in his time, and he had been often in it; but the upper rooms were all ruined. In the framing these vaults, as they were ignorant of arching, they laid over great slabs of stone, which served instead of beams; and in these, and many of their works, the Inca's seem'd to have a view rather to their glory, than to the use or convenience of the building, as was the case of those Princes that erected the walls of Babylon, the pyramids of Egypt, and other structures that obtained the name of the world's wonders: Most of the new city of Cusco was built with the stones found in the ruins of this fortress.

From the grand market-place in old Cusco, issued four high-ways to the four quarters of the empire. Those to the north and south running upwards

A labyrinth.

Four great roads issue from the great square of Cusco.

CHAP.
IV.

The city
of Cusco
composed
of all na-
tions in
the em-
pire.

of 500 leagues each, and were carried over mountains and valleys pitch'd with stone; in some places raised, in others sunk, to render it commodious travelling, and to facilitate the march of their armies from one province to another; but these will be more largely described hereafter, in treating of their roads.

Every nation of this extensive empire had quarters assign'd for their residence in the royal city of Cusco. The vassal Princes of every province, and especially the Caraca's, or conquered Princes, were obliged to send their eldest sons to Court, and build them a palace; about which all the natives of the same province, residing in Cusco, had their houses; and every people were obliged to retain the habits of their respective provinces, being chiefly distinguished by their head-dresses.

These institutions added to the splendor of the Inca's Court, the sons of the Caraca's, or vassal Princes, being obliged to wait at the Inca's palace in their turns, contributed much to the security of the Government; these young Lords remaining in a manner pledges of their fathers loyalty; tho' the reasons usually given for their attendance were, that they might be the better educated and instructed in the laws of the empire, and prepared for posts in the Administration: But whatever was the reason of the institution, by this means the Court language, and the manners and customs of the capital city, were communicated to the most distant provinces; and the Court, on the other hand, were justly informed of the state of their remotest territories.

Cusco
compared
to old
Rome.

DE LA VEGA, in describing Cusco, compares it to ancient Rome; for, 1. like Rome, he observes, it was founded by its own Kings; and 2. was the metropolis of many nations subject to its empire: 3. It might be compar'd to Rome for the excellency of its laws; and 4. for the admirable virtues and endowments of its citizens, who were famous for their politicks, as well as military discipline; civiliz'd, and freed from all barbarous customs: However, it must be confess'd, he says, that Rome had one great advantage, and that was in the knowledge of letters, whereby the fame of that city was render'd immortal: Whereas poor Cusco had nothing but memory, and tradition, to deliver its great actions to posterity. Rome, he insinuates, might be as much indebted to the pens of its historians, who had recorded their wise institutions, their victories and successes, and set them in an advantageous light, as to the heroes she had bred: Peru had a-bounded in men famous in arms and arts, but wanting the knowledge of letters, had left no other memory of their actions than what tradition had preserved, and transmitted to posterity in some few abrupt and scattered sentences deliver'd from father to son, which were also in a great measure lost by the entrance and invasion of a new people; for where an empire has had its period, being over-whelm'd by the power of a stronger nation, there, of course, the memory of actions and customs are lost; especially where letters are wanting to record them.

The new
city.

As for the city of Cusco since it has been rebuilt, 'tis sufficient to say, that it is purely Spanish. They have thrown it into large squares with their piazza's, from whence the principal streets, which are very long and broad, run in direct lines, and these again are crossed by other streets at right angles; and as it is divided into the upper and lower town by the river which runs through it, they have built several arch'd stone bridges on the river, for the more easy communication, instead of planks, which the Indians used in the old town, not understanding how to make arch'd bridges.

Besides the cathedral, there are several parochial and conventual churches, monasteries and nunneries of every order, and some noble hospitals, as well for Indians as Spaniards. And it must be said, for the honour of the Spaniards, that none take more care of their hospitals, and of sick and infirm people than they do in every part of the world. The Bishop of Cusco is Suffragan to the Archbishop of Lima, which the Spaniards have thought fit, since their conquest, to make the capital of Peru. I shall only add, that the gentlemen and citizens of Cusco (as the Indians had formerly) have most of them their country-houses in the pleasant and healthful valley of Yuca, thro' which there runs a fine river, that makes it one of the most fruitful valleys in Peru, and is now planted with almost all manner of Indian and European corn and fruits.

Arequipa, the last of the great towns I shall mention in the audience of Lima, is situated on a river that falls into the Pacific-Ocean, about forty miles south-west of the town, lying in 16 degrees, odd minutes south latitude, 100 leagues and upwards south-east of Lima, and 80 leagues south-west of Cusco. It consists of about three or four hundred houses, and stands in a country abounding in corn and wine; but is most considerable for the gold and silver mines in the neighbourhood of it. This town was founded by the Marquis PIZARRO, one of the first conquerors, and over-turned by an earthquake forty years afterwards; but the Spaniards liked the situation of the place so well, that it was soon after rebuilt; and it is now a Bishop's see, Suffragan to the Archbishop of Lima.

The audience of Los Charcas is bounded by the audience of Lima on the north, by the province of Paragua, or La Plata, on the east, by Chili on the south, and by the Pacific-Ocean on the west; being about seven hundred miles in length, from east to west, in the broadest part, and about the same breadth from north to south; but both the length and breadth very unequal. The chief towns in this audience are, 1. Potosi; 2. Porco; 3. La Plata; 4. Santa Cruz; 5. La Paz; 6. Chiquita; 7. Tiagunaco; 8. Arica; and 9. Hillo, or Ylo.

Potosi, which takes its name from the mountain at the bottom of which it stands, is situated in 22 degrees south latitude, 67 degrees west of London, in one of the most barren countries of America; there being neither trees or grass to be found near it, but the richest silver mines that ever were discovered; which has brought multitudes of people hither, inasmuch that it is said to be one of the largest and most populous towns of Peru: Nor is it ill supply'd with provisions; all the countries round about, for 30 or 40 leagues, supplying their markets, where they are sure to be well paid for what they bring. As to the mines, which have rendered this town famous through the world, I shall describe them under another head; and only observe here, that there are several thousand people constantly employed in digging and refining the silver. So diligent have the Spaniards been since they discovered this mountain, that tho' it be 3 or 4 leagues in circumference, and one thousand six hundred and twenty-four rods (I presume it should be yards) high; it is now little more than a crust or shell, out of which they have taken most of its internal riches, and are daily in search of new mines. The Spaniards have erected a chapel on the top of the hill, to which they ascend by a narrow winding path; but the mountain is so exceeding cold, that it is scarce habitable; possibly, the chapel therefore was erected more for ostentation than devotion. There are also a great number of churches,

CHAP.
IV.

Arequipa:

Los Char-
cas au-
dience.Chief-
towns.

Potosi.

CHAP. IV. churches, chapels, and convents in the town; for however the Religious seem to have renounced the world, it is observed, they are usually most numerous, where silver most abounds.

Porco. Porco is situated 10 leagues north-west of Potosi, considerable on account of its silver mines, before those of Potosi were discover'd; but the latter being richer, and not so much incommoded by water, Porco was in a manner deserted: However, 'tis probable, the mines of Porco will be resorted to again, since those of Potosi are in a manner exhausted, according to the relations of some travellers.

La Plata, capital of the province, received its name from the silver mines in the neighbourhood; which were the first the Spaniards wrought. It is situated on one of the sources of the great river La Plata, in 21 degrees, odd minutes south latitude, and 66 degrees of western longitude. The town stands in a fine plain, and in a much more fruitful soil than either Potosi or Porco; and is the see of an Archbishop, and the residence of the Governor and Courts of justice of this province; the inhabitants whereof are exceeding rich. The cathedral, with the rest of the churches and convents, are very magnificent; and the revenues of the Archbishoprick are said to amount to eighty thousand crowns per annum.

Santa Cruz. St. Croix, or Santa Cruz, of the mountains, is situated on another branch of the great river La Plata, 50 leagues to the eastward of the city of La Plata; but I meet with no particular description of the place.

La Paz. La Paz, or City of Peace, stands on the great road of the Inca's, 100 leagues to the northward of La Plata. It is a small town, pleasantly situated in a fruitful plain on the river Cajana, and has several gold mines in the adjacent mountains.

Chinquita. Chinquita is situated on the great lake Titicaca, in an exceeding plentiful country; and is a very wealthy town.

Tiguanuca. Tiguanuca is situated on the south end of the lake; besides which, there are abundance of fine towns and villages bordering on the lake, this being the pleasantest and most fruitful part of Peru, as well as the most temperate.

Arica. Arica lies in 18 degrees, 20 minutes south latitude, on the South-sea, 100 leagues north-west of Potosi, and is the port-town, where most of the treasure is embarked for Lima; but this has been already described among the ports.

Ylo. Ylo, or Hillo, is another small port, situated on the South-sea, about 20 miles north of Arica, in a fine valley, abounding in Indian and European fruits; and has been frequently plundered by the Buccaneers.

Of the Peruvian towns in general. In treating of the Peruvian towns, it is necessary to inform the reader, that before the arrival of the Spaniards, there was only one great town in every province; all the rest were villages, consisting of little huts or cottages, that did not deserve the name of towns: But in the Capital of every province was a temple belonging to the Governor, or vassal Prince; a temple dedicated to the Sun, and a convent of select Virgins, resembling those in the imperial city of Cusco; there were also four royal high-ways running through the whole empire, that center'd in the grand square, or market-place, of Cusco: And upon these high-ways were magazines and store-houses of the Inca's, sufficient to supply all the forces of the provinces in which they stood; the Indians had also noble aqueducts, by which they brought water into their great towns and corn-fields many miles, which render'd the most barren lands fruitful; as was the usage of the ancient Persians, and many other peo-

ple, where the soil was dry and sandy, like that of Peru.

I have already described the palaces of the Inca's, and the temple of the Sun at Cusco, by which model those in the other provinces were built. As to the convents of select Virgins, those seem to have been built like cloisters, with cells for the Virgins on the sides of them, without any upper rooms.

In the nunnery of Cusco, 'tis said, there were no less than fifteen hundred Virgins, all of the blood of the Inca's or Emperors: And in the convents of every province, the Nuns were the kindred of the vassal Princes, or of the Lords of the respective provinces. But, according to DE LA VEGA, these Nuns were not intended for the service of the temple of the Sun. On the contrary, no female was ever suffer'd to enter into these temples: Nor was any man admitted to come within the walls of these nunneries. But I shall treat further of their institution under the head of religion, and proceed to the description of their royal high-ways, of which AUGUSTIN CARETE gives the following relation: He says, that the Inca GUAYNACAVA, the province with his army from Cusco, to subdue the province of Quito, distant 500 leagues from that capital, met with great difficulties in his march over almost inaccessible rocks and mountains. Whereupon returning victorious, he caused a specious way to be hewn out through the rocks; levelling the rough and uneven ground, by raising it in some places fifteen or twenty fathoms, and in others sinking it as much; and in this manner carried on the work for fifteen hundred miles (and future Inca's continued it as far to the southward.) He afterwards caused another way, of equal extent, to be carried through the plain country forty foot wide, which was defended by walls on each side: And along these ways were houses at certain distances, shady groves, and rivulets or reservoirs of water, introduced for the refreshment of his troops, or weary travellers, upon a march. At the houses erected by the Inca's on the great roads, says DE LA VEGA, travellers were supplied gratis with victuals, and other provisions for their journeys: And in case any traveller fell sick, he was attended and taken care of as well as he could be at his own house: But the truth is, says the same writer, no person was suffer'd to travel for curiosity, pleasure, or private business, but only in the service of the Inca, or the Lord of the province; all who had not orders, or licences at least, for travelling, were taken up as vagrants, and punish'd: But DE LA VEGA does not inform us within what limits the natives were confined: As I apprehend, they were at liberty to travel any where within the district of the particular Lord under whose government they liv'd, without a licence. The Inca's also had their palaces and houses of pleasure on the tops of the mountains in these roads, from whence they had the finest prospects in the world. But to proceed to their magazines. In every province, says DE LA VEGA, there were always two magazines, or store-houses; in one of which they laid up corn and provisions for the support of the natives in years of scarcity; and in the other, the provisions belonging to the temple of the Sun, and the Inca; besides which, they had smaller store-houses, built upon the high-ways, 3 or 4 leagues distant from each other; which the Spaniards make use of at this day, as inns, when they travel. All the estate of the Sun and of the Inca, within 50 leagues of the city of Cusco, was brought thither for the maintenance and support of the Court; the overplus whereof the Inca's distributed among the vassal Princes, and great Officers civil and military,

Convents of select Virgins.

Their royal high-ways described.

Magazines.

CHAP.
IV.

tary, that attended at Cusco in their turns; only a certain portion of the revenue of the Sun, within those limits, was laid up in magazines for the use of the people of the respective districts.

The revenues arising in the provinces above 50 leagues from Cusco, were laid up in the King's store-houses, and from thence carried to the lesser store-houses, standing on the common road, consisting of ammunition and provision, arms, cloaths, shoes, and whatever else was necessary for an army in the field; from whence the forces were readily supply'd wherever they march'd, and the soldiery was never quartered upon the people, or in the least burthenome to them. There were magazines and store-houses also erected in the mountains and plains out of the road, at the distance of a day's march or two, near some rivulet; where an army might, at any time, be supply'd with arms and provisions of all kinds, and these were called Tombo's.

From their roads, we very naturally come to their bridges, by which they pass over rivers; and these seem to have been the meanest of all their works: They neither knew how to erect arches, or to fix piles in the middle of a stream to support a bridge; and therefore, whenever the stream was too wide to lay planks over from one bank to the other, they had a kind of floating-bridges fasten'd to each side, made of flags or rushes: And instead of ferry-boats, they had floats of calabashes, or rushes, to convey over travellers. It is related also, that they sometimes fasten'd ropes cross their rivers, and drew themselves over in baskets, sliding along the ropes.

Their car-
riages, and
way of
travelling.

As to their carriages, and way of travelling, it appears that they had no cattle fit for draught; every thing was drawn by men, how weighty soever; nor had they any beasts of burthen, but a kind of sheep, one of which would scarce carry an hundred weight, and will be particularly describ'd hereafter, under the head of animals: Most of their baggage therefore, was carried by Porters. Their Great men also were carried on chairs or couches, on the shoulders of men, or in hammocks; which last was the usual way of carrying sick people, and is still used in many parts of America.

CHAP. V.

Of the persons and habits of the Peruvians; of their genius and temper; arts, manufactures, food, exercises and diversions; diseases and Physicians.

Persons of
the Peru-
vians.
No Giants
or Mon-
sters.

THE Peruvians are generally of a middle stature. There are no nations of Giants or Pigmies, in that part of the world, as our first Adventurers related: Nor can I find any of those deform'd monsters in South-America, that Sir WALTER RALEIGH and his people were pleas'd to amuse us with.

The Inca, or royal historian, GARCISASSO DE LA VEGA, indeed, informs us, that there was a tradition in his time, that a race of Giants, some ages past, invaded that country, landing at Cape St. Helena, on the South-sea, in 2 degrees of south latitude; and refers us to the account PEDRO DE SIECA, the most circumstantial of the Spanish writers, gives of them; which, with the readers leave, I shall transcribe the substance of.

"There were, says DE SIECA, many ages since, men of an extraordinary size arriv'd in this country in great ships: Such was their stature, that an ordinary man reach'd but to their knees: Their heads were proportionably large, cover'd with long hair hanging down their shoulders, and they had great saucer eyes, but no beards. Some of

CHAP.
V.

them were cloath'd with the skins of beasts, others naked, without any other covering than the long hair which nature had given them. There were, near Point St. Helena, some ruins of vast wells and cisterns, hewn out of the rocks, when DE SIECA wrote, which he suppos'd must be made by these Giants, to preserve fresh water in the dry season.

"They were no less put to it, he relates, for victuals than they were for drink; for one of these Giants eating as much as fifty of the natives, they soon wast'd the country, and made a famine in the place, 'till they found means to take great quantities of fish, with which they satisfied their voracious appetites.

"They liv'd but in ill terms with the natives; not only because they plunder'd them of their provisions, but took their women from them, who died in their rude embraces, or at least in childbirth: Thus these Giants having no women by whom they could propagate their species, were guilty of sodomy openly with each other; and were all destroyed by thunder and lightning, and an avenging Angel, in the very act; only their skulls and bows remained as an eternal monument of this judgment.

"PEDRO DE SIECA adds, that he heard some Spaniards say, that they had seen a piece of a hollow tooth of one of these giants, that weigh'd above half a pound; and others had seen a shank-bone of incredible length and bigness; and he thought the wells and cisterns, already mention'd, clear testimonies of their inhabiting this part of the country."

From hence it appears, that there had been no Giants in Peru for many ages before the Spaniards arriv'd there (which I look upon as a great point gain'd) and they had only an uncertain tradition that there ever were such people. As for the cisterns, hewn out of the rocks, greater things have been effected by men of an ordinary size; and as to a tooth or a single bone or two, pretended to be found there, since the scene is laid on the sea-coast, both the tooth and bone might belong to some great fish; for we find mistakes of the like nature in this part of the world.

I proceed, in the next place, to Sir WALTER RALEIGH's monsters: The writer of that expedition to Guiana in South-America says, As for the monsters of men, "they are said to be not seen by our men, but reported by the savages," with mouths in their breasts, and eyes in their shoulders; and of others, headed like dogs, which lie all day in the sea. These things are strange, says that author; yet I dare not esteem them fabulous, only suspend my belief, 'till some eye-witness of our own shall testify the truth. But as such monsters have never been seen since in South-America, Sir WALTER, had he liv'd in our time, probably would have made no scruple to have rejected these stories as fabulous. But to proceed in the description of their persons. The Peruvians, as has been observed already, like other Indians, were of a middle stature, and of an olive complexion generally; but near the Equator of a perfect copper-colour; their hair, as that of all other people between the Tropics, always black; most of them had their heads shav'd; and the hair of their beards and other parts of the body was pull'd off from time to time with tweezers whenever any appear'd, except on their eye-brows and eye-lids. The several nations were distinguish'd chiefly by their head-dresses: Some wore whole pieces of cotton-linnen, Habit, wrapp'd about their heads like turbants; others had

The real
stature and
complex-
ion of the
Peruvians.

CHAP. V. only a single piece of linnen tied about their heads: Some wore a kind of hats; others, caps in the form of a sugar-loaf; and a multitude of other different fashions there were of their head-attire, and these they never alter'd, but continued the same in their respective nations and tribes from generation to generation. But this is to be understood of the better sort of people; for the rest, as far as I can perceive, went bare-headed; at least, the Spaniards have represented them so; in the pictures they have given us of the Peruvians at the time of their conquest. The head-dress, cap, or turban, seems to have been granted to their chiefs as a mark of distinction: Their heads and bodies also were anointed with oil, or grease; and some of them used paint, like the rest of the Americans.

Their holiday-dress was a sort of shirt, and a vest without sleeves, and a mantle: They had also shoes, or rather sandals, on their feet, made of the skins of beasts untanned; but the common people usually went naked, except a small piece of linnen about their waists: They had scarce any cloaths on when they were at work; when they went a hunting or travell'd the road.

DE LA VEGA, speaking of the ancient Indians, and of some nations of them in his days, says, their manner of cloathing, or covering their bodies, was, in some countries, as immodest as ridiculous: That some had no other covering but what nature gave them; tho' others, perhaps for ostentation, girt a piece of cotton-linnen about their waists. He had seen some nations of South-America that went perfectly naked, in the year 1570.

That the women went naked as well as the men; only those who were married tied a string round their bodies, to which they fasten'd a cotton-clout about a yard square, which look'd like an apron; and where they had no linnen, they made use of broad leaves. So barbarous, says he, were the Indians in the hot countries, who were not under the dominion of the Inca's. And the people in the colder countries were cloathed only with the skins of beasts, or mats, and that rather to defend them from the weather, than out of regard to modesty or decency; concluding, that in his time there were some nations of Americans, both men and women, under the dominion of the Spaniards, and even their menial servants, that no arguments but force could prevail on to wear cloaths.

But wherever the Inca's had any power or influence, says DE LA VEGA, the people (he must mean the better sort of people) were decently cloath'd; in hot countries, their cloaths being made of cotton-linnen, and in colder of wool; but every garment was wove fit for the use it was design'd, without cutting, whether it were a shirt, a vest, or a mantle; they were all of a-piece, as they came from the loom, only dy'd into various colours that never faded.

In another place DE LA VEGA observes, that it was one of the establish'd laws of the Inca's, that no man should change the habit and fashion of his country, tho' he chang'd his habitation.

Ornaments.

The principal ornaments of the Peruvians were their rings and jewels in their ears, which they stretch'd to a monstrous size, and occasion'd the Spaniards to give some of them the appellation of the People with great Ears. They had also chains of jewels and shells about their necks; but I don't find the Peruvians wore gold plates, or rings in their noses, like the Indians situate to the northward of the Equator.

ANTONIO DE HERERA relates, that when the Spaniards first invaded the north part of Peru, they

were oppos'd by a people that were stark naked, but painted, some red, and others yellow: But among these he informs us, there were some (probably their Chiefs) that had mantles, and other garments made of cotton, or of wool; and adorned with jewels.

The habits of the Peruvian women were not very different from those of the men, for these also are said to have worn vests and mantles; only as the men shav'd their heads, and wore caps or turbans, the women dress'd in their hair, which reached down to the middle of their backs, sometimes loose and flowing, and at others braided and twisted in several braids: And as the sun frequently changed their hair from black to a russet-brown, or red, they were at great pains to restore it to its original colour, dipping their hair into a black hot liquor, over which they would lie several hours in great uneasiness, till it was sufficiently tinged; nothing being esteem'd a greater beauty among the women than long shining black hair: And both men and women, at festivals, and other solemn times, frequently adorn'd their heads with flowers and beautiful feathers; but the Peruvians now follow the Spanish modes in every thing.

The Americans were no less surpriz'd at the complexion and dress of the Spaniards, than the Spaniards were at theirs; but admir'd nothing so much as their long beards, having never seen a beard in their country; and their glittering swords and fire-arms perfectly amaz'd them. However, as the Spaniards did not at first treat them in a hostile manner, they adored these white strangers as so many gods, and made them rich presents; but of this hereafter, when I come to their history: I shall only add; under this head of complexion and dress, that nothing amaz'd the Indians more than the blackness of the Negroe slaves the Spaniards carried with them. They could not believe this to be natural, having never seen a Black in America. They desired the Spaniards, therefore, to let them make the experiment, and try if they could not wash off the black paint (as they took it to be) which made the Negroe and his Masters exceeding merry.

As to the genius and temper of this people, if we were to credit the first accounts we received of them from the Spaniards, they were little better than brutes in human shape. They relate, that they sacrificed men, and even their own children, fed on human flesh, were guilty of sodomy, and all manner of vice. And this has been the general conduct of mankind (as has been observ'd already) to represent distant nations, and those they are enemies to, as barbarians. The great conquerors and heroes of antiquity among the Greeks and Romans always represented their enemies, and those they were pleas'd to make such, as strange unpolish'd animals; and one reason of invading and subduing them they pretend'd was, to civilize and instruct them in better morals, as well as in arts and sciences: And such, it seems, were the pretences of our modern conquerors of Peru and Mexico; namely, to reform that new world, destroy idolatry, and establish the Christian religion there; tho' in the end it appears, they made them, in the scripture phrase, tenfold more the children of hell than they found them.

It is remarkable also, that the Inca's, or Emperors of Peru, gave much the same reasons the ancients did, for making war upon their weaker neighbours, and subjecting all the nations in that part of the world under their dominion.

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, the royal historian, in the 7th chapter of his first book, relates, that he received the following account of the ancient inhabitants of this country, from one of his relations;

The habits of the Peruvian women.

The genius and temper of the Peruvians.

The tedious people represent their enemies as barbarous.

CHAP. V. relations, a descendant of their Inca's, or Kings, as he himself was, (viz.) that they were like so many brute beasts, without religion or government; they neither ploughed or sowed, or cloathed themselves; they dwelt solitarily in caves or holes of the rocks; fed on herbs, roots, and wild fruits, and on man's flesh; enjoy'd their women, as well as lands, in common, and understood nothing of property: But that their father the Sun (as the Inca's and royal family call'd him) beholding the savage disposition of these people, sent a son and daughter from heaven to instruct them in the worship of himself (the Sun) to give them laws and precepts, to teach them to live in societies, cloath themselves, and cultivate their lands, and reform their barbarous customs; "constituting them (the Inca's) Lords and Princes over that people."

From whence it appears, that the Inca's of Peru, like the ancient law-givers, pretended to be descended from some god, who had conferr'd the dominion of those nations upon them; or at least had dictated those laws and rules they promulg'd and requir'd the people to observe. And DE LA VEGA tells us, chap. 12. of his 5th book, that the two principal motives or reasons the Inca's gave for making war upon their neighbours, and subduing them where they refused to submit tamely to their dominion, were, "the barbarity and ignorance of the people, and the violence and oppression they exercised over their subjects." And these have been the pretended motives of most of our heroes and conquerors on this side the globe; tho' 'tis evident, ambition is generally at the bottom of these specious pretences: We can never therefore make a just estimate of the characters of any people from the accounts we receive from those who have enslaved them, or usurp'd the dominion over them. They usually represent the conquer'd in the most shocking and frightful forms, in order to justify or excuse their own cruel ravages and oppressions.

To proceed in the character DE LA VEGA gives of the ancient Peruvians. He says, they sacrificed men to their gods; were cannibals; had shamblers of man's flesh, and made sausages of their guts; but he "reflects severely upon those Spanish writers who relate, that there were any such sacrifices, or any cannibals in Peru, since the Inca's reign'd there;" which was four or five hundred years before the invasion of the Spaniards; from whence we may very well conclude, that all the modern accounts we have of human sacrifices and cannibals in South-America from the Spanish writers are false. There were no such people when they arrived there, nor for four hundred years before, if we may credit DE LA VEGA, a native of Peru, who was better acquainted with their language, history, and customs, than any of the Spanish writers, and generally esteemed the best historian that ever wrote of that country. ACOSTA DE SIECA, and the rest of their historians are infinitely to blame therefore, in slandering that people, and abusing the world with such fabulous relations.

If it be admitted then, that there were no such barbarous people in Peru, no cannibals, or any human sacrifices there for four hundred years before the Spanish conquest, we may take it for granted, there were none there before that time; at least there could be no certainty of any such, the Peruvians having no possible way of recording their history, as they were destitute of letters; and for a tradition of four hundred years standing, it is not to be much valued, especially when it is evident, that the Inca's invented or encouraged such stories of the barbarity

of the conquer'd nations, as other pretended he has done in our part of the world, to excuse or justify their own ravages and invasions, and to make the world believe they have been such mighty benefactors to mankind, by reducing them to a civiliz'd life, and abolishing such brutish customs as they found in the conquer'd provinces. I proceed now to enquire into the real character of the Peruvians when the Spaniards arrived there. BLAS VALERA (to whom DE LA VEGA seems to give entire credit, in this particular, lib. 2. cap. 33. of the *Royal Company of Peru*) says, that the people of Peru exceed most nations in the world in quickness of wit and strength of judgment; which appears in that, without the help of letters, they have attain'd the knowledge of many things which the learning of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Greeks, could never reach. If they had any thing that seem'd shocking to the Europeans, it did not proceed from the want of natural parts, or endowments of mind, but from their being unpractis'd in the fashions and customs of Europe, and their want of masters to instruct them in the liberal sciences; for such of them as had the advantage of masters, since the arrival of the Spaniards, became greater proficients than the Spaniards themselves, and would imitate any thing they saw so exactly, without being taught, that it surprized the European artists; and as to their memories, they generally exceeded the Spaniards, and would cast up their accounts, by knots, with more expedition than a European could by the help of cyphers.

As to their military skill and conduct, making allowance for circumstances, they appear'd also superior to the Spaniards. Let me see, says my author, the bravest Captains of France or Spain on foot, without horses, without armour, without spears, swords, or fire-arms; with no other cloaths than their shirts, no other head-piece than a cap of feathers, or garland of flowers; a shield made of a piece of a mat; and "let their diet be only herbs and roots of the field; then let us see how they will be able to oppose swords, spears, guns, &c.

On the contrary, were the Indians arm'd, as the Europeans are, train'd up in the same military discipline, and instructed in the art of war by sea and land, they would be more invincible than the Turks, as experience has shewn; for whenever the Spaniards and Indians were equally arm'd, the Spaniards were defeated. No estimate can be made of the military skill or bravery of the Indians of Mexico and Peru, therefore, from the Spanish conquests in those empires, on account of the inequality of their arms, and above all, the invention of fire-arms, which was more terrible to them than all the rest, and seem'd to them something more than what was human and natural. "And in fact we find, that the Indians of Chili, having furnish'd themselves with European arms, are at this day a match for the Spaniards, and have driven them out of many places they possess'd themselves of in that country."

To return to the Peruvians. It is observ'd, that as they defended their country, as well as could be expected, with such arms as they had, yet when any province was conquered, and had submitted to the Spaniards, they remain'd faithful to them, however hardly they were used; and readily assisted them in the conquest of the rest of their country; being persuaded, that they ought to remain faithful subjects to those they had submitted to, how unjustly soever they were invaded, and might not attempt the recovery of their liberties afterwards.

CHAP. V. The true character of the Peruvians.

No probability of human sacrifices or cannibals in Peru.

Courage and military skill.

CHAP.

V.

Hospitality.

Friar MARK, who went with some of the first invaders from Panama to Peru, says, they found the Peruvians extremely hospitable and kind; courteous in conversation, and friendly to the Spaniards, giving them gold and precious stones, male and female slaves, and all manner of provisions: Nor did they offer to commit any hostilities, 'till the Spaniards, by their outrages and cruelties, compelled them to stand upon their defence. It must be confess'd, that the Americans had made but little proficiency in the sciences, or indeed in mechanick arts, having never convers'd either with Europeans or Asiatics, and being destitute of instruments, and even of proper materials for forming them.

Morality.

There were, says DE LA VEGA, certain among them call'd Amanta's, who were subtle in their argumentation, and laid down certain phenomena of natural things; but in regard they were unacquainted with letters, they could leave none of those conceptions they had form'd to posterity, unless some few principles discovered by the light of nature, which they represented by glyphicks, or some rude figures; however, in Moral Philosophy, they attained to a greater degree of perfection; for their laws and customs were their daily lessons, and the doctrine of good-manners being the study and business of the magistrate, an easy and constant improvement was made therein.

Natural Philosophy.

In Natural Philosophy they had studied little, and only knew things by their effects; as, that fire would warm them, and the like; and thus they learn'd something of medicine, and the virtues of plants and herbs, which experience and necessity taught them.

Astronomy.

As to their astronomy, they had observed the various motions of the planet Venus; the increase and decrease of the Moon. The Inca's also observ'd, that the Sun perform'd his course in the space of a year; tho' the common people divided it only by the seasons; and the end of their harvest, with them, was the end of the year: While the Inca's mark'd out the summer and winter solstices by high towers, which they erected on the east and west of the city of Cusco. When the Sun came to rise directly opposite to four of these towers erected on the east side of the city, and to set just against those of the west, it was then the summer solstice; and in like manner, when it came to rise and set against four other towers, it was the winter solstice: Which towers, DE LA VEGA says, were standing in his time. They had also erected marble pillars in the great court before the temple of the Sun, by which they observ'd the Equinoctials; and when the Sun came near the Equator, the Priests attended, and waited to see what shadow the pillars cast; and when the Sun at its rising came to dart a shadow directly from it, and at mid-day the pillars cast no shade, but were enlightened on all sides, they then concluded the sun to be in the Equinoctial, and crown'd the pillars with garlands of flowers and odoriferous herbs; and as they held the Sun then appear'd in its greatest lustre, this was one of their chief festivals, wherein they offer'd to this deity rich presents of gold and precious stones.

And as they describ'd their year by the course of the Sun, so their months were distinguish'd by the Moon, and their weeks were called quarters of the Moon; but they had no names for the days of the week but the order they stood in, as the first, second, third, &c. They were astonish'd at the eclipses of the Sun and Moon; and when the Sun hid his face, believ'd it was for their sins; imagin-

ing it prognosticated famine, war and pestilence, or some other terrible calamity.

CHAP.

V.

When the moon was entering into the eclipse, and it began to grow dark, they imagin'd she was sick; and when totally obscur'd, that she was dying; and sounded their trumpets, kettles and pans, and every thing that would make a noise, to rouse her from this lethargy; and taught their children to cry out and call upon Mama Quille, or Mother Moon, that she would not die, and leave them to perish. They made no predictions from the Sun or Moon, or the conjunction of the stars, but chiefly from their dreams, or the entrails of beasts they offer'd in sacrifice; and when they saw the Sun set in the sea, as they might every night to the westward, they imagin'd the waters were divided by the force of the fire, and that the sun plunged himself into the deep, diving quite through the sea to appear next morning in the east.

They had so much skill in Physick, according to Physick.

DE LA VEGA, as to know, that bleeding and purging were two necessary evacuations, and usually open'd that vein which was nearest to the pain; their lancet being a sharp-pointed flint set at the end of a small cane, which with a gentle fillip cut it with less pain than one of our lancets.

They usually purg'd when the patient was but a little indisposed, and before the disease had prevail'd, but afterwards left him to nature and a regular diet; and their principal ingredient was a white root resembling a turnip, which being dry'd and powder'd, they took in water or their ordinary drink, and then the patient set himself in the sun, that his heat and blessing might contribute to the operation; and in an hour's time it began to work upwards and downwards in a violent manner, bringing away worms and all indigested matter, and yet left the body strong and vigorous, and with a very good appetite, which the same author says he twice experienc'd by himself.

Their physick was administred to the Inca's and Great men, by Botanists, that studied the virtues of their herbs and plants. These transmitted their secrets of this kind to their children, and were, in a manner, hereditary Physicians to the Royal family, and the Great Lords; but the common people cured one another by such prescriptions as they learn'd by tradition.

They had several herbs and roots which they apply'd to wounds with great success; but used neither plaisters nor ointments, and had no compound, only simple medicines. The Spaniards much improved their physick, having discover'd the virtues of many herbs and plants that grew in that hot climate, which the Indians were ignorant of; and particularly, that their Maize or Indian-corn was an excellent remedy against the Cholick and Stone, observing that the Indians, who eat this food chiefly, were never troubled with those Distempers.

They had only Geometry enough to measure their Geomelands, and describe the bounds and limits of their provinces; but this, our author, says, he has seen well perform'd, particularly the city of Cusco, and the country about it, with the buildings, streets, hills, valleys, rivers, roads, &c. as well laid down and distinguish'd by lines and colours, as any of our modern Geomographers could have done it.

Their Amanta's, or Philosophers, were Poets Poetry, also, and invented Comedies and Tragedies, which were acted on their festivals before the King and the Royal family; the Actors being the Great Lords of the Court, and principal Officers of the army; every one acting the part that was agreeable

CHAP.

V.

able to his quality or post, and had no constant sets of Actors to personate others: The subject of their Tragedies were the victories and great actions of their ancestors, which seems to have been the best means they had of preserving the memory of what was pass'd; and yet in these it seems fiction had so great a share, that it was difficult to distinguish what was real from what was fabulous. In their Comedies, their husbandry, their household affairs, and their commerce with the world were represented, and the most remarkable follies in life exposed.

Musick.

These Amanta's also compos'd songs and ballads; for they had both vocal and instrumental musick; some resembling our trumpets, flutes, and other wind-musick, but intolerably harsh and disagreeable to an ear used to softer sounds. They had also their string-musick, but not a whit better than the former.

Arithmetick.

They seem to have been more perfect in Arithmetick than any science, and would cast up an accompt, subtract, multiply and divide by certain lines or threads of various colours tied in knots, which they call'd Quippo's, with more expedition than a European by the help of figures: And by these Quippo's they had the art of imprinting many things in their memories, and communicating their thoughts to others with the assistance of ill-drawn pictures or images; for they knew something of painting and statuary, as appears by the furniture and ornaments of their temples and palaces; every plant and animal almost being represented in gold or silver plate; and this brings me to treat of their mechanick arts. And first of their Gold and Silver-smiths, of whom, says the royal historian DE LA

Mechanick arts.

VEGA, tho' there were great numbers that labour'd constantly at their trade, yet were they not so skilful as to make an anvil of iron or any other metal, but made use of a certain hard stone of a yellowish colour, which they smooth'd and polish'd; nor had they learn'd to put handles to their hammers, but beat their plate with certain round pieces of copper or brass; neither had they any files or graving tools, or bellows for melting down their metals; but instead of bellows, had copper-pipes of a yard long, and small at one end, almost in the form of a trumpet, with which they blow'd up their fires. They had no tongs to take their heated metal out of the fire, but drew it out with a stick or a copper bar, and cast it into a heap of wet earth to cool; and as they had learn'd that the steam or effluvia arising from hot or melted metals were prejudicial to their health, all their founderies were in the open air without any covering. Their Carpenters had no other tools than hatchets made of copper or flint; no saws, augers or planes, not having learn'd the use of iron, tho' they did not want mines of that metal; and instead of nails, as has been observed already, they fastened their timber together with cords or withes: Nor had their Stone-cutters any tools but sharp flints or pebbles, with which they wore out the stone in a manner with perpetual rubbing; pulleys and other engines also were wanting for lifting and placing stones in their buildings; all was done by strength of hand, and multitudes were employ'd to remove a piece of stone or timber, which an ordinary team of horses would have drawn upon proper carriages: And yet under the want of all these things they rais'd strong and magnificent edifices, as appears by their buildings, already describ'd, the ruins whereof are seen at this day.

They used a thorn or a fine bone for a needle, and their threads were the sinews of animals, or the fibres of some plant, or of the bark of a certain tree. Scissars they had none, and their knives

were flint or copper; and under such disadvantages (as my author observes) their needle-work was very indifferent.

CHAP.

V.

Combs were made of the long thorns already mention'd, set on each side a piece of cane, which serv'd for the back of the comb; and the rasors they shav'd their heads with were no better than sharp flints; in which operation the patient underwent so much, that there was nothing the Spaniards carried over, was more acceptable to them, than steel rasors and scissars: They had no looking-glasses, but instead of them, the Peruvian Ladies made use of a round plate of polish'd brass or copper; and in this, the natives of the East-Indies agree with them, having no other mirrors at this day, but what they get of the Europeans.

As to ordinary working trades, there were no fraternities or particular men that applied themselves to these; but every man was his own Carpenter, Shoemaker, Weaver, Taylor, and Mason: Every man knew how to weave, make his cloaths, build his house, and cultivate his lands; and the women assisted in the most laborious employments.

But there were societies of Poets, Painters, Musicians, Goldsmiths, Engravers, Founders, and Accountants, who were employ'd in the service of their temples, and of their Princes and Great men; but ordinary and necessary works, as has been said, were done by the family: The common people instructed their children in them, and never hir'd servants, or call'd in foreign assistance; and for the polite arts, as they were not necessary to their subsistence, so they never troubled themselves about them.

Their woollen and cotton cloths, which they wove and dy'd into all manner of colours, were their principal manufactures; but no man was suffer'd to wear a garment, cap, or turban, of different colours, but those of the royal blood.

Their carpets and blankets, on which they lay, were made of the wool of their country sheep, or the fine hair of their Goats; and their hammocks of cotton, or other net-work. In the hot countries, as has been observ'd, their garments were of cotton; and in the colder countries, of wool, wove exactly fit for the uses they design'd, and the pieces never cut.

They had little or no trade, either with foreigners, Traffick: or with one-another; every family having its plantation, and all necessities almost within itself; only they sometimes truck'd or barter'd fruits and eatables with their neighbours, some grounds producing what others wanted.

The general food of the Peruvians, before the Food: Spaniards arriv'd amongst them, was Maize, or Indian-corn (which has been already describ'd, in treating of Mexico.) This they ground between two stones, and made thin cakes and biscuits of the flour, which they baked on their hearths or stoves: They also boil'd it, and made a sort of hasty-pudding of the Maize; and in some countries that did not produce Maize, they had a very small grain or seed, that was produced from a plant like Spinage; and this they converted to the same uses. In other parts, they had the Cassavy-root, which they boil'd, dry'd, and ground to powder; of which also they made thin cakes that serv'd them instead of bread: They eat also Potatoes, and other roots, and almost all manner of fruits raw, roasted and boil'd, which their country produc'd: Nor was there scarce an herb that grew, but what serv'd them for food, not as sauce or sallads, as we use them, but as substantial dishes: As to flesh, they eat very little, for their Inca's and Great Lords were masters of all the cattle, wild and tame,

CHAP. V. tame, and of all the game of the country, which the common people were not suffered to take or kill under the severest penalties. But there was a general hunting-bout appointed by their Princes once a year; wherein a great deal of venison and game was taken, and distributed to the people, who cut it in thin slices and dry'd it; and this, with the flesh of the tame cattle, which was also given them annually, serv'd for the whole year: They never eat joints of meat, or indeed any quantity of it as the Europeans do, but having cut their dry'd flesh in pieces, stew'd, and season'd it high with Axi or Pepper; they eat it as sauce to their other food, and as we eat Anchovies, or pickles, to relish our flesh. I don't know any country between the Tropics where the people eat great meals of flesh: In many places they eat none at all (much less human flesh). The Spanish historians observe, that one of their men eat ten times as much as an Indian. Their usual way of dressing their food was in pans or dishes over their stoves, on which they stew'd or bak'd it, and they roasted their roots and fruits in the embers frequently.

The usual times for eating, according to DE LA VEGA, were between eight and nine in the morning, and about sun-set in the evening; for they made but two meals a-day. However, they were not altogether so abstemious in drinking as eating. Their Gentry and Great men, who had little else to do, fate drinking great part of the day; and of the same Indian-corn that served them for bread, they made a kind of malt, and brew'd good strong drink of it. The Maghey-tree also affords them a very strong intoxicating liquor; and they make a kind of wine of almost all manner of fruits, by boiling or steeping them in water; but the common people, I find, very seldom drank any strong liquors. The common beverage here, as well as in Mexico, was water with a little of the flour of Maize infused into it, being the same that our Buccaneers call Posole, or Poor Soul. But as they have both Palm and Cocoa-trees, there is no doubt but the Spaniards have taught them to draw Palm-wine, and drink the liquor of the Cocoa-nut, as they have taught them to eat and drink all manner of meat and drink that Spain affords; which, by the way, the Spaniards observe, has been no advantage to them; for such sort of meat and drink, they tell us, is by no means fit for people that live between the Tropics; and has introduced many diseases the Peruvians knew nothing of before, insomuch that they give this as one reason the natives of America do not multiply so fast as they did formerly, but rather decrease in their numbers at present; but whether this is not a mere pretence to conceal their own barbarity, who depopulated these countries by their cruelties and oppressions, and would now have us believe that the natives have been diminished by this alteration in their diet, I very much question: For 'tis certain, the wines the Spaniards have taught them to make of Grapes, will rather preserve their health than destroy them in that hot climate; and as people have no inclination to eat great quantities of meat there, they very seldom hurt themselves that way.

Neither can I think, but that milk, butter and cheese, which the natives knew nothing of before the arrival of the Spaniards, must be a good wholesome kind of diet in that warm latitude; and of these they have a great deal at this day, now European cattle are multiply'd so prodigiously, as all writers agree they are; and I'm apt to think, one reason of that increase is, that neither Spaniards or Indians in that warm country are very fond of flesh of any kind.

VOL. III.

While I am treating of their food; it is very natural to speak of their feasts, of which they had many within the compass of a year; particularly four in honour of the Sun, and one at every new Moon, which I shall enlarge on under the head of Religion. They had also their feasts at the accession of their Princes, and upon every victory, or conquest, as with us: Feasts at their weddings and the birth or weaning of their children, and almost upon every joyful occasion, as in other countries. And at these the guests were entertain'd with vocal and instrumental musick, and dancing, and the men drank hard; but, according to DE LA VEGA, they always left off early in the evening, and went home, and rising betimes in the morning, return'd to the feast again; some of these entertainments lasting several days. Their Princes and Great men also at such times were entertain'd with tragedies and comedies, in which the Nobility and Great Officers acted the principal parts. Nor were there any constant sets of mercenary actors. However, according to DE LA VEGA, they did not speak their own sense, but their Poets compos'd the play, and put words in their mouths; which might be a proper and very easy way of instructing the young Nobility and Gentry in principles of morality and politics, and of forming their action, and giving them an agreeable address.

The exercising their arms, the lance or spear, the throwing darts, and shooting arrows, were other parts of their recreations and diversions; to which all the better sort of people were bred; and indeed we find part of the royal family of the Inca's addicted to war and warlike exercises (as others were to the service of their temples) and train'd up to hardships from their infancy, in order to make them good soldiers, and qualify them for posts in the army.

Hunting was another of their exercises and diversions; but this was not permitted to the common people: They were not to meddle with the beasts of chase or game, under the severest penalties; only once a year the Prince appointed a general hunting-match in some part of his dominions, contriving it so, that every place enjoy'd four years rest, during which space the game never were disturb'd, but had time to increafe.

Of these hunting expeditions, DE LA VEGA gives the following account. He says, after the breeding-time was over every year, the Inca or Prince assign'd a certain part of the country for this diversion, appointing twenty or thirty thousand Indians to encompass a certain space of land, and beat 20 or 30 leagues round by the sides of rivers, and through woods and mountains; and they march'd along hooping and hollowing 'till the game came to be so straiten'd on all sides, that they could not get away, and were easily taken. As to wild beasts, such as Lions, Bears, Foxes, Mountain-cats, Serpents, and all venomous creatures, these they kill'd as they went along, and did not drive them into the circle with the game; which consisted chiefly of red and fallow Deer, and of the wild Huanacu, or Lama's, and Vicuna's, that is, the country Sheep and Goats, of which there was such plenty, before the Spaniards arriv'd there, that they frequently took thirty or forty thousand of these sort of deer and cattle at one hunting-match.

The female Deer they suffer'd to escape, except the old barren Does, which were kill'd. They releas'd also as many of the males as were thought necessary to propagate the species; and the rest being kill'd, their flesh was divided among the common people.

CHAP. V. people; they also shorn the Sheep, and divided the wool in like manner. But the fine air of the Vicuna's, or Goats, was reserved for the Inca and the royal family; for no other people might presume to wear garments made of it.

But besides these annual huntings, if I understand DE LA VEGA right, the Caraca's, or Great Lords, had every one the privilege of hunting and taking game within their respective territories or lordships; tho' the common people were not suffer'd to meddle with them at any time.

Before I conclude this head of their exercises and diversions, it may be proper to observe, that every Nobleman and Gentleman learn'd some mechanick art, such as the making of their arms, utensils of husbandry, cloathing, and the like, in which they busied themselves when they had nothing else to do; an idle slothful man being universally detested, and severely punish'd by the laws of Peru: Even their Women of quality carried their reels, spindles, and needle-work with them wherever they visited; nor was the Lady of the family ever found unemploy'd.

They were, according to DE LA VEGA, like the Chinese, courteous and ceremonious even to a fault in their visits and commerce with each other, always addressing their superiors, and even their equals and inferiors, in the most obliging and complaisant language; and yet these were the people that the first Spanish Adventurers represented as brutish and barbarous, and made this the pretence for taking away their country, and enslaving them; many of the Indians they charge even with sacrificing their own species and eating them; particularly here in Peru, ACOSTA, a celebrated writer, has the assurance to say, they sacrificed children at their grand festivals. Whereas, DE LA VEGA, who was a native of Peru, and better acquainted with their customs than any man that ever wrote, is positive there were no human sacrifices or cannibals in the dominions of the Inca's, which extended three thousand miles, while they govern'd Peru, which was four or five hundred years; and what there was before that time no man can pretend to say, there being no such thing as letters amongst them to record their actions. But to return to the exercises of the Peruvians. The being swift of foot was esteem'd a very great accomplishment, and prizes given to those that excell'd at their foot-races by publick authority; for as there was no writing, every thing of importance was committed to memory: And if a distant Viceroy, or Governor, had any thing to communicate to the Emperor at Cusco, it was done by word of mouth, and that not by one express, but perhaps by forty or an hundred: For at every quarter of a league on the great roads were little houses or guard-rooms, where seven or eight of the Emperor's Messengers, or Pursuivants, always attended, who were of the better sort of people, and capable of receiving and telling a message very exactly, their heads being as well furnish'd as their heels: One or more of these were dispatch'd upon all affairs of state; and having delivered their message at the next stage, some of those ran and delivered the message to the next, and so on 'till they reached the Court; but they all carried their Quippos, or coloured strings and knots with them, which as to numbers, and the qualities of many strings, assisted their memories very much, and prevented mistakes. And so swiftly did these expresses (or Chaquis) run, that the Court received the intelligence in twenty-four hours, tho' the Governor who

sent it was at an hundred and fifty miles distance: And in case of a rebellion or invasion, they had beacons on high hills at proper distances, which they fired, and thereby gave notice from one to another; so that the Court had intelligence of it in a few hours from the remotest part of their dominions.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Peruvian animals.

AS Peru and Mexico both lie for the most part between the Tropics, their animals, beasts, birds, and fishes are, for the most part, of the same species. I shall not therefore describe those again that have been treated of already in Mexico, but speak chiefly of such as seem peculiar to Peru. And first of those animals to which the Europeans have given the names of Sheep and Goats, because they resemble those animals more than any other we have in this part of the world.

The Peruvian Sheep I find in different authors are call'd by different names, as Paco's, Lama's, Huanacu, and Guanacu; and these are distinguish'd again by the tame and the wild, the large and the small kind. The large tame Huanacu, DE LA VEGA informs us, is of the bigness of a Stag, and resembles a Camel the most of any other beast, only it hath no bunch on its back: He hath a long smooth neck, his body is covered with a coarse wool, and the hide makes excellent leather. They are of a disposition, says BLOS VALERA, as gentle and tractable as the Indians themselves, being so tame that a child may govern them, and were the only beasts used in carrying of burdens when the Spaniards arrived there. The tame ones differ as much in colour as Horses do in Europe; but the wild are always of a chefnut-colour: The flesh of this creature is tender, and exceeding fine eating, and so wholesome and inoffensive, that it is the food of sick people, and preferred before Chickens; but what they were most valued for before Horses and Mules were imported was, their carrying burdens; all kind of merchandize being transported from one part of the country to the other, on the backs of these creatures. DE LA VEGA says, it was common to see eight hundred or a thousand of them in a caravan; and being very sure-footed, they would carry their burdens over rocks and precipices, where a man could hardly travel on foot: Their usual burden was about three or four score pound weight, with which they travelled nine or ten miles a-day; but were not to be driven beyond their usual pace; for if they were, they tired and lay down, and there was no getting them up again, though their burdens were taken off their backs; for which reason they had always forty or fifty of them unladen in their caravans; and when they observed any one of the laden Sheep began to tire, they eas'd him of his burden, and laid it upon one that was fresh.

They were no charge to their masters, who only took off their packs and turn'd them up to graze in the common fields at the end of every stage; tho' they would eat corn if it was given them: Nor was there any need of pack-saddles, the wool on their backs serving instead of them: And as they were cloven-footed, and had a callous spongy matter at the bottom of their feet, they needed no shoeing.

The lesser sort of Sheep, or Paco's, carry'd no burdens, but their flesh was almost as good meat as the former, and their wool long and much esteem'd, of which they made several sorts of stuffs for cloathing,

Every nobleman learned some trade.

Visits and ceremonies.

Races.

Posts and expresses.

Animals.

Paco's, or Peruvian Sheep.

CHAP. VI. ing, dying it of various colours that never chang'd or faded. But the Peruvians neither milked the one or the other, or indeed any animal.

The wild Sheep, to which the name of Huanacu sometimes seems to be appropriated, afforded them wool, but not so fine as the tame ones; nor was their flesh so good meat. *DE LA VEGA* relates, that the males usually kept a watch on the hills while the females fed in the valleys; and when they discover'd any people coming towards them neigh'd like horses; whereupon the females fled to their cover, and the males always brought up the rear 'till they were out of danger.

Vicognes, or Goats.

The Peruvian Goats (call'd Vicognes or Vicuna's) had that name given them by the Spaniards, because they resembled a European Goat more than any other animal. It is a long-legg'd creature, bigger than the largest Goat, without horns, and so swift of foot, that no Greyhound can take it, and therefore they are usually shot or snar'd. Their flesh is lean, tough and ill tasted, and yet in much esteem with the Indians on account of some medicinal and healing qualities it is said to have: And its wool, or rather fine soft fur, is much more esteem'd than the wool of their Sheep; for of this they make the finest garments and carpets, which were permitted to be worn and used only by the Inca's and the royal family. And as this wool is of a light chefnut-colour, they never dy'd it. These creatures commonly herd together in the highest parts of the mountains near the snows.

Bezoar-stone.

ACOSTA relates, that in these and most of the wild cattle of Peru, the Bezoar-stone is found in their stomachs and bellies, and that there are sometimes two, three, or four together of different shapes, size, and colour, some as big as Filberts, others of the size of Pidgeons eggs, or Walnuts, and some as large as Hens eggs; and he had seen of them as big as Oranges, and they were also of several colours; some black, others white, dark, grey, green, and some look'd as if they were gilded, and were cover'd with many coats and skins. The Bezoar-stone is found both in the male and female, and all beasts that engender it, chew the cud, and usually feed upon the rocks in the snow. And as there are many herbs and venomous reptiles that poison the waters and pastures in this country, so there is one herb, which the Vicuna's and other beasts which engender the Bezoar-stone, run to by instinct when they find themselves poison'd, and by that means expel it: And the Indians are of opinion, that of this herb the stone in the stomach of these animals is compounded; from whence it receives that virtue against poisons, and produces many other wonderful effects; and this, our author observes, agrees with *PLINY*'s relation of the Mountain-goats, which fed upon poisonous herbs without suffering any damage: But these seem to be very uncertain conjectures. Our author adds, that these stones are frequently form'd in the stomach, upon little pieces of wood, shells, or iron, which are found in the centre of the ball. Since these stones have been so much in esteem, the Indians have counterfeited them; and these counterfeits not producing the like effects as those that are real, have made some people question their good qualities; but *ACOSTA* assures us, he has seen many notable cures done by them.

Deer.

There are red and fallow Deer in Peru, but much less than those of Europe; they were so numerous before the arrival of the Spaniards, that they came in droves into the villages, the common people never attempting to kill or take them, as they were royal game. They had also tame and wild Rabbits,

and these every man was at liberty to keep or take, and scarce a house was without them.

CHAP. VI.

As to wild beasts, they had some few Lions, but neither so large or so fierce as those of Africa. They had still fewer Bears, and not any Tygers, unless upon some of the highest mountains of the Andes. Nor do I find they had any Wolves, so that people travell'd in great security, and their tame cattle were in no danger of being destroy'd by them as in Europe; which was very happy, especially as they had no Dogs capable of defending their flocks; and indeed they had no other Dogs but a kind of mongrels or lurchers that never bark'd. *DE LA VEGA* mentions a beast that is found on the mountains of the Andes in shape like a Cow, but less, and without horns; of whose hides they make buff and very strong leather: But he says, there are scarce any of the Pecaree or Warree (a kind of American Hog describ'd in Mexico) in Peru, or any where to the westward of the mountains of the Andes.

Monkeys.

There are great numbers of Monkeys in this country of various kinds and colours, some with tails, others without, and some four times as large as the ordinary Monkeys. The account *ACOSTA* gives of their tricks and dexterity is scarce credible, and yet we find *DE LA VEGA* asserts he has been an eye-witness of the like.

Some of these Monkeys, says *ACOSTA*, are black, others grey, and a third sort are spotted. Their activity and motion is such, that they seem to have reason and discourse: They would leap from one tree to another; and when the distance was such, that one could not reach the place, they would hang themselves from the bough of a tree, one at the tail of another, and fetching a long swing, the lowermost with the help of the other would throw himself to the bough they aim'd at, and when he was there help'd his companions after him. These Monkeys, when they were tamed and taught, seem'd to equal Men in understanding. He saw one of Carthagena that was often sent to the tavern for wine, his master giving him money in one hand and a bottle in the other: And when the creature came to the tavern, he would not deliver his money 'till he had receiv'd his wine; and if the boys met him by the way, and play'd the rogue with him, he would set down his bottle, and throw stones at them 'till he had clear'd his way, and then take up his bottle, and run home. And tho' he lov'd wine excessively, would never touch a drop without his master's leave: If he met with a woman well dress'd he would seize upon her cloaths, and be more familiar with her than she desired; concluding, that he thought there was no animal in the world so sagacious and so delighted with human society as this species of Monkeys.

It has been observed already, that there were not to be found either in Peru, or any other part of America, when the Spaniards arriv'd there, any Horses, Cows, Elephants, Camels, Asses, Mules, Sheep, or Hogs.

The first Horses and Mares were carried over about the year 1495, from Andalusia in Spain, to the island of Hispaniola and Cuba, where they multiplied prodigiously, and were from thence transported to Mexico and Peru; being of great service to the Spaniards in those conquests: They were so valuable that no man knew what price to set upon his horse, or indeed would part with him on any terms, only in case the master died, or return'd to Spain, his horse was set to sale, and the price was usually four or five thousand crowns; and my author relates that he was acquainted with a certain Spanish Gentleman, who seeing

Cattle imported from Europe.

CHAP.
VI.

seeing a Negroe boy leading a fine manag'd horse in the year 1554, offer'd ten thousand crowns for the horse and boy, which was refused by the Officer that own'd them; and a few days after, the horse was kill'd in a battle, and the master mortally wounded; but the price of horses soon abated, being turned loose into the fields, where they multiplied apace, and prov'd a better race than their Spanisht sizes, being broke and made fit for service at 3 years of age.

The Indians were a great while exceeding fearful of horses, and never thought themselves safe if they saw one loose in the streets, expecting to be trampled under foot; nor would any of them for a great while be persuaded to take up the trade of a Blacksmith (tho' they prov'd excellent artists in forming any kind of metal) lest they should be put upon shoeing of horses: And the Indian boys that were taught to dress their horses, could hardly ever be persuaded to mount them.

The Spaniards at first found some difficulty in breaking those wild colts that were bred in the mountains, but when they had once broke them, they became the most tractable animals in the world.

Cows and Oxen also were highly valued when they were first imported. DE LA VEGA relates, that he knew the first man that was master of a cow in Peru; and that the first oxen he ever saw at plow was in the valley of Cusco, in the year 1550, when a great many thousand Indians were assembled to see the novelty of the Spanish husbandry.

The first cows were only preserved for breeding; and when they had multiplied a little, and were brought into the market for sale, they were usually sold at two hundred crowns a-head; but in 1554 they were fallen to one hundred crowns a-piece, and in the year 1590 they were so mightily increased, that they were sold for twenty or thirty shillings a-head: And being suffer'd to run wild in the mountains, they were within a little time hunted in the manner described in Mexico, and kill'd for their hides, which made part of the cargoes of such ships as sailed to Old Spain: Their flesh it seems was little valued either by the Spaniards or Indians, which shews how absurd it is to represent the people who inhabit those hot countries between the Tropics as devourers of man's flesh, where they eat little or no flesh, and could not digest what we call a belly-full of meat if they did: I have seen cuts indeed in some histories of those countries where the natives are represented roasting of legs and arms of men upon spits; but such writers surely were little acquainted with the cookery of the Peruvians, who never saw a joint of any meat roasted 'till the Europeans came amongst them. The little flesh they had, as has been observ'd already, was cut into thin slices, and dried over a slow fire, so that it would keep several months: and when they dress'd it they stew'd a little of it with a good quantity of herbs, roots, fruits and pepper, in a pot, six or seven hours, and I don't find they had any other way of dressing their meat: So far were they from roasting whole joints either of men or animals upon spits.

A Jack-As it seems was in much esteem also in Peru at first, the Spaniards buying them to get mules out of their Mares: DE LA VEGA says, he knew one sold for near eight hundred crowns, and a Goat for an hundred, but these also multiplied so fast that they were become of little value in his time. Hogs were much dearer than Goats. PEDRO DE SIECA relates, that he saw a Sow and Pigs sold for near four hundred pounds, and that young Pigs were sold for a hundred crowns a-piece; but then we are to con-

sider how plentiful silver was in those countries at that time; and that the Spaniards would give any price for their own country food: These animals also multiplied in Peru to a prodigious degree; for DE LA VEGA relates, that he saw two Sows in 1558 that had two and thirty Pigs each.

There have also been some Camels carried over, but these have not increased much.

The first European Sheep DE LA VEGA saw in Peru was in the year 1556, when they were valued at forty and fifty crowns a-head, but they were increased so much in ten years time, that a Sheep might be had for a trifle; one reason of which may be, that there are no Wolves, or scarce any wild beasts to destroy them. And as they have great numbers of Sheep, so they have a proportionable quantity of wool, but not fine; all the wool I have seen in countries between the Tropics has been coarse, and more like hair than wool; and indeed the Spanish writers tell us, the wool of Peru serv'd only for the cloathing of the common people; the garments the Indian Princes wore were made of the fine hair or furr of the Vicognes, or Mountain-goats.

There were not it seems either House-cats or Rats in Peru 'till the Spaniards imported them, and the Rats probably were carried thither in shipping against their wills; but they multiplied so fast, and grew so large on the coast of Peru, that in the year 1572 and 1573, they almost occasioned a famine, by eating up the corn as soon as it was sown, and by peeling the bark of the fruit-trees, and gnawing the roots; insomuch that they were forced to publish a proclamation, or act of state, that every house should lay Ratsbane to destroy them, and in the mean time that they should cover their meat and drink from the Rats, to prevent people's being poison'd: DE LA VEGA says, as he walk'd one evening by the water-side, he saw the ground cover'd with Rats that had been poison'd, and came thither to drink for above an hundred paces; and by this and some other means their numbers were considerably lessen'd for a time.

The Peruvians, according to DE LA VEGA, Fowls, had no tame fowls or poultry 'till the Spaniards imported them, unless it were a fowl that something resembled a Duck, and was between the size of a Goose and a Duck: These the Indians called Nuuma, deriving the name from Nuna, to suck, because they drew in their meat as if they were sucking.

But as to wild fowl and birds they had great variety both on the land and on the water: They had Eagles, but not so large as those of Europe; Hawks of several kinds, and some sorts that were never seen on this side the Atlantic; but the Spaniards could never bring any of them to fly at game, and therefore imported Spanish Hawks for that sport: The most remarkable bird of prey was that which the Indians call'd the Conder, or Cuntur, many of which with the wings extended measured fifteen or sixteen foot from the extremity of one wing to the other; they are a very fierce voracious fowl, and have feet like a Hen (not talons like the Eagle;) however, they are so strong that two of them 'tis said will set upon a Bull or a Cow if they find them lying down, and rip up their bowels; and some of them have kill'd boys of ten or twelve years of age, and devoured them; they are black and white like a Magpie, and have combs on their heads; and when they rise, or light, their wings make such a humming noise that it astonishes a man; there are but

CHAP.
VI.

CHAP. VI. but very few of these terrible animals, but it seems they make no small havock among the cattle where they haunt.

The same writer mentions a kind of large carrion Crows, which devour flesh to that degree, that they can't fly 'till they have disgorg'd it, and says it is one of the diversions of the country to pursue them on horseback, when they spue up the flesh all the way they run 'till they are light enough to fly; but are sometimes taken before they can mount.

Upon the coast of the Pacific-ocean there are such numbers of birds and fowls which prey upon the shoals of fish, that they sometimes darken the sky for two or three leagues, in *DE LA VEGA's* phrase; their rivers and lakes also abound in water-fowl, such as Herons, wild Ducks, wild Geese, Swans, and many other kinds that we never saw in Europe.

They have two sorts of Partridges, and a pretty great plenty of them; one sort as large as Hens, and the other less than European Partridges, both of them of a greyish colour, and delicious food; they have also good store of Wood-pigeons, but had no Dove-house Pigeons 'till they were imported from Spain; there are Turtle-doves of the size and colour of those of Europe, and others no bigger than Larks, that build in the eaves of houses, and a great variety of small birds; but they abound more in Parrots than any other, and these are of various sizes and colours, the least of the bigness of Larks, and the largest as big as Pullets; they are green, yellow, blue, and red, and some of them have fine long feathers in their tails, with which the Indians adorn their heads on festival-days.

These Parrots, at the season of the year when the corn is ripe, come from the mountains into the plains in such numbers, that they spoil great quantities of Maize, or Indian-corn.

Fish. The South-sea is well replenish'd with all manner of fish (particularly Pilchards) which are a great part of the subsistence of the people upon the Peruvian coast, but their rivers afford scarce any fish, which is ascrib'd to their rapidity, falling with great violence from the high mountains of the Andes, and the shallowness of their channels; and there may be this further reason for it, that most of them are dry at one season of the year, when the fish must perish if there were any in them; at other times they have some fish in their lakes, but scarce any that are good for much, most of them a small long fry not bigger than Sprats and without scales; there is one kind indeed *DE LA VEGA* mentions, that has a broad head like a Toad, which he says are pretty good eating.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Mexican vegetables, viz. of their forest and fruit-trees, corn, herbage, roots, flowers, balm, gums, and drugs.

Vegetables.
Forest-trees.

FOREST or timber-trees are very scarce in Peru, unless in the province of Quitto near the Equator, and here they have cedars, cotton-trees, cocoa-trees, palms, mangroves, bamboes, the mahoe-tree, light wood, and many other kinds of wood which have been describ'd in treating of Mexico; but none are more valuable than the tree which furnishes us with the Kiquina, or Peruvian-bark, which grows in the province of Quitto, upon the mountains near the city of Loxa (situated in 5 degrees south latitude). Mr. BERNARD informs us, that it is of the size of a cherry-tree, the leaves round and indented, and bears a long reddish flower,

Kiquina, or Peruvian-bark.

from whence arises a kind of pod, in which is found a kernel like an almond, cloath'd with a slight rind: That bark which comes from the trees at the bottom of the mountains is thickest, because it receives most nourishment from the earth. It is smooth, of a whitish yellow without, and of a pale brown within; that which comes from the trees at the top of the mountains is abundantly more delicate; but the trees which grow in the middle of the mountains have a bark still browner than the other, and more rugged; all these barks are bitter, but that from the trees at the bottom of the mountains less than the others.

It follows from hence, that the bark of the least virtue, is that which grows in the lowest places; because it abounds more with earthly and watry parts, than that which grows high, which for the contrary reason is better; but the best is, that which grows in the middle of the mountains, because it has not too much or too little nourishment: There is another kind of this bark which comes from the mountains of Potosi (in 21 degrees and a half south latitude) that is browner, more aromatick, and bitterer than the former, but much scarcer than any of the rest.

The qualities we ought to observe in the bark are, that it be heavy, of a firm substance, sound and dry; we ought to reject such as is rotten, and will suck in water presently, and such as flies into dust on breaking, or is dirty and unclean; but we should make choice of little thin pieces, dark and blackish without, with a little white moss sticking to it, and reddish within, and it should be of a bitter disagreeable taste: That which is of a russet-colour ought to be rejected; and care should be taken there be no other wood mix'd with it, there being sometimes more of that than of the bark itself.

EMERY describes the Kiquina, or Fever-bark, in the following manner; he says, the tree from whence it is taken is of the size of an ordinary cherry-tree, and that there are two sorts of it, the one cultivated, and the other wild, and that the cultivated is much prefer'd to the other; that the best bark is of the most lively colour, resembling dark cinnamon, most curl'd up, as coming from the smaller branches; of a bitter taste, very astringent, or rough and stiptick upon the tongue, and whitish outwardly: The thick flat dark-coloured is not so good, and if it wants the bitter taste and stipticity, is good for nothing.

Physicians observe, that it is a specifick for all sorts of intermitting fevers and agues, and that it stops catarrhs and fluxes of all sorts; but that it ought not to be given in continued burning fevers, or when the fit is upon the patient: It is prohibited also in obstructions, or where people are costive, and in many other cases; and in short, they would never have it administred without the advice of the learn'd; but to me it seems to be the most innocent medicine that ever was taken, especially if the bark be chew'd: This way I believe it may be taken almost in any case, and at any time, without any danger, and is not near so nauseous as in the powder; and if I may judge by experience, has more effect this way than any other, and a less quantity of it will do than when it is taken in powder; one reason whereof may be, that persons who chew it, usually make choice of the best; whereas the Apothecary crams wood or any thing down the patient's throat, and such rubbish cannot be expected to have the same success as real bark.

Maize, or Indian-corn, which has been describ'd already, may be call'd the staff of life in this coun-

corn.

CHAP.
VIII.

Their husbandry.

try, being as generally eaten as wheat in Europe. They also made their strongest drink of it after they had steep'd and dry'd it, as we do barley; and as the country is for the most part hot and dry as well as mountainous, they were at great pains in collecting the waters and introducing rivulets into their corn-fields, without which this kind of grain will not grow in that hot climate. They throw their fields therefore into level squares, that they may retain the water; and where they meet with a mountain of a tolerable good soil, they cut it into squares, one above another, from the bottom to the top, supporting them with little stone walls; so that they look like hanging-gardens or stairs: And if they can meet with a fountain on the top of the hill, from thence they water all the squares beneath: They used also to make aqueducts and canals, several hundred miles in length, into which they brought all the streams and rivulets they could meet with, and from these every man was allow'd to let water into his grounds, in his turn, to improve both his corn and grass. So diligent and industrious were the ancient Peruvians in their husbandry. But the Spaniards, we are told, have let most of these aqueducts run to ruin; one reason whereof may be, that the Spaniards have now introduced Wheat and other European grain, which may not require so much moisture: And another reason for this neglect may be, that these countries are not half so populous as when the Spaniards arriv'd there, and consequently less grain is wanting. I can't avoid taking notice here, that the Chinese and the Peruvians seem to agree pretty much in their agriculture, and to have been equally industrious in improving their grounds, cutting their hills into square spots, so as to make them fruitful to the top. Both these distant nations also agreed in this, that human dung was the best compost for some grounds.

By the sea-coast, below Arequipa, for 200 leagues, they use no other dung but that of sea-fowls, of which there are incredible numbers breed on the islands near the coast, and lay such heaps of dung, that at a distance they appear like hills of snow. On other parts of the coast, more to the southward, they dung their lands with a small fish like Pilchards; and it is with infinite labour here, for six or seven hundred leagues along the coast of Peru and Chili, that the natives find a subsistence; for they have no springs or rivers; nor does a drop of rain ever fall on those parch'd sands: The natives therefore near the sea, according to DE LA VEGA, dig through the sand 8 or 12 foot deep, and there meeting with earth which has some moisture in it, plant grains of Maize in holes, at equal distances, and in the same holes put some Pilchards heads, which, without any other dunging or watering, brings the corn to perfection; by which means they get bread enough to sustain the few inhabitants that dwell on that barren part of the coast.

European grain sow'd in Peru.

Vines planted there.

Wheat and Barley, my author says, were first imported into Peru about the year 1540, by a noble Lady, who had a plantation bestow'd on her by the Spanish Viceroy, for being so great a benefactor to the country; both these kinds of grain thriving well, and yielding a great increase in several parts of Peru.

FRANCIS DE CARAVANTES, a Nobleman of Toledo, had the honour of planting the first Vines in Peru, which he imported from the Canaries about the same time. The Spaniards, in a very few years afterwards, made wine there; but it seems the Indians prefer'd their own liquor, made of Indian-corn, to any wine made of Grapes, and liked bread made of Maize better than wheaten bread; such ungentle palates had my country-men, says LA VEGA.

They water their vineyards in all parts of Peru chiefly by turning rivulets through them, or letting in the water from some adjacent river or reservoir; for the country is so hot and dry, that their Vines will yield no Grapes if they are not water'd: When they would have them bear fruit therefore, they water the Vines, and they have ripe grapes at what time of the year they please.

The same thing is observ'd of their Maize, or Indian-corn, one man is sowing of it, while his neighbour has it grown up a good height, and perhaps is ready for harvest; that it may truly be said, in great part of the country, they know no difference of seasons.

Olives have been carried over also into Peru, but they do not thrive there so well as other European plants; tho' they are found very agreeable to the soil of Chili. However, Peru, at this day, abounds in Sugar-canes, Oranges, Lemons, Figs, Cherries, Apples, Pears, Quinces, Nectarines, Peaches, Apricots, Plumbs, and Pomgranates; none of which fruits were in Peru before the Spaniards arrived there: But they had Coco-nuts, Cocoa-nuts, Pine-apples, Guava's, Plantains, and most of the fruits enumerated in Mexico.

As to the kitchen-garden, they had neither Lettice, Radishes, Turnips, Garlick, Onions, Beets, Spinage, Asparagus, Melons, Cucumbers, Pease, Beans or Rice; of all which there are now great plenty, as there are also of Roses, Jessamin, and many odoriferous flowers they never saw before the Spaniards imported them. But then they had several sorts of herbs, flowers, fallading and roots that we want, particularly the Cassavi-root, which serv'd great part of North and South-America instead of bread, as has been observed in the description of Mexico: And 'tis observ'd of the fruits and plants that have been carried thither from Europe, that they thrive better, and grow much larger there than they do here. DE LA VEGA relates, that he had seen bunches of Grapes from eight or ten pound weight, Quinces as big as his head, and other fruits proportionably large.

I must not pass over the plants that produce those excellent balms and gums for which this country is celebrated, and particularly that call'd the Balsam of Peru, of which we meet with the following account in the History of Drugs. It proceeds from the trunks and branches of a little tree. There are three sorts of it. The first is call'd the balsam by incision, and is a white liquor; the second is called balsam of the shell, which drops from the ends of the branches that are cut, to which they hang small flasks or baskets, to receive it; and thus they draw it off 'till the tree will yield no more. They expose it some days in the hottest places, where it congeals, and changes to a reddish colour. The third is a black balsam, which is made by boiling the bark-branches and leaves of these little trees in water; and after they have boil'd some time, they take off the fat or scum that swims on the top, which is of a black brown colour, and call'd (as well as the former) Balsam of Peru.

In the second description of this balsam in the History of Drugs, it is said there are three sorts also; but that the first is call'd dry balsam, being a sort of hard, reddish, fragrant rosin, the second a liquid white rosin, and the third a black odoriferous balsam, which is most common, and generally used as well in physick as for perfumes: It ought to be viscous, and of a turpentine consistence; of a blackish-brown colour; a sweet agreeable taste, having some resemblance of Storax. These balsams are proper for the

CHAP.
VIII.

Their vineyards water'd.

Scarce any difference of seasons.

Olives.

Sugar, Oranges, Peaches, &c.

Coco, Cocoa, Pine-apples, &c.

Kitchen-gardens.

Cassavi-root.

Fruits of Europe vastly large.

Balsms.

Balsam of Peru described.

CHAP. VIII. brain and stomach, drive malignant humours off by perspiration, deterge and heal wounds, strengthen the nerves, and resolve cold tumors: The dose from a drop to four or five.

Besides this balm, the country produces Anami, Caranna, Storax, Caffia-festata, Guaiacum, Sarfaparilla, Saffiras, Copal, Liquid-amber, and several other gums and drugs, mentioned already in the description of Mexico.

CHAP. VIII.

Of their minerals and precious stones.

Minerals.

Gold.

GOLD and Silver were so plentiful in Peru in the sixteenth century, when DE LA VEGA flourish'd, that he relates, there had been exported from thence to Spain every year, for twenty-five years successively, the value of twelve or thirteen millions (of crowns, or pieces of eight, I presume he means) each year, besides what had passed without account. And observes, that Gold was found in every province of Peru, more or less; some found on the surface of the earth, and wash'd down by torrents, which the Indians gather'd up in baskets and separated from the sand, being usually as small as the filings of steel; tho' sometimes pieces are found of the size and form of Melon-seeds, and some are round, and others oval: And that the gold of Peru is generally about eighteen or twenty quillats (I suppose it should be carats) in goodness; only the gold that comes from the mines of Callavia or Caravana, he says, he has been inform'd is of the fineness of twenty-four carats or better. "And here it may be proper to inform such as are not conversant in these matters, that a carat of gold is of the weight of a scruple, or twenty-four grains, and consequently twenty-four carats make an ounce: And gold that is entirely fine, is call'd of twenty-four carats, because, if you put an ounce of such gold to the proof, it will not be diminish'd; but if an ounce of gold waste a scruple in the proof, it is gold of twenty-three carats. If it waste two scruples, it is gold of twenty-two carats, and so on. But several Refiners are of opinion, there is no gold of twenty-four carats; for let it be refined never so well, there will remain some light portion of silver in it."

Our author proceeds, and relates, that in the year 1556, there was dug out of the veins of a rock in the mines of Callavia (of the finest sort of gold, being of twenty-four carats) a piece of gold ore as big as a man's head, something resembling a man's lungs in colour and shape, having certain perforations in it from one end to the other; and in all the holes were little kernels of gold, as if melted and dropp'd into them. And some who understood the nature of this mineral were of opinion, that had it remained in the rock, it would all have turn'd into perfect gold in time.

The owner of this valuable piece of ore was carrying it over to Spain, in order to make a present of it to King PHILIP II. but the ship was cast away in the voyage, and he perish'd with his treasure.

Gold, says a certain writer, is the most solid, weighty, compact metal, generated in mines in several parts of the world; but the greatest quantity is brought in bars or ingots from Peru. That which is found in a mass or lump in the mines, is called virgin gold, because it comes pure out of the mine, and needs no farther preparation, and is soft enough to receive the impression of a seal.

The second sort is in grains, not so fine as the first. The third is gold mix'd with other metals; and the marcasite or mineral stone, the gold and the stone being form'd and incorporated together: This is call'd gold-ore. And the fourth is gold-dust, mix'd with sand at the bottoms of rivulets; and there is ten times more gold found in such sands than is acquired all other ways.

All stones, which contain any metal, are called marcasite. But the three principal stones that are called marcasite are, those that contain gold, silver, or copper. The two first are in little balls, of the bigness of a nut, almost round, weighty, and brownish without, but of different colours within; for the first is of the colour of gold, the other of silver, but both bright and shining.

Gold is often found mix'd with silver or copper. That which is mix'd with silver, is of fewer carats than that mix'd with copper. Father FEUILLEE relates, that he was at Lima in Peru, in the year 1709, and saw in the cabinet of DON ANTONIO PORTOCARRERO, a piece of gold-ore as it came out of the mines, that weigh'd thirty-three pounds, some odd ounces, which was found by an Indian in a brook. The upper part of it was gold, of twenty-two carats, and the lowest of seventeen carats and an half, decreasing gradually in its fineness to the bottom.

There are a great many silver mines in several parts of Peru; but those of Potosi, in the province of Charcas, in 22 degrees of southern latitude, are the richest. These were discover'd in the year 1545, about fourteen years after the Spaniards invaded that country. The mountain, in which the mines are, is now entirely undermin'd, such vast quantities of silver having been drawn from it. It is of the form of a sugar-loaf, of a dark red colour, a league in circumference at bottom, and a quarter of a league towards the top, and stands in the middle of a plain, being some mornings cover'd with a cap of snow, for it is exceeding cold here, considering it lies within the Tropics, and never was a more barren country seen for several leagues round; but 'tis observed, wherever the earth is enrich'd with this kind of treasure, there are no fruitful fields or pastures to be met with: At the foot of this mountain, rises another little hill, in which are some mines, and the Spaniards have given it the name of Young Potosi. These mines were never discover'd, or wrought by the Indians, before the arrival of the Spaniards, tho' they had dug those of Porco about 6 leagues distant from Potosi.

ACOSTA relates, that they were discover'd by mere accident. He says, an Indian, pursuing his game up the mountain of Potosi, and being like to fall, laid hold of a shrub, that grew upon a vein of silver, to save himself; and happening to pull it up by the roots, thereby discovered the rich metal underneath. He kept the thing secret, it seems, 'till he had drawn from it silver enough to enrich himself and his family; but at length it was discovered to the Spaniards, who thereupon parcel'd it out among such adventurers, as would undertake the digging and refining the silver, on such terms as the Government imposed on them.

That which made the mines of Potosi the more valuable, was, that they were never hinder'd working by water, as they are in other mines, though they had sunk them two hundred fathom deep. ACOSTA informs us, that the first forty years these mines of Potosi were wrought, there were registered * one hundred two thousand millions of pieces

* This must surely be a mistake; the hundred at least, ought to have been left out.

CHAP.
VIII.

pieces of eight (or crowns) besides a great deal that had been carried off without paying custom; but according to some late travellers, these mines begin to be exhausted. To proceed:

The same writer gives the following account of the state of the mines of Potosi. In his time, he says, this rock of Potosi then contained four principal veins, all which lay on the east side of the mountain, towards the rising sun; and on the west part there was not any one vein: That the veins run from north to south, the largest of them being six foot over, and the narrowest about a span broad; and there are other ramifications, which branch'd out like the boughs of trees: That in the richest of these veins, there were seventy-eight mines, eighty or an hundred fathom deep, and some two hundred. But at length, instead of digging downwards, they opened the rock at the bottom, and so proceeded horizontally, 'till they met with the silver-veins; but he observes, that the nearer the vein is to the surface of the earth, the richer it is. These vaults, by which they pierc'd into the mountain, were called Soccabous, being eight foot in breadth, and a fathom in height, and by these they easily drew out the metal as they found it; but he says, the rock was so hard, that they work'd between twenty and thirty years in the principal of these Soccabous, before they came at the metal: And as they labour in these subterraneous passages, without receiving either light or heat from the sun, the air is so cold and unwholesome, that a person, at his first entrance into them, is seiz'd with a disorder not unlike that of sea-sickness; as our author himself, who visited them, experienced. The labourers in these mines take it by turns, working alternately night and day, which to them are alike, as they always work by candle-light. The ore is commonly so hard, that they are forced to break it with hammers, and it splits, as if it were flint.

Quickfil-
ver mines.

Another part of the riches of Peru consists in their Quicksilver, of which they have several mines in the audience of Lima, particularly in the mountains of Oropeza and Guancavilca, near the city of Guamanga. It is found, according to Acosta, in a kind of stone called Cinabar, which likewise yields Vermilion. He observes, that the native Indians had long wrought these mines, before the Spaniards arrived, without knowing what quicksilver was. They sought only for the Cinabar, or vermilion, which they call'd Limpi, esteeming it for the same reason the Romans and Ethiopians did anciently; namely, to paint their faces and bodies on festivals and rejoicing times, and to beautify and adorn the images of their gods.

Nor did the Spaniards discover there was quicksilver in these mines, 'till the year 1567, when HENRIQUES GARCIA, a native of Portugal, happening to meet with a piece of that ore, which the Indians call'd Limpi, and with which they painted their faces, consider'd that this must be the same which they call'd vermilion in Spain; and knowing that vermilion was extracted out of the same ore as quicksilver was, he went to the mines to make the experiment, and found it to be according as he had conjectur'd; and great numbers of labourers were immediately employ'd to draw the quicksilver out of these mines, of which there are many in the above-said mountains; one whereof Acosta describes to be a rock of hard stone, intermix'd with quicksilver, extending above fourscore yards in length, and forty in breadth, and threescore and ten fathom deep; so capacious, that three hundred men

might work in it at a time. They did not begin to refine their silver with mercury, at Potosi, 'till the year 1571, when FERNANDEZ DE VALESICO came thither from Mexico, and put them into this way: Whereupon they convey'd their quicksilver to the port of Arica by sea, and from thence by land-carriage to the mines of Potosi, and by this means they extracted a great deal more silver from their ore, than ever they could do before by fire alone.

Father Acosta proceeds to give us this farther account of the manner of refining, or separating quicksilver from the ore. He says, they take the stone, or hard ore in which it is found, and beating it to powder, put it into the fire in earthen pots well luted and closed, and the stone being melted by the heat of the fire, the quicksilver separates itself, and ascends 'till it encounters the top of the pot, and there congeals; and if it was suffer'd to pass out, without meeting any hard substance, it would mount 'till it became cold, and then congealing, would fall down again; but as they melt the ore in earthen pots, it congeals at the top of the pots, which they unstop, and draw out the metal when it is cold; for if there remain any fume or vapour, it endangers the lives of the workmen, at least they will lose their teeth, or the use of their limbs.

They put the quicksilver, when it is melted, into skins, for it keeps best in leather; and thus they send it from the quicksilver mines to Potosi, where they spend above seven thousand quintals (an hundred weight) in refining silver, every year, besides what is spent at other mines. The richest ore, 'tis observed, consumes most quicksilver, and the poorest much less: They first beat, or grind the ore very small, and sift it through fine sieves: Then they put it into vessels upon the furnaces, allowing to every fifty quintals of powder'd ore, five quintals of salt, for the salt separates the earth and filth from the metal, and thereupon the silver is the more easily extracted by the quicksilver. "As to the rest, I refer to the description of Mexico, where I have already inserted Acosta's account of refining silver by quicksilver."

In the History of Drugs it is said, that quicksilver is found in the mines after different manners, sometimes inclosed in its own mineral, and sometimes fluid, and of as changeable a figure as we see it: It is found sometimes among earth and stones, and very often embodied in natural cinabar: Those who take quicksilver from its mine, or, more properly, from the places it lies in, make use of great iron retorts to separate it from its mineral, or other hard bodies with which it is joined; and by means of fire, and the fresh water into which it falls, they render it fluid, as we commonly have it: When it is found running, or liquid, in the ground, the slaves, who gather it, have nothing to do but to strain it through shamois-leather to cleanse it from its impurities; and, according to this author, there are but two places in Europe where quicksilver is found, viz. in Hungary and Spain; and though some have asserted it has been found in France, they are mistaken; he admits indeed there was a mine of cinabar lately found in Normandy, but the great charges of working it obliged them to stop it up again. LEMERY observes, that quicksilver is found on the tops of mountains, cover'd with white stones as brittle as chalk, and that the plants which grow upon such mountains are greener and larger than in any other places; but the trees that are near the quicksilver mines rarely produce

Quickfil-
ver, both
fix'd and
running,
found in
the mines.

CHAP.
VIII.

produce fruits or flowers, and that they usually find a great deal of water about these mines, which is necessary to draw off at the foot of the mountain before they can be wrought.

Quicksilver is so very weighty, that Mr. De FURETIERE affirms, a solid foot of mercury weighs nine hundred forty-seven pounds, and that a cubical foot of the Seine-water weighs but seventy pounds; so that a vessel that will hold thirty-five pints of that water, will contain nine hundred forty-seven pounds of quicksilver; and it is so exceeding strong as well as weighty, that an hundred and fourcore pounds of quicksilver will bear up an iron weight of fifty pounds, as this writer avers he had seen and experienced.

The properties of quicksilver, says that Gentleman, are so great, that they exceed imagination; into whatever shape you metamorphose mercury, you may make it return to its first state, and that with a very little diminution. BORRICHINS, a Danish Chymist says, that having operated upon mercury for a year together, and reduc'd it into several forms, it took its own shape at last by means of a little salt of tartar: I shall not, say the same writers, pretend to decide the controversy, whether it be cold or hot; but can affirm, it is so cold externally, that it is impossible to hold one's hand in a quantity of quicksilver a quarter of an hour: He adds, that when the Dutch have a mind to make quicksilver portable, they fix it very easily, and put it into all sorts of vessels, even into paper, and send it to their correspondents, who have the secret to make it run again without any charge.

As mercury (says LEMERY) is a very fluid body, so it is more difficult to be found than other metals; for it insinuates itself into earth, and into the clefts of stones, so that you often lose the sight of it, when you think you are just going to take it up; and men cannot work at it many years without having the Palfy; so that few are employ'd in it but criminals (in Europe he means). He adds, that quicksilver is not always taken out of the mine neat and running, but generally mix'd with earth, or reduc'd into a natural cinabar, by some portion of sulphur it has met withal: That which has but a little earth with it, may be separated, by straining it through leather; but when it has a great deal of earth, or other impurities, it must be put into iron retorts, to be purified in the manner above-mentioned.

The best way of purifying quicksilver, says the same author, is to mix together two equal parts of powder of cinabar, and filings of iron, and fill about half, or two thirds of a retort with them; then place it on a reverberating furnace, and fit to it a glass recipient full of water, without luting the joints: Increase the fire to the fourth degree, you will find the quicksilver distill, and fall to the bottom of the recipient: Keep on the fire 'till no more will rise, and you will have thirteen ounces of running mercury from one pound of cinabar, which must afterwards be washed, and dry'd with linnen cloths, and strain'd through a leather, and we may depend upon its purity.

Cinabar, according to LEMERY, is of two sorts; the one natural, call'd Mineral Cinabar, the other artificial, call'd Simple Cinabar: The natural is found form'd in stones that are red, shining, and weighty, in the quicksilver mines.

The natural cinabar hath been sublimated by the subterraneous fires, almost in the same manner as the artificial cinabar; but as in its sublimation it is mix'd with earth, it is not so weighty, pure, or

beautiful as the artificial cinabar, and contains less mercury.

The artificial cinabar is made with three parts crude mercury, and one part sulphur mixed, and put into subliming vessels over a gradual fire. It ought to be made choice of in fair stones, very weighty and bright, with long, clear, and fine points, of a brownish red: Each pound of cinabar has fourteen ounces of mercury to two ounces of sulphur.

Vermilion, says the same writer, is cinabar in stone, ground with urine, or aqua vitæ; it is a most beautiful red, made use of by painters, &c.

As to the medicinal virtues of quicksilver, or mercury and cinabar, I must refer the reader to the History of Drugs for his satisfaction, or rather to advise him never to meddle with them without the directions of the learned; for though they are excellent medicines, a very small mistake in the application of them, I perceive, may be fatal to the patient.

As to the precious stones of Peru, I find they have great plenty of Emeralds here: as well as in Mexico; but those having been treated of there, it is needless to describe them again.

They have also Turquoises, which are of a blue, or azure colour, as the Emeralds are of green, but not so much esteem'd; Crystal also is found here: And Pearls they had in greater plenty in South than in North-America, particularly on the coast of Terra-Firma in the North-sea, and in the Bay of Panama in the South-sea; but those fisheries seem to be almost exhausted.

CHAP. IX.

The history, religion, and government, of the ancient Peruvians, before the Spanish conquest.

NOTHING is more uncertain than the original of nations, even in this part of the world, where we have the advantage of letters; perhaps there is not any one country in Europe that can tell from what particular people they are deriv'd, and consequently neither know how, or when it was planted; much less what were the religion, customs, or manners of the first inhabitants; how then can we depend on the accounts they give us of Peru for any number of years before the Spanish conquest, when they had neither letters or characters to record the transactions of preceding ages?

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA has indeed attempted to give us the history of Peru, even before the Inca's founded that empire, that is, four or five hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards, and was as well qualified for such an undertaking, as any man could be in such circumstances, being descended, by his mother's side, from the royal family of the Inca's, and bred up among his mother's relations before they were converted to Christianity, or had received the Spanish customs: And by the father's side was descended from a Spaniard of quality, and had the advantage of a liberal education: This Gentleman it seems made it his business for several years to inform himself, from his Indian relations and acquaintance, of the history and customs of their ancestors; and afterwards came over to Spain, where that Court put him upon digesting and methodizing his observations, and making them publick; which he did, under the title of *The Royal Commentaries of Peru*, and wanted no assistance which the Peruvians, or Spaniards could give him in compiling of them; but the Spaniards took care that this history should be so modell'd, as to cast as little re-

Vermilion.

Precious stones.

Ancient history, religion, government, &c.

CHAP.
IX.

reflection on their conduct in subduing Peru as possible; and the historian himself seems to have had a strong bias towards the family of the Inca's, or Peruvian Emperors, from whom he was descended, ascribing the civilizing of that people, and the instructing them in every thing that was useful or excellent, to them. And that he may reflect the greater honour on the Inca's, he represents the people of Peru, before the foundation of that empire, as barbarous as any people on the face of the earth; nay, more savage than the brutes themselves: And he might have this farther view in those horrid accounts he gives us of the ancient Peruvians; namely, to justify the Inca's invasions of their neighbours, and reducing them under their obedience by force, and compelling them to abandon their former way of life, and submit to the laws and government of the Inca's; affecting to give them the title rather of benefactors, than destroyers of mankind, as we find has ever been the practice of both ancient and modern conquerors, in order to palliate the injustice of their invasions on the liberties and properties of their peaceable neighbours.

The savage lives of the ancient Peruvians, according to De la Vega.

DE LA VEGA tells us, that the ancient Peruvians were at best but tamed beasts, and some of them worse than the most savage creatures; and beginning with their religion, he says, every tribe and family had its particular god; that they adored trees, mountains and rivers, and worshipp'd Lions, and Tygers, and all manner of animals; others made stocks and stones the objects of their adoration; and sacrificed not only their enemies, but their children to them, and eat them in great joy and festivity when they had done.

He confirms even that horrid and improbable tale of BLOS VALERAS, who relates, that the inhabitants of the mountains of Andes eat man's flesh, and worshipp'd the Devil, who appear'd to them in the form of a serpent, or some other animal: That when they took an ordinary prisoner in war, they quarter'd him, and divided him among their wives, children, and servants to be eaten; or perhaps sold his flesh in the shambles: If it was a noble captive, they stripp'd him of his garments, and ty'd him to a stake, and, alive as he was, cut him with knives and sharp stones, paring off slices from the more fleshy parts, as from the buttocks, calves of his legs, and the brawny parts of his arms, and sprinkling the principal men and women with part of the blood, drank the remainder, and eat his flesh in haste, before it was half boil'd, lest the miserable wretch should die before he had seen his flesh devour'd, and intomb'd in their bowels; all this was perform'd by way of a religious offering, 'till the man expir'd; and then they compleated the feast, by devouring all the remainder of his flesh and bowels, eating them with silence and reverence, as sacred, and partaking of a deity. "Such, says DE LA VEGA, "was the manner of these brutes, because the government of the Inca's was not received into "their country;" insinuating, that all Peru was peopled with such savages, 'till the Inca's civiliz'd them: But sure such monstrous relations need no confutation, the very repeating them is sufficient to discredit them; human nature could never be thus depraved and degenerated; and thus much we are sure of, that DE LA VEGA could have no certainty of these facts, for they are either related of such people as liv'd five hundred years before he wrote; or of those who inhabited distant and inaccessible countries, which the Inca's never penetrated, or had any commerce.

No foundation for these stories.

However, from such stories as these, which the Peruvians seem to have been very full of, I make no manner of doubt but the Spaniards first took the hint, and represented the Peruvians themselves to be addicted to the same barbarous customs, and made this a pretence for oppressing and enslaving them: And when both Spaniards and Indians contributed to support the truth of such relations, no wonder they were soon propagated all over Europe; and we find it extremely difficult to undeceive the present generation, especially as mankind are frequently delighted with such relations as are most monstrous and unnatural, and seem to wish they might be true.

DE LA VEGA proceeds to represent the ancient Peruvians, as living under no government, and in no societies, but dispers'd over the country in dens and caves, like wild beasts; neither building, planting, or cloathing themselves, but feeding upon such roots and fruits of the earth as grow spontaneously, or upon man's flesh.

That others lived by robbery, or spoil, tyrannizing over their weaker neighbours, and treating them as slaves: That men's carcasses were commonly sold in their shambles, and sausages made of their guts: That they eat their own children, and the women they had them by, if they were captives taken in the wars, fattening such children when they came to be ten or twelve years of age, as we do calves or lambs (says DE LA VEGA, and some other Spanish writers) and reserving them as most delicious dishes for their own tables. For all which, however, they have no better authority than tradition, as has been observ'd already, which, with the improbability of the thing, is abundantly sufficient to make any one suspend his belief of such relations, especially, if it be consider'd that there are no such people upon the face of the earth; and many of those nations, that have been represented as barbarous, have proved more humane, gentle, and tractable than their enemies, who found it their interest to dress them up in such shocking colours, particularly the people of Florida, and those who inhabit some mountains and islands in the East-Indies and Africa; daily experience now discovering they have been grossly abused by such misrepresentations.

In the next chapter, DE LA VEGA charges the ancient Indians with sodomy, and with having their women in common, without any regard to kindred or relation; and with practising the arts of poisoning and witchcraft.

But then he comes and relates in his 7th chapter, that all these barbarous customs were abolish'd by the Inca's, when they laid the foundation of their monarchy, and the people reduc'd to a more regular and decent way of living; of which they had in their family the following tradition.

That their father, the Sun (the Inca's giving out that they were the offspring of that glorious planet) beholding mankind in that deprav'd and savage state above related, took compassion on them, and sent a son and daughter of his own from heaven to earth, to instruct them to worship and adore him as their god, and to give them laws and precepts to govern themselves by, to form them into societies, and instruct them in building, planting, and husbandry, that they might live like men, and enjoy the fruits of the earth.

With such instructions, their father (the Sun) plac'd his two children in the great lake of Titicaca, from whence they were to begin their labours for the reformation of mankind, giving them a little wedge of gold, which they were to strike into the ground

CHAP.
IX.

The reformation of the Peruvians by the Inca's.

CHAP. IX. ground at every place they slept or rested; and wherever this wedge should sink into the earth, and vanish out of their sight, in that place they were to make their residence, and the people should resort to them to be instructed, their father (the Sun) constituting them Lords and Sovereigns over all men, that should be reduced from their savage way of life by their means.

That travelling northward from the lake of Titicaca, and striking the golden wedge into the earth in the valley of Cusco, there it disappear'd, as had been foretold; and thereupon they agreed to assemble the people there, in order to instruct them in the doctrines committed to them: Accordingly the man and the woman separated, the one going to the north, and the other to the south, declaring to all they met in those wild and uncultivated deserts, that their father (the Sun) had sent them to be their teachers and benefactors, to draw them from that rude and savage way of life, form them into societies, and instruct them in all such arts as might render their lives easy and comfortable.

That the savages, observing these two persons cloth'd and adorn'd, as their father (the Sun) had equipp'd them, and that by the gentleness of their words, and the gracefulness of their countenances, they manifested themselves to be the children of the Sun, they were struck with admiration, and gave them entire credit, adored them as children of the Sun, and obey'd them as their Princes.

Great multitudes being assembled, they led them to that spot of ground where Cusco now stands, laid out the plan of the city, and instructed the people how to prepare materials for building it. In the next place, the Inca shew'd the men how to cultivate their lands, and bring the streams of water into them, while his Queen taught the women to spin, and weave their cotton into garments, to dress their meat, and other parts of housewifery. This colony flourishing extremely, drew in the neighbouring tribes to join them, and be partakers of their happiness: And now the Inca, finding himself in a condition not only to defend himself against the rest of the savages, but able to enlarge his territories by force, taught the people the use of arms; and those, who refused to submit themselves voluntarily, were compell'd, says my author, by force, to relinquish their former vagrant life, and be obedient to the laws of society, the Inca extending his conquests every day, and planting colonies in all parts of the country. This first Inca was named MANCO CAPAC, and his Queen COYA MAMA; and, according to DE LA VEGA's computation, they flourish'd about four hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards.

Manco Capac, first Inca.

His laws.

MANCO CAPAC did not only teach all his subjects to adore his father (the Sun) but instructed them also in the rules of morality and civility, directing them to lay aside their prejudices to each other, and to do as they would be done by. He ordain'd, that murder, adultery, and robbery, should be punish'd with death: That no man should have but one wife; and that in marriages they should confine themselves to their respective tribes: And over every colony, he plac'd a Caracas, or Prince; or, as they call such a Chief in other parts of America, a Cacique, who govern'd the people under them, as their subjects. He also built a temple to the Sun, taught the people to offer sacrifices, and other religious rites, and erected a cloister for a certain number of select virgins, who were all to be of the blood royal, and dedicated to the Sun.

Religious rites.

Among other institutions, this Inca commanded, that all the males of his family should have their heads

shav'd, which they submitted to, tho' nothing could be more troublesome in their circumstances, having no better instruments than sharp flints to scrape off the hair; insomuch that DE LA VEGA says, it was an observation of one of his Indian friends, "That had the Spaniards introduc'd no other inventions amongst them, than Scissars, Looking-glasses, and Combs, they had deserv'd all the gold and silver their country produc'd." He also ordered them to bore their ears, which they did with a thorn, and afterwards stretched the orifice to such a degree, that it would hold the wheel of a small pulley; and their ear-rings were of that form, which occasion'd the Spaniards to call them Large Ears: They were also order'd to wrap a wreath, or cloth of various colours, four or five times about their heads, in form of a turban; which three things were to distinguish the royal family of the Inca's from other people; tho' the rest of the people were afterwards indulg'd so far, as to have their crowns shaved, to wear a black wreath about their heads, and to bore their ears, but not so wide as the family of the Inca's.

Lastly, having reign'd many years, he summon'd a general assembly of the chiefs of his subjects, at the city of Cusco, acquainting them, that he intended shortly to return to heaven, and take his repose with his father the Sun; and being now to leave them, as the last testimony of his affection for those who had been his chief ministers, and instruments of reforming that people, he adopted them for his children, conferring on them his own title of Inca, which they and their posterity retain'd ever afterwards.

The Inca being dead, was succeeded by his eldest son, SINCHI ROCA, whom he had by his wife COYA MAMA his sister; he also, after the example of his father, married his eldest sister by the same mother, and this was the practice of all succeeding Inca's in their marriages, to marry their eldest sisters of the whole blood, tho' they did not suffer their subjects to marry their sisters, or near relations: The Inca's also had many wives and concubines that were not of the royal blood, but those never inherited the crown.

Sinchi Roca, second Inca.

The corpse of the first Inca, MANCO CAPAC, was afterwards embalm'd, and placed in the temple of the Sun, where he was worshipp'd by his subjects as a god, as were all the succeeding Inca's: But both the Sun and the Inca's seem to have been worshipp'd as inferior deities, according to DE LA VEGA; for he assures us, the Peruvians acknowledg'd one almighty God, maker of Heaven and Earth, whom they call'd PACHA CAMAC, PACHA in their language signifying, the Universe, and CAMAC, the Soul: PACHA CAMAC therefore signified him who animated the world: And here he takes notice, that PEDRO DE SIECA supposes, in his 62d chapter, that the Peruvians call'd the Devil by this name; but that he, who was an Indian born, and better acquainted with their language, could assure us, that they never took this name into their mouths, but with the greatest veneration, and signs of devotion; much more than when they mentioned the Sun or their Inca's: And being ask'd who PACHA CAMAC was, they answered, it was he who gave life to the universe, sustain'd and nourish'd all things; but because they did not see him, they could not know him, and therefore seldom erected temples, or offer'd sacrifices to him, but worshipp'd him in their hearts as the Unknown God, tho' there was one temple it seems in the valley, call'd from thence the valley of PACHA CAMAC, dedicated to the Unknown God; which was standing when the Spaniards arriv'd in Peru: DE LA VEGA adds, that

The Peruvians notion of God.

CHAP.
IX.

that the name by which the Peruvians call'd the Devil, was *Capay*, which they never pronounced but they spit, and shew'd other signs of detestation. He proceeds to inform us, that their sacrifices, and religious rites and ceremonies, were all taught them by the first Inca: That their principal sacrifices to the Sun were lambs, but they offer'd also all sorts of cattle, fowls, and corn, and even their best and finest cloaths, all which they burnt in the place of incense, rendering their thanks and praises to the Sun, for having sustain'd and nourish'd all those things, for the use and support of mankind; they had also their drink-offerings, made of their Maize, or Indian-corn, steep'd in water; and when they first drank after their meals (for they never drank while they were eating) they dipp'd the tip of their finger into the cup; and lifting up their eyes with great reverence to heaven, gave the Sun thanks for their liquor, before they presum'd to take a draught of it; and here he takes an opportunity to assure us, that the Inca's always detested human sacrifices, and would not suffer any such in the countries under their dominion, as they had heard the Mexicans, and some other countries did.

Their
Priests of
the royal
blood.

All the Priests of the Sun that officiated in the city of Cusco were of the royal blood, tho' the inferior Officers were taken out of those who had been adopted into the privileges of the Inca's; the High Priest was either the brother, or uncle of the King, or one of his nearest relations; but the Priests had no vestments to distinguish them from others of the royal family; in other provinces, persons of distinction among the natives were made Priests, but the High Priest was always an Inca; and each province had its cloyster of select virgins, that vow'd perpetual virginity.

All the laws and religious rites their first Inca instituted, were pretended to be the commands of his father the Sun, to give them the greater authority, tho' future Inca's, it seems, frequently took an opportunity of making such improvements and alterations as they saw requisite for the times they liv'd in.

Besides the worship of the Sun, *DE LA VEGA* informs us, they paid some kind of adoration to the images of several animals and vegetables, that had a place in their temples; and that the Devil enter'd into such images, and spoke to them from thence, their Priests and Conjurers entertaining a familiar conversation with such spirits: Of which kind of idolatry, *DE LA VEGA* says, he can bear testimony, because he has seen it with his own eyes ("I presume he means he had seen images worshipped in the temple of the Sun, but he does not pretend to say, he heard any voice. This part of the story probably he had from hear-say or tradition"); and these were the images brought from the conquer'd countries, where the people adored all manner of creatures, animate or inanimate; for whenever a province was subdued, their gods were immediately remov'd to the temple of the Sun at Cusco, where the conquer'd people were permitted to pay their devotions to them, for some time at least, for which there might be several political reasons assign'd.

The Peruvians brought the idols of all nations into the temple of the Sun.

The Civil Government of the Inca's.

He proceeds to give some account of the Civil Government, instituted by the first Inca's: He says, the people were divided into Decurions, or Tythings, of which an exact register was kept: That over every Decurion, or ten families, the master of one of the ten was appointed to preside; that over every five of these divisions was another Decurion, who had the command of fifty families, another Of-

ficer was placed over an hundred, another commanded five hundred, and the chief Officer a thousand; but no man was suffered to govern more than a thousand families: The lowest Decurion of ten was to see that those under his command wanted none of the necessaries of life, and was to deliver out to them corn to sow their lands, wool for their cloathing, and materials to build their houses, and to take care of such as were sick and infirm: He was also to be the Censor of their actions, and inform his superiors of any crimes, or immoralities, committed by those under his care, which were to be punish'd by him; but as for trivial offences, the lowest Officer had the correction of them, and the decision of suits and controversies of small moment; and where differences arose between two provinces, these were decided by Commissioners appointed by the Inca himself; and there was a general Censor appointed to inspect the conduct of the chief Officers, and Ministers of State, who were punish'd capitally, if ever they oppress'd the subjects, or betray'd their trusts.

CHAP.
IX.

The conduct of parents and masters of families was nicely inspected, and the Decurion, as well as the Father, was answerable for the faults of the children of those under their care: Like the Chinese, they inculcated nothing more than a most resign'd submission and obedience of children to their parents, encouraging a modest behaviour, and the utmost civility and respect, in speaking to and addressing their superiors; and as the Indians were naturally of a gentle and tractable temper, never was more peace and order seen in families, according to *DE LA VEGA*.

A profound submission to parents requir'd.

As every family was registered, so the Decurions took care, from time to time, to intimate such alterations as happened on them by births, marriages, or deaths; so that the Inca's were always apprized of the state and condition of their provinces, the numbers of their subjects, and the forces and revenues proper to be required of them upon all occasions, and were inform'd also of such calamities and misfortunes as beset them, whether from floods, fires, unkind seasons, pestilence, and the like; and the Inca's thereupon immediately supplied them with whatever was wanting; so that the Spanish writers themselves observe, they might justly be stiled, Fathers and Guardians of their people; and it seems one of the Inca's titles was, "A Lover of the Poor"; and so dutiful were their subjects, and obedient to the laws, that in this vast empire, which extended upwards of a thousand leagues, it was rare to find one person convicted of a crime within the space of a year, if we may credit *DE LA VEGA*.

Other commendable institutions.

The historian in the next place proceeds to give us some account of the reign of *SINCHI ROCA*, the second Inca, who answer'd the name that had been given him of a prudent and brave Prince; the word *Sinchi* signifying Wife, and that of *Roca*, Valiant.

Second Inca.

This Prince having solemnized his father's funeral in a magnificent manner, instead of being crown'd, had a wreath, or coronet, of various colours bound about his temples, such as the supreme Inca's wear; and was no sooner established on his throne, but he propos'd to the Caraca's, or Vassal Princes, the making an expedition in person to the South, to summon the neighbouring nations to come in, and acknowledge the Sun for their god, and the Inca for their Sovereign, and to require them to abandon their former superstition, and savage course of life: The Caraca's expressing their readiness to attend their

CHAP. IX. their Prince, he set forward at the head of a numerous army, employing Heralds to march before him, and declare the intent of his approach: And the people were so alarmed with the gentleness of his administration, and the happiness they saw his subjects enjoy beyond the rest of mankind, says DE LA VEGA, that they immediately submitted to him, without compulsion; and during his whole reign, which was a long one, he never engag'd in war, or compelled any people to submit to him by force, tho' he considerably enlarg'd his Empire; 'tis very possible, however, that the appearance of so formidable a power was the strongest argument to induce these Indians to resign their liberties, and change their religion for that of the Inca's; for few men part either with their religion, or ancient form of government, how absurd or inconvenient soever, upon choice.

SINCHI ROCA having reign'd many years, in imitation of his predecessor, declared he was going to repose himself with his father the Sun; and dying soon after, was succeeded by LOQUE YUPANQUI, his son by his wife and sister MAMA CORA; having other children by her, but many more by his other wives and concubines, of the blood of the Inca's, all of which were held legitimate; but those he had by other women were looked upon as base born: The Inca's were allowed to multiply and increase their children by any means, it being requisite, says DE LA VEGA, that the posterity of the Sun should be numerous: But the vulgar were confined to one wife a-piece.

Third Inca. The Inca, LOQUE YUPANQUI, receiv'd his first name from his being left-handed, and the other from his exalted station, that of YUPANQUI being given only to the Sovereign Inca.

He was not altogether so peaceable as his predecessor; for those nations that refused to obey him on his first summons, were invaded, and treated in a hostile manner, 'till they made their submission; and were contented to forsake their former laws and customs, to adore the Sun as their god, and become subjects of the Inca.

He extended his conquests to the southward of the Lake Titicaca, and taught the subdu'd people how to cultivate their grounds, to introduce rivulets into them, to make aqueducts, to build, to plant, and cloath themselves decently; in all which the Peruvians were defective, according to DE LA VEGA, 'till they were instructed by the Inca's; so that he would have us look upon these invasions and conquests to be infinitely to the advantage of the conquered people, and an ample equivalent for all the ravages and devastations of war, tho' there is not much doubt, but the unhappy people, who felt the force of those arms they could not resist, would have been very well contented with their native simplicity and ignorance, rather than have been beaten into better manners: But to proceed; the Inca LOQUE YUPANQUI, having finished a glorious reign, and left a numerous issue of sons and daughters, died in a good old age, and was succeeded by his son MAYTA CAPAC, whom he had by his sister and wife MAMA COYA.

Fourth Inca. MAYTA CAPAC, the fourth Inca, enlarg'd his dominions by the conquest of several other nations lying to the southward of the Lake of Titicaca: In one of which, 'tis related, they found several ancient magnificent structures of hewn stone, with variety of statues of human form, excellently well carved; but this, I must confess, I can scarce credit; for if it be true, it confutes what DE LA VEGA so often affirms, that the Inca's first taught the

VOL. III.

Mexicans to build, carve, &c. There is little else remarkable in this reign, unless it be the Inca's making a great bridge or rather float of Oziers, on which he transported his army over great rivers, and invaded his enemies, who thought themselves secured by those waters from all invasions: And that this so astonished those people, that they submitted to the Inca without striking a stroke. He died, according to DE LA VEGA, after a triumphant reign of thirty years, wherein he acquired a great name both in peace and war. But though this author acknowledges, it was very uncertain how many years he reign'd, because they had no registers or letters to record their actions; yet he afterwards says, it is certain he died full of honour, &c. Now if their quippo's or strings were of so little use to them, that they knew not how to mark the number of years a Prince reign'd, much less could they convey down his character, or the history of his actions to posterity. As I look upon the history of the Inca's therefore to be in a great measure fabulous, I shall give but a short abstract of it, 'till I come down to those who reign'd about the time of the Spanish conquest.

CAPAC YUPANQUI, the eldest son of MAYTA Fifth Inca. CAPAC, succeeded his father, who seems to have been an unactive Prince, there being little said of him.

Inca ROCA, eldest son of the former Emperor, Sixth Inca. succeeded him. The Spanish writers make this Inca one of the principal Peruvian Law-givers, and have given us some of his most celebrated sayings: As, that upon his viewing and considering the heavens, he would say, "If the heavens be so glorious, which is the throne of the PACHA CAMAC (or great God) how much more resplendent must his person and majesty be who was the Creator of all things. Again, if I was to adore any terrestrial thing, it should be a wife and good man, whose excellency transcends all other creatures." Another saying they ascribe to him is this: "That he that cannot make himself immortal, nor recover life after death, is not worthy of adoration." But these were probably made by some of the Spanish Missionaries; for how they should be informed of the sayings of a Prince who lived two or three hundred years before the Spaniards arrived there, is not easy to conceive.

Inca ROCA was succeeded by his eldest son Seventh Inca. YAHNCOR HUACAC; in whose reign there was a great rebellion of the Chanca's, inasmuch that the Inca abandoned the capital city of Cusco, leaving it to be defended against the enemy by his son VIRACocha, who gave the Chanca's a great defeat; being miraculously assisted by the Sun, as was pretended, who turned the very stones into men, and formed them into troops in favour of the Inca VIRACocha.

After this victory, VIRACocha became extremely popular; and his father so lost the esteem of his subjects by abandoning his capital city, that it was agreed to depose the old Inca, and advance his son VIRACocha to the imperial dignity; which, 'tis Eighth Inca. said, the son very readily accepted, and the father was afterwards content to lead a private life in one of his palaces, situated a small distance from Cusco.

This VIRACocha is represented as one of their most victorious Princes, and said to be worshipp'd as a god. And the Indians afterwards, as a testimony of the veneration they had for the Spaniards, gave them the title of Viracocha's, or gods, which this Inca assumed on pretence that he had seen a vision

CHAP. of angelick form, that commanded him to take
IX. that title.

It is reported also by the Indians, that the Inca VIRACocha pretending to the spirit of prophecy, foretold that, after the succession of a certain number of Kings, a people should arrive from far distant countries, never seen in those regions before, and cloath'd like the angel in the vision he had seen, who should subvert their religion and empire: Which they held to be fulfilled at the Spanish conquest.

VIRACocha is said to have reign'd fifty years, which DE LA VEGA thinks not improbable; for that he saw his body, which was preserv'd till his time, and the hairs of his head were as white as snow: He was also shewn the bodies of several other Inca's, which he observes were more entire than the mummies of Egypt, wanting neither the hair of the head or eye-brows, or even the eyelashes, which were still visible. But I do not design to impose these things on any readers as articles of faith.

DE LA VEGA adds, that the flesh of these bodies appeared plump and full, and yet were so light that an Indian would easily carry one of them in his arms; and that in his time they used to carry them about to the houses of the Spanish Gentlemen in Cusco, who had the curiosity to see them.

Ninth
Inca.

The Inca VIRACocha dying, was succeeded by his eldest son PACHACUTEC, who is represented also as a victorious Prince, and said to have subdu'd many nations by the conduct of his Brother and General CAPAC YUPANQUI; for this Emperor seldom took the field in person, but spent his time chiefly in erecting magnificent temples and palaces, regulating his Civil government, planting colonies, and making improvements in several parts of his empire; and having reign'd, as 'tis said, fifty years with great glory, left this world to dwell with his father the Sun.

Tenth
Inca.

YUPANQUI his eldest son succeeded him, and is said to have extended his empire to the eastward beyond the mountains of the Andes 200 leagues and upwards; but it was more by persuasion than force that this people were induced to submit to him, and might be look'd upon as allies and confederates at last, rather than subjects; for as their situation was upon or beyond those vast mountains, the Inca's found it impracticable to lead numerous armies thither. This Inca was unfortunate in an expedition against the nation of the Chirihuana's, which inhabited another branch of the mountains of Andes; and we are told were so barbarous, that they eat both friends and foes, and chose the flesh of men rather than that of any other animal; but this seems to have been a calumny fram'd by the Inca's, because that people refused to submit to their dominion; and were so situated the Inca could not conquer them: But however that was, the Inca YUPANQUI being repuls'd in his attacks on the Chirihuana's, turn'd his arms to the southward, and reduc'd several nations in the country of Chili; in so much that in his time the Peruvian empire is said to have been of a thousand leagues extent from north to south. This Prince also carried on his conquests by his Generals, and seldom took the field in person. He erected several stately edifices, and among the rest the celebrated castle of Cusco, already describ'd, and died at length much beloved and lamented by his subjects, being succeeded by his eldest son TUPAC YUPANQUI the eleventh Inca: He left also between two and three hundred children, more legitimate than illegitimate; and most of the

Inca's had as many, looking upon it as a duty incumbent on them to increase the blood-royal, and render them as numerous as possible: It being for the honour of their god and father the Sun to have a numerous progeny, as they pretended. But this privilege of a plurality of women was never indulg'd to the vulgar.

CHAP.
IX.

As the former Inca made conquests to the South, the present Inca TUPAC YUPANQUI carried his arms to the North, as far as the Equator, and subdued part of the kingdom of Quito, one of the richest and most powerful in South America; and having spent two years in this war, sent for his son HUANA CAPAC, to whom he committed the care of finishing that conquest, and return'd to Cusco. It is observable, that these people defending their country very obstinately, and not submitting to the Inca 'till they were subdu'd by pure force, had the misfortune also of having the name of cannibals given them by their conquerors, and to be represented as the most barbarous of mankind.

TUPAC YUPANQUI dying, was succeeded by Twelfth his eldest son HUANA CAPAC, who spent the first Inca. year of his reign in mourning and solemnizing his father's funeral, as their laws requir'd, and then visited the several provinces of his empire. It is related, that at a festival, when his eldest son was to receive his name, he caus'd a chain of gold to be made of two hundred yards in length, and of the thickness of a man's wrist, which was carried by those that danc'd at that solemnity; for the custom was, for an hundred men, and sometimes two hundred or more, to take hands and dance in a ring together, and instead of joining hands the Inca order'd, that every one of the company should take a link of this chain in his hands and dance as usual, with musick of all kinds: The Spaniards arriving not many years after, made strict enquiry after this invaluable chain, but it was conceal'd from them by the Mexicans, which might be one occasion of the Spaniards using them so cruelly. But however that was, the young Prince receiv'd the name of HUASCAR, or The Chain, from this rich utensil. HUANA CAPAC proceeded like his predecessors to enlarge his territories by his arms, and conquer'd the famous valleys of Tumpez and Pachacamac, with the Island of Puna, at the mouth of the river Guisquil: The inhabitants of which island, cutting off some of his troops by treachery, after they had submitted, he took a severe revenge of them, putting them to all kinds of deaths. In the mean time, another rebellion broke out in the great province of Chachapayas, on the side of the Andes, but he was so fortunate as to suppress this also with very little loss: After which he turn'd his arms towards the country of Manta, on the sea-coast, in which lies that port to which the Spaniards afterwards gave the name of Porto Veio, or the Old Harbour in 2 degrees of south latitude: Here DE LA VEGA says, the natives ador'd Lions, Tygers, and Serpents, and an Emerald that was as big as an Ostrich's egg; to which the people, at their festivals, offer'd, among other things, smaller Emeralds of less value; which was the occasion of the Spaniards finding such a vast quantity of Emeralds amass'd together when they invaded this country, and made them imagine Emeralds had been as common almost as ordinary stones here.

From Porto Veio, the Inca advanc'd as far as Cape Passao, which lies just under the Equator, reducing all the nations on that coast to his obedience, which was not very difficult, the country being divided into small tribes or families, that had no com-

CHAP.
IX.

mon Chief or any dependance on each other, and consequently were in no condition to resist so formidable a power as that of the Inca's. DE LA VEGA charges these people with having their women in common, with sodomy, and all manner of vice: In which state he would have us believe all Peru remain'd, 'till reform'd by his ancestors the Inca's: And on this account justifies all their invasions and oppressions of that defenceless people in the same manner as the Spaniards afterwards did their invasions and barbarous usage of the inhabitants of the Inca's dominions.

HUANA CAPAC having conquer'd the province of Passao, which lies under the Equator, determin'd to make this the limits of his empire towards the North: Having new-modell'd the government therefore, and constituted the same laws and customs that were observed in other parts of his dominions, he left garrisons behind him to preserve his conquests, and return'd to his capital city of Cusco.

It is reported of this Prince, that being reproved by the High Priest for looking stedfastly on the Sun, which was deem'd a high profanation by that people, answer'd, "There must be some Being whom our father the Sun esteems superior to him, and more powerful than himself; by whose commands he every day measures the compass of the heavens without intermission, or allowing himself an hour's repose. If he were supreme, and at his own disposal, he would certainly allot himself some time for rest, tho' it were but to please his humour, and for the sake of variety": But I have observed so many sayings put into the mouths of the Indians by the Spanish Missionaries, and then reported as coming originally from those Pagans, that I give the less attention to this, especially since the same authors that report this, allow that the Peruvians acknowledg'd there was one almighty Being, that sustained and governed the universe, whom they called PACHA CHAMAC, and that a temple was dedicated to this PACHA CHAMAC, or the unknown God; tho' he was seldom worshipped, because they knew so little of him, or in what manner he ought to be adored. These historians therefore must forget themselves, when they make HUANA CAPAC, the twelfth Inca, the first of the Mexican Princes that made this reflection. But to return to the history.

HUANA CAPAC, after the completion of the conquest of Quito, having taken the daughter of that King to his bed, had by her a son, whom he named ATAHNALPA, or ATABILIPA, and is said to have been fonder of him than any of his children: But as none of the sons or daughters of the Inca's were held legitimate, but those who were born of their sisters, or some near relation, and HUASCAR was the eldest legitimate son of this Inca, to whom all his dominions, by the laws of the empire, were to descend on his death; he appeared much disquieted that his beloved son ATAHNALPA, or ATABILIPA, should become a vassal to his eldest brother, and that he could not leave him the dominion of any one province: But his son HUASCAR being acquainted with the reason of his father's uneasiness, generously consented he should settle what part of his territories he pleased upon his beloved son. Whereupon HUANA CAPAC constituted ATAHNALPA King of Quito (the inheritance of his mother) in his life-time.

It was in the reign of HUANA CAPAC, namely, in the year 1515, that the Spaniards first appear'd with their ships upon the coast of Passao in Peru, which is situated under the Equator. They were

commanded by the celebrated VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBAO, who first discovered the South-sea, and would probably at this time have fixed colonies on that coast, had he not been recalled by PEDRARIAS, then Vice-roy of Darien, or Terra-Firma, who, envying his good fortune, recalled VASCO, and caused him to be put to death, under pretence that he was about to set up for himself, and throw off his dependance on the King of Spain his Sovereign: But the true reason was, that the Crown of Spain had made VASCO ADELANTADO, or Viceroy, of all the lands and territories he should discover in the South-sea; in pursuance of which commission, he had, with indefatigable labour, found out the rich empire of Peru, and was about to reap the fruits of his industry. PEDRARIAS, the Vice-roy of Terra-Firma, therefore, envying his good fortune, recalled him, and put him to death, as has been related, and afterwards employ'd a great many skilful Sailors and Adventurers to follow VASCO's steps, and got possession of the treasures he understood were to be found in those regions; but as the winds are always contrary to those who come to the coasts of Peru directly from the northward, all the Adventurers PEDRARIAS sent out upon this expedition, returned with an account that the voyage was impracticable. Whereupon that discovery was entirely laid aside, and abandoned for fifteen or sixteen years, 'till FRANCIS PIZARRO and ALMAGRO, fired with the repeated advices they received of the riches of Peru, obtained leave from PEDRARIAS, the Viceroy, to pursue that discovery VASCO NUNEZ had begun, at their own expence: Of which enterprize I shall treat, when I have finished the history of the Inca's.

And here, whatever credit is to be given to things of this nature, I cannot avoid taking some notice of the portents and omens the Spanish historians, as well as the Inca DE LA VEGA, entertain us with, which are said to have preceded the fall of the Peruvian empire.

Three years before the Spaniards, under the command of VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBAO, appeared on the coast of Peru, 'tis said a prodigy happen'd, which alarm'd and astonish'd the Court and all the Empire: At their grand annual festival of the Sun, a royal Eagle, call'd in their language Anca, appear'd soaring in the air, and pursued by Hawks of all sizes, which attack'd the royal bird with that fury, that he fell down among the Inca's, or royal family, as they march'd in procession to the temple of the Sun, through the great market-place of Cusco; and that he seem'd to beg their protection, having lost most of his small feathers in the encounter: That they nourish'd this Eagle with all the tenderness imaginable, but notwithstanding their care, the bird died in a few days, which the Inca, his Priests and Diviners interpreted to presage the total ruin of the empire, and of their religion, especially as it was followed by violent earthquakes, that over-turn'd some of the neighbouring mountains. Upon the sea-coast also, the Indians observed the tides, in their ebbings and flowings, did not keep their usual course; and comets and apparitions were seen in the air. The Moon, in the midst of a bright night, was observed to be encompassed with three large haloes, or circles, the first of the colour of blood, the second black, and the third like a fog or smog; which one of their adepts in magick observing, 'tis said, came weeping into the presence of the Emperor HUANA CAPAC, and declared, that his mother the Moon, like a tender parent, by this

CHAP.
IX.

CHAP. IX. this phenomena made known to him, that PACHA CAMAC, the creator and sustainer of all things, threaten'd his royal family, and empire, with grievous judgments: That the first bloody circle prognosticated, that after he should be gone to rest with his father the Sun, terrible wars should arise among those of his own family, in which there should be such effusion of blood, that his whole race should be extinguish'd in a few years: That the second black circle threaten'd his subjects with total destruction, and a subversion of their religion and government, occasioned chiefly by the dissensions in his own family: That his empire should be translated to another people, and all his greatness vanish into smoke; which was signified by the third circle, that seem'd to be compos'd of vapours.

The Inca, 'tis said, was astonished at these predictions; but endeavour'd, however, to hide his fears, and bid the Magician be gone, telling him, these were his last night's dreams, which he declar'd to him as revelations and advices from his mother the Moon. Whereupon the Diviner desired him to go out of his palace and behold the three circles with his eyes, which he did, and thereupon assembled all the Magicians and Astrologers of his Court, who confirm'd the interpretation their brother had made of these signs in the heavens.

HUANA CAPAC, however, that his people might not be discouraged, endeavour'd still to conceal his fears, and putting the best face he could upon the matter, told the Magicians, that unless PACHA CHAMAC himself reveal'd this to him, he would not believe it. "Is it possible, said he, my father the Sun should abhor his own blood, and deliver them up to total destruction!" and then dismissed them from his presence.

Reflecting, however, on what had been said, and considering how it agreed with the predictions of an ancient oracle, that after the reign of twelve Inca's, the empire should be dissolved; and being inform'd at the same time, that a prodigious wooden float, with tall masts and sails (VASCO's ship) from whence issued terrible thunders, fire and smoke, was seen upon the coast; and that the people on board differ'd in their persons and habits from all that had hitherto appear'd in that part of the world, he was, in a manner, confounded, expecting that the dissolution of his empire was approaching. However, he did not entirely despair, and neglect the defence of his people, but assembled an army, and march'd them to the sea-coast, making the best provision he could against the dangers that threaten'd him; but the ship disappearing, and nothing of that kind being seen again in several years, their apprehensions began to wear off. Every thing remain'd quiet, HUANA CAPAC died in peace, and in a good old age, about seven or eight years after VASCO NUNEZ appeared on the coast of Peru, having reigned forty years in great splendor, and made large additions to his empire by many successful wars.

Their fears, however, began to revive, when the Emperor, upon his death-bed, put his subjects in mind of the old prophecy, already mentioned, That after the reign of twelve Inca's, a new nation should arrive, that had never been known in those parts, and subdue that empire; which he conjectur'd would happen not many years after his death, he being the twelfth Inca: And advis'd his subjects to submit and serve that people, who were in every respect superior to them; their laws better, and their forces and military skill rendering them invincible. And DE LA VEGA observes, that this

last advice of their dying Inca was not the least inducement to the Peruvians to submit to the Spaniards afterwards. They held, he says, that Heaven had decreed the Spaniards the dominion of those countries, and that all resistance would be in vain; but I am apt to think, the thunder of the Spanish artillery was a much stronger motive for their submission.

The relation of these omens, prodigies, and prophecies, GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, the Inca, or royal historian, tells us, he received from two Mexican Officers that had serv'd the Emperor HUANA CAPAC, and were, at the time he had this from them, fourscore years of age, being baptiz'd and initiated in the Christian religion by the Spanish Father at Cusco: However, as we meet with the like omens recorded by historians before, every considerable revolution almost that has happened in Europe, whether ancient or modern, I am far from requiring my readers to give entire credit to such relations, but leave every one to pass what judgment he pleases on them.

HUANA CAPAC being dead, his body was embalmed, and carried to the temple of the Sun at Cusco; but his heart, according to his directions, was buried at Quito, the residence of his favourite son ATAHNALPA.

HUASCAR, the eldest legitimate son of HUANA CAPAC, reign'd in peace at Cusco four or five years, after his father's death, without giving his brother, the King of Quito, any molestation; but then considering the loss he had sustained by dismembring and yielding up one of the richest provinces of the empire to ATAHNALPA, by which he was prevented extending his dominions further northward; and reflecting also, that his brother was a Prince remarkable for his ambitious and turbulent spirit, and might one day rival him in the rest of his territories, he determin'd to be beforehand with him, and to resume what he had too easily parted from: He sent an Ambassador therefore, or rather a Herald, to his brother the King of Quito, to inform him, that by the laws of the empire, the territories of the Inca's could not be divided; and though he had been oblig'd by his father to resign Quito to him, this was what his father could neither legally command, nor he perform: However, since it was the will of his father, he was ready to confirm the cession upon two conditions; 1. That he should not endeavour to make any addition to his territories; and, 2. That he should hold them as a vassal and feudatory of his empire, and actually do him homage for them.

To both which demands ATAHNALPA seem'd readily to consent, and promised in a short time to attend on him at Cusco, with all the Caraca's and Lords of his kingdom, to do him homage in person; with which answer HUASCAR was entirely satisfied, and dismissed the troops he had rais'd to recover Quito by force; while the subtle ATAHNALPA increas'd his forces under pretence of doing his homage with greater splendor, and celebrating the exequies of his deceased father at Cusco.

HUASCAR being inform'd, when it was too late, that his brother, instead of summoning his vassals to attend him, had levied an army of thirty thousand regular troops, which were advanced within forty leagues of Cusco, found he had been deceiv'd, and immediately issued his orders to the Governors of the several provinces to rendezvous with their respective forces at Cusco, and form an army for the defence of that capital: But ATAHNALPA having corrupted several of the Caraca's,

CHAP.
IX.

who join'd his forces in their march; and the rest that obey'd the summons of HUASCAR being new undisciplin'd troops, were not much to be depended on. However, being attack'd by ATAHNALPA's army, they behaved in defence of their Inca, as bravely as could be expected; and the battle lasted a whole day; but in the evening HUASCAR's army was forced to yield to the veteran troops of ATAHNALPA, and a very great slaughter followed, particularly among the Emperor's guards, consisting of a thousand men, who defended their Prince till they were almost all cut in pieces, and at length HUASCAR was taken prisoner, and carried in triumph to his brother, who did not march with his army in person, but continued at a distance, till he saw what success his Generals would have, who were old Officers, that had served his father in the wars of Quito, and much superior to those who commanded HUASCAR's army.

HUASCAR being thus unhappily made prisoner, ATAHNALPA gave out, that he had no intention to depose his brother, but to defend his own dominions, which his father had conferr'd on him, against HUASCAR's incroachments; and to limit his prerogative, so as to make the condition of his subjects easy and happy: And thereupon summon'd all the Inca's of the empire to appear at Cusco, that all things might be settled to the mutual advantage of Prince and People. And having, on such pretences, got most of them into his power, he caused a body of his forces to surround them and cut them in pieces, conscious that the people would never willingly obey him, as long as there were any of the legitimate issue of their Inca left.

Nor did his rage stop here; he murder'd all the Caraca's and Officers that appear'd faithful to HUASCAR; and afterwards the women and children of the family of the Inca's, whom he put to death by various tortures, according to DE LA VEGA, who makes this ATAHNALPA, or ATAHNALPA, a monster of cruelty.

However, between five and six hundred of the blood of the Inca's did escape, it seems, by one means or other, and particularly the mother of our author, DE LA VEGA, who was, as he tells us, a daughter of HUANA CAPAC's brother. Two sons of HUANA CAPAC also fled from the rage of their brother, and afterwards married Spanish Ladies; as did several of the daughters and near relations of that Prince. The first Spanish Adventurers, or Conquerors, as they call'd themselves, seem'd to be ambitious of intermarrying with the royal blood of Peru; which was not only an honour to those Gentlemen, but might be thought to give them a better right to the country they had invaded, than they could acquire by the sword.

I should now proceed to the history of the Spaniards conquest of Peru, but beg leave to defer that a little till I have given some further account of the religion of the ancient Peruvians.

It is generally said, that the Inca's of Peru acknowledged no other god but their father the Sun, whose offspring they pretended to be: And this possibly may be true of the first Inca's; but some of them afterwards invading that part of the country where Lima (now the capital of Peru) stands, and meeting with a notable opposition, they were oblig'd to indulge that people in the profession of their ancient religion, and the worship of the almighty invisible God, and to promise not to demolish their temples, before they would submit to their dominion (however, they obliged them afterwards to erect a temple to the Sun, and adore that planet also).

VOL. III.

This temple stood in a fine valley, a little distance from Lima, and was dedicated to PACHA CAMAC, the invisible or unknown God, who created and sustains all things, and was standing when the Spaniards arrived in Peru; and here they found an inconceivable treasure of gold, silver, and precious stones, that had been dedicated to the God PACHA CAMAC, whose name was communicated to the valley wherein the temple stood, and is still called "the valley of PACHA CAMAC. Roy. Com. Peru; p. 234."

The Inca's did not only permit this people still to adore their God PACHA CAMAC, but seem to have been convinced, from the time of this conquest at least, that there was one almighty invisible Being that created heaven and earth; and that the Sun was his Viceroy or Lieutenant. Others made two gods of them; the one visible; and the other invisible. And some of the Inca's, particularly HUANA CAPAC (Roy. Com. p. 365.) manifestly look'd upon the Sun as a mere creature, directed and govern'd in all his motions by the supreme God; for had he (says the Inca) any will of his own, and were not under a necessity of performing his annual course, he would sometimes rest or vary, and not always move in one sphere, if it was but to shew liberty of action.

From whence it is natural to infer, that the Inca's, notwithstanding the reformation they pretended to have effected in the provinces they conquer'd, by abolishing the worship of animals and vegetables, and of stocks and stones, and bringing the natives to adore only the Sun, did in some parts of their conquests introduce their own idolatry in the room of the worship of the one only God, or at least, obliged the people to worship the Sun as well as God, and consequently adulterated rather than reformed their religion. And 'tis very possible, that many of the people they subdued might equal, if not surpass, them in their manners, and the innocence and regularity of their lives, as well as in the purity of their religion; and might not be those barbarians the Inca DE LA VEGA has represented them; for I cannot help thinking but people were at least as just, as innocent, and humane, while they were led and govern'd by the Heads of their respective tribes; before large empires or kingdoms were formed by conquest or compact, as they were afterwards; for however we may have improv'd in arts and sciences, the world does not seem to improve much in its morals: For my part, I have found much more innocence and humanity among the unpolish'd inhabitants of unfrequented deserts and mountains, that seem to have been excluded all commerce and intercourse with the rest of mankind, than in the politest nations, who usually look upon such people as barbarians.

Most of the Spanish writers, either out of prejudice, ignorance, or design, have as much misrepresented the religion and morals of the Inca's, as the Inca's did those of the nations they subdued. ACOSTA, tho' in other respects a good writer, when he comes to treat of the religion of Mexico or Peru, is very little to be credited: He charges the Peruvians with sacrificing hundreds of their children at some of their festivals. ANTONIO DE FERRERA, and other Spanish writers do the same, while the royal historian, DE LA VEGA, who wrote afterwards, and makes it his business to review and correct the errors of the authors that preceded him, assures us, that the Inca's never suffer'd any human sacrifices while they reign'd in Peru, but had the greatest ab-

CHAP.
IX.
The temple of Pacha Camac.

A further enquiry into the religion of the Peruvians.

CHAP. IX. horrorre of them; and no man was better acquainted with their rites than DE LA VEGA was.

He also corrects the Spanish writers for giving out, that by PACHA CAMAC was meant the Devil: And that the Devil was worshipp'd in that temple (and indeed this the Spaniards made one pretence for invading and enslaving that unhappy people). Whereas, says DE LA VEGA, had they understood the Indian language, the very name of PACHA CAMAC would have taught them otherwise; the two words of which it is composed signifying, the almighty God, who created and sustains all things, and animates the universe.

The principal festivals of the Inca's.

I proceed, in the next place, to describe the principal rites and ceremonies in the religion of the Inca's. The royal historian informs us, they had four grand festivals annually, besides those they celebrated every moon. The first of their great feasts, call'd Raymi, was held in the month of June, immediately after the summer solstice, which they did not only keep in honour of the Sun, that bless'd all creatures with its heat and light, but in commemoration of their first Inca, MANCA CAPAC, and COYA MAMA OCLO, his wife and sister, whom the Inca's look'd upon as their first parents, descended immediately from the Sun, and sent by him into the world to reform and polish mankind.

At this festival all the Viceroy's, Generals, Governors, Caraca's, and Nobility, were assembled at the capital city of Cusco: And if any of them were prevented coming thither by sickness or the infirmities of old age, he sent his son, his brother, or some near relation to supply his place.

The Emperor, or Inca, officiated at this festival as High Priest; for tho' there was another High Priest of the blood-royal, either uncle or brother of the Inca, to whom it belong'd at other times to officiate, yet this being the chief feast, the Inca himself perform'd that office.

The Nobility, at this time, were crown'd with garlands or coronets of gold, adorn'd with flowers and beautiful feathers, and their garments were in a manner plated with gold. Some appear'd in the skins of Lions, others in vizards and ridiculous habits, playing upon their country musick; some acted the buffoons and madmen, while others shew'd feats of activity, and scrow'd themselves into all manner of postures: The Governors of provinces carried the ensigns and colours of their several countries, and march'd at the head of their respective people.

They fasted three days, as a preparative to this feast, eating nothing but unbaked Maize and herbs, and drinking water. The fast being ended, on the eve of the feast, the Priests prepar'd the Sheep, Lambs, and drink-offerings, which were to be offer'd the next day to the Sun, while the virgins or wives of the Sun were employ'd in kneading dough, and making bread of Maize or Indian-corn, for the Inca's. They also dress'd the rest of the provision for the royal family at this solemnity; other women being employ'd to make bread, and dress'd flesh for the multitude.

The ceremony of adoring the rising Sun.

The morning being come, the Inca, accompany'd by his brethren and near relations, drawn up in order, according to their seniority, went in procession at break of day to the market-place bare-foot, where they remain'd looking attentively towards the East in expectation of the rising Sun, which no sooner appear'd but they fell down and ador'd the glorious planet with the most profound veneration, acknowledging him to be their god and father.

CHAP. IX. The Caraca's, vassal Princes, and Nobility, that were not of the blood-royal, assembled separately in another square, and perform'd the like ceremony; after which, the King rising upon his feet (while the rest remain'd in a posture of devotion) took two great gold cups in his hands, fill'd with their common beverage made of Indian-corn, and invited all the Inca's, his relations, to partake with him, and pledge him in that liquor.

Then he pour'd the drink out of the bowl in his right-hand into a small stone channel, which convey'd it to the temple; after which, having drank of the bowl in his left-hand, he distributed the remainder to his kindred Inca's, who waited with little gold and silver cups to receive the liquor.

The Caraca's and Nobility drank of another cup of the same kind of liquor, prepared by the wives of the Sun; but this was not esteem'd so sacred as that consecrated by the Inca.

This ceremony being ended, the whole company advanced bare-foot to the gate of the temple, being about two hundred paces distant from the place where they stood; and the Inca and his relations entering the doors, adored the image of the Sun at the east end of the temple, while the Caraca's, who were not indulg'd that privilege, worshipp'd in the great court before the gate of the temple.

The Inca here offer'd the vases or golden bowls, with which he perform'd the ceremony of drinking, and the rest of the royal family deliver'd theirs into the hands of the Priests. Then the Priests went out into the court, and receiv'd from the Caraca's and Governors of the respective provinces their offerings, consisting of gold and silver vessels, and the figures of all manner of animals cast of the same metals.

These offerings being made, great droves of Sheep and Lambs were brought; out of which the Priests chose a black Lamb, and having kill'd and open'd it, made their prognosticks and divinations thereupon relating to peace and war, and other events, from the entrails of the beast; always turning the head of the animal towards the East when they kill'd it.

After the first Lamb, the rest of the cattle provided were sacrificed, and their hearts offer'd to the Sun; and their carcases were flead and burnt, with fire lighted by the Sun's rays, contracted by a piece of Chrystal, or something like a burning-glass, they never making use of common fire on these occasions, unless the Sun was obscur'd. Some of this fire was carried to the temple of the Sun, and to the cloister of the select Virgins, to be preserved the following year without extinction.

The sacrifices being over, they return'd to the market-place, where the rest of the cattle and provisions were dress'd and eaten by the guests; the Priests distributing them first to the Inca's, and then to the Caraca's and their people in their order; and after they had done eating, great quantities of liquor were brought in.

Then the Emperor, being seated on a golden throne, rais'd on a pedestal of the same metal, order'd his relations, the Inca's, to drink in his name with the most celebrated Generals, Governors, and Nobility of the respective provinces, whose actions had render'd them famous in the empire.

The Inca's thereupon carried bowls of liquor from the Emperor to the persons thus distinguish'd, telling them the Capa, or supreme Inca, invited them to drink with him, and they were come to drink with them in his name; whereupon the Generals and Caraca's, each of them taking a cup from the Inca's hands, lift up their eyes to the Sun,

CHAP. IX. as returning thanks for the great favour done them by his offspring, and having drank, return'd the bowls back to the Inca's with the profoundest adoration.

Bowls of liquor also were carried by the Inca's to the rest of the Lords, Caraca's, and great Officers; but to these they drank in their own names, and not in the name of the Emperor.

In return of this compliment, the principal Lords and Caraca's, filling their own bowls, approach'd the throne with the greatest reverence, and in their order drank to the Emperor, who receiv'd it of them, and having drank what he saw fit, gave the rest to the servants and officers that attended him; but it was reckon'd a peculiar mark of respect where the Emperor drank deep, and pledg'd any one of them heartily.

The rest of the Caraca's and Noblemen drank to the royal family of the Inca's, who first drank to them in their own names, and then retiring to their respective stations, the musick play'd, and their dances, masquerades, and every other diversion was practis'd, which were in use among the several nations of Peru. There were frequent pauses and intervals, however, in which they drank very freely, and then return'd to their sports again. This festival was continued in the same manner nine days successively, only there were no offerings or sacrifices after the first. The solemnity being ended, the Governors, Generals, and Caraca's took their leave of the Emperor, and return'd with their people to their respective countries.

Second festival. A second festival was kept every year on the conferring military honours (or knighthood, as the Spanish writers term it) great regard being had to those who behav'd well in their country's service. The principal marks or ensigns those Knights were distinguish'd by, were large ear-rings, the Emperor himself boring their ears with golden nails.

Third festival. Their third festival was in the Spring, when their corn first appear'd, on which occasion Sheep and Lambs were sacrificed, and they pray'd for seasonable weather to bring the fruits of the earth to perfection, concluding the festival with drinking, singing, dancing, and other diversions.

Fourth festival. The fourth was celebrated on the new Moon after the Equinox in September, when they ador'd the Sun as it rose, as at their grand festival; and pray'd him to avert all calamities, whether of war, plague, or famine; and armed men running through the streets, were said to drive away these calamities out of the city: Fires also were made in the streets the succeeding nights, in order to purify them from all nocturnal evils; after which they spent the time in sacrificing, feasting, and dancing, every day during the first quarter of the Moon.

Monthly feasts. Their monthly feasts were celebrated by the Priests within the temple, at which times sacrifices of sheep, lambs, fowls, and other animals, were made to the Sun, but no publick processions: And as for human sacrifices, the royal historian assures us, there were never any such offer'd in the dominions of the Inca's; though ACOSTA, HERRERA, and other Spanish writers have charged them with sacrificing hundreds of children at their grand festivals.

The posture of adoration. I should have observ'd, that the people fell down on their knees and elbows when they ador'd the Sun, covering their faces with their hands; and it is remarkable, that the Peruvians express'd their veneration for the temple, and other holy places, by putting off their shoes, as the Chinese, the people of the East-Indies, and other Asiatics do, though

at the greatest distance from them, and not by uncovering their heads, as the Europeans do at divine service.

I have already mentioned their convents of select Virgins, or Nuns, of which there were two kinds, viz. those in the convent of the capital city of Cusco, and those belonging to the convents in the chief cities of the respective provinces.

The Nuns of Cusco were all of the whole blood of the Inca's, dedicated to the Sun, and call'd the Wives of the Sun. They were admitted into the convent at eight years of age, and taught by the elder Nuns to work with their needles, to spin, and weave the garments offer'd to the sun, and prepare meat and drink for the Inca. They also wove all the garments the Emperor and Empress wore at their solemn festivals. These Virgins were suffer'd to have no interview or intercourse with man or woman, after they enter'd this house, and none but the Empress was allow'd to visit them. If they were engag'd in a love-intrigue, it was punish'd with death; and if any man violated the chastity of one of them, he and his whole family, father, mother, wife, children, and even his flocks, herds, houses and lands, were utterly destroy'd: But these Nuns were never suffer'd to enter the temple of the Sun, or perform any manner of devotions to that planet, or any other god, as I can learn; much less did they assist, or serve the Priests in the temple, as some writers relate; their near relation to the Sun seems to have exempted them from any services of this kind.

The select Virgins in other provinces were either taken out of such families as the Inca's had adopted, and given the privilege to bear the name of Inca's, or out of the families of the Caraca's and Nobility residing in the respective provinces; or such as were eminent for their beauty and accomplishments: These were dedicated to the Inca, and called his wives, and he took them to his bed whenever he saw fit; so that these provincial nunneries were, in effect, but so many seraglio's, appropriated to the use of this grand Monarch, to which no other man might approach on pain of death, the loss of his relations, and all that was dear to him; the penalty of violating one of these being the same as was inflict'd on those who debauch'd a virgin dedicated to the Sun himself.

As to the notions the Peruvians had of a future state, it is evident that they believ'd the soul surviv'd the body, by the Inca's constantly declaring they should go to rest, or into a state of happiness, provided for them by their god and father the Sun, when they left this world. And 'tis probable their subjects had the like notion, that their souls were immortal, and capable of happiness or misery after death: But when the Spanish Missionaries add, that they believed a resurrection of the very same bodies, I doubt they impose upon us; for I question whether any people ever believed the resurrection of the body, 'till it was revealed by the Gospel. They might, and did believe there was another state, in which the soul should exist; but the resurrection of the same body is surely a doctrine peculiar to Christians. I should as soon believe, that the Peruvians held the doctrine of the Trinity, and every other article of the Catholick faith, as ACOSTA, and some other Spanish writers, aver (telling us, that the Devil had taught them to mimic every the minutest ceremony in the Christian religion, and even all their Popish superstitions) as believe they had an assurance that the same body their souls animated in this world should be raised again to life eternal:

Convents of Nuns.

Their notions of a future state.

CHAP. X. **nal:** And what view the Spanish Missionaries had in suggesting, that there was not a doctrine, rite or ceremony held or practised by the Romish church, but were found among the Peruvians, is not easy to conceive.

Oracles. I must not dismiss the head of religion without taking some notice of the Peruvian oracles, mentioned by DE LA VEGA, ACOSTA, and other Spanish writers, and particularly the oracle of Rimac (now Lima, or King's-town).

Rimac. The valley of Rimac, says DE LA VEGA, lies four leagues to the northward of Pacha Camac, and receiv'd its name from a certain idol of the figure of a man, that spoke, and answer'd questions like the oracle of APOLLO at Delphos.

This idol was seated in a magnificent temple, to which the great Lords of Peru either went in person, or enquir'd by their Ambassadors, of all the important affairs relating to their provinces. And the Inca's themselves held this image in high veneration, and consulted it after they conquer'd that part of the country. Roy. Comp. p. 234. In the same chapter DE LA VEGA makes a remarkable concession in relation to the Peruvians worshipping PACHA CAMAC, the almighty invisible God, before the Inca's introduc'd the idolatrous worship of the Sun.

"The Kings of Peru, says that historian, did, by the mere light of natural reason, attain the knowledge of one God, the maker of all things, who sustain'd the universe, whom they call'd PACHA CAMAC: Which doctrine was more ancient than the time of the Inca's, and dispers'd thro' all their kingdoms, both before and after the conquest. They believ'd that he was invisible, and therefore built no temples to him (except that one in the valley of Pacha Camac) or offer'd him any sacrifices, as they did to the Sun; but shew'd, however, the profound veneration they had for him in their hearts, by bowing their heads, lifting up their eyes, and by other outward gestures, whenever his sacred name was mentioned." And as to what he charges them with in other places, namely, the worshipping all manner of animals, and even inanimate creatures, if the truth of this may be depended on, yet may we offer the same excuse for the Peruvians as has been made for the Egyptians, and other ancient pagans, viz. "That they only adored the infinite wisdom of God, manifested in the works of his creation."

CHAP. X.

Of the invasion and conquest of Peru by the Spaniards.

The conquest of Peru. **I**T has been related already, that VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA first discover'd the South-sea in 1513, for which he was, by the Court of Spain, constituted Adelantado, or Lord-Lieutenant of the lands and islands he should discover in those seas; and that having fitted out some ships, he was so fortunate in the two following years to pass the Equator, and come upon the coast of Passao, the northern limits of Peru, where he was fully informed of the vast riches of that country; but being recall'd, and put to death by PEDRARIAS, then Governor of Terra-Firma, who had a view towards reaping the benefit of the discoveries VASCO had made; he afterwards employ'd several Pilots and adventurers to pursue the same track VASCO had gone, and plant colonies in Peru; but so

extremely difficult and hazardous was that coasting voyage, from the Bay of Panama (from whence they set out) to Peru, before they were acquainted with the winds and currents, that all the people he employ'd were discouraged from prosecuting the discovery of that country, reporting that the voyage was impracticable, or rather impossible, because the winds and currents sat in the very teeth of those that sail'd from North to South-America. Whereupon PEDRARIAS desisted from that enterprize, despairing to overcome the difficulties that had been represented to him; and leaving the town of Old St. Mary's, on the Gulph of Darien, he built another town on the Bay of Panama, which bears the same name, and from thence he pursued his conquests to the north and west in the provinces of Veragua and Costa Rica.

PEDRARIAS having thus entirely abandoned the enterprize on Peru, three bold Adventurers, viz.

PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, and DE LUGNE, who then resided in his new town of Panama, desired his leave to attempt the further discovery and conquest of Peru at their own charges, which he readily granted, being of opinion it would come to nothing; and all that were acquainted with the former attempts that had been made, looked upon these Adventurers to be no better than fools and madmen: And though some have related that PEDRARIAS stipulated to have a share in the profit of this adventure, if they made any, it does not appear that he ever claimed any part of their booty afterwards, or that any part of it was reserved for him; only the King's fifth was laid by, the rest the Adventurers shared amongst themselves; but of this hereafter. I now proceed to relate the beginnings and progress made by PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, and DE LUGNE, in the conquest of that vast empire of Peru, which they liv'd to accomplish in a great measure, but never enjoyed the fruits of their labours. PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, and most of the Officers that were employed in this service, perishing by their own intestine divisions, each of them being inspired with an ambition of acquiring the sole dominion of those countries, to the exclusion of their Fellow-adventurers.

FRANCIS PIZARRO, who makes the greatest figure in this triumvirate of Adventurers, was a native of Truxillo in Spain, and the Spaniards will have him to be of a noble family; but if he was, he seems to have been pretty much reduc'd, and to have gone to the West-Indies to recruit his broken fortunes. He served first in the wars in the islands of Hispaniola and Cuba, and afterwards accompanied ALONZO DE OYEDA to the Gulph of Uraba, or Darien, in Terra-Firma Proper, to settle a Spanish colony there. OYEDA returning to Hispaniola for Recruits, left FRANCIS PIZARRO his Lieutenant in Darien; and not coming back within the time he appointed, the colony suffer'd incredible hardships; but by the conduct of PIZARRO they were most of them preserv'd 'till ships arriv'd to their relief, which very much rais'd the reputation of this Captain.

He afterwards attended VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA, when he discover'd the South-sea, serv'd under PEDRARIAS, when he fixed a colony at Panama; and was employed by that General in the subduing the province of Veragua, in which expeditions he acquired the reputation of a good Officer, and a fortune sufficient to have satisfied any reasonable man; but this increase of wealth did but increase his thirst after more: And when he might have spent the remainder of his days in peace

CHAP. IX.

Only two months in the year the winds are favourable on this coast, which the first adventurers did not know.

The three principal adventurers in this conquest.

Some account of Francis Pizarro.

CHAP.
X.

and plenty, he chose, in the decline of life, being upwards of fifty, to enter upon the discovery of unknown regions; the difficulty whereof had baffled the attempts of several Adventurers, rather than sit down and enjoy what he had already acquir'd.

Some account of
Almagro.

DIEGO DE ALMAGRO, the second of this triumvirate, was born at Almagro in Spain, a man of a mean and obscure original, but of a genius equally enterprising as the former, and who, in several expeditions in the West-Indies, had amassed a great deal of wealth. These two, residing at Panama, associated themselves with FERDINAND DE LUGNE, an Ecclesiastick of that town, richer than either of them, and who was Proprietor of the island of Tabago, in that bay. This Gentleman had been acquainted with VASCO NUNEZ, as well as the other two, and was pretty well assured that the voyage would answer their expectations, if they could overcome those difficulties of contrary winds and currents that had discouraged others: And though people generally lose their enterprising genius as they grow into years, yet had avarice, ambition or curiosity such an ascendant over these three Gentlemen, that though they were all of them between fifty and threescore years of age, yet did they embark their fortunes, and two of them their persons, in search of those mountains of gold they had received intelligence of.

Of de
Logne.The contract of
the Ad-
venturers.

They enter'd into articles, 'tis said, never to abandon each other for any hazards or disappointments they might meet with in the enterprize, 'till they had made a conquest of Peru: And solemnly took their oaths in publick, for the confirmation of these articles, each of them being assigned a particular part in conducting and executing the scheme.

FRANCIS PIZARRO was to command the first party that went upon the discovery; ALMAGRO was to carry him Recruits, and reinforce him from time to time, and FERDINAND DE LUGNE was to remain at Panama, and lay in ammunition and provisions to support the enterprize; and whatever gold, silver, precious stones, or other effects should be acquired, after the charges, and the Emperor's fifths were paid, were to be divided equally amongst them.

The royal historian having proceeded thus far in his relation, makes some reflections on the great advantages that have resulted from this confederacy of these three Spanish Gentlemen; as that the Christian religion was first introduc'd into that great empire of Peru by their means: That arts and sciences were first introduced there by them, in return for which, Spain, and the rest of Europe, became possess'd of an immense treasure in gold, silver, and precious stones.

But if the numberless devastations and oppressions the miserable Indians suffered by the usurpations and tyrannies of the Spaniards, are considered, how many millions were cut off and entirely extirpated, and how many more enslaved; if it be consider'd, that with the Christian religion they introduced the Inquisition with all its terrors; and have so adulterated and corrupted the Christian doctrines, faith and practice, and with them the morals of the Indians, that people possibly have lost more than they have gain'd by the change.

And as to the benefits we receive by the importation of gold and silver from Peru, this, DE LA VEGA himself seems to be of opinion, does not countervail the mischiefs they bring with them; as appears from his commentaries on that part of the history, p. 425.

Such, says this historian, as look on the riches of Peru with more than common eyes, are of opi-

VOL. III. NUMB. CXXIII.

nion, that they have rather been hurtful than beneficial to mankind: For riches have been the cause of vice, and not of virtue, having inclin'd men to pride, ambition, gluttony and luxury; for enjoying an affluence of fortune, they have given themselves up to sloth and effeminacy, becoming neither useful members of society in time of peace, nor fit for hardship and labour in time of war; but employing their whole thoughts and time in contriving new dishes and liquors to gratify their appetites, and fantastical fashions for their cloathing. And as the rents of the poor have been raised to maintain the lusts and riotous livings of great persons, so have the poor been oppress'd and reduc'd to rags and famine, to support the pride and luxury of their landlords. The truth is, says DE LA VEGA, the poor are become much more poor than formerly; for the quantity of money being increased, which is heap'd up in the coffers of the rich, hath enhanc'd the price of provisions to that degree, that the poor starve by the abundance of the rich; and tho' the rich have plenty of money, and might, out of their great stores, enlarge their charities and benevolence to their poorer neighbours, yet their alms, and the wages they allow the labouring men, do not answer the price of provisions, which the plenty of money hath rais'd. From whence it is concluded, that the riches of the new world not having increased the provisions necessary for the support of human life, but rather served to make them dear, to make men effeminate, and to enfeeble their constitutions and understandings, and introduce vicious habits and customs: The generality of mankind is become much worse, and more discontented; and nations heretofore formidable, and dreaded by all the world, are now rendered mean, despicable and effeminate, by the corruption of riches, "which is more applicable to Spain than any other country, that people having declined ever since they have been masters of the treasures of Mexico and Peru; and no doubt DE LA VEGA had his eye principally upon the Spaniards when he made this reflection."

To return to our history. The three Partners having bought a ship, victuall'd and equipp'd her (or as some say, two ships) PIZARRO embark'd about the middle of November, 1525, with fourscore men and four horses (DE LA VEGA makes them 114 men) and setting sail from Panama, sail'd to the Pearl-islands, in the middle of that bay, where he took in wood, water, and grafs for his horses, and sail'd to Port Pinas, or Pineapple, upon the continent, on the south-east side of the bay of Panama. Here PIZARRO went on shore with his soldiers, and endeavour'd to penetrate into the country; but meeting with nothing but bogs, or mountains, overrun with wood and deluges of rain, as they approach'd the Equator; and the people having fled from their habitations, so that no provisions were to be had: PIZARRO ran farther down the coast to the southward, and then landing again, found the country no better, and lost a great many of his men by sickness, want of provisions, or the hardships they suffer'd in their marches and counter-marches. Whereupon he sent the ship to the isles of Pearls for provisions, and in the mean time was follow'd by ALMAGRO with two other ships, and a recruit of sixty men and upwards. These two Captains meeting upon this wretched, rainy, and unwholesome coast, and landing their united forces, had some skirmishes with the natives, in which ALMAGRO lost an eye; but happening, in some of their excursions, to meet with a parcel of gold of the value of fourteen or fifteen thousand crowns, they resolv'd, notwithstanding

CHAP.
X.Pizarro
embarks
for Peru.

CHAP.
X.

notwithstanding all the difficulties and hazards they underwent, to persist in the enterprize; in which they were the more encouraged by the Pilot Dr RUYZ, who (while PIZARRO remain'd with the soldiers on shore) ran down as far as Cape Passao, under the Equator, and taking some prisoners, was assured by them, that the treasures of Peru were much beyond any thing that had hitherto been reported of them. Whereupon he return'd to PIZARRO with the agreeable news: In the mean time, that General suffer'd incredible hardships in the absence of ALMAGRO, who was gone to Panama with the gold they had got, to procure another reinforcement of troops and provisions. ALMAGRO, at his return to Panama, found PEDRIAS removed from his Government, and succeeded by PETER DE LOS RIOS, who permitted him to raise what men he could to reinforce PIZARRO. Whereupon he embark'd again with forty soldiers more, some horses, and arms, cloaths, shoes, provisions, and medicines, and returned to PIZARRO, whom he found in a very miserable condition, great part of his men being sick or dead. They removed therefore from that unhealthful part of the continent, and put their men on shore in the island of Gallo, where they remain'd fifteen days, and then return'd towards the continent again, running along the coast further to the southward; however, they still met with such a drowned country, and bad weather, that it was once propos'd to return back to Panama: Even PIZARRO's heart failed him; and the two Commanders, it seems, were upon the point of drawing their swords, so hot was the contest for and against proceeding in the enterprize; but at length it was agreed, that they should go to the island of Gallo again, where PIZARRO should remain with the men 'till ALMAGRO went to Panama for recruits: And great care was taken, that none of the men should write home, and discover their wretched condition; for most of them had shewn an inclination to desert the service whenever they had an opportunity, and threaten'd to apply to the Governor of Panama to be recall'd from an expedition which had consumed such numbers of them; and, if prosecuted, would probably destroy the rest. And notwithstanding all the care their Commanders took, one of them found means to send a paper, subscrib'd by most of the men, desiring to be recalled, which was inclosed in a bottom of cotton-yarn, and thereby concealed from the notice of their Officers. This paper coming to the hands of the Governor of Panama, he was so far from suffering ALMAGRO to levy any more recruits, that he sent a ship, with a Commissary on board, to the island of Gallo, on purpose to bring back all the men that survived. The Commissary arriving, PIZARRO begg'd of him that he would however suffer as many of the men to remain with him as were willing to proceed in the enterprize; which the Commissary consenting to, PIZARRO drew a line with the point of his sword, and haranguing his men, told them they were at liberty to return to Panama, if they thought fit; but it griev'd him that they should now abandon the enterprize, when they were upon the point of reaping the reward of all their sufferings. As for his part, he would perish in the glorious undertaking, rather than desert it; and those that voluntarily remained with him should share with him the treasures of which they had so near a prospect, desiring those that were willing to proceed in the enterprize to come over the line he had drawn: But such were the sufferings of these poor wretches, that much the greatest part of them forsook him; only

Pizarro
deserted
by all his
men, but
thirteen
and a
slave.

thirteen men and a Mulatto came over the line, the rest embarked and returned to Panama with the Commissary.

PIZARRO being thus left on the island of Gallo with only fourteen men, besides some Peruvian men and women they had taken prisoners, remov'd to the neighbouring island of Gorgona, for the benefit of fresh water, and remained there 'till ALMAGRO and RUYZ the Pilot came to him with refreshments and some few volunteers that were still willing to share their fortunes; on whose arrival it was agreed to sail further southward; and having pass'd the Equator, they came to an anchor in the bay of Guaiquil, near the islands of Puna and St. Clara, which lie in 3 degrees south latitude, and going on shore in the island of St. Clara, they found several vessels and utensils of silver plate, with garments made of cotton and fine wool, which were offerings made to some idols in this island, where the natives of Puna came at certain seasons to worship them; but there were no constant inhabitants on the island. It was with infinite labour and difficulty, that our Adventurers proceeded thus far to the southward; they were forced to bear up both against winds and currents, that continually almost sat against them on these shores, insomuch that they spent two whole years in this voyage from the island of Gorgona, in 3 degrees of north latitude, to the bay of Guaiquil in 3 degrees of southern latitude; a voyage that may be perform'd in less than a month, now we are acquainted with the currents, winds and seasons upon the coasts of Popayan and Peru.

While PIZARRO and ALMAGRO lay in the bay of Guaiquil, they took several great floats, or barklogs, with arm'd Indians on board, that were going from Tumbez, on the neighbouring continent, to invade the island of Puna, with which they were at war. From these Indians they learn'd that there was a great town and castle at Tumbez, a magnificent temple, a convent of select Virgins, and abundance of gold and silver vessels, and that the country abounded with corn and fruits. Whereupon PIZARRO treated the Indians with great civility, and gave them their liberty to return to the continent with their floats; and let them know, by his Interpreters, that they came as friends, and did not design any manner of hurt or damage to the natives. These Indians acquainting their Lord, the Cacique of Tumbez, with the wonders they had seen, viz. the ship, the guns, the habit and complexion of those on board; and informing him, that the Spaniards came to visit that coast in a friendly manner, the Cacique sent a Nobleman, or Orejon, on board, with several barklogs loaden with provision; and to invite the Spaniards to come on shore, telling them they were welcome to whatever the country afforded. Whereupon one of the sailors was sent on shore with the Indians, and brought twenty butts of water on board with their floats: The Orejon, 'tis said, enquired of PIZARRO in the mean time, what it was he went in search of, and what was the reason they had for some years been roving about the sea near the Peruvian coast? PIZARRO answered, They came from the most potent King of Spain, to require them to submit to his dominion, and be instructed in the true religion, by which alone they could attain the joys of heaven. At which answer, 'tis said, the Peruvian appear'd a little astonish'd, as he might well, to find the Spaniards making such demands upon so short an acquaintance, and when they were in no condition to compel the Indians to submit to them; and indeed PIZARRO seems to have been a man of more discretion than to have

He re-
mains on
the island
of Gorgo-
na.

Finds plate
there.

Two years
spent in
this
voyage.

Tumbez
town and
Province.

They are
hospitably
receiv'd
by the Pe-
ruvians.

CHAP.

X.

required the Peruvians to obey him when he was in such low circumstances; this could only inspire them with a contempt of his person, and provoke them to use him ill. It is much more probable, that he continued to assure them of his friendship, since the same writers inform us, he sent one of his company and a Negroe on shore with the Peruvian Nobleman, and a present of European animals, an ax, and some glittering trifles, with which the Cacique was extremely pleas'd: And as the Indians were surpriz'd to see so strange a people, and such animals and instruments as they brought with them, the Spaniard, that went on shore, was no less surpriz'd to find a fine palace, and a magnificent temple, and all manner of vessels and utensils form'd of gold or silver; and when the man return'd on board to PIZARRO, he seem'd unable to declare the vast treasures he had seen, and the strength and beauty of the cattle where the Cacique resided.

Peter de Candia goes on shore alone, and takes a view of Tumbex.

PIZARRO, desirous to be better acquainted with the truth of what the sailor related, PETER DE CANDIA, a man of good judgment, offer'd to go on shore and take a particular view of the place: And as he was of a stature beyond the common size, it was thought that his person would be the more admir'd, and give the Indians the greater opinion of the people that were come to visit them: And to add to the astonishment of the natives, PIZARRO, made him put on a complete suit of shining armour, a shield on his left-arm, a broad sword by his side, and take a fuzee in his hand; and thus equipp'd, he was set on shore with a Negroe to attend him.

The Indians, as it was expected, were amazed to see a man so tall and of proportionable bulk, his body covered with glittering steel, and a long beard on his chin, and immediately fled from the shore to the castle on his landing. PETER, thereupon, with a grave countenance, and true Spanish pace, advanced towards the gates, and giving them to understand by signs that he had no hostile intentions, was conducted to the presence of the Cacique, and received with great civility. The Spaniards, indeed, entertain us with an idle story, endeavouring to make a miracle of the matter, and tell us, that the Indians not daring to engage this gigantic Champion themselves, let out a Lion and a Tyger upon him; and that these animals losing their natural fierceness, fawn'd upon him, which the Spaniards ascribe to the sanctity of the Cross that PETER carried in one of his hands: But they all agree, that the Cacique entertain'd him with great hospitality, shew'd him the Inca's palace, the temple of the Sun, and the house of consecrated Virgins; and afterwards sent him on board with a handsome present of Indian-corn, sheep, and fruits.

PETER DE CANDIA, at his return, related that every thing exceeded what the sailor had reported; that he saw Silver-smiths at work, in forming all manner of gold and silver utensils; that the walls of the temple were wainscotted with gold, and that the Virgins dedicated to the Sun were extremely beautiful, at which the Spaniards were transported with joy; but not being prepared to make themselves masters of the treasures they understood were to be met with on shore at this time, PIZARRO set sail again, and run further down the coast to the latitude of 7 degrees south, where Truxillo was afterwards founded, and discovered a very fruitful country; but then at the importunity of his men he returned back to Panama, being the latter end of the year 1527, in order to make preparations for the entire conquest of Peru.

Pizarro sails to 7 degrees south latitude, and returns to Panama for more forces.

PIZARRO, having spent three years in search of these happy countries, and after numberless hazards and hardships succeeded at last, and brought from thence specimens of the wealth that abounded there, with some of the natives, Peruvian cattle, and fine cloth, the people were over-joy'd to see him, and very ready to list in his service; but the Governor of Panama oppos'd it. Whereupon the three principal Adventurers, PIZARRO, ALMAGRO and LUGNE, came to a resolution, that PIZARRO should go over to Spain and procure an authority and recruits equal to so great an undertaking; particularly, that he should solicit for himself the title of Governor, for ALMAGRO that of Adelantado, or the King's Lieutenant, and for LUGNE the Protectorship of the Peruvians, and the first bishoprick in that country. PIZARRO accordingly set sail, and arriving in Spain, resorted to the Court of the Emperor CHARLES V. which was then at Toledo: Here he met with a very gracious reception on his presenting his imperial Majesty with some Peruvians in their proper habits, two or three Peruvian sheep, and several gold and silver vessels and utensils of the fashion of that country. The Emperor was pleas'd to hear him relate the hardships and difficulties he and his comrades had met with in this three years voyage, and in the end recommended the overtures he made to the Council of the Indies, who, having made their report, PIZARRO was authorized to proceed in the conquest of Peru, for the space of two hundred leagues to the southward of Tumbex, which lies at the bottom of the bay of Guayaquil, in 3 degrees south latitude. He procur'd also the title of Governor and Captain-General to be conferred on him for life, with the offices of Adelantado, or Lord-Lieutenant, and of Alguazil Major, or Chief-Justice. He was also empowered to erect four castles in Peru, where he thought proper, and retain the government and inheritance of them to him and his posterity: He obtain'd for FERDINANDO DE LUGNE, that he should be recommended to the Pope to be made Bishop of Tumbex; and in the mean time, constituted Protector-General of the Peruvians. ALMAGRO was constituted Governor of Tumbex, and a twentieth part of all the profits and revenues of the country, when conquered, were to go to PIZARRO and ALMAGRO, two thirds thereof to the former, and one third to the latter; and ALMAGRO was made a Gentleman, and his bastard son legitimate: The thirteen men that remained with PIZARRO in his distress, on the island of Galle, were made Gentlemen, if they were not so before, and those that were gentlemen then were ordered to be knighted.

These commissions and powers were executed at Toledo on the 26th of July, 1528; and six Dominican Friars were order'd to go over with PIZARRO, as Missionaries to assist in the conversion of the Peruvians.

PIZARRO, repairing to his native town of Truxillo, spent some months in raising men, and making provisions for his voyage, which having effected, he embark'd at Seville with his four brothers, viz. FERDINAND, JOHN, GONZALO and FRANCIS, in the month of January, 1530, and arrived at Nombre de Dios, on the coast of Terra-Firma, from whence he march'd with his people to the city of Panama; but his ingrossing all the honours and commands to himself so disgust'd ALMAGRO, that he refus'd to assist in the intended expedition 'till PIZARRO promised to relinquish the title of Adelantado, and to give him an equal share in what ever

CHAP.

X.

Pizarro goes to Spain for a commission and recruits.

Pizarro obtains his commissions and powers.

Pizarro and Almagro fall out about the commission Pizarro had obtain'd.

CHAP.
X.

ever they should acquire; and upon these concessions **ALMAGRO** promised to assist him as formerly, and smother'd his resentment for the present, that the service might not suffer; but they were never heartily reconciled, as will appear hereafter.

Pizarro
embarks
again for
Peru, an-
no 1530.

He lands
north of
the Equa-
tor, and
marches to
Tumbez.

Loses most
of his
men, but
robs the
Indians of
a great
deal of
treasure.

And sends
for re-
cruits.

Finds the
Peruvians
engaged
in a civil
war.

Pizarro
joins the
people of
Tumbez,
and reduc-
es the
island of
Puna.

At length **PIZARRO** embark'd at Panama in three ships, taking with him one hundred and eighty-five soldiers, thirty-seven horses, and such quantities of arms, ammunition and stores as might enable him to fix colonies on the Peruvian coast; but meeting with the like contrary winds he had done in the first voyage, and finding it very inconvenient, and indeed impracticable, to keep his horses longer on board, he was obliged to land above an hundred leagues to the northward of Tumbez: And now thinking himself strong enough to drive the naked Indians before him, he fell upon them, plunder'd their towns, and made many of them prisoners, without any manner of provocation; whereupon the rest fled from the sea-coasts up into the country; and **PIZARRO** was afterwards so distressed for want of provisions, and lost so many men by sickness, and hardships, and the fatiguing marches through bogs and thickets of mangroves in this excessive hot climate, that his forces were exceedingly diminished, and he now, too late, perceiv'd his error, in not courting the natives, being in no condition to make a conquest of Peru with the forces he had left. He took most of the treasure therefore he had plunder'd the Indians of, and sent his ships back with it to Panama to raise more recruits, inviting at the same time some Adventurers from Nicaragua, and other parts of North-America, to come and join him, promising them a share of the vast treasures he was now assured of finding in Peru: And having, with infinite labour, march'd as far as Tumbez, in the bay of Guaiquil, over the mouths of abundance of rapid streams, that fall into the South-Sea, under the Equator, he very fortunately found the Peruvians engaged in a civil war, one part of them adhering to their lawful Prince **HUASCAR**, and the other to **ATAHUALPA**, or **ATABILIPA**, the bastard son of the preceding Emperor **HUANA CAPAC**, who had made **ATABILIPA** King of Quito and the northern provinces of Peru in his life-time. This young Prince finding himself at the head of a great body of veteran Troops and experienc'd Officers, who had been engaged in that conquest, was not insensible of his strength, and in a short time after his father's death discover'd views of usurping the whole empire; this occasioned misunderstandings between him and his brother **HUASCAR**, the present Emperor, which at length ended in an open rupture, as has been already related. In this war, the inhabitants of the vale of Tumbez adher'd to their lawful Prince **HUASCAR**; and those of the isle of Puna, a large island in the bay of Guaiquil, consisting of twelve thousand inhabitants and upwards, took part with the bastard **ATABILIPA**, as their interest led them, carrying on at all times a very gainful trade for their salt and other productions of that island with the kingdom of Quito, from whom they received woollen and cotton, cloathing, and other merchandize in return.

PIZARRO, as has been intimated already, finding himself not able, at this time, to attempt the conquest of the whole Empire, took part with the Tumbezene, and joining their forces, invaded the island of Puna, which became an easy conquest; and having taken all the Caciques of the island prisoners, he delivered them into the hands of the Tumbez Generals, who immediately cut off their heads. He also releas'd seven or eight hundred Tumbezene

prisoners, and sent them home, by which he imagin'd he had so oblig'd his new allies, that they would not fail to assist him in his future conquests.

In the mean time, **ALMAGRO** having sent **PIZARRO** a considerable reinforcement from Panama, and **FERDINANDO DE SOTO** and other Adventurers arriving with their troops from Nicaragua, he thought himself in a condition to carry on the war upon the continent, especially as he had some reason to expect to be supported by the Tumbezene. Accordingly, having provided a sufficient number of floats, or barklogs, he transported his troops to Tumbez, in which he lost some men in going on shore by the surf of the sea, which runs very high upon that coast, and some of his people were attack'd and cut off by the natives, which was a surprise to him, as he took them to be his friends. The Spanish writers give various reasons for this alteration in the conduct of the natives of Tumbez, who but a very little before profess'd themselves their good allies and confederates. Some relate, that observing the Spaniards had enslaved the natives of the island of Puna, and perfectly subverted their Religion and Government, demolishing their temples and every thing they held sacred, they expected to be treated in the same manner by the Spaniards, and therefore thought fit to oppose their landing in their country.

Others inform us, that while the Spaniards were engaged in the reduction of Puna, a very great alteration happened in the face of affairs upon the continent: **ATABILIPA**, the bastard, had defeated the forces of his brother **HUASCAR** the Emperor; cut in pieces most of the inhabitants of Tumbez, and the neighbouring provinces, for adhering to him; and the troops that oppos'd **PIZARRO**'s landing in Tumbez, were those detach'd by **ATABILIPA** to that province, on purpose to oppose the invasion of the Spaniards.

But whatever was the reason of the Peruvians opposing the descent of the Spaniards, it is evident, that they were put in such confusion by the Spanish horse and artillery, that they fled as the Spaniards advanc'd, and after the slaughter of some thousands of them, were forced to abandon the town and castle, and even the whole valley of Tumbez, leaving behind them all the gold and silver Plate, Emeralds, Pearls, and other rich spoils, which lay heap'd up in the temple of the Sun, and the Inca's palace; being so vast a treasure, that the Spaniards could scarce believe their eyes, when they found themselves so suddenly possess'd of it: And such was the consternation of **ATABILIPA**, and his whole Court, when the fugitives related what slaughter the thunderers ordnance made amongst them, and how impossible it was to escape the Spanish horses, to which animals their fears had added wings, that they concluded, if the Spaniards were not gods, they at first conjectured they were certainly devils, and that it was not possible for any human force to defend their country against them. Of which **PIZARRO** receiving intelligence, resolv'd to take advantage of the terror they were in, and march immediately to find out **ATABILIPA**, while he remain'd under that delusion; but he found it necessary to defer his march, 'till he had erected a slight fortress on the sea-coast (to which he gave the name of St. Michael's) for receiving the recruits that he expected, and to serve him for a place of retreat and security, in case any unforeseen accident should happen.

This was the first Spanish colony planted in Peru, and here the first Christian church was erected in

CHAP.
X.

Pizarro
reduces
Tumbez,
and pos-
sesses him-
self of a
vast trea-
sure.

St. Mi-
chael's,
the first
Spanish
town and
colony in
Peru.

the

CHAP. X. the year 1531; and Father REGINALD DE PEDRAGA was constituted Protector of the Indians, FERDINAND DE LUQUE being unable to execute that employment on account of his indisposition.

PIZARRO, whose business it was to foment the civil wars, and prevent the Peruvians uniting their forces against him, gave out that he was come in the name of the great King of Spain (like a true Spanish Knight Errant) to relieve the oppressed, and do justice to those that were injured, which he soon found had the effect he expected; for the Emperor HUASCAR, having been deposed and imprisoned by the bastard ATABILIPA, and all his friends and faithful subjects that had adhered to him, cruelly oppressed, they immediately sent an embassy to PIZARRO, that he would assist them in delivering their Prince from his captivity, and restore him to the throne of his ancestors; to whom the Spanish General returned a favourable answer. And ATABILIPA, who was yet scarce settled in the throne he had usurped, apprehending he should soon be driven from it again, if the Spaniards joined with the loyal party, endeavoured by all possible ways to gain the favour of PIZARRO, sending a messenger to excuse the hostilities his forces had committed at his landing; and not only promising what satisfaction he should demand, but assuring him he was ready to submit to the commands of that great Prince from whom he came.

The Spanish Generals finding they were like to meet with little opposition from either side, but that both parties were ready to make them arbitrators of their differences, concluded they should now soon be masters of those immense treasures they understood were heaped up in the capital city of Cusco, and of the gold and silver mines from whence they were drawn. They began their march therefore to Caxamalca, where they understood the Inca then was, in the year 1532, as soon as they had put the town of St. Michael into a posture of defence; and carrying with them a train of artillery, which was drawn by the Indians press'd into their service (there being no horses or oxen, or any other cattle for draught, either in Mexico or Peru, when the Spaniards first arrived there) advanced by slow marches, sending out parties to discover the country, and get intelligence as they went along.

The consternation increasing among the Peruvians, and the Spaniards approaching Caxamalca, ATABILIPA, who looked upon the artificial thunder of the Spaniards as supernatural, and their wing'd horses, as well as themselves, to be of infernal, if not of heavenly, extraction, apprehended there was no safety for him but in his submission; and therefore sent a solemn embassy to PIZARRO, by his brother AUTACHY; together with rich presents of gold and silver plate, and emeralds, corn, fruit, Peruvian sheep and goats, strong liquor, venison, tame and wild fowl, fine cotton and woollen garments of various colours, and whatever his country afforded.

AUTACHY being admitted to the presence of PIZARRO, told him, he was sent by the Inca ATABILIPA to welcome him and the rest of the sons of their common god and father, the Sun, into that empire, desiring he would accept the small present he brought with him for the refreshment of his troops in their march; telling him, that Inca was impatient to see his kindred, whom he understood to be of the like heavenly extraction, and to whom he promised all obedience. After which, the royal historian relates, that AUTACHY made

VOL. III.

CHAP. X. the following formal speech to PIZARRO (which was put into Spanish by PHILIP, a young Peruvian he carried with him to Panama in the former voyage, on purpose to be instructed in that language) viz.

"Inca VIRACOCHÉ, thou progeny of the Sun, since it hath been my fortune to be put on this remarkable embassy, I presume to entreat, you would be graciously pleased to take my Sovereign, the Inca ATAHUALPA, into the number of your friends, and contract a perpetual peace and alliance with him; and that you would pardon the injuries the Peruvians may, through ignorance of your divine original, have committed against you, moderating that just vengeance, your great god and father VIRACOCHÉ might justly have inflicted on our people: And having said this, he caused the present to be brought in and set before the Spanish General."

The substance of PIZARRO's answer to that speech, 'tis said was, that the Spaniards were authoriz'd by their High Priest, the Pope, to convert the Peruvians from their idolatry to the Christian religion; and that the great Emperor of the Christians, CHARLES V. had empower'd them to enter into a league of friendship and perpetual peace with the Inca, and were order'd to offer no manner of violence to him, or his subjects, if these overtures were accepted.

The Peruvian Ambassador being dismissed, PIZARRO, to return the compliment, dispatch'd his brother HERNANDO PIZARRO, and HERNANDO DE SOTO, attended by about thirty horse, and PHILIP the Interpreter, as Ambassadors to the Inca ATABILIPA, who was then at one of his palaces in the neighbourhood of Caxamalca: The Inca being inform'd of their approach, ordered a detachment of his army to advance and meet the Spaniards on the way, and conduct them to his presence. This body of Peruvians being come within a little distance of the Ambassadors, fell down and adored them; and having acquainted them, that the Inca waited their arrival with impatience, attended the Ambassadors to the palace; where, upon their alighting, they were conducted to the Inca, whom they found sitting on a chair of gold, in the midst of his Officers and Courtiers. The Emperor arose from his seat to receive them, and said they were welcome to his dominions, and golden chairs were brought for the Ambassadors. After they were seated, the Inca looking stedfastly on them, said to his Courtiers, Behold the very face, countenance, and habit, of our god VIRACOCHÉ, in the same manner and form as our ancestor the Inca VIRACOCHÉ describ'd him in his vision; and immediately two royal Virgins brought in each of them two golden cups, filled with the liquor usually drank by the Inca, and bowing, deliver'd one of the cups into the hands of ATABILIPA, and another to HERNANDO PIZARRO; and the Interpreter acquainted them, that the Inca desired to drink with them, which, according to the custom of their country, testified the respect he had for the Christians, and did desire to live in perpetual peace and friendship with them: Whereupon the Inca and HERNANDO drank, and gave away their cups; then the other Virgin deliver'd one of her cups into the hands of the Inca, and the other to HERNANDO SOTO, who had the honour also to drink in like manner with the Emperor.

Then six boys and as many girls brought in green and dry fruits; and one of the Virgins, addressing herself to the Ambassadors, said, Ye sons of CAPAC INCA VIRACOCHE, taste of these things we offer,

CHAP.

X.

offer, and it will extremely oblige us: Whereupon the Spaniards tasting of their fruits, were amaz'd, says the royal historian, to find so much civility and politeness among a people they had been taught to look upon as barbarous.

The collation being over, HERNANDO DE SOTO, according to the same author, made the following speech to the Emperor.

Most serene Inca,

YOU are to understand, that in this world there are two supreme Princes; one is the Pope, who is High Priest, and sits in the place and tribunal of God; the other is the Emperor of the Romans, called CHARLES V. King of Spain, who having been informed of the blind ignorance in which the natives of these your kingdoms live, despising the true God, who is the Maker of heaven and earth, bestowing the worship due unto him upon his creatures, and upon the Devil himself, who deceives and deludes them, have sent their Governour and Captain-General, DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO, with his Companions, and some Priests, who are the Ministers of God, to teach your Highness, and your subjects, the divine Truth, and his holy Law; and for this reason it is, that they have undertaken this long journey to your country; where having received instances of your bounty from your liberal hand, they entered yesterday into Caxamalca, and this day they have sent us to your Highness, with offers of peace and concord, which may endure for ever between us; that so receiving us under your protection, we may have leave to preach our Law, and that your subjects may hear and understand the Gospel, which will be much to your honour, and conduce to the salvation of your souls."

To which speech the Inca returned the following answer.

The Inca's answer to the Ambassadors.

I AM much pleased, divine Lords, that you and your companions are in my days come into these remote countries, that so I might see those prophecies and prognostications fulfilled, which our ancestors have left us; though in reality my soul hath much more reason to be sad, when I consider, that the end of our empire approaches, of which, according to ancient predictions, your coming is a forerunner; and yet I cannot but say, that these times are blessed, in which our god Uiracocha hath sent such happy guests, which shall transform the State of our Government into a better condition, of which change and alteration we have certain assurance, from the tradition of our ancestors, and the words of the last testament of our father HUANA CAPAC; for which reason, though we had certain intelligence of your entrance into our country, and the fortifications you made in it, and of the slaughter you committed in Puna, Tumbes, and other parts, yet neither I, nor my Captains, have entered into any consultations, how, or in what manner, we might expel you from hence, because we hold and believe, that you are the sons of our great god Uiracocha, and messengers of the PACHA CAMAC; for which cause, and in confirmation of what my father delivered to us, we have made it a law, and published it in Cusco, that none shall dare to

take up arms against you, or offend you; wherefore you may do with us as you please, it being glory sufficient for us to die by your hands, whom we esteem the divine messengers of God, by whom you must be sent, considering the actions you have already performed: Only I desire to be satisfied in one doubt: How comes it to pass, as you say, that you come to treat of friendship, and a perpetual peace, in the name of the two before-mentioned Princes, and yet on the other side, without so much as any summons, or sending to treat with us, or know our will and pleasure towards you, you have committed such outrages and slaughters in the countries through which you have passed? I conceive, that the two Princes which employed you have given you such commission to act with such severity against us, without any fault of ours: And I imagine, that the PACHA CAMAC hath so commanded them to proceed; wherefore I say again, do your pleasure with us, only I beseech you to have compassion upon my poor relations, whose death and misfortunes will grieve me more than my own."

The Ambassadors were afterwards dismiss'd with large presents of gold and silver plate; the Inca telling them, he would speedily go to Caxamalca, and visit the sons of his god Uiracocha, and messengers of the PACHA CAMAC. And accordingly, the next morning the Inca began his march towards the Christians. Of which PIZARRO having notice, made preparations to receive him, but far different from what the Inca expected: For he chose out a large square in Caxamalca for this interview, surrounded by a wall, in which there were but two gates, and ordered his horse (being sixty in number) to divide themselves, and draw up in three squadrons behind some ruinous buildings out of view. Then he planted his artillery, so as it might do the greatest execution: And on an eminence, in the middle of the square, he stood at the head of his infantry, consisting of an hundred musqueteers, cross-bows and pikes, where he proposed to meet the Inca, commanding his men, that as soon as seven or eight thousand of the Inca's forces were enter'd the square, they should shut the gates, and suffer no more to come in; and that they should all be ready to fall on, when he gave the signal.

The Inca seem'd to have some suspicion of the mischief that was intended him, and halted a league before he came to Caxamalca, ordering his Generals to encamp there. Whereupon PIZARRO, fearing to be deprived of his prize, sent several messengers to desire him to hasten his march, pretending he expected him that day at a great entertainment he had provided: And the Inca, yielding to his pressing invitations, marched forward, and entering the gates of the square, put himself into the power of his cruel and treacherous enemies. As the Inca was advancing to the eminence where the Spanish foot was drawn up, PIZARRO sent Father VINCENT VALVERDE to meet him, and summon him to submit himself, and his dominions, to the Pope and the Emperor: Whereupon that Father went up to the chair, or couch, on which the Inca ATABILIPA was carried, with a cross in one hand, and a Bible (or Breviary) in the other; and, according to the royal historian, made the following speech, viz. "It is necessary for you to know, most famous and powerful King, and also for all your

CHAP.

X.

He marches to meet the Christians.

Pizarro's preparations to receive him.

The Inca suspects Treachery.

He advances to Caxamalca.

Father Vincent's speech to him.

CHAP.
X.

“ your subjects, who are desirous to learn the Catholick faith, that you and they both hear and believe the things which follow.

“ First, that God, who is three, and yet one, created heaven and earth, and all the things which are in this world. That he gives the reward of eternal life to those that do well, and punishes the evil with everlasting torments. That this God, at the beginning of the world, made man of the dust of the earth, and breathed into him the breath of life, which we call the soul, which God made after his own image and likeness; by which it appears, that the whole man consists of body, and a rational soul. From the first man, whom God call'd ADAM, all mankind, which are in this world, is descended, and from him we take the original and beginning of our nature. That this ADAM sinned, by breaking the commandment of his Creator, and in him all men that have been born since his time are under sin, and so shall be to the end of the world; for neither man nor woman is free from this original sin, nor can be, excepting only our Lord JESUS, who being the Son of the only true God, descended from heaven, and was born from the Virgin MARY, that so he might free and redeem all mankind from the subjection of sin; and finally, he died for our salvation on the Cross, which was a piece of wood, in form of this which I hold in my hands; for which reason, we that are Christians do adore and reverence it. This JESUS, by his own power, arose from the dead, and forty days after he ascended into heaven, where he now sits at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty; after which he left his Apostles upon the earth, who were his successors, who by their words and admonition, and other holy means, might bring men to the knowledge and worship of God, and observation of his laws.

“ Of these Apostles St. PETER was constituted the chief, as are also his successors of all other succeeding Apostles, and of all Christians; and as St. PETER was God's Vicar, or Vicegerent, so after him were all the Popes of Rome, who are endued with that supreme authority which God hath given them; and which they have, and do, and shall for ever exercise with much sanctity and care, for propagation of the Gospel, and guiding men according to the word of God.

“ For which reason the Pope of Rome, who is the High Priest now living, having understood, that all the people and nations of these kingdoms, leaving the worship of the true Maker of all things, do brutishly worship idols, and the images of devils, and being willing to draw them to the knowledge of the true God, hath granted the conquest of these parts to CHARLES V. Emperor of the Romans, who is the most powerful King of Spain, and Monarch of all the earth; that so he having brought the Kings and Lords, and people of these parts, under his subjection and dominion, and having destroy'd the rebellious and disobedient, he may govern and rule these nations, and reduce them to the knowledge of God, and to the obedience of the church.

“ And though our most potent King be employ'd in the government of his vast kingdoms and dominions, yet he received this grant of the Pope, and refused not the trouble for the good and for the salvation of these nations; and accordingly hath sent his Captains and Soldiers to execute his commands, as he did for the conquest

CHAP.
X.

“ of those great islands and countries which are adjoining to Mexico; and having subjected them by force of arms, hath reduced them to the acknowledgment of the true religion of JESUS CHRIST; for the same God hath commanded that so it shall be.

“ For which reason, the Emperor CHARLES V. hath chosen for his Ambassador and Lieutenant, Don FRANCISCO DE PIZARRO, who is here present, that so the kingdoms of your Highness may receive all the benefits of religion; and that a firm peace and alliance may be concluded and established between his Majesty and your Highness, on condition, that your Highness, and all your kingdoms, become tributaries to the Emperor; thou mayst become his subject, and delivering up your kingdoms, and all the administration and government thereof, thou shalt do as other Kings and Lords have already done, and have the same quarter and conditions with them: This is the first point. Now as to the second, when this peace and alliance is established, and thou hast submitted, either voluntarily or by constraint, then thou art to yield true and faithful obedience to the Pope, who is the High Priest; and thou art to receive and believe the faith of JESUS CHRIST our God. Thou art also to reject, and totally to abandon the abominable superstition of idols; which being done, we shall then make known unto you the sanctity and truth of our law, and the falsity of yours; the invention and contrivance of which proceeded from the Devil. All which, O King, if thou wilt believe me, thou oughtest to receive with readiness and good-will, being a matter of great importance to thy self, and to thy people; for if thou shouldst deny and refuse to obey, thou wilt be prosecuted with the fire and sword of war, until we have constrained thee by force of arms to renounce thy religion; for willingly or unwillingly thou must receive our Catholick faith, and with surrender of thy kingdom pay a tribute to our Emperor; but in case thou shouldst contend, and make resistance with an obstinate mind, be assured, that God will deliver thee up, as he did anciently PHARAOH, who, with his whole army, perished in the Red-sea; and so shalt thou, and all thy Indians, perish and be destroyed by our arms.”

The Spanish writers seem to disapprove this rough speech of the Friar's, as too imperious and assuming, having no mixture of that sweetness or real concern for the temporal or eternal happiness of the poor Indians, as was suitable to a messenger of the Gospel of peace: They lament also that it was ill interpreted by PHILIP the Peruvian, who did not well understand the language of that Court, and had no notion himself of the doctrines of the Christian religion: Infomuch, that when he came to speak of the nature of the Trinity, as that God was three, and yet one, he said, God was three and one, that was four. And when he came to mention the generation of mankind, and original sin by ADAM's fall, instead of saying, That all the world sinn'd in ADAM, he said, All the world heap'd their sins upon ADAM. Speaking of the divinity of CHRIST, he said he was a great person who died for mankind, nor could he find words to express the virginity and purity of the blessed Virgin.

Speaking of the power of the Emperor, and his sending his forces to conquer the world, he express'd it so as if he had been superior to all powers in heaven and earth.

The

CHAP.
X.

The Emperor ATABILPA apprehending, by the conclusion of the Friar's speech, that he was, by fair means or force, to renounce his sovereignty, and become a tributary Prince by the commands of the Pope and the Emperor, and that the soldiers seemed to threaten him by brandishing their arms, he was extremely dejected, believing that the Spaniards, as God's instruments, were come to take vengeance on him and his people; and fetching a deep sigh, repeated the word *Atar*, which is as much as if he had said, most unhappy man! However, recollecting himself, he gave at length the following answer to Father VINCENT's speech.

The Inca's
answer to
the Friar's
speech.

"Tho' you have deny'd me all the requests I made to your messengers, yet it would be a great satisfaction to me, to grant me the favour only to express your selves by a more skilful and faithful interpreter, because the manners and designs of men are better understood by discourse, than by signs or actions; for tho' you may be men endued with extraordinary virtues and abilities, yet unless you make them appear to me by words and discourse, I shall never be capable to understand them by outward signs and gestures: For if there be a necessity of a common language between nations who desire commerce and conversation together, much more is it requisite between people so remote as we are. For indeed, to treat by Interpreters ignorant of both tongues, is like the inarticulate sound of domestick animals; and such, O man of God, seems this discourse thou hast made me by this Interpreter. And now, so far as I understand, methinks this discourse seems very different to what your Embassadors lately propounded, for they treated of nothing else but peace and friendship; but now, all the words of this Indian are nothing but menaces of war, and death, and fire, and sword, with the extirpation and banishment of the Inca's and their progeny; and that I must voluntarily, or by force, renounce a right to my kingdom, and become tributary to another. From whence I collect one of these two things; that either you or your Prince are tyrants, and rove about to plunder the world, and to dispossess others of their kingdoms, killing and spoiling those who owe you nothing, and have never offered you injury or violence; or otherwise, you are the Ministers of God, called by us, *PACHA CAMAC*, whom he hath sent to visit us with vengeance and destruction. And if it be so, both I and my vassals do offer ourselves to death, and to what punishment soever you will inflict upon us; not for fear, nor out of any dread we have of your menaces or arms, but in compliance with the commands enjoined us by my father *HUANA CAPAC*, at the time of his death, which was, that we should serve and honour a nation with beards like yourselves, which were to enter into these parts after his days, and of which he prophesied some years before your ships coasted about our country, and whom he declared to be men of better laws, of more refined customs, more wise and more valiant than ourselves.

"Wherefore, to fulfil the prophecy and testament of my father, we stile you *Viracocha's*, understanding thereby, that you are the Messengers of the great god *Viracocha*, whose will and pleasure, just indignation, arms, and power, we are unable to resist; and yet we are assur'd that he is all goodness and mercy; and for that reason you, who are his Ministers and Execu-

tioners of his will, ought to abstain from such robberies, slaughter and violence as you have committed in Tumbez and the adjacent countries.

"In the next place, your Interpreter acquaints me of five great personages whom I am to acknowledge: The first is God, who is three and one, that is four, whom you call the Creator of the universe; which, perhaps, may be the same whom we call *PACHA CAMAC*, and *Viracocha*. The second is the Father of all mankind, on whom all other men have heaped their sins. The third you call *JESUS CHRIST*, who was the only person excepted who did not cast his sins on the first man, but that he died. The fourth you name is the Pope. The fifth is *CHARLES*, who, in comparison with others, you call the most powerful Monarch of the universe, and the supreme Lord of all: But then, if *CHARLES* be the Prince, and the Lord of the world, what need was there for the Pope to give a new grant and another commission to make war upon me, and usurp my kingdoms? For consequently the Pope must be a greater Prince than he, and the most powerful of any in the world. But I most admire at what you say, that I am obliged to pay tribute to *CHARLES* only, and not to others, the which you alledge without giving me any reason; and indeed I cannot conceive on what score I am obliged to pay it; for if I were bound to pay tribute and service to any, methinks it should be to that God who, you say, created all things, and to that first man, who was the father of all mankind, and to that *JESUS CHRIST* who had no sins to impute unto him: And in fine, if tribute were to be given, it should rather be unto the Pope, who hath power and authority to dispose of my kingdoms and my person; and if you say that I owe nothing unto any of these, I should imagine that I owe much less to *CHARLES*, who was never Lord of these countries, nor ever saw them. And if the Pope's grant and concession be obligatory to me, it were just and reasonable to declare it to me, before you threaten me with war, and fire, and sword, and death; for I am not so void of understanding and sense, as not to obey the Pope, in case you can shew me a reason, and justice, and cause for it.

"Moreover, I desire to be informed who that good man *JESUS CHRIST* was, who, you say, never laid his sins on another, but that he died. I would gladly know, whether he died of a natural death, or by the hands of his enemies; and whether he was numbered amongst the Gods before his death, or afterwards.

"And farther, I desire to be informed, whether these five which you highly honour, are adored by you for Gods; for if it be so, you hold more for Gods than we, who acknowledge no other than the *PACHA CAMAC*, who is the supreme, and the Sun, who is inferior to him, and the Moon, who is his sister and wife. In which doubtful questions I heartily desire to be truly resolved by some other more able and faithful Interpreter, that so I may be made more capable thereby to know and obey your will and commands."

DE LA VEGA says, he had seen the speech made by the Friar to the Inca, and we may be assur'd of its being genuine; but it is not possible he should be so well assured what the Inca's answer was, there being no body present, I presume, that could take it

CHAP. X. it verbatim; however, he seems to be of opinion, that it was much of the tenour we find it in the Spanish writers.

But after all, what are these speeches and summons's of the Spaniards to the Indians to change their religion but mere grimace? It is evident PIZARRO's eyes were altogether fix'd upon the plunder, and he was prepared to massacre and cut the Peruvians in pieces, before he knew what answer would be given the Missionaries: He drew the unwary Indians into an ambuscade, from whence it was impossible they should escape, or carry off their Prince, on whose captivity he knew depended the fate of that empire; closely following the precedent CORTEZ had set him, in seizing MONTEZUMA, Emperor of Mexico.

Had the Spaniards entertained christian or pacifick views, they could not have expected that ignorant men, who never heard of the Christian religion, should immediately comprehend its doctrines, or obey its precepts, before they could possibly make any reflection on what was proposed to them; and yet this was the constant practice of the Spaniards in that new world, to give the natives a short summons, and if they refused to obey it, immediately to plunder and enslave them. But to proceed:

The Spaniards, says DE LA VEGA, weary of this long discourse, began to advance and attack the Indians, and plunder them of their gold, silver, and jewels; for they had put on their richest ornaments that day to receive the embassy sent them (as they believ'd) from the universal Monarch of the world; and some of the Spaniards climbed a tower to seize one of the Peruvian idols, adorned with gold and precious stones, which outrage occasioned a great noise and tumult among the Indians; but the Emperor called out to his people to be quiet, and make no resistance whatever violences the Spaniards committed. Some writers say, that Friar VINCENT encouraged the soldiers to attack the Indians, because ATABILIPA threw the Bible, or Breviary, upon the ground, which that Friar presented him; but DE LA VEGA assures us, this was not true; that the Friar indeed, being surpris'd at the sudden cry of the Indians, as he was discoursing with the Inca, run away and dropp'd his book and the cross upon the ground; but that he was so far from encouraging the soldiers to fall upon the Indians, that he called out to them to do no manner of violence: However, whether Father VINCENT encouraged the slaughter of the Indians or not, or whether PIZARRO acquainted him with his intentions, or concealed them from him, nothing is more evident than that this General drew the Indians within those walls on purpose to massacre and plunder them, and make the Inca his prisoner; for the conference between the Inca and the Friar was scarce ended, before he made the appointed signal for the great guns to fire among the thickest of the Indians, and his horse to attack and trample them under their feet, and the dogs to be let loose at them, while he, at the head of his infantry, marched up to the golden chair, or throne, on which ATABILIPA was carried, and made him prisoner. The poor Indians, 'tis said, when they saw what the Christians chiefly aim'd at, threw themselves between the Spaniards and their Prince, to prevent his being taken, but not a man of them offer'd to lift up a weapon to defend himself, their Emperor having commanded the contrary: The poor people therefore were slaughtered like so many sheep, 'till PIZARRO having made his way through, or rather over the heaps of the slain, pull'd down the Emperor from his chair with his

VOL. III.

own hands, and took him prisoner, in which action he received a slight wound from one of his own soldiers that struck at the Inca; and the General was the only Spaniard that was hurt, tho' five thousand Peruvians were killed that day with their arms in their hands; which amounts to a demonstration that the Peruvians made no resistance: And that this brave action the Spaniards boast of so much, may more properly be stiled a barbarous butchery than a victory; and I cannot help thinking, that CERVANTES had some of these Spanish heroes, that subdued the West-Indies, in his eye, when he introduced that inimitable champion DON QUIXOT, arm'd cap-a-pee, charging a flock of sheep with his lance. Let any one consult the Spanish Historiographer, ANTONIO DE HERERA, BLAS VALERA, and the rest of the Spanish authors who write of this conquest, and they will see I do their countrymen no wrong in this relation.

HERERA informs us, that PIZARRO, before ATABILIPA and his Indians entered the square, commanded his musketeers to take post upon a signal given them; that the Captains FERDINANDO PIZARRO, FERDINAND DE SOTO, SEBASTIAN DE BALCAZAR, and CHRISTOPHER DE MENA, who commanded the cavalry, should fall upon the Indians, and the foot should do the like; and directed them, before the execution began, that they should permit a certain number of the enemy (as they call'd them) to enter the gates, which they should afterwards take special care to shut and secure: That Father VINCENT having made his speech to the Inca, told PIZARRO he was treated with contempt; and that the tyrant demanded restitution of the gold and silver the Spaniards had plunder'd his subjects of.

Whereupon, says HERERA, PIZARRO did not think fit to lose more time: "for he had before resolv'd what to do;" being a man that had served twenty years in the West-Indies, and knowing the victory depended on seizing the persons of the Sovereigns: He lifted up the white Cloth, which was the appointed signal for executing the orders he had given, and thereupon PETER DE CANDIA fir'd the great guns, and the musketeers their pieces, to the amazement of the Indians, and the more so, because it was unexpected: Then the drums beat, the trumpets sounded, the horse fell in three several ways among the Indians, while the infantry made a slaughter of them with their cross-bows, pikes and swords: And PIZARRO in person, with fifteen chosen men, marched up to the chair on which ATABILIPA was carried, and killing those that supported it, with many more that crowded to supply their places, after a very great slaughter of the Indians, seized the Inca, and pull'd him down from his chair; after which, the Peruvians fled, and were pursued by the Spaniards, who did not leave off killing them 'till the fugitives broke down part of the wall of the square, by which means some of them escaped.

BLAS VALERA, whose father was in this action also, relates that five thousand Indians were kill'd, (viz.) three thousand five hundred by the sword, and the rest, who were for the most part old men, women and children, who came only to gaze, were trampled under foot by the horse.

LOPEZ DE GOMARA, chap. 113, says, Notwithstanding the Indians were arm'd, not a man lifted up his hand; probably, says he, the surprize was so sudden, and their terror so great, occasion'd by the sound of trumpets, the roaring of the cannons, firing of the small arms, the rushing of the

22 K

horse

The Indians massacred, and their Inca made prisoner.

The treachery and cruelty of the Spaniards confessed by their own historians.

CHAP.
X.

horse upon them, and the clattering of the Spanish armour, things unknown to that defenceless people, that they were confounded, and lost the use of their reason; declaring that great numbers perish'd with their arms in their hands, rather than they would fight and defend themselves.

DE LA VEGA indeed observes, that the Spanish Generals pretended the Indians were treacherous; that ATABILIPA had formed a design to surprize the Spaniards, and put them all to the sword; and that Father VINCENT complained to the General they refused his invitation to become Christians, and treated him and the Cross with contempt, and thereupon incited the General to fall upon them.

But in these accounts, says DE LA VEGA, the General and Captains were not sincere: They endeavoured to put the best gloss upon their actions, leaving out of the narrative they sent to the Court of Spain, all their cruel and unjustifiable proceedings; and adding whatever had a fair appearance. "It being confirmed (says that historian) by several other writers, that ATABILIPA commanded his subjects not to resist the Spaniards." For if the Inca had not commanded them not to fight, certainly, says he, they would never have endured to see their Prince overthrown and taken, having weapons in their hands: They would rather have all died in his defence, as many of them did in endeavouring to support his chair, and not have suffered an hundred and sixty Spaniards, whom they were able to have subdued with stones, to commit such outrages. Whereas there was not one Spaniard either killed or wounded, unless FRANCIS PIZARRO the General, who received a little hurt in his hand by one of his own men, as he went to seize on ATABILIPA. The truth is (says he) the Indians did not fight, because they held every command of the Inca to be a part of their religion, and of the divine law, tho' it were to lose their lives and estates: Indeed our author describes it to a miraculous providence that the Inca should give these orders; but these, and abundance of miracles more of the same stamp, which the Spaniards relate in their histories of their invasions and usurpations in the West-Indies, are but little credited probably by hereticks, whatever they may be by those of their own persuasion.

The spoils
of the
field.

To proceed to the history. PIZARRO having seized the Inca, and convey'd him to his own quarters, directed the spoils of the field to be collected and brought to him, which were exceeding great, consisting of large gold and silver vessels, and utensils, fine garments of various colours, jewels and ornaments belonging to the Inca, the royal family, and great officers. There were taken also several Ladies, wives of the Caciques and Orejones, and some of the Mamacona's, or consecrated Virgins: And tho' all mankind must look upon this action as one of the most treacherous and barbarous massacres that ever was committed by Christians, yet had PIZARRO the confidence to command a solemn thanksgiving to God to be observed that very day, being the third of May, 1533, (the festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross) and in that very field where the ground was cover'd with the dead bodies of the miserable Indians they had thus murder'd and plunder'd. Next day he sent out a detachment of his forces to plunder the Inca's camp, where he met with another rich booty; tho' 'tis said the Peruvian Generals had carried off three thousand loads (Porter's burdens) of gold and silver before the Spaniards arrived there; therefore, in order to induce the Indians not to carry off or conceal any more of

CHAP.
X.

their treasures, he caused it to be proclaimed that their Inca was alive, and that they were at liberty to come and attend him, and perform their usual services. Whereupon several of the Indian Generals and great Officers returned to Caxamalca to attend their captive Sovereign; he also caused the Inca's women to be brought to him, and suffered him to be served in the same manner he used to be before this misfortune; tho' he still kept him in fetters, which made the Inca apprehensive they would take away his life in the end, unless he could find some way to obtain his liberty: Having observed, therefore, the insatiable thirst of the Spaniards after gold and silver, he promised to give them as much of those precious metals as a great room in the castle of Caxamalca would hold, for his freedom; and that the Spaniards might not doubt the performance of what he offer'd, he proposed their sending some Spanish officers with his people to Cusco, to the temple of PACHA CAMAC, and other places, to bring the treasures repositied there to Caxamalca, and at the same time issued his orders, that the Spaniards who were dispatched to these places should be hospitably entertained in the countries through which they pass'd, and receive all the assistance his subjects could give them.

The Inca
offers vast
treasures
for his li-
berty.

In the mean time, JAMES DE ALMAGRO having lifted an hundred and fifty men in his service at Panama, embarked with them for Peru, to reinforce PIZARRO; but was obliged, by contrary winds, to land at Cape FRANCISCO, to the northward of the Equator, where he was joined by another party of Spaniards that were going to share PIZARRO's fortunes, making together a body of between two and three hundred men; but being obliged to pass so many morasses and mouths of rivers, and march through continual rains under the Equator, he lost thirty or forty of his men, and fell sick himself; however, surmounting all these distresses and difficulties, he arrived at length at the new Spanish colony of St. Michael's, near the Bay of Guaiquil, and there he understood that PIZARRO had made the Emperor ATABILIPA prisoner, and possessed himself of a vast treasure. Whereupon, 'tis said, ALMAGRO consulted with his Officers, whether they should join PIZARRO or go upon some further discoveries independent of him; if he refused to let them share the treasure he had got; and ALMAGRO's Secretary, it seems, sent PIZARRO intelligence, that his master had no good intentions towards him: But PIZARRO, either believing that he should not be able to keep so large an empire as Peru in subjection with the few troops that were with him, or that ALMAGRO having more forces than he commanded, might join a party of the Indians and take his booty from him, and set up for himself, sent very obliging messages to ALMAGRO, inviting him to advance and join him, and at the same time acquainted him with the arts that were used to set them at variance, and thereby ruin their enterprize on Peru, which was not to be carried on but by their united forces and endeavours; and particularly he acquainted ALMAGRO with the treachery of his Secretary, who thereupon ordered him to be hang'd up, and immediately began his march towards Caxamalca.

Almagro
brings a
great rein-
forcement
to Peru.

The Inca ATABILIPA receiving advice that another body of Spaniards was arrived upon the coast, began to reflect that this would not probably be to his advantage; for PIZARRO would now no longer be under a necessity of carrying matters fair with him, being enabled by this reinforcement, to maintain his conquests by pure force: He hasten'd therefore

CHAP. X. therefore the bringing in the treasure he had offer'd for his ransom, that he might obtain his liberty before PIZARRO was joined by ALMAGRO; but another accident happened about the same time, which he apprehended would be still more fatal to him. The three Spanish officers that were sent with his people to Cusco happening to pass through the town where HUASCAR his brother, the lawful Emperor, was prisoner, went to see him, and acquainting HUASCAR with what ATABILIPA had offered for his ransom, that Prince acquainted them how unjustly he had been depos'd and imprisoned by ATABILIPA, his bastard brother, who had no right to the empire or the treasures he had promis'd: And as he understood one principal design of this expedition of the Spaniards was "to relieve the distressed, and to do justice to those that were oppress'd," he did not doubt but they would release him from his captivity, and restore him to his throne; which he should not only gratefully acknowledge, but would furnish them with much more treasure than the Usurper could possibly do; for his loyal subjects had buried most of their gold and silver plate after the battle wherein he was made prisoner, to conceal it from the rebels, but would readily produce it again, and pay it to the Spaniards for his ransom, if he required it.

PIZARRO's three messengers seem'd to listen to these overtures, and promised the Inca HUASCAR that justice should be done him; but left that Prince however in prison, and continued their journey to Cusco; and advice being immediately carried to ATABILIPA of this conference between the Spanish officers and his brother, he soon saw that he should be undone unless HUASCAR was dispatched out of the way, knowing that the greatest part of the Empire were still in his interest; and as they would infallibly be supported by the Spaniards, to whom his brother had discover'd his treachery, and promised such mountains of gold and silver, they would certainly sacrifice him to their avarice, if they had no regard to the justice of his brother's cause.

But then reflecting, if he should order his brother to be put to death, the Spaniards might make this a pretence for taking away his own life, he resolved in the first place to sound how PIZARRO stood affected towards HUASCAR, which he did by feigning he had received intelligence that the officers who had his brother in their custody had put him to death without his knowledge, for which the Usurper express'd a very great concern; but finding PIZARRO was not moved at the relation, and that he only said, This was the fortune of war, the lives of captives were at the conqueror's disposal, ATABILIPA dispatched an express for putting HUASCAR to death, and his orders were immediately executed; tho' it remains very uncertain in what manner he died; for some writers affirm he was burnt, and others he was drowned, and some that his body was cut in small pieces, that his subjects might not pay those honours to the corpse of their deceased Inca as was usual.

However, the Peruvians mourned, and made great lamentations for him as soon as his death was known, crying to heaven for vengeance on his murderers, and entreated the Spaniards to revenge it on the cruel usurper ATABILIPA.

In the mean time, the three officers that were sent to Cusco being arrived there, were adored by that people as the true descendants of the Sun; but the Spaniards lament that they were men of mean parts and education, who knew not how to preserve that respect and veneration the Peruvians had

conceived of them, which was then so necessary to facilitate their future attempts. The Indians, we are told, soon perceiv'd they must deduce the original of the Spaniards from some baser fountain than that of the Sun; and the esteem and affection they at first entertained for the Christians, on the mighty professions they made of their justice and honour, was, on a sudden, converted into dread and aversion: They were afflicted to find so vicious and profligate a race of men, who trampled on every thing that was sacred, and whose avarice seem'd to exceed all bounds, should become masters of their country, and from that time meditated how they might throw off that intolerable yoke which they found the Spaniards were about to impose on them; however, they durst not disobey the commands of their Inca ATABILIPA, but having amassed a considerable quantity of treasure, they loaded it on the backs of their Tamenes, or Porters, and conveyed it to Caxamalca, with a view possibly of asserting their liberties to greater advantages, when they should have procured the release of the Inca.

But the most valuable treasure, consisting of gold, silver, and emeralds, being lodged in the temple of PACHA CAMAC, the invisible God, as PIZARRO was informed, he dispatched his three brothers thither with the Peruvian officers ATABILIPA deputed to fetch it to Caxamalca; but the Priests of PACHA CAMAC, receiving advice how the temple of Cusco had been rifled by the Spaniards that went thither, to prevent the like misfortune, sent away four hundred loads of gold, silver, and jewels, before the PIZARROS arrived, which were buried in the earth, or carried to such a distance that the Spaniards could never discover what became of them: However, FERDINAND PIZARRO found as much plate in this temple as amounted to ninety thousand crowns, besides what the soldiers embezzel'd, and returned with it to Caxamalca.

The Marshal ALMAGRO being advanced by this time into the neighbourhood of Caxamalca, PIZARRO the General went out to meet him and congratulate his arrival, received him with all the marks of affection and esteem imaginable, and offer'd him such a share of the spoils as made him perfectly easy. But his soldiers, who expected to divide the booty with those that served under PIZARRO were told, they were entitled to no part of it, as not having been present in the action when the Inca ATABILIPA was made prisoner, which was near creating a mutiny amongst them; but they were pretty well appeas'd when PIZARRO agreed to distribute an hundred thousand ducats among the men which came with ALMAGRO; the rest of the plunder, after the Emperor's fifth was deducted, was divided by PIZARRO among his officers and soldiers in such proportion as he saw fit, in which he pretended to have a great regard to the merit of the respective Adventurers: And 'tis said, he at this time, after he had reserved the Inca's golden chair to himself, distributed as much gold and silver plate amongst the soldiers as amounted to 1500000 crowns and upwards; which, considering the value of gold and silver at that time, was more than fifteen millions at this day.

The soldiers being possessed of this prodigious wealth, fell into all manner of excesses, raising the price of things to a very great rate, by offering any sums to gratify their appetites or fancies; and never was gaming at a higher pitch; which, 'tis said, their officers conniv'd at, or rather encouraged, that the soldiers, having lost their money, and becoming dependant on them again, might be more under command.

CHAP. X.
The Peruvians lose their esteem for the Spaniards.

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tread of

The Inca
Huascar
put to
death by
Atabili-
pa's or-
ders.

CHAP.
X.

mand. And now PIZARRO thought it a proper time to send over the fifth part of the treasure to the Emperor, as he had stipulated, and with it his brother FERDINANDO PIZARRO, to solicit for such reinforcements as might establish the dominion of the Spaniards in Peru; and to petition that his government might be extended still further to the southward; (the General having probably heard by this time, that the chief silver mines lay farther south than 200 leagues, beyond which his patent did not extend). The Marshal ALMAGRO also employ'd his agents to represent to the Court of Spain with what expence and application he had sent and carried reinforcements, and supplied the General with ammunition and provisions from time to time, to enable him to make his conquest, and to desire that all that part of South-America which lay to the southward of the lands granted to PIZARRO, might be put under his government: And with these agents, sent by the General and the Marshal, return'd several Adventurers, to the number of fifty or threecore, who having obtain'd thirty or forty thousand ducats a-piece for their respective shares of the spoils, were perfectly satisfied with it, and chose to enjoy what they had got the remainder of their lives in their own country, rather than undergo more hazards and difficulties to increase their fortunes. These men knew how to set some bounds to their desires; but as for the Generals and many more of those that remain'd in Peru (who were about four hundred men) it appears nothing was capable of satisfying their avarice and ambition; most of them perished in the pursuit of wealth and unbounded power, after they were possess'd of more than would have made most men happy, or at least easy in their circumstances. But to proceed:

Miracles
pretended
to.

DE LA VEGA and the rest of the Spanish historians relate abundance of miracles that were wrought in their favour on their introducing Christianity into Peru; and that their conversion of the Peruvians might resemble the planting of the Christian religion by the Apostles in this part of the world, they tell us, that all the idols and oracles of those Pagans became dumb on the consecration of the host, as perform'd in the mass; but surely heaven could never countenance such cruelty, injustice and oppression as was exercis'd by the Spaniards on that unhappy people. They compared the Indians indeed to the Egyptians; but who gave them authority to plunder and murder the Indians, and take their country from them? Can it be imagined that God would by miracles set his seal, as it were, to such flagrant enormities, and countenance facts that none but infernal powers could approve? Was it thus the Apostles and primitive Christians propagated Christianity? Or did these Reformers copy after MAHOMET, and plant their superstition in this new world by the sword, the halter, and the bow-string, and such unparallel'd villanies as MAHOMET would have blush'd to commit; of which their treatment of ATABILIPA will ever remain a tragical instance.

A formal
process
drawn up
against
Atabilipa.

ATABILIPA, the royal prisoner, having offered PIZARRO a prodigious treasure for his liberty, and actually paid great part of it if not all (as some of their historians admit) PIZARRO, notwithstanding, determin'd to take away his life, pretending that he encourag'd the Indians to attempt his rescue and cut off the Spaniards: And that he might justify his conduct in this proceeding, he caused a formal process to be drawn up against him, consisting of the following articles, (viz.)

I. That HUASCAR Inca being his eldest brother and lawful Sovereign, and himself a bastard, he had caus'd HUASCAR to be depos'd and imprison'd, and afterwards usurped his throne.

CHAP.
X.
The arti-
cles.

II. That he had caus'd his said brother to be murder'd, since he became a prisoner to the Spaniards.

III. That the ATABILIPA was an idolater.

IV. That he caus'd his subjects to sacrifice men and children.

V. That he had rais'd unjust wars, and been guilty of the blood of many people.

VI. That he kept a great many concubines.

VII. That he exacted taxes and tribute of the Peruvians since the Spaniards possess'd his country, and consumed and embezzel'd the publick treasure.

VIII. That he had incited the Indians to rebel and make war against the Spaniards since he had been their prisoner.

The last article being chiefly insisted on, the Inca absolutely denied that part of the charge, and complain'd of the treachery of PIZARRO, who, after he had extorted such a ransom from him, now broke his faith, and would put him to death under a colour of law; and desired he might be sent over to Spain, and try'd before the Emperor: He urg'd that he had never offend'd the Spaniards, but greatly enrich'd them; and that they could not without great injustice take away his life. However, the Spaniards proceeded to examine witnesses against him on these articles, whose testimony being interpreted by PHILIP the Peruvian, whom the Spaniards admit was an enemy to the Inca, and PIZARRO and ALMAGRO sitting as his Judges, they made no difficulty to condemn him to be burnt; and Friar VINCENT VALVERDE, 'tis said, approved the sentence under his hand, that it might give the greater satisfaction to the Court of Spain: The Friar also took great pains to induce the Inca to turn Christian and receive baptism before he died, which he consented to, 'tis said, upon condition that the execution might be changed from burning to strangling; and he was accordingly strangled, the Friar having first given him absolution, and assign'd him a seat in heaven, notwithstanding the many crimes they had charg'd him with.

Atabilipa
is con-
demned to
be burnt.He is bap-
tized.
And after-
wards
strangled.

Many of the Spaniards, it seems, protested against these proceedings, and the putting the Inca to death had almost occasion'd a mutiny; but those who were for saving him, finding themselves the smaller number, and it being represented that their quarrels at this time would not only be fatal to themselves, but be the loss of Peru probably, they thought fit to acquiesce in the determination of the greater number.

But notwithstanding I have no great opinion of PIZARRO's justice or humanity, it would not be fair to conceal what his friends say in his favour, who tell us, that the Indians themselves were really the occasion of this Prince's death; that the party of HUASCAR were perpetually suggesting, that the Spaniards could never expect to possess Peru quietly as long as he lived, and produced several witnesses at the trial, who positively testified that ATABILIPA was conspiring to raise an army to destroy the Spaniards; and that the Peruvian Generals had actually assembled their troops in several parts of the empire, and particularly in Quito, the province the Spaniards were now in, and which was most devoted to this Inca; and that if PIZARRO had not cut him off, he would have hazarded the loss of all his conquests. They relate also, that an amour between PHILIP the Interpreter,

Pizarro's
apology
for this
proceed-
ing.

CHAP. X. terpreter, and one of the Inca's women, did not a little contribute to ATABILIPA's ruin: For PHILIP despairing of enjoying his mistress while the Inca liv'd, was perpetually bringing stories to PIZARRO of the disaffection of the Indians, and their conspiracies to cut off the Spaniards, and rescue their Prince out of prison. They relate also, that PHILIP gave the worst turn to the evidence he could, when he was called to interpret it, representing things much worse than they were, which induced the General to believe he was really in danger, and that he could not be safe while ATABILIPA lived; and under such a persuasion, he could not be blam'd for putting the Inca to death, who had forfeited the protection that was promis'd him, by his plots.

The answer to Pizarro's apology.

On the other hand it is answered, that admitting the charge had been true, the Inca might have been as well secur'd against his doing the Spaniards any mischief, by sending him over to the Emperor (who would have been a much more proper judge of his actions than PIZARRO) as by putting him to death: And as to ATABILIPA's being a usurper, and having dethroned and murdered his brother and sovereign, it is demanded, who gave PIZARRO authority to judge and condemn a sovereign Prince for these offences: Had PIZARRO acted up to the character he assumed, of a protector and deliverer of the distressed, and rescued and protected HUASCAR, the lawful Emperor, against the Usurper; or, after the death of HUASCAR, had caused his lawful successor to be proclaimed, and established on his throne; either of them might have called ATABILIPA to account for his usurpation and tyranny, and done justice upon him; but PIZARRO could have no better authority to judge and condemn this Prince, or even his subjects, than Pirates and Banditti have to take away the lives of the unhappy captives they make: And his doing it under colour of law, was but an aggravation of the offence. Had he put him to death as an enemy taken in war, without a formal trial, his insolence had been more pardonable; but a man of PIZARRO's rank to erect a tribunal for the trial of a King, was alone a most audacious usurpation of sovereign power, over a Prince that could have no dependance on him. There are some Spanish writers also that suggest, there was a great deal of pique and resentment in the affair: That ATABILIPA, who in a manner adored PIZARRO at first as the General and Commander of these sons of the Gods, observing his rapine and avarice, and other mean and fordid actions, and that many of the private men that served under him seemed to excel him in many respects, he began to loose his esteem for PIZARRO, and not treat him with that profound reverence he did at first; particularly they relate, that ATABILIPA, admiring nothing more than that faculty of writing and reading which he apprehended was natural to the Spaniards, and born with them, proposed it to a soldier to write the word God (they so often repeated to him) upon his thumb-nail; and then calling another soldier to him, he demanded what those characters signified; to which he answered God. Then he called a third, who gave him the same answer; but afterwards, demanding of PIZARRO if he knew what it meant, he answered he could not tell, for it seems PIZARRO could neither write nor read; at which answer the Inca was amaz'd. He thought it impossible their Commander could be ignorant of what most of his soldiers were well versed in: This being directly the reverse of what he had observed among his own people, where the qualifications of their Magistrates and Officers were usually

V O L. III.

CHAP. X. superior to those of the common people; nor did he reckon much amiss when he applied this rule to the Christians, who usually make choice of men that are best qualified to supply the greatest posts: And this instance would incline men to believe, that PIZARRO made but a mean figure in Europe, and was not of that quality the Spanish writers pretend he was; there being but few posts a man could be qualified for, even in Spain, who could neither write nor read.

But whatever was the real occasion of the Inca's death, some of the articles preferred against him were exceeding ridiculous; as that he was an idolater, and kept concubines, which was the case of most of the heathen world, and could be no crime in him 'till he was better inform'd: They also charged him with presuming to receive the revenues of his empire, and meddling with the publick money, after they had set up their claim to his dominions: But whatever title ATABILIPA might have to the empire, or the publick money, it is very certain the Spaniards could have no title to either; and if he deserved death for possessing himself of them, much more the Spaniards who could have no right to them, either by inheritance or the consent of the subject.

PIZARRO, however, did not carry his resentment so far, but after he had killed and taken possession, he thought fit to treat the corpse of the Inca with the respect due to a sovereign Prince: He celebrated the Inca's funeral with great solemnity, and went into mourning for him; but he soon discovered how detestable this murder rendered him among the natives. The two factions immediately united against him, under HUANA CAPAC, the brother and heir of HUASCAR, whom they proclaimed Emperor of Cusco: Whereupon PIZARRO proclaim'd TOPARPA (a son of ATABILIPA) Emperor, caus'd him to wear the imperial coronet, and to be treated with the same honours his father had been; issuing such orders in his name, as might best serve the interest of the Spaniards; but this Inca died soon after: And now PIZARRO, conjecturing that nothing could tend to establish the Spanish dominion in Peru, more than his possessing himself of the capital city of Cusco, he began his march thither with all his forces, consisting of near four hundred men, besides confederate Indians.

The articles preferred against the Inca ridiculous.

Pizarro proclaims another Inca.

Marches towards Cusco.

In the mean time ATAUCHI, brother to the late Emperor ATABILIPA, having collected a great quantity of treasure to purchase his brother's ransom, brought it to Caxamalca; but finding ATABILIPA murdered, and the Spaniards marched from thence, determined to be revenged of them; and joining his forces with some other Peruvian Generals, surprized the Spaniards upon their march to Cusco, killed some of them, and made several prisoners, and amongst the rest SANCHE DE CUELLAR, who had drawn up the process against the late Inca ATABILIPA, and attended his execution. With these prisoners the Indian Generals retired again to Caxamalca, where they strangled SANCHE the Spaniard, at the very same post where their Emperor was put to death; but understanding that FRANCIS DE CHAVES, FERDINANDO DE HARO, and some of the rest of their prisoners, had protested against the Inca's death, they resolved to give them their lives and liberties, entering into the following articles of peace and friendship with the captive Spaniards, before they dismissed them, viz. That neither party should for the future offer any violence to the other; and particularly, that the Spaniards should not attempt to depose MANCO CAPAC, who had been proclaimed at Cusco, and was the lawful heir of the Inca HUANA CAPAC: That both sides should re-

Some of his men cut off, and made prisoners.

Sanche strangled.

A treaty between the Spaniards and Indians.

CHAP.
X.

leave their prisoners, and that the Spaniards should not treat the Indians as slaves, but freemen: That the laws of their country should be observed inviolably, when they were not repugnant to those of Christianity; and that this treaty should be ratified by the Spanish General, and his Sovereign the Emperor of the Romans.

The Spaniards insisted, on their parts, that the Indians should profess the Christian religion; that a part of the country should be assign'd them for their subsistence, and that they might retain the Indians as hired servants, tho' not as slaves: Which the Indians agreed to, and dismissed their prisoners with rich presents: Put PIZARRO and ALMAGRO at first positively refus'd to ratify the articles, and would hear of nothing but an absolute submission, and an entire surrender of their country and their persons to the will of the Christians, which occasion'd long and bloody wars afterwards: Whereas the Spanish historians admit, they might have established Christianity in Peru without spilling a drop of blood, if the ambition and avarice of the Adventurers had not prevented it. The people were as well disposed, they observe, to receive the Christian faith, as could be wished, and ready to have acknowledg'd the King of Spain their Sovereign; and that their Inca should hold his dominions of him, if they might have been treated as subjects and freemen ought to be; and the Inca would have assign'd lands and revenues to the Spaniards, provided his subjects might have been allow'd to have had any property in the residue; but this would not satisfy the views of the rapacious Spaniards, they could not have plunder'd their temples and palaces, usurp'd whole provinces, enflav'd the natives, and arrived at sovereign power, if they had cultivated a friendship, and entered into an alliance with the natives. What zeal soever therefore the Spaniards might pretend for propagating the Christian religion, it is evident wealth and power were the only deities these Adventurers ador'd, as has been already observed in the conduct of their brethren in Mexico. But to return to the history of Peru.

Cusco abandoned by the Indians.

The Spaniards enter Cusco.

Some account of their plundering that capital.

The General PIZARRO, continuing his march towards Cusco, was again attack'd by several parties of the Indians, at some difficult passes in the mountains; but finding themselves unable to resist the fire-arms and horses of the Christians, they fled, after a feint resistance, to the capital city; declaring, that it was in vain for any human force to oppose the Spaniards, who were arm'd with thunder and lightning, and could kill their enemies at so many hundred yards distance. Whereupon the people of Cusco, without offering to defend their walls, or that impregnable castle already describ'd, fled with their wives and children, and what was most valuable to them, to the woods and mountains; and PIZARRO entered the city without opposition in the month of October 1532, where he met with a prodigious booty, notwithstanding the citizens had so much time to carry off their best goods and treasure.

GOMARA, a Spanish writer, relates, "That the next day after the Spaniards enter'd Cusco, they fell to work, some to unrip the gold and silver from the walls of the temple; others to dig up the jewels and vessels of plate, which were buried with the dead; others pillaged and rifled the idols, and sack'd the houses, and the fortrefs, where still great quantities of gold and silver were preserved, which had been there amass'd and laid up by HUANA CAPAC. In short, there was more gold and silver found in this city, and in the parts about it, than was produced at Caxamalca by the ransom of ATABILIPA. However, the

particular share belonging to every individual person, did not amount to so much as the former dividend, by reason that the number was greater which was to partake thereof; nor was the fame of this action so loud as the first, which publish'd the triumph of riches, with the imprisonment of a King. A certain Spaniard entering into a vault, found there an entire tomb of silver, so thick and massy that it was worth fifty thousand pieces of eight, or crowns; others had the fortune to find such as were of less value; for it was the custom of rich men of those countries to be buried in this manner up and down the fields, and there be laid in state, like idols. Nor were the Spaniards contented with this prize, but still thirsting after greater riches, were hot in the pursuit of the treasures of HUANA CAPAC, and of others hidden by the ancient Kings of Cusco; but neither then, nor afterwards, were all those treasures discovered, tho' they tortured the poor Indians to make them discover the places where their Great men were interred.

"It is certain, says GOMARA, that for the space of seven or eight years after the Spaniards had remained in quiet possession of that empire, several treasures were discovered both within and without the city; and particularly within the precincts of that palace call'd Amuruchancha, which, upon the division made, fell to the lot of ANTONIO ALTAMIRANO; where it happened that a horse, galloping round a court-yard of that Palace, struck one of his feet into a hole, which they supposed at first to be some old sink, or drain for water from the house; but looking more narrowly, they found the hole opening to a jar of gold, weighing above two hundred pounds weight; for the Indians make greater or less of these as their occasions require, using them to boil their drink and liquor in. With this great jar they found others of gold and silver; and tho' they were not so large, yet they were valued at about eighty thousand ducats. Moreover, in the convent of the Select Virgins, and particularly in that part which fell to the share of PEDRO DEL BARCO, and afterwards came to the possession of HERNANDO DE SEGOVIA, who was an Apothecary, and with whom I had an acquaintance; this HERNANDO altering his house, and removing some part of the foundation, found a treasure of seventy-two thousand ducats, with which, and with above twenty thousand ducats more, which he had gain'd by his practice, he returned into Spain, where I saw him at Seville; where in a few days after his arrival he died for mere grief and sorrow that he had left Cusco, as several others had done, whom I knew in the same condition."

A ducat is about a noble.

PIZARRO having thus possessed himself of the capital city of Peru, from whence the Inca MANCO CAPAC and the greatest part of the inhabitants were fled, thought fit to invite them to return to their dwellings; apprehending, if they were made desperate, that the whole Power of Peru would assemble against him, and might reduce him to great straits, by cutting off his provisions, tho' they durst not meet him fairly in the field. The Indians accepting PIZARRO's invitation, returned to their houses in Cusco, and even the Inca made some overtures to him, intimating that he should be content to embrace the Christian religion, and hold his dominions of the Emperor of the Romans, provided that neither he nor his subjects should be molested for the future in their persons or estates: And being encouraged by PIZARRO to believe he should have the terms he demanded,

CHAP.

X.

A peace
between
Pizarro
and the
Inca
Manco
Capac.

demanded, the Inca came in person to Cusco, and had an interview with the Spanish General, who caused him to be crown'd and invested in the empire, by binding the royal wreath, or coronet, about his head, and proclaiming him Inca in the same manner his successors used to be inaugurated into that dignity, and assur'd the Inca he would strictly observe the capitulation made by FRANCIS DE CHEVES, and the rest of the Spanish prisoners with his people.

These pacific measures the Spaniards found themselves under a necessity of taking at this time, not only because they saw all the southern provinces of Peru assembling against them under the Inca MANCO CAPAC, but because RUMMINAVI, QUISQUIS, and other Peruvian Generals had assembled a very great army in the northern provinces, and possess'd themselves of Quito, which obliged him to send a considerable detachment of his forces under the command of SEBASTIAN BELALCAZAR, to reinforce the new colony at St. Michael's, and to make head against the Peruvian Generals in Quito.

BELALCAZAR thereupon marching into Quito, made himself master of the capital city, and was in a fair way of reducing the rest, when advice was brought, that DON PEDRO DE ALVARADO was come upon the coast of Peru with a considerable fleet, and had landed seven or eight hundred men intending to take the government of Peru upon him, and expel PIZARRO and ALMAGRO from thence; at which news these two Adventurers were thunder-struck, apprehending they should be dispossest of all the spoils they had taken, and perhaps sent prisoners to Spain, to give an account of their conduct in murdering the late Inca ATABILIPA, and massacring his people; they continued therefore to cultivate a good understanding with the Indians of the southern provinces, and treated the Inca and his subjects as their friends and allies, promising to perform punctually whatever they had promis'd, knowing how great an advantage it must be to have the country in their interest, if they were oblig'd to contend with ALVARADO for the possession of it.

Don Pedro de Alvarado lands in Peru.

A detachment under Almagro sent against him.

Alvarado one of the conquerors of Mexico.

The next precaution PIZARRO took, was to detach an hundred Spaniards under the command of his confederate ALMAGRO, towards the sea-coast, to join with BELALCAZAR, and observe the motions of ALVARADO; for they were determin'd not to resign easily what they had obtain'd with so much labour and hazard. And here it will be necessary to enquire who this ALVARADO was, and what title he had to assume the government of Peru. If the reader pleases to turn to chap. VII. pag. 195. of Mexico, he will observe that DON PEDRO DE ALVARADO was one of the principal Generals that accompanied CORTEZ in the conquest of Mexico, and obtain'd the government of Guatimala, one of the most considerable provinces of that empire. This Gentleman was become vastly rich by the spoils of the Mexicans, and his government in extent was little inferior to that of Spain; here he exercised an unlimited command, treating the natives rather like slaves than subjects; but understanding there was greater plenty of gold and silver in Peru than was to be found in North-America, and his ambition and avarice increasing with his acquisitions, some say he obtained a commission from the Emperor CHARLES V. to be Governor of so much of Peru as was not actually conquer'd by PIZARRO and ALMAGRO. Others relate, that DON ALVARADO undertook this expedition by his sole authority, without the consent of the Emperor, believing that as he was an elder

General, and one of the first that was employ'd in the conquest of America, PIZARRO and ALMAGRO would have submitted to him on his allowing them to share that country with him; or if they should refuse, he determined to carry such a force with him as should compel them to share it with him: But however that was, it is agreed, ALVARADO equip'd a good fleet in the harbours of Guatimala on the South-sea, where he embark'd seven or eight hundred men, most of them cavalry (and amongst them several persons of quality, and old officers that had serv'd in the conquest of Mexico, who were induc'd to engage in this enterprize, by the fame of the Commander, and the vast wealth they expected to find in Peru) and with these he set sail from Guatimala for the coast of Peru, in the year 1535; in which voyage he endur'd very great hardships for want of provisions, having been kept at sea longer than they expected, by contrary winds; and he was at last forced to land at Cape St. Francis, one degree north of the Equator, and march over almost impassable bogs and mountains, where he lost a great many of his men and horses: However, he arrived at length near the Spanish colony of St. Michael's, having got a much greater body of troops left than were under the command of PIZARRO and ALMAGRO.

CHAP.

X.

He embarks for Peru. His hardships at sea, and his fatiguing march afterwards.

GOMARA and CARATE, two Spanish writers, relate some occurrences that happen'd in this march of ALVARADO's, that are scarce credible; and DE LA VEGA seems to attest the truth of them: As first, that ALVARADO and his men pass'd over a mountain cover'd with snow, under the Equator, where sixty of their number were frozen to death; of which I must suspend my belief, because I have no where seen or heard of snow, much less mountains covered with snow, under the Equator. I have indeed been as cold near the Equator, as in the frozen regions of Europe; but this has proceeded from the rains, and not from frost or snow, when we have been forced to lie in the fields in the night-time during the rainy season, with our wet cloaths on, our people have shook with extreme cold; perhaps we were more sensible of the coldness of the depending rains in that hot climate than in a cold country, as a man who goes into a river in the middle of the day in summer, is more sensible of the coldness of the water, than he that bathes in the evening: And some writers, possibly hearing ALVARADO's soldiers complaining of the cold they endur'd on the mountains near the Equator, concluded that could only proceed from the frost and snow, and thought fit to give us their own conjectures, rather than the facts, as they heard them: Had they laid the scene near either of the Tropicks, instead of the Equator, I should have made no scruple to believe them. We know that there are mountains cover'd with snow in the latitude of 22 and 23, when the Sun is in the opposite Tropic; but none of our travellers of late years pretend to have seen snow under the Equator.

An enquiry into the truth of some of the particulars related here.

Secondly, Another particular mentioned by the Spanish authors, who give an account of ALVARADO's march, is, that passing over a sandy desert several days journey, where there was no water, they should infallibly have perish'd, if they had not met with large groves of Bamboe canes, bigger than a man's leg, which between the joints were filled with good water, of which they had enough both for their horses and themselves: To which it is objected, that though we find Bamboe canes of this bigness in several hot countries, we see

none

CHAP.
X.

none of them replenished with water, as it is reported these Peruvian canes were: I am apt to believe therefore, that this also is a mistake.

If it had been said, that ALVARADO's men had met with groves of Coco-nut-trees, which are very common near the Equinoctial, and had quench'd their thirst with the milk, or water, that is lodged in the inside of the young Coco-nuts (of which each nut holds near a pint) the story would have had nothing very improbable in it; but the changing the Coco-nut into a cane, is that which shocks my belief; and I am very well satisfied, many such mistakes are made by the writers of voyages and travels, especially where they have their accounts at second hand, which they must have in many instances; it being impossible for any man to see with his own eyes every thing the country affords which he travels through.

But to return to ALVARADO: Whatever were the hardships and losses he suffer'd in his march, ALMAGRO was in a terrible consternation upon the advice he received of his approach, especially when he understood he had surpriz'd a party of horse ALMAGRO had sent out to get intelligence of his motions, and made them prisoners; but the men returning to his camp soon after, and telling him that ALVARADO treated them handsomely, and set them at liberty, he began to entertain hopes that their respective pretensions would be adjusted by a treaty, without coming to an open rupture with them: And this he was confirm'd in, when ALVARADO was pleas'd to invite him to a conference; which ALMAGRO accepting, the following articles were agreed on between them, viz. that PIZARRO and ALMAGRO should pay ALVARADO an hundred thousand Peso's (or Nobles;) that such of the Officers and soldiers who came with ALVARADO, as desir'd it, should serve under PIZARRO in Peru, and be provided for as their own troops were: And that thereupon ALVARADO should return to his government of Guatimala in Mexico; but being oblig'd to wait some time to receive the treasure promised him ALVARADO propos'd to visit PIZARRO at Cusco, and take a view of that famous capital, of which he had heard such surprizing accounts; all which ALMAGRO took care to advise PIZARRO of; who apprehending that ALVARADO might alter his mind upon seeing the rich city of Cusco, sent him a compliment, that he would not give him the trouble of taking so long a journey, but would meet him in the valley of Pacha Camac, and bring the sum with him ALMAGRO had promised; and accordingly, leaving Cusco to the care of the Inca and his brothers, he set out with a party of horse, and a detachment of Indians, and arrived at the valley of Pacha Camac, where he met with ALVARADO and ALMAGRO; and to ingratiate himself with the former, gave him the command of all the troops while he remain'd there, commanding all the officers to obey Don ALVARADO's orders, and acknowledge no other General while he continued in Peru; and was so much better than his word, that he paid ALVARADO twenty thousand Peso's more than he had stipulated, for the expences of his journey, besides a great number of turquoises, emeralds, and vessels of gold for that General's particular use: Whereupon ALVARADO returned to Mexico, entirely satisfied with his reception and the treasure he had acquir'd; especially when he saw all the gentlemen that had accompanied him in this enterprise well provided for: However, it is conjectur'd that he found PIZARRO and ALMAGRO better established in Peru than he expected, or he would

not have quitted that country so easily, which he had undergone such hazards and expences to visit.

Certain it is, PIZARRO and ALMAGRO reap'd great advantages by the troops ALVARADO brought with him. The Indians seeing so considerable a reinforcement arrive and join PIZARRO, and expecting more every day, despair'd of ever throwing off a foreign yoke, and generally submitted to the Spaniards; so that ALVARADO richly deserv'd all the money they had paid him. And possibly they would have advanced as much more, rather than he should not return to Mexico; for though the troops he brought with him, as it happened, established their conquest of Peru, the same troops were in a condition to have driven them from thence when ALVARADO arriv'd; or at least, both sides would probably have perish'd in contending for the possession of that country, and by that means the Peruvians would have recovered their liberties. But since so much has been said of Don PEDRO DE ALVARADO, I shall take the liberty of relating what happened to him, after his return to his government of Guatimala; and it seems he was a Cavalier of such an enterprizing or ambitious spirit, that he knew not how to live out of action. Tho' he was now grown old in war, and enjoy'd as much wealth and power as most Princes of his time; it having been propos'd by the Viceroy of Mexico, to make some conquests to the northward, our Hero, Don PEDRO DE ALVARADO, took upon him to command the army; and pursuing some Indians, that were retired to a Precipice, with a party of horse, when he was advanced about half way up, it proved so steep, that one of his trooper-horses (or, as others say, part of the rock) fell upon him, and carried him to the bottom, by which he was so bruised, that he died a day or two after. But to return to Peru.

Soon after the signing the treaty between PIZARRO and Don ALVARADO, ALMAGRO was detach'd with part of the troops that arriv'd with ALVARADO to Cusco, whilst PIZARRO applied himself to the building of towns, and settling colonies upon the coast: Particularly he founded the capital city of Lima, in 12 degrees and a half south latitude, on the bank of a river, about six miles from the South-sea, and as much from the island and harbour of Callao: This city, DE LA VEGA observes, was built in the year 1534, and not in the year 1530, as some writers relate: For says DE LA VEGA, all authors agree, that it was in the year 1525, when PIZARRO, ALMAGRO and DE LUGNE, did first enter into articles. Three years afterwards were spent in the discovery before they arriv'd at Tumbez (in 3 degrees south latitude) the first time. Two years more pass'd in PIZARRO's return to Panama, and his voyage to and from Spain. In the year 1531, the Adventurers invaded the island of Puna and Tumbez on the continent. And in December, the same year, they took the Inca ATABILIPA prisoner; and in March following, anno 1532, the Inca was put to death. In October, the same year, PIZARRO and ALMAGRO took possession of the capital city of Cusco, where they resided 'till April 1533, when advice came of the arrival of ALVARADO upon the coast, and ALMAGRO was detach'd with an hundred men to observe his motions. And in September, the same year, was the interview between PIZARRO and ALVARADO, when PIZARRO paid that General the money he had promised him: And in the beginning of the year 1534, viz. the 6th of January, 1533, being Twelfth-day in the Catholic account, but the 28th of December, 1533, according to our account,

Articles
between
Alvarado
and Almagro.Lima
founded.A piece of
chronology.Alvarado
returns to
Mexico.

CHAP. X. account, the city of Lima was built; to which **PIZARRO** gave the name of *Ciudad de les Reyes*; or, *The City of Kings*; because on that day, the Kings or Princes of the East made their presents to our Saviour; but this name is now disused, and the city is call'd by the name of Lima, from the valley wherein it stands; the Indians calling the valley *Rimac*, which the Spaniards corruptly call *Lima*. However, to commemorate the day, **PIZARRO** order'd the arms of the city to be three Crowns, with a Star shining over them. It was built, as has been already observed, after the Spanish model, a large square in the middle, and wide streight streets centering in the square, so that from every corner of the streets the whole town and neighbouring fields may be seen. On the north lay the river, from whence canals were cut for watering their lands, and supplying the houses with water. The city being laid out, **PIZARRO** divided the country about it among his Officers and Soldiers, and other Spanish Adventurers that came to reside in it, with the native Indians upon those lands, who held what the Spaniards were pleas'd to allow them by the basest tenures of villainage, viz. to cultivate, dung, and manure their lands, grounds, carry burthens, and perform other vile offices in their fields or houses. And when any Spaniards purchased any of these lands of another, the Indians upon such lands were transferred with them, as trees, deer and fish are with us, upon conveying away an estate; so that all the natives became absolute slaves to the Spaniards, and were used accordingly, many of them perishing in the insupportable drudgery they impos'd on them: Indeed, part of the Peruvians were in a manner slaves to their Emperors and Caraca's (Lords of the soil) before, being oblig'd to carry burthens, and draw carriages like horses, when they were commanded; but then that service was far from being so grievous as the service the Spaniards exacted from them. For first, they serv'd their native Lords by turns certain days in the year, and were never oblig'd to work more than five or six hours in a day. They had also food and raiment delivered to them by their Lords, and were always taken care of by them when they were sick, old and infirm; whereas the Spaniards had no compassion on them, but made them work in the mines, fish for pearls, build houses and ships, carry burthens, and manure their fields, exacting their labour with such rigour, and allowing them so little food, that they perished by hundreds and thousands, and the country in a few years was almost depopulated: Neither did the Spaniards make much distinction between those that were freemen, and those that were slaves and villains, but put them all to the like drudgeries; and if the Nobility and Gentry were distinguished by any thing, it was by tortures, to make them discover where their treasures were hid; and when they could not produce what was expected from them, they frequently expired in torments. But to return to **PIZARRO**: This General having built the city of Lima, and divided the country about it among part of his followers, he advanced further northward along the sea-coasts, and founded another city on a good harbour, in eight degrees, odd minutes, south latitude, which he named *Truxillo*, from the city of that name in Spain, of which it is said he was a native; and here also he made a division of the lands and Indians upon them, in the country about it, among his Fellow-adventurers, or first Conquerors, as they were called, to whom he assigned that city and its district; and thus the Spaniards

The cruel
usage of
the Indi-
ans.

Truxillo
founded.

proceeded in every part of Peru, where they plant-
ed colonies of Europeans.

CHAP. X. While **PIZARRO** remained at his new city of *Truxillo*, advice came from Spain, that his brother **FERDINANDO** had in a great measure succeeded in his negotiations at that Court; for whereas **Don FRANCIS PIZARRO** had petitioned his Imperial Majesty to extend his government 200 leagues further southward, to grant him the province of *ATABILLIOS* in Peru, with the revenues thereof; the perpetual vassalage of twenty thousand Indians, and the title of Marquis; his brother wrote word, that the Emperor had conferr'd on him the title of Marquis of that province, and enlarged his government considerably to the southward; but as to the command he desired over the Indians, he would inform himself of the customs of that country, and what damage or prejudice such a concession might prove, and then he would shew him all the grace and favour in that particular, as was consistent with justice: And as to **ALMAGRO**, the title of Marshal of Peru was confirm'd to him, and a government of two hundred leagues extent of country conferr'd on him, to the southward of the country assigned to the Marquis **PIZARRO**.

ALMAGRO residing at the city of *Cusco* at this time, and receiving advice that the government of the country which lay south of the Marquis's government was conferr'd on him; and observing that *Cusco* was not within the limits assigned to **Don FRANCIS PIZARRO**, he immediately took upon him the title of Governor of *Cusco*, and the district belonging to it, in his own name, and no more acted in subordination to the Marquis.

On the other hand, **JOHN** and **GONZALO PIZARRO**, brothers to the Marquis, oppos'd this usurpation of **ALMAGRO**, as they call'd it; and their differences arose to that height, that they enter'd into a formal war with **ALMAGRO** at *Cusco*, and several were killed on both sides; of which the Marquis receiving intelligence, caus'd himself to be carried in a hammock on the shoulders of the Indians to *Cusco*, who relieving one another at proper stages, carried him thither with such expedition, that he arriv'd at *Cusco* before he was expected by either side: And representing to both parties that these feuds would probably end in the destruction of themselves and their enterprize, if they were not speedily accommodated, he enter'd into a treaty with **ALMAGRO** for adjusting all their differences: And first he observ'd, that **ALMAGRO** was mistaken in his opinion that *Cusco* was without the limits of his (the Marquis's) government, for the Emperor had made him a new grant of the country, which lay south of that conferr'd on him by the first grant: The Marquis also suggest'd to **ALMAGRO**, that the country which lay to the southward of the district of *Cusco* was richer in gold and silver than any that had been yet discover'd, of which he was contented **Don ALMAGRO** should take the government upon him; and that he should march at the head of best part of their united forces, and possess himself of it; and in the mean time he would apply to the Emperor to get him confirm'd in that government, to which they gave the name of *Toledo*, extending it from the district of *Cusco* to the country of *Chili*, which lies south of Peru: The Marquis also stipulated, that if the Emperor did not think fit to confer that government on **ALMAGRO**, he would divide that of Peru with him; with which overture **Don ALMAGRO** and his party were then pretty well satisfied, and immediately made preparations for an expedition to the south-

CHAP. X.
Govern-
ment's con-
ferr'd on
Pizarro
and **Alma-
gro**.

Almagro
takes upon
him the
govern-
ment of
Cusco.

Which oc-
casions a
war with
the **Pizar-
ro's**.

Their dif-
ferences
accommo-
dated.

The Mar-
quis per-
suades **Al-
magro** to
march to
Chili.

CHAP.
X.

ward. About the same time another detachment of Spaniards and Indians were sent to reinforce Don BELALCAZAR in Quito, to enable him to finish the conquest of that province; and a third body march'd to the north-east, to reduce some provinces bordering on the mountains of the Andes.

ALMAGRO began his march for Chili in the year 1535, at the head of five hundred Spaniards, and fifteen thousand Indians, part of them armed and serving for his vanguard, and the rest to carry his baggage and bring him in provisions. The Inca, MANCO CAPAC, also sent with him his brother the Inca PAULLA, and the High Priest VILLA OMA, that he might meet with no impediments in his march, but receive all possible assistance from the Indians subject to the Inca in the provinces thro' which he pass'd. The Spaniards also took a great many Negroe slaves along with them; and that all the officers and soldiers might be well equipped and provided for this long march, ALMAGRO lent them the value of two hundred thousand crowns, taking only a note from the soldiers he lent any money to, for re-payment of it out of the spoils they expected in this expedition.

ALMAGRO advanced as far as the province of Charcas, two hundred leagues to the southward of Cusco, without meeting with any thing to obstruct his designs, the country being all under the dominion of the Inca, and supplying him with provisions as he went; but finding the Charcas a wretched barren country, and being ignorant of the rich mines it contained, he resolv'd to proceed forward to the kingdom of Chili; tho' had he known the invaluable mines of Potosi were situated in this barren country, he would certainly have set up his rest here; for in this mountain was afterwards found more silver than any, or perhaps all the countries in the old world produced at that time.

The Indians inform'd ALMAGRO that there were two ways to approach the kingdom of Chili, both extremely difficult and hazardous: The first was over a branch of the mountains of the Andes, or Cordelera's, that at this time (being winter) were cover'd deep in snow, and so cold that no Indian could live on the tops of them (tho' this was much the shortest passage, if it could be performed;) the other way was over a sandy desert by the sea-side, in which they should be in danger of perishing by the excessive heat and the scarcity of water; intimating, they were averse to the journey either way, but most dreaded that over the mountains of the Andes: However, ALMAGRO resolv'd to move forward, took the way of the mountains, as being the shortest, and more agreeable to the constitutions of his Europeans than the parching sands; and having gather'd what provisions the country afforded, and laid it on the shoulders of the Indian porters, he began to ascend the hills; but had not advanced far before he found the snows so deep that they were forced to dig their way through them, the Indians dying by hundreds with the intense cold; the Spaniards also were almost starved, and many of them perished with their horses on those mountains either by cold or want; and some of the men lost their fingers and toes, who escaped with their lives. However, ALMAGRO himself, with between three and four hundred Spaniards, the Inca PAULLA, the High Priest, and about five thousand Indians, reach'd the other side of the mountain, and came into a fine, temperate, and plentiful country; and at the command of the Inca PAULLA, the natives immediately brought all manner of provisions and refreshments into the camp: The people of Chili be-

ing inform'd that the Spaniards were Viracocha's CHAP. X. descend'd from their god the Sun, and that their Inca MANCO CAPAC order'd they should bring them all those tributes they had laid up during the late civil wars between HUASCAR and ATABILI-PA, they presented the Spaniards with gold and silver vessels to the value of two hundred thousand ducats, or nobles; and not many days after, collected the value of three hundred thousand more, and presented to ALMAGRO; whereupon the Marshal did not only give up and cancel all the bonds and notes his soldiers had given him, but distributed part of the treasure amongst them.

ALMAGRO having rested and refreshed his weary troops, propos'd to the Inca PAULLA the advancing farther into Chili, and subduing those parts that were not subject to the Inca: To which he consented; and assembling several thousand Indians to reinforce the Marshal, they march'd with their united forces against the natives of the more southern parts of Chili, with whom they had several smart encounters; but at length had the good fortune to reduce those provinces under their subjection: And being joined about this time by RUIZ DIAS and JOHN DE HARADA, with upwards of an hundred Spaniards more, would have extended their conquests much farther, if ALMAGRO had not taken a resolution of returning to Peru, to take possession of his government of Cusco, which he was now assur'd belonged to him by virtue of the Emperor's commission, which JOHN DE HARADA brought him when he join'd the Marshal with the recruits above-mentioned.

This commission, it seems, confer'd on ALMAGRO the government of such provinces in Peru as lay south of those granted to PIZARRO, for the space of two hundred leagues; and as Cusco was above three hundred leagues south of the Equator, which was the utmost extent of PIZARRO's government, ALMAGRO's friends were of opinion that Cusco belonged to him; and that it ought not to be tamely parted with, being the capital city of the empire, and so well situated to command the southern provinces. His Officers therefore were unanimous in their opinion, that they should march back and possess themselves of Cusco, after which all the countries in the south would fall under their dominion of course.

The resolution therefore being taken of returning to Peru, the next thing to be consider'd was, which way they should march; and both Spaniards and Indians had suffer'd so much in their passage over the mountains, that it was unanimously determin'd to take the way of the plain by the sea-side; and to provide as well as possible against the want of water, Indians were sent before to open and cleanse the wells in the great desert, that had been choak'd up with sand during the civil wars, and to draw water for the Spaniards, which might stand some time in calabash-bowls and goat-skins, to settle and purify; for these waters, it seems, were thick and unwholesome, and scarce drinkable, when first drawn.

And as there was no enemy to be expected in this country, it was resolv'd to march in small parties over this desert, that they might be more easily supply'd with water and provisions in their march: However, with all these precautions, says my author, the hardships the Spaniards suffer'd in this scorching desert, being upwards of two hundred miles extent, was little inferior to what they sustain'd on the frozen mountains, of which the Spaniards give us many surprizing relations; particularly they tell us, that GEROMMO DE ALDE-

RETTE,

CHAP. X. RETTE, being Governor of Chili many years afterwards, and observing that those mountains at certain seasons of the year were clear of snow, made a journey over them in search of the plate and rich baggage that had been lost there when ALMAGRO paid it; and that they found there a Negroe leaning against a rock, holding a horse by the reins, both of them having been frozen to death, and that they stood upon their feet, dried and stiff, as if their skins had been stuffed with straw. But I must leave ALMAGRO on his march over the great desert, which lies between Chili and Peru, and observe what happened in the mean time at Cusco.

Manco Inca revolteth.

The Inca MANCO CAPAC observing that the Marquis PIZARRO only gave him the title of Inca, or Emperor, and that in reality he had very little command even in the capital city of Cusco, where he resided, put the Marquis in mind of his promise of restoring him to his empire, and performing the capitulations that had been agreed on between them; but PIZARRO put him off from time to time, telling him he must wait with patience 'till he heard those capitulations were ratified by his Sovereign the Emperor of the Romans, which he expected to receive every day by his brother FERDINANDO, and was going to Lima, in hopes of meeting him there; desiring that the Inca, during his absence, would reside in the castle, and not stir from thence. The Inca finding they would make him prisoner by force, if he did not voluntarily submit to this confinement, disguised his resentment, and immediately went to the castle, declaring that he should cheerfully submit to any thing that the Spaniards apprehended to be for their advantage, since they were pleased to acknowledge his title to the empire.

The Emperor demands great sums of the Pizarro's.

But the Indians were far from taking this imprisonment of their Inca patiently, they only waited for a favourable conjuncture to obtain his liberty, and revenge themselves on the Spaniards, which was offered them not long after; for FERDINANDO PIZARRO returning from Spain with his brother's new commission and the patent for the title of Marquis, brought some orders with him that were not acceptable to the Marquis or his people; particularly he informed them, that the Emperor expected they should be accountable to him for all the treasure they had received as the ransom of ATABILIPA, his Imperial Majesty alone being entitled to it; or at least that they should raise him a good round sum, and send over to Spain in lieu of it; but the Marquis and his Officers reply'd, This was neither reasonable nor possible: As they had hazarded their lives, and made a conquest of the country at their own expence, without any charge to his Imperial Majesty, they ought to reap the fruits of their labour; and besides, that money had been long since spent in supporting the conquest, building towns, and planting colonies, to preserve what they had gained, which would all redound to the honour and profit of his Majesty, who by that means was confirmed and established in the sovereignty of that rich country: And FERDINANDO PIZARRO representing that his Imperial Majesty was in great distress for money, having exhausted his treasury in his wars against the Turks, his expedition to Tunis, &c. and that he had promised him a supply from Peru, which the Court of Spain were apprized abounded with gold and silver; the Marquis reply'd, It was not to be expected a country so lately conquer'd, and not yet settled, should do more than maintain itself; and therefore he must not insist on the soldiers refunding the spoils, but find out some other way to per-

form his promises to his Imperial Majesty. Whereupon FERDINANDO desired his brother would confer on him the government of the capital city of Cusco, and he did not doubt but he should soon have it in his power to raise a sum of money to gratify the court of Spain; which the Marquis consenting to, his brother FERDINANDO immediately repair'd to his government of Cusco; where observing that several Officers had been greatly enriched by presents MANCO Inca had made them, in order to be kindly used, he apply'd himself also to the Inca, giving him to understand that he would be restored to his dominions, and all demands granted, if he could procure a considerable sum for the Court of Spain; and suffered the Inca to come out of the castle to his palace in the city again, and to be treated with the honours of a sovereign Prince: Whereupon the Inca sent express to several parts of his dominions, directing them to bring him their usual tribute of gold and silver plate, as the most probable means of delivering him out of the hands of the Spaniards. Accordingly a great deal of treasure was brought in, which the Inca presented to FERDINANDO PIZARRO, who still entertained him with promises of restoring him to his empire, in hopes of drawing more treasure from him: But the Inca finding he was still in a manner a prisoner, and not suffered to stir out without a guard of Spaniards, concluded they intended him no good; but that as soon as they had squeezed what they could out of him, would put him to death, as they had done the Inca ATABILIPA: He was perpetually meditating therefore how he might deceive the deceivers, and get out of the hands of his treacherous keepers; and at last hit upon the following stratagem. He informed FERDINANDO PIZARRO, that in the valley of Yuca, 2 or 3 leagues distant from Cusco, where the Inca's bowels used to be interred when their bodies were embalmed, there were several rich tombs, and in one of them a statue of solid gold of one of his ancestors, as big as the life, which he believed he could find if he might be permitted to go thither with his usual guard of Spaniards, for he could not direct any one to it without going in person. This being a prize which the Governor FERDINANDO had set his heart upon, he consented that the Inca should go thither with a Spanish guard, having no suspicion of a general conspiracy to rescue their Prince out of his hands; for neither the Inca or any of his subjects had yet discovered the least uneasiness at the tyranny of the Spaniards, how insupportable soever: But MANCO Inca having ordered several thousand Indians to rendezvous on the adjacent mountains on a day prefixed, and having obtained leave of the Governor to resort to the valley of Yuca, and remain there till the evening, he found means to escape from his guard, and get to his forces in the mountains; and the night coming on, before morning he was conducted beyond the reach of the Spaniards, who, instead of getting the golden statue they expected, lost a much more valuable prize, and were within an ace of losing all their conquests.

Ferdinando Pizarro obtains a great deal of treasure from the Inca.

The Inca escapes from the Spaniards.

The Inca being now at liberty, and having summoned a council of his Nobility and Generals, represented the treachery and perfidiousness of the Spaniards, who performed none of their articles or capitulations, but had, on the contrary, imprisoned and laid him in irons in the castle of Cusco. He said, he had been long apprized of their falseness and treachery, observing how they divided the lands of Peru among themselves, both in the territories

CHAP.
X.

stories of Cusco and Lima; from whence it was evident they had no intentions to restore his empire; and if he had dissimulated a compliance with their measures, it was only for the security of his person, and that he might one day be in a condition to assert his own and his country's rights: And as he was now determined to vindicate their liberties by force of arms, he desired they would assist him with their advice at this great and important crisis, that the war with these cruel and ungrateful strangers might be carried on to advantage, without whose expulsion they were now convinced they could never expect to enjoy any thing they had in quiet: If they suffered him or his subjects to live, they must be slaves to these usurpers; a state more to be dreaded than death itself. To which, it is said, a leading man of the Council answer'd:

"It was never, Sir, the advice of your Council
"that your Majesty should put your royal person
"into the hands of strangers, or trust to them for
"the restitution of your empire: However, they
"were willing to comply and concur with your
"Majesty's sentiments, whom they found inclin'd
"to maintain that peace which was concerted with
"them by your brother TITU ATAUCHI, from
"which we can now expect little benefit, if we
"take our measures from the treatment of your
"brother ATABALIPA; who having contracted
"for, and paid his ransom, was afterwards put to
"death. And we must attribute it to the mercy
"and providence of the PACHA CAMAC, that
"they treated not your royal person (when in their
"power) in the same manner as they had done
"your brother. As to your restoration to the em-
"pire, there is little to be expected from a nation
"so entirely given over to avarice; for it is not
"to be imagined that those that are greedy of the
"fruit should restore the tree unto the true pro-
"prietor; but it is more probable they should de-
"stroy, and put him and his out of the way, lest
"they should aspire to that empire which they re-
"solve to enjoy. Wherefore, since the Spaniards
"themselves have given just cause to suspect and
"doubt the performance of their promises, your
"Majesty ought immediately, without delay, to
"raise as many soldiers as are necessary for war, wherein
"other provisions as are necessary for war, wherein
"no time is to be lost; for that they now being
"divided into several parties, may be more easily
"defeated than when united in one body: In the
"management of which design, we must agree to
"attack them all at the same time in several places,
"so that they may not be able to assist or succour
"each other. We must also secure the passes, stop
"and hinder all intercourse and correspondence be-
"tween them: And in regard your soldiers are so
"numerous, that their multitudes may easily over-
"whelm such a handful as the Spaniards, and are
"able to throw the very mountains upon them, if
"your Majesty so commands; nay, if they refuse
"to grant them succours only and provisions, they
"must necessarily perish with famine, being as it
"were besieged by your subjects, who encompass
"them on all sides: But this resolution is to be
"speedily executed, for the success of the whole
"design depends thereupon; of which we need
"not doubt, if we consider the justice of our
"cause."

A general
insurrec-
tion of the
Indians.

An insurrection being thus resolved on, expresses were dispatched to every province of the empire, requiring the respective Governors and Officers to raise what forces they could, and in one day endeavour to surprize the Spaniards in their quarters; and

three great armies were accordingly assembled in an instant, one whereof was intended to cut off AL-
MAGRO and his forces in Chili; a second invested the city of Lima; and the third, consisting of two hundred thousand men, commanded by MANCO Inca in person, attacked the city of Cusco, took the castle, and drove the Spaniards into the grand square in the middle of the town; but here the ar-
tillery, being pointed to the several streets, mowed them down by hundreds and thousands, and the horse charging them while they were in this confusion, the Indians were forced to retire to the castle, having first set fire to the greatest part of the city and burnt it, except the temple of the Sun, the convent of Select Virgins, and some other publick buildings the Spaniards remain'd possess'd of: But notwithstanding the Spanish horse and artillery were always too hard for the Indians, yet as the latter were masters of the open country, and could cut off their provisions from time to time, the Spaniards must have been reduced in a short time, if they had not been joined by great numbers of the common people of Peru, who being slaves to the rest, adhered to the Spaniards in these wars; where-
by they did not only obtain their freedom, and gain the superiority of their masters, but shared the plunder of their estates and fortunes with the Chris-
tians; and without the assistance of these Indian slaves, the Spaniards could never have made a conquest of Peru, without employing a much greater force. But now liberty being proclaimed to all the vassal Indians that would join the Spaniards, they resorted to the assistance of the besieged in such numbers, that the Inca's troops were entirely driven out of Cusco again, and even out of the castle; in the storming of which, however, JOHN PIZARRO, brother to the Marquis, lost his life.

Cusco ca-
stle retak-
en by the
Spaniards.

The siege, or rather blockade, of Cusco continu'd nine or ten months, in which the Indians were so remiss, or so unable to resist the Spaniards united with the vassals, that the Christians made excursions to a very great distance, and brought in several thousand head of cattle, with all manner of provisions; nor did the Inca ever think fit to make any farther attempts upon the city, but contented himself with surprizing some small parties of the Spaniards now and then, from whom having taken their horses and armour, and being instructed by some of their prisoners how to make use of them, the Peruvians were seen sometimes charging the Christians with their own weapons. DE LA VEGA gives us an account of one brave Indian that fought three celebrated Spanish officers, armed cap-a-pee, successively, and was too hard for every one of them singly: An Indian Captain (says the royal historian) posting himself in the middle of the road which leads from Cusco to Callao, attending the coming of a certain Cavalier (whom I knew) as he was making up to him on horseback with a lance in his hand, the Indian with a fierce countenance, like an undaunted soldier, stood ready with his bow drawn to receive him; and at the same time that the Spaniard made a thrust at him with his lance, he struck the point of it down to the ground, and catching hold of it, forced it from his hands. Another gentleman of my acquaintance standing by, and observing a single combat between a Spaniard and an Indian, did not concern himself, because they were one to one, until he saw that the Indian had wrested the lance out of the hand of the Spaniard; and then he thought it time to take part with his companion, and so made at him with his lance; but the Indian bearing off the blow with what he

The bra-
very of an
Indian.

CHAP. X. had in his hands, wrested also the spear from this Spaniard, and defended himself from both of them at the same time; their names I shall conceal out of respect to their posterity; one of which was a scholar with me at the grammar-school. GONZALO PIZARRO, who was engaged in another place, and had put his enemy to flight, happened to come in at the same time and be a spectator of this action, and seeing how matters passed, he cried out with a loud voice, Out, for shame! what, two to one! The Spaniards knowing the voice of GONZALO PIZARRO, made a stop, till he himself came up to make trial whether he could deal better with him than they had done: The Indian seeing another horse-man come upon him, setting a foot on the first lance he had gained, with the other he encountered the third Cavalier, and almost threw his horse back upon his haunches; but the Indian finding himself hardly beset, quitted his lance, and caught hold of that in the hand of PIZARRO, intending to wrest it from him, as he had done from the others; but PIZARRO keeping fast hold thereof with his left-hand, drew his sword with his right, to cut off the hands of the Indian; whereupon he let go the lance, and caught up the other which was under his feet. And now the two Cavaliers, which were spectators, thought it time to dally no longer, but to come in, and without compliment to kill the Indian; but GONZALO PIZARRO cried out against it, saying, It was pity so brave a man should die; and that he deserved rather honour and reward than death. The Indian observing, that the two other Cavaliers were restrained by the words of PIZARRO, and that he had saved his life, he immediately threw away his lance, and in token of submission went to him and kissed his right leg, saying, Henceforth thou shalt be my Inca, and I will be thy servant; and for ever afterwards he served him with great fidelity.

And it is certain, both in the East and West-Indies, we meet with some brave fellows so dextrous at their weapons, that they will singly engage any of our men; and yet it is as certain, that a body of five hundred Europeans will drive ten thousand Indians before them, only by observing a little order.

The Spaniards pretended miracles.

The Spaniards usually ascribe their success in raising the siege of Cusco to miracles. They tell us, that in some fallies their champion St. JAGO, or St. JAMES, appeared on a white horse fighting for them; and that at other times the blessed Virgin, with our Saviour in his arms, appeared over the Spanish quarters, and protected them from the flames, the fiery arrows were shot into the roofs of their houses, that were composed of thatch and other combustible matter: But it is evident, that the Spanish horse and artillery, with the revolt of the Indian slaves at this critical juncture, were abundantly sufficient to defend that city against MANCO Inca and his naked subjects, without the help of miracles. Indeed, we ever find the bigotted Spaniards ascribing their success both in Peru and Mexico to such pretended miracles as these; insinuating that heaven fought for them, and gave them possession of the countries, as formerly God gave the land of Canaan to the Israelites. They would have us believe, that all their usurpations, oppressions, and tyranny, those innumerable murders and robberies they committed in these countries, were approved and countenanced by heaven. But surely heaven never wrought miracles in so vile a cause; however, for wise reasons, providence might permit the cruel rapacious Spaniards to insult and trample on

VOL. III.

CHAP. X. the poor naked Indians, who never offended them. But to give some account of the success of this insurrection of the Indians in other places: The Marquis PIZARRO, who was at his new city of Lima at this time, finding all communication and intercourse on a sudden cut off with the city of Cusco, suspected there was some mischief intended, and was soon after informed by the Yanacuna's, or Indian slaves, in the Spanish interest, that Cusco was actually invested, and that the Indian Generals were marching with another army to besiege Lima. Whereupon he immediately dispatched expresses to Panama, Mexico, Nicaragua and Hispaniola, for reinforcement of troops to prevent the loss of Peru: He commanded also all the detachments he had sent out to extend his conquests, to return and join him for the defence of Lima; and at the same time ordered a body of an hundred horse, and foot, under the command of his cousin DIEGO PIZARRO, to march towards Cusco, and get intelligence in what condition his brothers, and the garrison he had left in that capital, were.

The Indians permitted this detachment to march unmolested, till they advanced 60 or 70 leagues in their way to Cusco; but having drawn them at length into a narrow passage between the rocks and mountains, they rolled down great Stones upon them, which so disordered the Spaniards, that they were all killed or made prisoners by the Indians. Two or three parties more, that were sent out successively to get intelligence, met with the like misfortune; insomuch that it is said, between three and four hundred Spaniards were cut off in this manner, besides as many more who were dispersed, at the mines, or at their plantations, about the country; imagining that the Indians would have tamely submitted to their usurpation, and never have made an attempt to recover their liberties, notwithstanding the oppressions they suffered.

Several parties of Spaniards cut off in the mountains.

Nor did the Indians only defend the passes in the mountains, but being flushed with this success, advanced to the very walls of Lima; which they block'd up for a considerable time, tho' they could not take it. The Spanish horse were always too hard for them, when they sallied out into the plains about that city, and the artillery upon the walls obliged them in a short time to remove to a great distance: However, they still continued the blockade of Lima, where I shall leave them at present, and enquire after ALMAGRO, whom we left in the sandy desert of Atacama, in his return from Chili.

Lima besieged.

MANCO Inca, it seems, had dispatched expresses as far as Chili, to acquaint his subjects with his design of throwing off the Spanish yoke, requiring them to rise, and fall upon those foreigners, and endeavour to expel them. He acquainted also his brother PAULLA, the High Priest, and the rest of the Indians, who marched with ALMAGRO into Chili, with his intentions; whereupon the High Priest left ALMAGRO's camp privately, and returned to the Inca MANCO CAPAC, who was then encamped before Cusco. The High Priest was assisted in his escape by PHILIP the Interpreter, who being about to follow him, was apprehended by ALMAGRO, and put to death, and confessed at his execution, that his testimony against the Inca ATABILIPA was false, and that he had given evidence against him, that he might enjoy one of that Inca's wives, with whom he had an intrigue.

Almagro on his return from Chili.

As to PAULLA, he always remained faithful to ALMAGRO, in which possibly he had a view to his own interest; for ALMAGRO no sooner heard of

CHAP. X. the revolt of MANCO Inca, but he proclaim'd PAULLA Inca, or emperor of Peru, and caus'd his head to be bound with the imperial wreath or coronet: Whereupon PAULLA and the confederate Indians continued to espouse ALMAGRO's cause, and return'd with him into Peru.

The siege of Cusco rais'd on the return of Almagro.

When MANCO Inca heard of the approach of ALMAGRO, he thought fit to quit the siege of Cusco, and retire with a small part of his troops to the mountains of the Andes, ordering the rest of his forces to disperse, and return to their dwellings; for as he was not able to drive the Spaniards out of Cusco, when they were not two hundred men, he despair'd of doing it after they should be joined by the five hundred Spaniards which ALMAGRO had under his command: Nay he determin'd, 'tis said, at this time, to abandon the government, and lead a private life; for he heard his army before Lima also was repuls'd; that fresh supplies of Spaniards arriv'd there every day from Mexico and Panama; and that the Marquis PIZARRO was about to send another body of Spaniards to join with those already in Cusco: But had he known what feuds and divisions there were among the Spanish generals, he would surely have suspended that resolution a little longer: And some of his Officers, 'tis said, advised that prince to wait with patience, and foment those divisions among the Spaniards, for the weakest side would probably invite the Indians to their assistance, and give them an opportunity of re-establishing their Inca upon his throne. To whom, 'tis said, the Inca reply'd, he was not ignorant of the misunderstandings among the Spanish generals, but as long as they saw such armies of Indians on foot, he was confident they would lay aside their private quarrels, and all unite to maintain their footing in his dominions: And that the disbanding his forces was the readiest way to divide these rapacious foreigners, who would fall out about their plunder and the division of the lands they had usurp'd, when they imagin'd themselves secure, and saw no enemy in the field; and when they had weaken'd their forces by civil dissensions and encounters with each other, then the Indians might assemble again, and attack them with more success than they could hope for at present; but upon whatever motives MANCO Inca proceeded, certain it is, he commanded all his subjects about this time to quit the sieges of Cusco and Lima, and return to their respective dwellings.

And now ALMAGRO being arriv'd before the walls of Cusco, and finding the Indians drawn off, sent a summons to Don FERDINANDO PIZARRO, the Spanish Governor, to deliver up that capital to him, as being included in that grant the Emperor CHARLES V. had made him: But FERDINANDO answer'd, he held that city by virtue of a commission from his brother the Marquis, and should not deliver it up to any man without his orders, especially as he knew it to be within the limits of his brother's government; and immediately proceeded to put the place in a posture of defence, in order to prevent a surprize; but part of the garrison being friends to ALMAGRO, and holding a correspondence with him, introduc'd his forces into the town at midnight; and FERDINANDO and GONZALO PIZARRO were surpriz'd in their beds, and made prisoners; whereby ALMAGRO became possess'd of Cusco with little or no bloodshed, and most of the troops which had served the PIZARRO's enter'd into his pay.

In the mean time the Marquis PIZARRO hearing no news from his brothers at Cusco, and concluding all the parties he had hitherto sent to reinforce them

had been cut off by the Indians, determin'd to send such a body of troops thither, as should be able to force their way thither against all the opposition the Indians could make; and having assembled five hundred Spanish horse and foot, gave the command of them to Don ALONZO DE ALVARADO, with orders to march with all expedition to Cusco. PETER DE LERMA was order'd also to march with this detachment as a private Captain of a troop of horse, tho' he was an older officer than ALVARADO, and had done great service in those wars; which so disgusted DE LERMA, that he from this time meditated the ruin of the enterprize, as is suppos'd by the Spanish writers.

ALONZO DE ALVARADO continuing his march with the utmost diligence, most of the Indians that were press'd to carry his baggage, amounting to upwards of five thousand, perish'd in the first part of the journey, either by the intolerable fatigue, being loaded and driven beyond their strength, or starv'd for want of food, of which their lords the Spaniards took but little care to provide them; inasmuch that ALVARADO was forced to halt, 'till he could press some thousands more of the Indians to supply the places of those he had lost.

ALMAGRO receiving intelligence at Cusco, that Don ALONZO DE ALVARADO was advancing towards that city, sent some Spaniards of quality to him to represent, that Cusco belong'd to his government, according to the division the Emperor had made of Peru between him and the Marquis PIZARRO, and therefore advised him to retire to LIMA again, 'till he and the Marquis should adjust the limits of their respective governments: But ALVARADO was so far from entertaining any pacifick thoughts, that he made all the gentlemen prisoners that were sent to treat with him. Whereupon ALVARADO took the field, constituting Don ORGONNEZ his Lieutenant-General; and having made a party of ALVARADO's horse prisoners, understood by them that great part of his troops were better affected to him than they were to the PIZARRO's; particularly he understood that PETER DE LERMA, with a great many of his friends, would desert ALVARADO the first opportunity.

He advanc'd, therefore, as far as the bridge of Abancay, on the other side whereof ALVARADO lay encamp'd; so that there was nothing but a small river that parted their forces: They remain'd quiet however, without attempting to attack each other all day; but in the night-time ORGONNEZ fording the river at the head of ALMAGRO's horse, put ALVARADO's forces into great confusion, and giving PETER DE LERMA and the rest of their friends by this means an opportunity to join them, ALMAGRO gain'd an easy victory with very little bloodshed, making Don ALONZO DE ALVARADO his prisoner, with whom he return'd in triumph to Cusco. This battle was fought on the 12th of July, 1537.

ALMAGRO holding a council of war on his arrival at Cusco, was advised by his General ORGONNEZ to improve his victory by marching immediately to Lima, and taking possession of that city before the Marquis DE PIZARRO was re-inforc'd; for he had but a slender garrison after the detachment he had made under the command of Don ALONZO DE ALVARADO to Cusco. He also advised him to take off the heads of FERDINANDO PIZARRO and his brother GONZALO, men who had always express'd the utmost malice and prejudice against him, and done him all manner of ill offices both in the Court of Spain and in Peru; and who would, he suggested, infallibly take his life if ever they had him

CHAP. X. Marquis Pizarro sends Alonzo de Alvarado to the relief of Cusco and his brothers.

Almagro defeats Alonzo de Alvarado, and makes him prisoner.

Almagro surprizes Cusco, and makes Ferdinand Pizarro prisoner.

CHAP. X. in their power. He represented also, that as the Marquis PIZARRO was master of Lima and all the ports and shipping upon the coast, he would daily receive fresh forces and supplies from Mexico, Panama, and other places; whereas ALMAGRO not being master of one port or ship could receive no recruits, or indeed have any communication either with Europe or North-America, and consequently must soon become much inferior to his rival the Marquis, if he did not lay hold of the present happy conjuncture, and open himself a way to the sea.

These overtures appear'd so reasonable, that ALMAGRO at first resolv'd to follow the advice of ORGONNEZ; but JAMES DE ALMAGRO, another of his Generals, on whose advice he usually rely'd, having contracted a friendship with FERDINANDO PIZARRO during his imprisonment at Cusco, dissuaded ALMAGRO from putting the two PIZARRO's to death that were his prisoners; and ALMAGRO being himself, 'tis said, averse to the shedding of blood, and still retaining some friendship for the Marquis their brother, refused to listen to the advice ORGONNEZ had given him in that particular: Nor did he approve of attacking Lima, because that undoubtedly belong'd to the Marquis by the Emperor's grant, and he must be deem'd a rebel to his Prince if he encroach'd on the territories his Imperial Majesty had conferr'd on another.

Almagro marches to the sea-coast.

However, it was generally agreed, that it was absolutely necessary to open a communication with the sea, that they might have some harbours where the recruits that were sent them from North-America might land and join them, and from whence they might have a correspondence both with Mexico and Old Spain: And accordingly ALMAGRO having assembled a body of five hundred Spanish horse and foot, and being join'd by some thousand confederate Indians, began his march towards the valley of Chinca on the sea-coast, taking with him his prisoner FERDINANDO PIZARRO, but he left ALONZO PIZARRO and ALONZO DE ALVARADO prisoners in the city of Cusco.

In the mean time, the Marquis DE PIZARRO hearing no news from ALONZO DE ALVARADO, and imagining the Indians might have possess'd themselves of the passes in the mountains, and thereby cut off his communication with that General, march'd in person at the head of three or four hundred Spaniards towards the mountains to gain intelligence: And after some day march, receiv'd advice that the Indians had rais'd the siege of Cusco; that ALMAGRO was return'd from Chili, had possess'd himself of that capital, and made his brothers FERDINANDO and ALONZO prisoners; and that his other brother JOHN PIZARRO was kill'd during the siege of Cusco; and a day or two after, had news brought him of the defeat of DON ALONZO DE ALVARADO. Whereupon he thought fit to retire again to Lima, and fortify himself there, 'till he should receive a reinforcement of troops, which he expected every day from North-America; and to divert ALMAGRO from taking advantage of his present weakness, and putting his brother to death, he dispatch'd several Spaniards of quality to attend him, and offer him any terms he should insist upon to procure his brothers liberty; but according to some historians, he had no intention to observe any treaties with ALMAGRO any longer than he should be in a condition to break them with advantage. These Commissioners arriving in ALMAGRO's camp, he refused at first to be amused by any fallacious treaties; told them, he would order Commissioners to treat with those of the Marquis on the frontiers of their respective governments; and continued his march as far as Nasca,

The Marquis makes overtures of accommodation to Almagro.

within 40 leagues of Lima, where he heard that ALONZO DE PIZARRO, ALONZO DE ALVARADO, and a hundred Spanish prisoners more he left behind him had made their escape from Cusco. Whereupon ORGONNEZ again press'd him to put FERDINANDO PIZARRO to death, but he still refused it; and having planted a colony near the coast of the South-sea, in the vale of Chinca, he sent Commissioners to treat with the Marquis; but, either by the orders of the Marquis or without, these Commissioners were seiz'd and made prisoners by one of his Generals, and their dispatches broke open; which being represented to the Marquis as a very great outrage, he denied his having any knowledge of it, order'd the Commissioners to be set at liberty, and their effects restor'd them, proposing an interview with ALMAGRO in the field, with only twelve horsemen to attend each of them; which ALMAGRO agreeing to, contrary to the advice of his Generals, was very near falling into an ambuscade that ALONZO PIZARRO had laid for him; of which receiving some notice, while he was at the conference with the Marquis, he made his escape with some difficulty.

Almagro plants a colony near the sea-coast.

The treachery of the Pizarro's.

The Marquis, however, pretended that he had no intention to surprize ALMAGRO, and that he had been mis-inform'd, and Commissioners were agreed on to adjust their differences.

It seems, the Bishop of Panama (or Terra-Firma Proper) had been appointed in the year 1536, by the Emperor, to go to Lima, and settle the limits between PIZARRO's and ALMAGRO's governments, being directed to assign PIZARRO all that part of Peru extending from the Equator to the Southward, two hundred and seventy leagues; and to ALMAGRO two hundred leagues more, to commence where PIZARRO's government ended; but PIZARRO apprehending that Cusco belong'd to the division which was allotted to ALMAGRO, kept him ignorant of the Emperor's grant, and persuaded ALMAGRO to undertake the expedition to Chili above-mentioned; and when the bishop arriv'd at Lima, dissuaded him from taking that tedious journey to Cusco to execute his commission: Whereupon the Bishop return'd to Panama without doing any thing; but ALMAGRO, on his return from Chili, finding how he had been abused by the PIZARRO's, who had usurp'd part of his government, surpris'd the city and castle of Cusco, and made FERDINANDO and GONZALO PIZARRO prisoners, as has been related already.

Arbitrators being again chosen to settle the limits between the two Generals, and not being able to come to any agreement, Father BOVADILLA was made umpire of their difference, who thought fit to allot the capital city of Cusco to the Marquis PIZARRO; against which award ALMAGRO appeal'd to the Council of the Indies, and resolv'd to maintain by force what he was possess'd of, 'till he should receive the determination of that Council.

Whereupon the Marquis, in order to procure his brother FERDINANDO's liberty, pretended he was content that both parties should keep what they were possess'd of, 'till the court of Spain should determine otherwise; and that he would furnish ALMAGRO with a ship, by which he might send over his Commissioners to Spain to manage his cause there: And upon these terms ALMAGRO consented to set FERDINANDO PIZARRO at liberty.

The Marquis and Almagro agree upon terms.

The Marquis having obtain'd what he wanted, viz. his brothers liberty, and a great supply of troops from North-America, sent a Herald to ALMAGRO, requiring him to deliver up Cusco to him, and

all

CHAP.
X.The Mar-
quis
breaks the
agree-
ment.

all his conquests in Peru, insisting that his (PIZARRO's) government extended from the Equator to the Straits of Magellan: And upon ALMAGRO's refusing to resign his government, immediately declared war against him, sending his brothers FERDINANDO and GONZALO at the head of seven hundred Spanish horse and foot to surprize the city of Cusco in the absence of ALMAGRO; of which that General receiving intelligence, march'd with the utmost diligence to reach that city before them; though, 'tis said, his General ORGONNEZ again advis'd him to turn back and attack the city of Lima now the garrison was so much diminish'd; observing, that if he once possess'd himself of that city, the recruits which came from North-America would all join his troops, and soon make him superior to his competitor; of which ALMAGRO was sufficiently convinced, but absolutely refused to encroach upon that government which had been granted to the Marquis by his Sovereign. He continued therefore his march towards Cusco; and being better acquainted with the country than the PIZARRO's, and his troops more used to that climate, got between the enemy and Cusco, when advice was brought him that most of the Spaniards under the command of the PIZARRO's, being lately come from Spain, were fallen sick in the mountains, and that if he would return back and fall upon 'em, they would very easily be defeated; and of this opinion was ORGONNEZ, and several other officers; but whether ALMAGRO did not credit this advice, or imagin'd he should have a greater advantage of the enemy if they laid siege to Cusco with so small an army, he continued his march thither: And 'tis highly probable, the PIZARRO's would never have been able to have taken Cusco, if ALMAGRO had remain'd within those walls upon the defensive, especially as the PIZARRO's had no cannon with them, and the garrison would have been almost as numerous as the besiegers: But the officers under ALMAGRO confiding in the bravery and experience of their forces, wav'd all the advantages they had in their walls, and no sooner heard the enemy approach'd, but they prevail'd on their old General ALMAGRO, contrary to his own opinion, to suffer them to march out and give the Pizarrists battle; and ALMAGRO, being very old and infirm, was carried on a couch into the field, rather to see the battle than to command in it, having constituted ORGONNEZ his General.

The first oversight the Almagrians committed, 'tis said, was in attacking the Pizarrists when they were drawn up among the Salina's, or Salt-pits, where their horse, in which they had the superiority, could be of little or no use to them: They were much deceiv'd also, it seems, in the forces they were to engage, and in their arms; for they imagin'd they were most of them new rais'd undisciplin'd men, and no better arm'd than themselves; whereas they had been bred up in Flanders, the best school of war in that age, and consisted chiefly of musketeers, of which there were but very few in ALMAGRO's army. But the greatest misfortune was, their General ORGONNEZ being wounded by a musket-shot in the beginning of the battle, when he was engag'd with FERDINANDO PIZARRO, the enemy's General, and had unhors'd him, the personal courage of ORGONNEZ contributed much to the loss of the day; for he was engag'd in this single combat when he should have been giving his orders, and commanding the army; and the Almagrians imagining he was dead, thought of nothing but a retreat: ALMAGRO himself fled to the castle of Cusco, and the Pizarrists entering the city pell-mell

Almagro
defeated
and made
prisoner,
and Cusco
taken by
the Pizar-
rists.

with the fugitives, the slaughter was very great; CHAP. ORGONNEZ and PEDRO DE LERMA being X. cover'd with wounds, were kill'd after quarter given them, and a great many officers more upon private pique and resentment, no wars being so cruel as those between countrymen and exasperated friends; but poor old ALMAGRO was taken prisoner, and reserv'd to be murder'd by the forms of law.

After he had remain'd prisoner some months in Cusco, the Lawyers were employ'd to draw up articles against the old General; the principal whereof were, That he had seiz'd on Cusco by force; that he had enter'd into a secret treaty with the Inca; that he had encroach'd on the government granted to the Marquis by the Emperor; that he had broken his articles with the Marquis, and fought two battles with the Emperor's forces under the command of the Marquis, the one at the bridge of Abancay, and the other at the Salina's; and his enemies sitting in judgment on him, he was capitally convicted and condemned to die, tho' he appeal'd to the Emperor, and apply'd in very moving terms to FERDINANDO PIZARRO to save his life: He bid him remember that he had spar'd his life, and ever refused to put to death any of his relations, on account of the friendship between him and the Marquis; that he would do well also to remember how instrumental he had been in enabling his brother to make those conquests, and raising him to the honours he possess'd; desired the PIZARRO's would consider he was an old gouty man, who could not live many years, and suffer him therefore, after the innumerable hardships and hazards he had sustain'd, to die a natural death; but the Pizarrists looking upon their old companion and fellow-foldier as the only obstacle to their glory and ambition, and believing by his death they should obtain the sole dominion of Peru without a rival, they were deaf to his entreaties, and having order'd him to be strangled privately in prison, they afterwards caused his head to be cut off on a scaffold in the great square of Cusco. His body lay all day exposed almost naked on the scaffold, his friends not daring to bury him, lest they should incur the displeasure of the merciless FERDINANDO PIZARRO, and his enemies not thinking it worth while to give themselves any trouble about his funeral; but towards the evening, a poor Negroe, who had been slave to the decess'd, brought a coarse sheet, and with the help of some Indians, who had been servants likewise to that General, wrapp'd up the corpse, and carried it to the church of the Merceds, where the Friars buried him under the high-altar.

This act of cruelty rais'd the PIZARRO's a great many enemies even amongst their own people: They did not forbear to call them tyrants, and threaten revenge. The Indians wept, and lamented the loss of him, declaring they had never been abused by this Commander. The mourning for him, 'tis said, was almost universal both among Spaniards and Indians. He was sixty-three (some say seventy-five) years of age, of a low stature, his countenance not very agreeable, especially after he lost his eye. He was brave and enterprising, the most patient of fatigue of any man living, of a sweet disposition, discreet, generous, and a friend to all good men; but as to his family, it is generally agreed, that he was a foundling, and ignorant who his parents were; neither was his education extraordinary, for he could neither write or read. He may justly therefore be stil'd the forger of his own fortunes, when under these disadvantages he possess'd

Almagro
tried for
his life.And put
to death.A charac-
ter of Al-
magro.

CHAP. X. possels'd himself of more wealth and power than any private man ever did before him. He had one son by an Indian woman, when he dwelt at Panama, to whom he gave his own name, and made him joint heir of his fortunes with the Emperor his sovereign CHARLES V. constituting JAMES DE ALVARADO guardian to his son: But notwithstanding all these precautions to secure part of his wealth for his son, the Marquis detain'd the young ALMAGRO prisoner at Lima, and seiz'd the father's treasure, together with his government.

But the PIZARRO's observing that this unjust and tyrannical conduct created them many enemies, and render'd them generally detested among the soldiery; in order to get rid of those that seem'd least affected to them, they made several detachments of their forces to enlarge their conquests; PEDRO DE VALDIVIA was commanded to invade Chili; PEDRO DE CANDIA was sent to the westward to subdue the countries beyond the mountains of the Andes; PERA DE VERGARA was sent against the Bracamores, and other Commanders to other distant parts: And to support their interest at the Court of Spain, it was resolv'd that FERDINANDO PIZARRO should resort thither, and carry a vast treasure with him, to be apply'd as he should judge most to their advantage; for JAMES DE ALVARADO, who was appointed guardian to young ALMAGRO, was already gone over to Spain, to petition the Emperor to do justice to his Ward.

And notwithstanding FERDINANDO PIZARRO brib'd almost every Grandee in the Court of Spain with the gold and silver of Peru, yet so notorious were the outrages, murders, and devastations that he and his brothers had committed, that his friends could not save him from being condemn'd and imprison'd: And had not his prosecutor JAMES DE ALVARADO died suddenly, suppos'd to be poison'd by PIZARRO's agents, FERDINANDO had probably lost his head: As it was, he remain'd three and twenty years a prisoner in the city of Medina del Campo before he obtain'd his liberty.

But to return to Peru. The Indians observing the divisions among the Spanish Generals, had recourse to arms again: And tho' the Spaniards in Peru now amounted to two thousand men and upwards, they found it more difficult to maintain their ground at this time, than they did at first, when their forces did not amount to four hundred men; for the terror the Indians were under at first from the fire-arms and horses, which they had never seen before, was in a great measure worn off; and they had learn'd of the Spaniards to ride and handle their arms pretty dextrously; and having taken some horses, were not afraid to fight the Spaniards at their own weapons: Nor did there want instances of some parties of Spaniards being defeated by them: And had not the Indian slaves and vassals stuck close to the Spaniards, discover'd the passes and places of strength, and from time to time brought them both provisions and intelligence, probably PIZARRO would have been oblig'd to abandon his conquests at last.

The most considerable acquisition the PIZARRO's made after the death of ALMAGRO was the conquest of the Charcas, in which lay the invaluable mines of Potosi, whose treasures drew such multitudes of Adventurers thither, that the Indians of that province were at length compell'd to submit, and become slaves to the Spaniards: But they were not so successful in Chili, that brave people disputed the ground with the Spaniards by inches; nor could they ever make themselves entirely masters of it, as

will be observ'd in the future history of that country; and even in the province of Los Charcas, GONZALO PIZARRO and his forces were so surrounded and distress'd by the Indians, that the Marquis was forced to march in person with the garrison of Cusco to his relief; and the Spaniards ascrib'd the victory they obtain'd at that time to a miracle that was wrought in their favour.

The conquest of Los Charcas being finish'd, the Marquis founded the town of La Plata (so named from the neighbourhood of the mountain Porco, and other silver mines) and divided the city and country about it, with the Indians that inhabited it, among the conquerors. To his brother FERDINANDO PIZARRO, who was then in Spain, he allotted a very large share; and to his brother GONZALO, another part of the country, in which some time after the silver mines of Potosi were discover'd: FERDINANDO PIZARRO also had a share in these mines, as a citizen of the city of La Plata; and a particular part of it being assign'd to his officers, they discover'd so rich a vein, that, 'tis said, they digg'd from it the finest silver without any alloy.

This division of the country was made in the year 1538 and 1539. And now the Marquis found himself possels'd of a territory seven or eight hundred leagues in length, viz. from the Equinoctial to the south part of Los Charcas, in which were more rich mines than in all the world besides; and yet was not his ambition or avarice satisfy'd, but in an extreme old age he employ'd his brother GONZALO in the conquest of other Nations. GONZALO, who was now Governor of Quitto and all the northern provinces of Peru, was commanded to undertake an expedition to the eastward, the Marquis being inform'd that those countries not only afforded plenty of gold, but yielded spice very much resembling cinnamon, and for that reason the country to the eastward of Quitto obtain'd the name of Canela, or the Cinnamon province.

GONZALO PIZARRO had not march'd many miles before he arriv'd at this country of Canela; he also met with some gold in the rivulets; but this province lying under (or near) the Equinoctial, he found it so wet and full of marshes, woods and bogs, that he lost most of his Spaniards, and four thousand Indians he had press'd to carry his baggage, and reap'd very little benefit from this expedition, unless the discovery of the great river Amazon; on which having built a sloop, and put all his treasure and baggage on board, he sent one of his officers, named ORELLANA, with sixty men down the river, to make further discoveries, and then return to him; but ORELLANA, having sail'd two hundred leagues farther down this river, and finding it very difficult to return against the stream, which was very rapid, sail'd to the mouth of it, and then coasting along to the northward, came to the Spanish island of the Trinity, from whence he embark'd for Spain; of whose voyage I shall give a more particular account when I come to describe the country of the Amazons.

As to GONZALO PIZARRO, their General, he having been compell'd by famine to eat up his horses, lost most of his men, and endur'd incredible hardships for two years and upwards; he return'd at length to Quitto, where he receiv'd advice of the misfortunes of his brother the Marquis, which I come in the next place to relate.

The Marquis, in the absence of his brothers, seem'd more intent on suppressing the party of ALMAGRO than any thing else. He made large remittances

La Plata founded, and the lands and Indians divided among the Spaniards.

Orellana's voyage down the river Amazon.

CHAP.
X.

mittances to the Court of Spain for that end, and would not suffer any of the officers or soldiers, that shew'd any affection to the family of ALMAGRO, to enjoy either lands or offices in Peru (these were usually call'd Chili-men, because they had attended the deceas'd ALMAGRO in the conquest of that country) and as to young ALMAGRO, he remain'd a prisoner at large in the city of Lima, but was never suffered to stir from thence. Thus the Almagrians being neither permitted to return to Spain, lest they should carry fresh complaints thither against the Marquis, nor to enjoy any thing in the Indies, they were dispers'd all over the country to get a poor subsistence, or liv'd on the benevolence of their countrymen, 'till the cruel PIZARRO publish'd an edict, that no body should relieve them; which soon reduc'd the Chili-men to a starving condition, and inspir'd them with thoughts of revenge, or rather put them upon desperate measures to preserve themselves from starving; which they could think of no better way to prevent, than by cutting off the Tyrant; and he, conscious how much he was hated not only by the Chili-men, but also by his own people, for his oppression and cruelty, seldom stirr'd out of the city, or even of his palace, without a strong guard to protect him.

The Almagrians form a conspiracy against the Marquis.

The Almagrians therefore, singly, or two or three at a time, resorted privately to the capital city of Lima, where they did not want friends who conceal'd them in their houses, 'till they found they amounted to two or three hundred men, all brave veteran soldiers, and several experienc'd officers amongst them, who resolv'd to attack the Marquis as he came to the great-church on Midsummer-day, 1541; but he having some intelligence of the design, did not go out of his palace that day; and the conspirators, upon this disappointment, had resolv'd to wait for the arrival of VACA DE CASTRO, whom they understood the Emperor had sent over to adjust all differences between the Pizarrists and Almagrians; for advice came about this time, that VACA DE CASTRO was actually arriv'd upon the coast of Peru.

But the Almagrians being inform'd afterwards that their plot was discover'd, and they would suddenly be sacrific'd to the fury of the Marquis, if they did not prevent it by some bold attempt, twelve of them (or as some say nineteen) met at the house of young ALMAGRO, which stood on one side of the great square in Lima, on Sunday the 26th of June, at noon-day, and with their swords drawn march'd cross the market-place to the palace of the Marquis PIZARRÓ, crying out, "Long live the King! but let the Tyrant die." Nor were they oppos'd by any man, tho' there were not less than a thousand people assembled in the square; nay, not a man stirr'd to give the Marquis intelligence of it; infomuch, that the conspirators found the gates of the palace and all the doors open, and the first notice the Marquis had of their approach was by one of his pages, after the Almagrians had enter'd the house. Whereupon he order'd some doors to be shut, imagining he should be able to defend himself 'till assistance came in; but Lieutenant-General FRANCIS DE CHAVES, who was then with the Marquis, neglecting to fasten the door, and believing it had been some ordinary tumult that would have been easily suppress'd by his presence, went out, and meeting the conspirators upon the great stair-case, demanded the reason of that insolence, which they answer'd only by several mortal wounds they gave him; and rushing forward, the servants, and all the company that were with the Marquis,

CHAP. X.
fled, except his brother-in-law Don FRANCIS DE ALCANTARA, and two of his pages, who defended the door-way of the drawing-room, whither the Marquis was retir'd for some time; but at length the conspirators broke through, and kill'd the Marquis, his brother, and the two pages, who behav'd themselves however very bravely, and desperately wounded four of the Almagrians before they fell.

The Marquis is assassinated.

Then the conspirators went out into the market-place again, declar'd the Tyrant was dead, and proclaim'd the young ALMAGRO Governor of Peru; for all the Almagrians immediately assembled, when the twelve attack'd the Marquis in his palace, securing his guards, and preventing any assistance coming to him. They also secur'd all the horses and arms in the city, and commanded all the inhabitants that refus'd to join them, not to stir out of their houses without leave. They also plunder'd the houses of the Marquis, of his brother FRANCIS DE ALCANTARA, of his Secretary PIZADO, and some others of the principal Pizarrists, wherein they found an immense treasure. In the Marquis's palace alone, 'tis said, they found to the value of a million of crowns in gold and silver; but did not meddle with the rest of the furniture, leaving it standing for the use of the young ALMAGRO, whom they carried thither after they had proclaim'd their Governor.

Young Almagro proclaims'd.

Thus fell Don FRANCIS PIZARRO in the capital city of Lima, which he had founded ten or eleven years before, and was privately buried by his servants, by the young ALMAGRO's permission, no person of any figure daring to attend his funeral, lest it should give offence to the prevailing party. And here the Spanish writers take an opportunity of drawing a parallel between those two celebrated Adventurers Don FRANCIS PIZARRO and Don DIEGO DE ALMAGRO the elder, who resembled each other in many particulars.

And first they observe, that they were both basely born, and had very mean education, neither of them being able to write or read. GOMARA relates, that FRANCIS PIZARRO was the son of GONZALO PIZARRO, a Captain in the province of Navarre; that his mother laid him in a church-porch, and he suck'd a sow several days, 'till another nurse was provided for him; that when he grew up, he was employ'd in keeping swine; and having lost some of them one day, was afraid to return home, whereupon he went in the company of some strollers to Seville, where he embark'd for the Indies; and here, it seems, he was instrumental in fixing a Spanish colony at Darien, attended VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA in the discovery of the South-sea, and afterwards went with PEDRARIAS from St. Mary's of Darien to Panama; and in these expeditions having enrich'd himself, he took up his residence at the town of Panama, where ALMAGRO, who had rais'd his fortune in the same manner, likewise resided; and here they entered into that memorable partnership with DE LUGNZ the Priest, which ended in the reduction of that vast empire of Peru, wherein they met with those inexhaustible mines of gold and silver that have been already describ'd, and became the most powerful men, if not monarchs, that ever appear'd in that part of the world, and superior in wealth to the richest Princes of Europe.

A parallel between Pizarro and Almagro.

They carry the parallel farther, and observe, that both ALMAGRO and PIZARRO were well advanc'd in years before they undertook this enterprise; that neither of them ever married, but had children

CHAP. X. children by their Indian concubines; particularly they relate, that one of the Marquis's concubines was the daughter of the Emperor HUANA CAPAC; and another the sister or daughter of the Emperor ATABILIPA; the last of which was baptized, and call'd Donna BEATRICE.

They observe also, that though both these Adventurers were in their lives so immensely rich, they left nothing behind them; and that they were both obscurely buried by their servants. Give me leave to observe farther, that notwithstanding all their failings and imperfections, they must be allowed to be possessed of some very great virtues; such as courage, fortitude, patience and temperance, to a very great degree, or they had never made themselves masters of the treasures of Peru. What men would have struggled so many years against winds and seas, endured the extremities of heat and cold, travers'd countries almost impassable and impenetrable, and that when they were in a manner totally deserted by their people, if they had not been endur'd with more than ordinary patience? Though it must be confessed, that this virtue seems in a manner common to the natives of Spain; and I am apt to think, scarce any other European nation would have persisted with that indefatigable industry in prosecuting these discoveries, and brought the Americans under their power, if the Spaniards had not done it. It is true, they had some advantage of the rest of Europe in their situation, not only as they lay the farthest westward of any country in the old world, but that their climate had a nearer resemblance to that of Peru, than the countries of their northern neighbours. They were also, at that time, the greatest maritime powers in Europe; but still I ascribe their success more to their natural patience and perseverance, and their abstemious way of life, than to all their other advantages.

There was one thing these two Conquerors, as the Spaniards stile them, too well agreed in, and that was, their ill usage of the hospitable and defenceless Indians; who offering to submit to them, and to become subject to the crown of Spain, were nevertheless treated as enemies and slaves, their country taken from them, and their persons worn out and destroyed by cruel bondage; they were compelled to carry burthens, to draw their carriages, dig the mines, and put upon other rigorous and intolerable hardships; insomuch, that they perished by thousands and ten thousands, and whole countries became in a manner depopulated; but ALMAGRO appearing the most compassionate of the two, obtain'd the character of a merciful Prince amongst the Indians; though it seems no less than ten thousand Indians, who carried his baggage, lost their lives in his expedition to Chili: However it came to pass, the life of a dog, or any brute animal, appears to have been more valued than that of an Indian; but this does not seem to be a fault peculiar to these two Adventurers, or even to the Spanish nation; for the whole Popish world at that time were taught, that Heathens and Hereticks deserv'd no mercy, and indeed were not entitl'd to enjoy any thing in this world, but both their persons and estates were the property of the first Christian that could seize them, especially if they were authoriz'd to do it by the Pope, whose Bull the Spaniards had in their favour: Insomuch that the Christian religion, which should have inspired these Adventurers with tenderness and compassion, or at least have taught them justice in their commerce with the world, was made a pretence for their turning barbarians, and for all the outrages, cruelty and injus-

CHAP. X. tice that men could commit. Thus men first divest themselves of their humanity, under pretence of zeal for religion, and then make that an excuse for becoming wolves and tygers, or even worse, devourers of their own species.

As for their generosity, ALMAGRO is said to be most eminent for this virtue: But what sort of generosity is that where a man only distributes the plunder of those he has robbed and murdered, among the villains his accomplices?

But to give the Devil his due, before I conclude the character of these two Adventurers, it must be acknowledged, that they were diligent in building towns, planting colonies, and introducing the fruits, the husbandry, the manufactures of Europe in Peru; we find the most considerable towns in South-America were founded, or at least rebuilt by them, after the Spanish manner; such as Lima, Quitto, Arequipa, Cusco, La Plata, &c. But PIZARRO was much the more considerable Planter, having assumed the government of Peru to himself, while he sent ALMAGRO upon that hazardous enterprize against Chili, in which he was in great danger of perishing: Probably ALMAGRO was over-reached by PIZARRO, when he undertook that war. The Pizarrists imagined they had then happily got rid of him, and should never have seen him more: And tho' he had the good fortune to survive, and get back to Cusco, they never ceas'd plotting against him, till he fell a sacrifice to their malice and ambition; which piece of barbarity was now retaliated upon them in kind, and the Marquis lost his life by a conspiracy of the Almagrians, as old ALMAGRO was destroyed by the Cabals of the Pizarrists; which brings me to resume the thread of the Peruvian history.

The Marquis was no sooner dead, but Lima, Cusco, and most of the principal towns, declar'd for Don DIEGO DE ALMAGRO, the natural son of old ALMAGRO: Some places however refus'd to acknowledge ALMAGRO's authority, but expected the coming of VACA DE CASTRO with the Emperor's commission; in which they were encourag'd by PEDRO ALVARES HOLGUIN, and other Generals and Officers, friends to the Pizarrists, who assembled a good body of troops, and took possession of Cusco again, which they gave out they would hold for the Emperor; and declared war against ALMAGRO. ALONZO DE ALVARADO assembled another body of troops between Lima and Quitto, and declared also for the Emperor; and these two Generals preparing to unite their forces, ALMAGRO march'd out of Lima at the head of six hundred horse and foot towards Cusco, with an intent to retake Cusco, or give battle to PEDRO DE HOLGUIN, before he should be join'd by ALONZO DE ALVARADO.

In the mean time, VACA DE CASTRO arriving in Quitto, and finding the Marquis was dead, declar'd himself Governor of Peru, by virtue of the Emperor's commission, requiring the submission of all the Spanish towns, and constituting such Governors and Officers as he saw fit; particularly he authoriz'd FRANCIS DE BARIONOVO and GEROMINO DE ALIAGA, to take upon them the government of the city of Lima, to whom the Mephtates immediately submitted, in the absence of ALMAGRO, who was march'd towards Cusco, as hath been related; and VACA DE CASTRO soon after arriv'd in person at Lima, and was proclaimed Governor of Peru, having been join'd in his march from Quitto by ALONZO DE ALVARADO and HOLGUIN, with their forces.

Towns founded by Pizarro.

The Pizarrists assemble their forces, and declare war against young Almagro.

Vaca de Castro the Governor arrives in Peru.

In

CHAP.

X.
Almagro
possesses
himself of
Cusco.

In the mean time ALMAGRO continuing his march to Cusco, took possession of that city, and new modelled the Magistracy there: His next business was to furnish himself with a train of artillery, which he cast in the founderies there, copper being plentiful in that province: He also made great quantities of excellent gun-powder; and the famous MANCO Inca, who always hated the PIZARRO's for having imprisoned him and treated him with indignity, also joined the Almagrians with several thousands of his Indians.

But ALMAGRO was unfortunate in the loss of his General JOHN DE RADA, who died on the march to Cusco; for the command of the army being afterwards divided between CHRISTOPHER DE SOTELA and GARCIA DE ALVARADO, they quarrelled to such a degree, that GARCIA killed SOTELA in the market-place of Cusco, and had laid a design to assassinate ALMAGRO himself, but was killed in the attempt.

ALMAGRO afterwards constituted JOHN BALSA the General of his forces, and PETER DE ONATE his Lieutenant-General; and receiving advice that the Governor VACA DE CASTRO was advancing towards Cusco, he marched out of the capital at the head of seven hundred Spaniards and several thousand Indians, with a good train of artillery, in order to give the Governor battle, if he could not obtain equitable conditions for himself and his friends; and receiving advice, that the Governor was not many leagues distant from him, he dispatched LOPEZ DE YDIAQUEZ and JAMES NUÑEZ to represent to him how eminently and successfully his father had served the Crown of Spain, and how unjustly and treacherously the PIZARRO's had dealt with him in usurping the government of Cusco and New Toledo, which his Majesty had conferred on him; that he was determined to serve the King with the same fidelity his father had done, and hoped the Governor would not espouse the party of PIZARRO's, whose oppressions and disloyalty were so notorious.

The commanding Officers also sent letters to VACA DE CASTRO, complaining of his partiality in rejecting their services, as if they opposed their Sovereign, affirming that the King had not more loyal subjects in Peru than they were; and desiring that all misunderstandings might be amicably adjusted, that they might unite their forces in the service of their King and country: And, lastly, it was proposed that ALMAGRO might continue to command in Cusco, the capital of Peru, Toledo being his father's government; and the Governor should command in Lima, the capital of New Castile, till the King's pleasure was known.

But VACA DE CASTRO, instead of treating above-board with ALMAGRO, endeavour'd privately to corrupt his Officers, and induce them to desert him; which ALMAGRO discovering, both parties prepared for battle, and drew up their troops in the vale of Chupas: These little armies were both composed of veteran officers and soldiers: The Governor had the advantage in point of numbers, his troops consisting of seven hundred Spaniards besides Indians, and ALMAGRO's of five hundred Spaniards; but then the latter had the advantage of a train of artillery and of the ground, and would probably have gained the victory, if all his officers had been true to him; for his artillery was so pointed, that the enemy could not approach his camp on any side without considerable loss: However, to his amazement, when the great guns were fired they did no manner of execution, and the enemy advanced as if

they had nothing to fear from the artillery; where-
upon ALMAGRO rode up to PEDRO DE CANDIA, who commanded the great guns; and suspecting treachery, killed him with his own hands; and levelling one of the cannon himself, cut off a whole rank of the Governor's troops, putting them in some disorder. But the enemy were now advanced too near his train of artillery to suffer from them; and his men had quitted the ground, where they were so advantageously drawn up to meet the enemy, which occasioned the loss of the battle, tho' it was fought with great obstinacy till two hours within night; when ALMAGRO finding his troops overpowered retired out of the field with MANCO Inca, and three or four Spanish officers, intending to have taken refuge in the mountains with the Inca and his Indians, till he should meet with a favourable opportunity of recovering his government; but taking Cusco in his way, with a design to carry off his treasure, and such of his effects as would have been most useful to him in his exile, the very men in whose hands ALMAGRO had put the government of that city, hearing he had lost the battle, apprehended him, and delivered him up to the victorious Governor, to make their own peace with him; and young ALMAGRO, who was not much above twenty years of age, was formally tried, condemned, and executed in the same place, and much in the same manner his father had been; and was afterwards buried by the Friars of the convent of Merced, in the same grave with his father, having obtained a much greater character for his humanity, parts and education, tho' his conduct and experience in war could not be supposed equal to his father's; and, indeed, it was unfortunate he was so young and unexperienced, and consequently had so little influence and command of his troops, every officer almost imagining he merited the chief command in the army, and that ALMAGRO was infinitely obliged to him for taking his part; while others were contriving to purchase their own peace by betraying their General: This is frequently the case of malecontents, they all aspire to be commanders, and none think themselves obliged to obey their superior officers any further than they see fit, especially where they find them young and unexperienced; and this being the case of ALMAGRO, tho' he is allowed to have been a gallant man, we cannot much wonder at his ill success: Nor had the Governor more compassion on the officers and soldiers than on their commander, giving scarce any quarter in the field, and hanging up those few that were made prisoners; so that the party of ALMAGRO was now totally extirpated, and never heard of more. Whereupon the Governor dismissed most of his forces, and apply'd himself with all imaginable diligence to the regulating the Civil government, and particularly he ordered the Tambo's, or magazines upon the great roads to be stored with provisions for the convenience of travellers, prohibiting the Spaniards to quarter upon the Indians, as they had hitherto done in their journeys and expeditions, to the ruin of the natives where they came. He also endeavoured the conversion of the Indians to the Christian faith, and prevailed with the Inca PAULLA to be baptized, giving him the name of CHRISTOPHER: He also erected schools in several towns, ordering the sons of the Caciques and Caraca's to be educated there, and instructed in the principles of the Christian religion: He commanded the Spaniards also to use their Indian servants with humanity, and not to oppress or abuse any Indian whatever. Whereupon the Indians who had fled to the mountains

CHAP.

X.

Almagro
defeated
at Chupas.Taken
and be-
headed.Vaca de
Castro re-
gulates the
Civil go-
vernment.

CHAP. X. tains many of them, return'd and dwelt in Cusco, Lima, and other Spanish towns, under the protection of the government. He also regulated the distribution of the lands and Indians which had been made very extravagantly, and restor'd many of the Indian lords their lands and vassals, checking the licentiousness of the soldiery, and advising them to marry, and apply themselves to traffick, or some honest employments, and not spend their whole time in gaming and excesses, and oppressing the poor Indians to maintain their extravagances, as was frequently the practice of the first Conquerors; by which he engag'd the affections of the Indians, but made himself a great many enemies among the Adventurers and military men, who came into Peru with no other view but to advance their fortunes, and live at discretion among the natives, whom they look'd upon as made only to be subservient to their pleasures. He also enquir'd into the conduct of the King's officers, whom he observ'd had amass'd together monstrous estates, by oppressing the Indians and defrauding the Crown.

Gonzalo Pizarro arriving at Cusco while these regulations were making, found abundance of malecontents there, who being us'd to live at large, and treat the natives as their slaves, were not easily restrain'd from their former practices; and looking upon himself as very much wrong'd, by **VACA DE CASTRO**'s assuming the government, which he apprehended belong'd to him as his brother's successor, he associated with the malecontents there, and, 'tis said, had form'd a design of deposing, if not assassinating, the governor at that time; of which **VACA DE CASTRO** having some intimation, order'd **PIZARRO** immediately to resort to the province of Los Charcas, where his estate lay, and not stir from thence: And **PIZARRO** not being then in a condition to dispute his commands, obey'd them, and the more readily as he understood there were several rich silver mines lately discover'd in those lands, in the working and improving whereof **GONZALO** employ'd himself, 'till he found a better opportunity of putting his ambitious projects in execution, which happen'd not long after.

Thus **VACA DE CASTRO** made some attempts towards relieving the poor Indians from the oppressions of his countrymen the Spaniards; but still grievous complaints daily came over to Spain of their being destroy'd in the mines, and other rigorous services; and particularly by their being remov'd out of their native air and climate, which occasion'd the death of multitudes, while the women and children in those countries from whence their husbands and fathers were taken and carried to the mines, perish'd by thousands, having no care taken for their subsistence, inasmuch that it was truly represented to the court of Spain, that the West-Indies would in a short time be depopulated, if a stop was not put to these outrages: And thereupon the Emperor **CHARLES** the Vth caus'd certain orders to be drawn up, which he requir'd should be strictly observ'd in America under severe penalties: Some of the principal whereof were, "That the Indians should not be compell'd to carry burthens, or dig in the mines, or be employ'd in buildings, or carried out of their respective countries, tho' they were really slaves: And that none should wrongfully be made slaves, the master was oblig'd to carry his servants before a Magistrate, to be examin'd, before he should use them as such (for it seems, part of the Indians were slaves to the great Lords, or Caciques, before the Spanish conquest; and

"where an estate was allotted to a Spaniard, he became the proprietor of all the slaves upon it, as well as of the lands). It was also provided, that the Indians might be proprietors of gold and silver mines as well as the Spaniards, and be allow'd to sell their goods in the markets for the best price they could get; and that every Spaniard, who had an estate, should take care the Indians upon it were instructed in the Christian religion. It was also ordain'd, that the Visitors who were deputed to redress the grievances of the Indians, should repair in person to their respective towns, and not send Commissioners thither, with a great many other regulations in favour of the Indians."

The Emperor also resolv'd to send over a Governor to Peru, who should see these orders duly executed; and accordingly he made choice of **BLASCO NUÑEZ VELA**, who arriv'd at Panama in the year 1544; and meeting with several Spaniards there, who had rais'd great sums by the sale of Indians to the mines in Peru, he order'd them to be prosecuted, and the money they had made by this kind of traffick to be seiz'd. He also releas'd all such Indians as has been brought thither out of Peru, and oblig'd the Commanders of ships to carry them back again: And to set a good example when he arriv'd in Peru, he would not suffer his baggage to be carried by Indians, but on mules; and when he was inform'd there were not mules sufficient, he order'd that such Indians as were employ'd should carry but moderate burthens, and be paid for their labour, with which the Indians were extremely pleas'd; but the Spaniards immediately took a prejudice against the Vice-roy for insisting on these regulations, and began to grow very mutinous, pretending their Indians were their property as much as any other part of their estates, and they might use them as they pleas'd; nor was it possible to work their mines, or to build and improve their plantations but by their labour, which they represented to the new Vice-roy, and desired he would suspend the execution of these ordinances; but the Vice-roy answer'd, they must petition the Court of Spain if they expected any alteration in them; and in the mean time, as he had promised his Majesty, he was resolv'd to see them put in execution; and when some of the Caciques, or Indian Lords, complain'd that their vassals had been taken away by the Spaniards, he order'd them to be set at liberty, telling the Caciques, that it was the King's pleasure they should be treated as subjects, and not as slaves.

This conduct so enrag'd the Spaniards, that most of the great towns appear'd ripe for an insurrection; even the capital city of Lima made some difficulty to permit the Vice-roy to enter within their walls, and when they did think fit to receive him, were guilty of very rude and threatening language, and he found an inscription in the room where he was about to sit down to dinner, of the following tenor: "I will take the life of him who comes to take away my estate." However, the person being discover'd who wrote it, he forgave him: But the disaffection appear'd almost universal; the Spaniards being determin'd not to submit to the new regulations, sent Deputies from all the great towns to **GONZALO PIZARRO** at La Plata, desiring he would be their protector, and deliver them from the oppressions of the Vice-roy, as they call'd them; and that they might have a pretence to assemble in arms, they declar'd war against **MANCO** Inca, who was assembling an army of Indians, as they gave out, to besiege Cusco again.

CHAP.
X.

Gonzalo Pizarro appears at the head of the male contents.

PIZARRO, pleas'd to find the Spaniards so well inclin'd to him, amass'd all the treasure he could get at the mines of Potosi, which were then newly open'd, and came to Cusco; where having consult'd his friends, he beat his drums, and list'd two or three hundred Spaniards in his service; and having constituted FRANCIS DE CARAJAL his Major-General, resolv'd to march to Lima, under pretence of petitioning the Vice-roy in behalf of the principal towns, to suspend the putting in execution the new regulations; and prevail'd on the Magistrates of Cusco to constitute him Chief-Justice of Peru, by colour of which office he assum'd the civil government of the province, as well as the command of the militia.

In the mean time MANCO Inca, who was always an enemy to the PIZARRO's, on account of their insolent treatment of him when they had him in their power, sent one of the Spaniards, who had fled to him for refuge after the defeat of ALMAGRO, to acquaint the Vice-roy that he was ready to take the field against GONZALO PIZARRO, and would serve the Court of Spain to the utmost of his power; with which message the Vice-roy was extremely pleas'd, looking upon it as a great point gain'd to have the natives in his interest: But there happening a quarrel about this time between one of those refugee Spaniards in the mountains and the Inca as they were playing at bowls, the Spaniard beat out the Inca's brains with a bowl; whereupon the Indians fell upon the remaining five Spaniards, and kill'd them every man. And now MANCO Inca being dead, the Vice-roy was deprived of that assistance he might have expected from those Indians in the mountains, who had hitherto preserv'd their liberties.

The Vice-roy was still more unfortunate in having a misunderstanding with the four Judges of the royal Court that came over from Spain with him to administer the Civil government. These gentlemen carry'd their resentment so far, that they actually favour'd the cause of GONZALO PIZARRO; and when the Vice-roy would have rais'd forces against PIZARRO, they oppos'd it, and proceeded so far as to make the Vice-roy prisoner, who escap'd from them however to the city of Quito, where he was join'd by some hundreds of loyal Spaniards: PIZARRO receiving advice that the Vice-roy had been forced to fly from Lima, immediately advanced thither with his army, where he put to death or imprison'd all who were not in his interest, and prevail'd on the Judges to sign a commission, constituting him Governor of Peru. After which he dispatch'd TEJADA the Judge most devoted to his cause, into Spain, to give a favourable account of his conduct, and represent that he was in a manner compell'd to take the chief command upon him, and had accepted it with no other view than to serve his Majesty, and prevent a general revolt, which he suggested was very near affected by the Vice-roy's rigorous administration.

PIZARRO also proceeded to seize all the ships upon the coast, whereby he became master of the South-sea, and put in new Governors and Magistrates in the chief towns, discarding some and hanging up others who had appear'd for the Vice-roy, making the civil powers submit to the military, or acting without their concurrence whenever he saw fit: To maintain his forces, he exacted of the Spaniards a third part of all the rents or tributes they receiv'd from the vassal Indians; seiz'd the gold and silver belonging to the Crown, and apply'd it to the same uses; and by his cruelty in murdering and

destroying those who appear'd to have any remains of loyalty left, it was evident he design'd to cast off all dependance on the Crown of Spain, and become the sole Sovereign of the empire of Peru.

Having constituted MACHICO his Admiral, he commanded him to attack the city of Panama, and take all the shipping he found in that bay; which orders were punctually executed, and MACHICO now commanded a fleet of twenty-six sail. He had also a good number of land-men on board, and with these soldiers committed great outrages in the town of Panama, though the Governor had assembled six or seven hundred soldiers to defend that place.

In the mean time, PIZARRO having divided his land-forces, detach'd part of them under his General CARAJAL, to the city of Plata, and the southern provinces, where he understood CENTENO and some other loyal gentlemen had declar'd for the King, and cut off several of his adherents; and with the other part of his forces he pursued the Vice-roy to Quito, who being join'd by BELALCAZAR, had collected a body of three or four hundred men, with whom he defended himself bravely against all the stratagems of PIZARRO for some time; but his officers proving treacherous, he was at length defeated and kill'd in an engagement, on the 19th of January 1546, near the walls of Quito. PIZARRO's General, CARAJAL, was no less successful in the southern provinces, dispersing the Royalists there, and forcing CENTENO their General to fly the country; after which he plunder'd the city of La Plata, and put to death many of those that had appear'd for the King. And now PIZARRO finding there were no enemies left in Peru that durst oppose him, dismiss'd part of his forces, and return'd to Lima in triumph, looking upon himself as sole monarch of South-America, and was flatter'd as such by his party; whereupon he made HINOJOSA Admiral of the South-sea, and commanded his fleet to sail again to the bay of Panama, where the Admiral landed his men, and sent a detachment cross the Isthmus, under the command of FERDINANDO MEXIA, and surpriz'd Nombre de Dios, so that HINOJOSA was in a manner master of the North and South-sea, or at least was in a condition to prevent any supplies being sent to the assistance of the Royalists either from Old or New Spain.

PIZARRO, however, apprehensive that the times might turn, thought it expedient to keep fair with the Court of Spain, and pretend at least that he had no thoughts of throwing off his allegiance, and acting independently of his Sovereign: He dispatch'd LAURENCE DE ALDANA therefore to Old Spain, as commission'd from all the cities and towns of Peru, to petition that he (PIZARRO) might be continu'd their Governor, and that his Majesty would send them a pardon for all that was past; on which conditions they promised to make good whatever had been expended of the King's treasure, and to advance a considerable sum as a free gift to his Majesty.

The Spanish Ministry having been already acquainted with GONZALO PIZARRO's usurpation, gave all Peru for lost, till the arrival of ALDANA; for though it was propos'd in the Council of Spain to subdue that Usurper by force, yet the difficulty of sending an army into that remote part of the world sufficient for such an enterprize, made that advice look'd upon as impracticable. But laying hold of these overtures made them by PIZARRO and the chief towns of Peru, it was resolv'd to send

CHAP.
X.

Pizarro's Admiral insults Panama, and takes all the ships in that bay.

He defeats and kills the Vice-roy. His General defeats the Royalists near La Plata.

His Admiral possesses himself of Panama and Nombre de Dios.

Pizarro applies to the Court of Spain.

Manco Inca kill'd

The Vice-roy imprison'd, but escapes.

Pizarro usurps the government of Peru.

CHAP. X. send over Gasca, a subtil Lawyer, with the title only of President of the royal Court; but with full powers to act as he should judge most for the advantage of the government when he arrived there. This gentleman was authoriz'd to grant a general pardon to all delinquents, or to as many as he saw fit; to promise to repeal those ordinances which prohibited their enslaving the Indians, or levying money upon them; to confirm all men in their possessions, however wrongfully obtained; and to constitute PIZARRO himself Vice-roy of Peru, if that rich province could not be recovered to the Crown of Spain by any other means; for as some observed in the Council of Spain, "It were better to let the Devil be Vice-roy than the Crown." "should lose so invaluable a prize as Peru appeared to be about this time, when the inexhaustible mines of Potosi were discovered." And such a confidence had the Court of Spain in the loyalty and dexterity of GASCA, that they did not only confer on him an unlimited authority in Peru, but all Vice-roys, Governors, Magistrates, Generals and Officers in America were commanded to support him and obey his orders. He carried also letters of various kinds from his Majesty to PIZARRO, to be sent or suppress'd, as the President should judge proper on his arrival in America; in one of which the Emperor tells that Usurper, that he still confided in his loyalty, and was not offended at any of the measures he had taken.

The Court of Spain wheedle Pizarro.

The President GASCA arriving at Cartagena, in Terra-Firma, received advice there that Nombre de Dios was possessed by a garrison commanded by FERDINANDO MEXIA, whom HINOJOSA, PIZARRO's Admiral, had sent thither. However, the President proceeded in his voyage to Nombre de Dios, and so cunningly insinuated himself into the good opinion of MEXIA, that he agreed to desert PIZARRO's service, and hold that place for his Sovereign the Emperor; and coming afterwards to Panama, on the 13th of August 1546, he prevailed on HINOJOSA the Admiral and the whole fleet to revolt from PIZARRO and declare for his Majesty.

Pizarro's Admiral and fleet revolt to Gasca.

Affairs succeeding thus far to the President's wish, he dispatch'd PANIAGUA, a gentleman of great penetration and address, to Lima with a letter from the Emperor, and another from himself to PIZARRO. The Emperor in his letter tells PIZARRO, that having been informed of the commotions that had happen'd in Peru by the late Vice-roy's putting the ordinances too rigorously in execution, and believing that whatever had been done by PIZARRO and his adherents was intended for his Majesty's service, he had dispatch'd the Lieutenant GASCA, in quality of President, with full power and instructions to put an end to the divisions that had happen'd there, and to do whatever might contribute to the improvement of those provinces and the welfare of his subjects, whether planters or natives, requiring PIZARRO to assist him in whatever the President should judge proper for his Majesty's service, concluding, that his Majesty would ever remember the services that he and his brother the Marquis had done to the advantage of their children and families.

Gasca's letter to Pizarro.

The President, in his letter to PIZARRO also, seems to lay the blame of the late insurrections on the Vice-roy, and says, his Majesty believed that their opposition to the Vice-roy did not proceed from any motive to disobedience or disservice to his Majesty, but merely from a principle of self-preservation,

which induced them to oppose that severity the Vice-roy used in the execution of the new laws: That the king had therefore sent him to quiet the minds of the people by a revocation of those laws, and to publish a general pardon for all offences of what kind soever: And, lastly, to take the opinion and direction of the people of the country concerning the methods that were most likely to conduce to the advancement of religion, and the common good and welfare of the inhabitants. Wherefore he entreated PIZARRO that he would consider these things, and like a gentleman and loyal subject, and with that affection and good will which he had shew'd for the welfare of his country, sincerely yield obedience to his Majesty, and comply with his commands, who had so favourably interpreted his actions, acquitting him of rebellion and disloyalty.

Then he advises PIZARRO not to flatter himself with an opinion that he was so well established as to be able to resist the forces of so great a Prince as his Sovereign the Emperor was, who compell'd the Grand Signior to retire from Vienna when he was at the head of three hundred thousand men, and had obtain'd so many memorable victories over the infidels and the rest of his enemies.

When these letters were read in the Usurper's Council, some were for receiving the President and accepting the terms that were offer'd immediately, observing that the Court of Spain had granted every thing they demanded, as a revocation of the ordinances, a general pardon, and a confirmation of their estates and possessions. But others, inspir'd with ambition, or dreading the vengeance they knew was due to their crimes, represented, that if the President was once admitted, he would soon insinuate himself into the affections of the people, and dispose of them and their fortunes at pleasure; and therefore urg'd that it was neither politic nor safe to admit the President amongst them. In the mean time PANIAGUA, GASCA's agent, found means to feel the pulse of the principal citizens of Lima, who seem'd ready to desert the Usurper as soon as they had an opportunity. They were weary of his oppressions and arbitrary dominion, who had of late given the reins to his passions, putting several considerable men to death, seiz'd their possessions, and made free with their wives and daughters. Understanding therefore from PANIAGUA, that a pardon was offer'd them, and whatever else they had demanded, they found means to assure this agent that they were ready to return to their duty, notwithstanding PIZARRO had threatened that agent to put him to death as soon as he arriv'd, if he tamper'd with any of the citizens: Nor was the revolt of the fleet, which PANIAGUA inform'd them of, one of the least motives that induc'd them to make their submission to his Majesty.

Gasca's agent prepares the citizens of Lima for a revolt.

PIZARRO, still ignorant of this general disaffection, tho' it was a secret to very few besides, resolv'd not to admit the President; but imagining his fleet at Panama to be still faithful to him, order'd the admiral to provide a ship and send the President back to Spain; however, he gave PANIAGUA a letter for him, when he return'd, of the following tenour.

He desir'd the President to consider him as a person naturally devoted to his Majesty's service, and to remember how he and his brothers had been these sixteen years employ'd in augmenting the territories and revenues of the Crown of Spain: That they had reduced countries of a vast extent, and abounding with more gold and silver than all the kingdoms of the world produc'd besides, and this at their own charges,

Pizarro's answer to the President Gasca.

CHAP. X. charges, without putting his Majesty to the expence of a single crown, and without gaining any thing for themselves but the reputation of serving their Prince and country; for whatever treasure they had obtain'd was laid out in settling colonies, and supporting these conquests: They had not the inheritance of an acre of land assigned them (the Court of Spain granting only estates for lives to the Adventurers.) And notwithstanding these neglects, they remained immovable in their loyalty, and had no need to be put in mind of their duty to their Sovereign by arguments drawn from his power and success against his enemies.

He proceeds to shew, that it was the rigorous and impolitic administration of the late Vice-roy that had been the occasion of all the mischiefs and disturbances that had happened, and justifies his own usurpation, by observing, that he was chosen Agent-General by all the cities and communities of that empire, and empower'd by the Judges of the royal Court to drive the Vice-roy from thence, having transacted nothing but by their warrant and concurrence.

PIZARRO also sent several agents of considerable quality to the Court of Spain to justify his conduct, and get his command confirmed to him; but these all deserted him, making their peace with the President when they came to Panama, and accepting employments from him. Whereupon the President commanded the Governors of the Mexican provinces, those of St. Martha, Cartagena, New-Granada and Popayan, to levy forces with all expedition, and send to his assistance. He also order'd LAURENCE DE ALDANA to sail with four stout ships to the coast of Peru, who landing small parties in several places, were joined by great numbers of deserters: And at the same time JAMES DE MORA assembled four or five hundred men in the inland parts of Peru, and declar'd for the King, appointing the general rendezvous of his Majesty's forces to be at Caxamalca.

Pizarro
deserted
by great
numbers.

He pre-
pares to
defend his
usurpation

And now PIZARRO receiving advice of the revolt of his fleet and the approach of his enemies, apply'd himself with great diligence to raise forces in order to defend his usurpation, and in a short time muster'd upwards of nine hundred men in the city of Lima only, all veteran troops well armed, and the horse well mounted; nor was there a foot-soldier but had his pade to ride on, and slaves to attend him, so that his infantry might be looked upon as horse or dragoons at least, engaging either on foot or horse-back, as there was occasion, and had a great advantage in marching with expedition from one part of the country to the other without much fatigue: Besides the forces PIZARRO had in Lima, he sent strong detachments to Cusco, La Plata, and other places, causing it to be published every where, that the President GASCA had exceeded his commission in levying forces against him; that the King had not empower'd the President to take the government from him, but only to endeavour to establish peace, and preside in the royal Court; and that the people were no less concern'd than himself to oppose his encroachments; for if the President prevail'd, they must expect to be plundered, and dispossest of all they had gained with so much labour and hazard, and perhaps meet with a halter instead of a reward.

He also order'd process to be begun in the Courts of law against the President, and against HINOJOSA the Admiral of the fleet, and all the Officers who had deserted him, procuring them to be condemn'd to death and declar'd traitors by the Judges at Lima: But still the desertion continu'd, the people were well satisfy'd that the President GASCA was sufficiently

authoriz'd to make war upon PIZARRO, and grant them such conditions as he saw fit on their submission; and were not only weary of the Usurper's tyrannical administration, but evidently foresaw he would not be able to support himself against the power of Spain, and that great disaffection that was observ'd amongst all sorts of people in Peru.

CHAP. X.

LAWRENCE DE ALDANA being now arriv'd with his ships at the port of Callao, two leagues from Lima, PIZARRO's soldiers took frequent opportunities of deserting to him; which induced the usurper to abandon that city, and march to the southward as far as Arequipa; of which ALDANA receiving advice, landed his men, and took possession of the city of Lima for the King; soon after which the President arrived upon the coast of Peru with the remainder of the fleet, and a good body of land forces, and constituted the Admiral HINOJOSA General as well by land as sea: But he did not think fit to take the field till he had assembled an army abundantly superior to that of the enemy, and sufficient to secure the reduction of that empire to the Crown of Spain. This Minister appears to have proceeded with abundance of caution and deliberation, and to have effected more by sly insinuation and artifice, than could possibly have been effected by open force, and at the same time kept at a distance from danger, never undertaking anything, or advancing a single step, till he was morally sure of success.

Pizarro
abandons
Lima.

Aldana
takes pos-
session of it
for the re-
sident.

In the mean time GONZALO PIZARRO receiving advice that CENTENO had raised eight hundred or a thousand men in the Charcas for the Crown, possess'd himself of the cities of La Plata and Cusco, and kept in awe all the southern part of Peru with his forces; he marched towards Cusco, with a design to give that General battle; and CENTENO being no less forward to engage, a battle was fought in the valley of Guarina, in October 1547, and PIZARRO obtaining a complete victory, most of CENTENO's soldiers, that were taken prisoners, list'd themselves in the service of the rebels; and some few days after, PIZARRO entered the city of Cusco in triumph. From Cusco PIZARRO sent a detachment of his forces to take possession of the city of La Plata, where they seiz'd six hundred thousand crowns, and hang'd up several that were well affected to the royal cause; and at the same time his General CARVAJAL plunder'd the town of Arequipa and other places on the sea-coast, whereby they amass'd a prodigious treasure.

Pizarro
marches
towards
Cusco.

Defeats
Centeno.

Seizes the
King's
treasure at
the mines.

The President GASCA, receiving repeated advices of PIZARRO's success, at length began his march towards Cusco at the head of sixteen hundred veteran Spaniards, and several thousand Indians, attended by a fine train of artillery, and arrived in the valley of Sacahnanana, within four leagues of Cusco, in the beginning of April 1548. Upon the approach of the royalists, it was debated in PIZARRO's council, whether he should advance and fight the President, or retreat? His General CARVAJAL, it seems, advis'd him to retire to certain inaccessible mountains, a little to the southward of Cusco, where it would have been very difficult to attack him, and he would have sav'd a rich country in his rear, that would have furnish'd him with plenty of provisions: But PIZARRO insist'd it was dishonourable to retreat, and confiding in the goodness of his troops, march'd out of Cusco at the head of nine hundred men, to the valley of Sacahnanana, where he resolv'd to give the enemy battle, but was deserted by almost all his men on the day of battle, who laid hold on the pardon the President GASCA had order'd to be proclaimed. They saw the

Pizarro
deserted
by all his
forces.

roy-

CHAP.

X.

Surrenders
himself a
prisoner.Pizarro
condemned.His speech
at his ex-
ecution.He is be-
headed.

royalists so much superior to them, and so advantageously posted, that there was very little prospect of success, and could not suppose they should ever meet with such another opportunity of securing their lives and estates.

PIZARRO stood amazed for some time at this general defection, but at length thought fit to surrender to the first officer he met with. His Lieutenant-General CARVAJAL fled, and was made prisoner soon after; and both of them were carried in triumph by the President into the city of Cusco, which open'd her gates to the Conqueror.

Two or three days after, PIZARRO, CARVAJAL, and several other rebels were formally tried and convicted of their treason and rebellion against their Sovereign. PIZARRO was condemned to be beheaded, his houses demolished, and the ground sow'd with salt, and a pillar was order'd to be erected with this inscription, "These were the dwellings of that traitor GONZALO PIZARRO." In pursuance of his sentence, he was set upon a Mule, and led to the place of execution, carrying in his hands the image of the blessed Virgin, to whom he pray'd with great devotion, but in the way exchange'd this image for a crucifix, which a Priest gave him that attended him; on this he fixed his eyes till he came to the scaffold, where he made the following speech to the soldiers and Spanish inhabitants.

GENTLEMEN,

"YE know that our family, my brothers and myself, have subdued this empire. Many of you are possessed of baronies and lands, which my brother the Marquis conferred on you, and many of you here present have received the like estates from me. There are also many of you owe me money, which I have freely lent you, and others have received considerable gifts and gratuities from me.

"I, for my part, die poor and destitute of every thing; not so much as the cloaths on my back are my own, but the fees of the executioner, for the service he doth in cutting off my head; so that I have nothing to give for the good of my soul. Wherefore I beseech you, gentlemen, as many of you as owe me money, bestow the same on masses for my soul; for I have full assurance in God, that through the meritorious death and passion of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and with the assistance of your charity, all my sins shall be pardon'd, and I shall be received to mercy."

Then kneeling down before the crucifix, which was placed on a table on the scaffold, the executioner came to bind a handkerchief about his eyes, but he said that was unnecessary, he had often look'd death in the face; and seeing the hangman draw his sword to cut off his head, he said, "Honest JACK, do thy office handsomely." The fellow promising it should be done according to his wish, took the prisoner by his beard with his left-hand, and with a back stroke, cut off his head at one blow, with the same ease (says my author) as he would have sliced off the leaf of a lettuce. DIEGO CENTENO paying the executioner for his cloaths, he was buried in them in the cloister of the Mercenarian Friars in Cusco, in the same grave where DIEGO DE ALMAGRO the elder, and ALMAGRO the younger, his son, had both been buried upon charity, after they were executed in the same place. After the fury of the war was over, the Spanish cities of Peru caused masses to be said for the soul of GONZALO PIZARRO, whose faults seem'd all to have been buried in

his grave, and only his conquests and heroick actions, remembered in the next generation. The Spaniards, who possess'd those mountains of treasure, and that extensive country which the PIZARRO's conquered, could do no less than applaud their actions, and set them in the fairest light; for if those countries were unjustly obtain'd, they were as unjustly possess'd and enjoy'd by those who succeeded the PIZARRO's. What title could the King of Spain give any of his subjects to the estates and persons of the Indians? Their King, therefore, was the great usurper and oppressor. The PIZARRO's truly observed, if conquest gave a right, they had the best title to Peru, who conquer'd it at their own expences, without putting the Crown of Spain to any charge. But in truth, neither the Kings of Spain, or the Adventurers, could have a better right to that country than what pirates or highwaymen have to their acquisitions; however, nothing is more common in this world, than to see one usurper and oppressor sit in judgment upon another, and take upon him to dispose of men's lives and fortunes, to which neither the Judge, or the person he condemns for seizing them have any right.

PIZARRO was condemned for usurping the government of Peru: But was not the King of Spain the greatest usurper, who unjustly countenanc'd the invading of that country, made advantage of all the wrongs and outrages the PIZARRO's had committed, and possess'd himself of those very spoils and territories which were ravish'd from the Inca's and their subjects; and continue their unjust possession by force and violence to this very day? But to proceed in the history.

The President GASCA having made large promises to the officers and soldiers that assist'd him to reduce PIZARRO, was perpetually sollicitous to make them good after that war was at an end. His people expected that all the lands possess'd by the adherents of PIZARRO should have been divided among them; and this, no doubt, the President intended to have done, if PIZARRO's troops had not deserted him; but the President had made equal promises, it seems, to those who should forsake PIZARRO and come over to him; and these by abandoning their General, had finished the destruction of that usurper without his running the hazard of a battle, so that the President had scarce any lands to divide among the numerous claimants; however, he made a distribution of such lands as were confiscated, and left the instrument, allotting to every man his share, seal'd up, when he returned to Lima, ordering the Archbishop of that province to repair to Cusco and publish it; and the clergy were commanded to exhort the officers and soldiers in their sermons to submit to this partition, which was all that could possibly be done at this time. But the petitioners were so far from acquiescing in this division, that they began to grow very mutinous, till some of them were apprehended and made examples of, and others made easy by promises of a further partition in their favour. The most dangerous of all the pretenders was HERNANDEZ GIRON, whom the President could find no means to satisfy, but by granting him a commission to resort to Cusco and raise forces, in order to attempt new conquests; and this was thought to be a very desperate remedy, to put arms into the hands of a man whose disaffection and ambition was but too manifest: Nor was he long at Cusco, before he gave the Government very great disturbance, tho' he did not break out into actual rebellion till some time afterwards.

Some remarks
of the usurpations
of the Spaniards in
Peru.The Spanish soldiers
discontented.Several Commanders sent
upon new conquests.

CHAP.
X.

Another detachment of troops was sent under the command of the celebrated PETER DE VALDIVIA, to finish the conquest of Chili; under whom a great many of the disaffected Spaniards lifted themselves, in hopes of making their fortunes there, which they now despair'd of doing in Peru: And this seems to have been the conduct of most of the Governors of Peru, when they could not satisfy the pretensions of the Spanish officers and soldiers (every one of which imagin'd he merited a province by his services) to give them commissions to enter upon new conquests, which they assur'd them should be shar'd among the Adventurers. The President GASCA, however, found there were still a great many that remained unsatisfy'd, even those to whom he had assign'd lands and Indians that produced upwards of an hundred thousand crowns a year were not contented, and he was compell'd to promise them a further division to increase their shares, which he took care however, should not be publish'd 'till he was gone to Europe, for fear of a tumult; and an order coming from Spain at the same time to release the Indians from their personal services, or rather slavery, he suppress'd that also for the same reason, 'till he left the country. And having fleec'd and plunder'd both Spaniards and Indians, 'till he had amass'd together two or three millions of crowns for his master the Emperor, he set sail with it for the bay of Panama, well knowing that so vast a treasure would cover all faults, and render his administration approv'd by the Court of Spain, tho' he suppress'd and oppos'd the repeated orders that were sent over for giving the Indians their liberty.

Gasca returns to Panama with a vast treasure.

The Treasure seiz'd by the rebels at Panama.

The President arriving in the bay of Panama, did not think fit to make any stay in the city which gives name to that bay, but immediately cross'd the isthmus, and arriv'd at Nombre de Dios (which stood near Porto Bello) on the North-sea, leaving most of the treasure to be brought after him, and was very near losing it; for FERDINAND and PETER DE CONTRERAS, the two sons of PEDRARIAS, who reduc'd the province of Veragua, being turn'd out of their father's government, and dispossessed of all his lands, had a little before broke out into open rebellion: And having seiz'd several ships in the South-sea at this time, attack'd Panama, where great part of the royal treasure was lodg'd, and made themselves masters of it as well as of the town, and might with ease have carried it all off, but could not be satisfy'd without making the President their prisoner. They sent part of their forces therefore cross the isthmus in pursuit of the President GASCA, who was now at Nombre de Dios on the North-sea, of which the citizens of Panama taking the advantage, fell upon the remainder of the rebels forces that were left behind, cut most of them in pieces, and recovered the treasure again. Upon advice whereof, the party that was sent after the President dispers'd themselves, very few of them making their escape back to Veragua; and the two brothers, FERDINAND and PETER DE CONTRERAS, were both of them kill'd; which put an end to this rebellion, that would otherwise probably have been fatal to Spain: For the rebels propos'd, after they had made themselves masters of both sides the isthmus of Darien, so that no relief could come over from Old Spain, to have assembled a fleet, and join'd the malecontents of Peru, whereby they might have reduc'd that province under their power, and perhaps laid the foundation of another empire; but their dividing their forces defeated all the hopeful projects they had form'd, and ended in the destruction of the two brothers and their fol-

lowers; and the President GASCA could not but bless himself, when he understood how narrowly he had escap'd with his treasure, which he had the good fortune to recover and carry over safe to Spain, to the infinite joy of that Court, which was in the utmost distress for money to support the various enterprizes the Emperor CHARLES the Vth, was engag'd in at that time.

CHAP.
X.

Gasca recovers the treasure again, and arrives with it in Spain.

I return now to Peru, where the Judges of the royal Court, in whom the administration was lodg'd, publish'd the second partition the late President had made of the lands, which gave as little satisfaction as the former. These Judges also put in execution the decree of the Court of Spain for releasing the Indians from personal service, and would not suffer the poor natives to be press'd to dig in the mines, to carry burthens, or to do any other laborious work, but what they willingly agreed to do, and were paid for; which occasion'd an insurrection in Cusco, and the disaffected made choice of HERNANDEZ, or HERNANDO GIRON, for their Chief, who was still in that city, where he had rais'd two hundred men for the making of new conquests. This tumult was suppress'd with great difficulty, and GIRON sent prisoner to Lima; but so general was the disaffection, that the Judges did not think fit to punish this notorious officer, and in a short time gave him his liberty again; even the General HINOJOSA was suppos'd to foment these disorders, for he had an estate in the Charcas, where Potosi and the best silver mines lie, of the value of two hundred thousand crowns per ann. and these mines could not be work'd without Indians, for they had no Negroes, or but very few, in America, at that time.

Another insurrection in Cusco suppress'd.

The royal Court therefore, to bring over the General HINOJOSA to their party, made him Governor of the Charcas; and this for a time kept that part of the country quiet.

In the mean time, DON ANTONIO DE MENDOZA arriv'd in Peru, in quality of Vice-roy; whose administration was generally lik'd; but being of a weakly constitution, he did not live two years. What was most remarkable in his government was his sending his son through all the provinces, to take a particular account of them; who brought back with him draughts of every place that was worth the taking, and especially of the mountain of Potosi with all its silver veins delineated, and an estimate of the treasure that might annually be drawn from thence; with which draughts the Vice-roy sent his son into Spain in the year 1552, and died soon after.

Mendoza made Vice-roy.

The royal Court, after the death of the Vice-roy, taking the administration of the government into their hands, and reviving the decree for releasing the Indians from their personal service, occasion'd great disturbances again; but no where more than in the Charcas, where Indians were so much wanted to work their mines: And here also were great numbers of disaffected people and disbanded soldiers assembled, upon a supposition that HINOJOSA would have set up for himself, having given out many dark and dubious speeches (which were interpreted that way) while he remained at Lima. But this gentleman, being now made Governor of the country, and possess'd of one of the greatest estates in it, had alter'd his mind, it seems, if ever he had any thoughts of disturbing the Government formerly. He endeavour'd therefore, by fair words, to divert the soldiers from their design; telling them, he expected a commission every day to extend their conquests farther eastward, and then they would infallibly be provided for: But finding themselves disappointed from time to time, and that the General

(being

CHAP. X. (being perfectly easy in his own fortunes) had now no intention of engaging with them, to bring about another revolution, they made choice of Don SEBASTIAN CASTILLA for their Chief, and determined to assassinate HINOJOSA; and tho' he had frequent intimations of the conspiracy, and was entreated by his friends to take measures for the security of his person, he too much slighted their advice: He could not believe that the soldiers among whom he had been so popular, and who had hitherto appeared devoted to him, could ever enter into a conspiracy to destroy him. He was also fearless in his temper, a plain open-hearted man, not apt to suspect the worst (or perhaps was so far of CÆSAR'S mind, that it was better to die once, than to be always terrify'd with the fears of death; or that it was time to die when his friends wish'd him dead). But however that was, he neither provided guards to defend his palace, or to attend him when he went abroad; and ten or twelve of the conspirators entering his house one morning, soon after the gates were open, went directly to his apartment, where they found him in his morning-gown, and stabb'd him with their swords and daggers, without giving him time to send for his Confessor, which was all he ask'd of them when he found they were resolv'd to imbrue their hands in his blood.

The rebels assassinate Hinojosa, the Governor of the Charcas.

They make Don Sebastian their General.

The assassins afterwards went out into the market-place, where they found the rest of their accomplices, and cry'd out, "The tyrant is dead, long live the King!" They also murder'd several of the principal citizens, and plunder'd their houses; then, beating their drums, required all the inhabitants to rendezvous in the market-place, and take up arms in their service; declaring Don SEBASTIAN their General, and Chief-Justice of the province. They also took upon them to appoint other officers and magistrates, both civil and military; but still pretended all was done with an intent to serve the King.

The conspirators, within a day or two, made themselves masters of the town of Potosi, where they seiz'd a million and a half of silver, which belong'd to the King or private persons. They also sent a detachment to surprize the city of Vera Paz, and murder the Marshal ALVARADO, who commanded there: But before this could be effected, a sudden turn happen'd; part of the soldiers who had murder'd their General HINOJOSA, believing they should merit of the Government, and obtain not only their pardon but a reward, if they should murder their new General Don SEBASTIAN, and declare for the King, assassinated the unhappy wretch, and declared VASCO GODINEZ their General. Like the Romans, they frequently murder'd the very men they set up, and the reign of the man they elected sometimes was not of a week's duration.

And afterwards murder him.

The rebels elect Vasco Godinez their Chief.

Who murders a great many people.

VASCO GODINEZ compell'd the Magistrates and citizens of La Plata to constitute him Lord Chief-Justice as well as General of the Charcas (the silver country); under colour of which office he imprison'd and put to death whom he pleas'd, and among the rest caused many of those to be murder'd who had assist'd him in assassinating the Governor HINOJOSA; pretending now an extraordinary zeal for the King's service, and that he had himself been forced into that rebellion: Nor did he spare his most intimate friends and accomplices, being induced to take off many of them, lest they should discover his complicated treasons, and defeat him of those rewards he expected for murdering Don SEBASTIAN; for he had seiz'd on the great estate of the General HINOJOSA, and expected the Govern-

ment should have confirm'd it to him, in consideration of his merit, in declaring for the King against Don SEBASTIAN.

CHAP. X.

The royal Court, being well appriz'd of the treachery and double-dealing of this wretch GODINEZ, in order to put a speedy end to the insurrection, dealt with the traitor in his own way: They pretended they were convinced of the services he had done the Government in taking off that usurper and rebel Don SEBASTIAN, and declaring for his Majesty; and caused it to be intimated to him, that they design'd to constitute him General of their forces, and assign him a very great estate in the Charcas; advising him to unite his forces with Don ALONZO DE ALVARADO (Governor of the city of La Paz) against the rebels. At the same time they privately made Don ALVARADO Generalissimo and Governor of the Charcas, and commanded all that were well-affected to the King to obey his orders: Whereupon the General assembled a good body of troops, and began his march towards the city of La Plata, where GODINEZ expected him, flattering himself that Don ALVARADO was coming to put him into possession of those estates and offices that were in a manner promised him by the Government: But the General no sooner got him into his power, than he made GODINEZ and his accomplices prisoners, and proceeded to try and condemn them; and when GODINEZ was, to his great surprize, condemn'd and led to execution, the following proclamation was made before him, viz. "This man, having been a traitor to God, his King, and his friends, is sentenc'd to be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd." And so many were involved in the same crimes, that, 'tis said, many of the rebels were executed every day the succeeding month; when another insurrection happening at Cusco, (which I am next to give an account of) a stop was put to these executions, and a pardon publish'd, in order to prevent a general revolt of those countries, which the Government began to be apprehensive of.

General Alvarado surprizes Godinez, and puts him to death, with many more of the disaffected.

The former rebellion of SEBASTIAN CASTILLA and VASCO GODINEZ was fomented and encourag'd by some of the principal citizens of Cusco, the mines of Potosi, in which they had a large share, remaining unwrought while the Indians were freed from their personal service; but the most active among the disaffected citizens was HERNANDEZ GIRON, already mention'd, who only waited to see what success the insurrections in the Charcas would have before he declared himself; and being inform'd, that General ALVARADO kept a correspondence with GILES RAMIREZ, Governor of Cusco, and that they were concerting measures how to surprize him and his friends, he resolv'd to be beforehand with them, and put it out of their power to hurt him.

Another rebellion by Hernandez Giron.

GIRON therefore, summoning his friends together, let them know the danger they were all in; that General ALVARADO threaten'd, as soon as he had lopp'd off the branches in the Charcas, he would strike at the root of all these disturbances, by extirpating the citizens of Cusco, who incited and supported them: He exhorted them therefore, for their own preservation, to come to some speedy resolution, and not tamely suffer themselves to be massacr'd, under a colour of law, as their friends in the Charcas had been; especially since it was the common cause of all the Spanish planters, who could make no advantage of their mines, or the rest of their estates, if their Indians were taken from them; and consequently they should find them all ready to join

CHAP.

X.

join with them, as soon as it was known they had taken up arms for a redress of these grievances.

As this assembly consisted either of citizens who were proprietors of the mines, or soldiers who were in expectation of making their fortunes by fresh commotions, there was very little persuasion necessary to induce them to join in the insurrection: They agreed therefore to take the opportunity of a great wedding which was to be solemniz'd at Cusco on the 13th of November 1553, to seize on the Governor and some of the principal Magistrates, who were invited to it; and accordingly HERNANDEZ GIRON, with ten or twelve of his accomplices, in armour, rush'd into the bridegroom's house on the evening of the wedding-day, where the Governor and three-score of the principal citizens were at supper; and some of the company thereupon rising from the table in a great fright, GIRON bid them not stir or be afraid, for they were all engaged in the same conspiracy; which speech terrifying the Governor still more, he ran away and hid himself in a remote part of the house among the women: Two or three other Magistrates were kill'd by the conspirators on the spot; but the rest of the company, whether in the plot or not, were suffer'd to return unmolested to their houses.

The conspirators, having continued their search two or three hours, at length found the Governor hidden in the women's apartment; and carrying him to prison afterwards, resorted to their friends in the market-place, where they made proclamation for all men to assemble, and take up arms in defence of their liberties: Then they seiz'd upon the King's treasure, and all the horses and arms they could find; and having muster'd about an hundred and fifty soldiers, they appointed officers to command them, and list more into their service; the rebels declaring, that what they had undertaken was for the publick good, and in order to inform his Majesty of their grievances, the royal Court rejecting all petitions of this kind.

And such was the influence GIRON had over the Magistrates of the city, that (either for fear or favour) they constituted him Chief-Justice and Captain-General; and several other great towns, such as Guamanga and Arequipa, congratulated him on his exaltation, and promised to support him with their forces.

The royal Court, receiving advice of this formidable rebellion, immediately suspended the execution of the decree for freeing the Indians from their personal service, which they were sensible was the principal occasion of these commotions, and constituted the Marshal ALVARADO Captain-General of their forces against HERNANDEZ GIRON in the southern parts of Peru; and the Archbishop of Lima, and SANTILLAN (one of the Judges of the royal Court) took upon them to command the forces that were assembled in the neighbourhood of Lima, from whence they prepared to march and attack the rebels at Cusco: They also issued a proclamation, pardoning all those who were engaged in the rebellions of PIZARRO and DON SEBASTIAN, to prevent their joining with HERNANDEZ GIRON, who was by this time become so strong, that he march'd out of Cusco towards Lima, with an intent to give the royalists battle.

GIRON, being advanced as far as the valley of Pachacamac, received intelligence that the enemy were not far from him, and prepared to engage them; but finding his men desert in great numbers, he thought it prudent to retire farther off: Whereupon PAUL DE MENESES, one of the Generals

of the royalists, was detach'd with an hundred and fifty horse, to insult his rear, and keep the rebels in play 'till the rest of the army could come up; but MEGSES was unfortunately defeated before the army could come to his assistance; and there afterwards happen'd such divisions among the Generals of the royalists, that GIRON had leisure to augment his forces, and form a regiment of Negroes.

In the mean time, Marshal ALVARADO, having assembled an army consisting of a thousand Spaniards, and ten thousand Indians, began his march from the Charcas; and advancing as far as Cusco, took possession of that capital for the King, in the absence of HERNANDEZ GIRON, who was at this time in the plains of Nasca, on the sea-coast, about fifty or three-score leagues to the northward of Lima.

The Marshal did not make any long stay in Lima; but having augmented his European forces to twelve hundred men, by the several parties of royalists that came to join him in Cusco, he march'd towards the sea-coast, in search of the rebels, who seeming to contemn and lessen the number of the royalists, their General HERNANDEZ GIRON bid them not flatter or deceive themselves but stand upon their guard, and behave themselves like men whose fortunes depended on the points of their swords; for he assured them there were a thousand veteran well-arm'd Spaniards, besides Indians, advancing towards them from Lima, and a more numerous body under the command of Marshal ALVARADO, approaching their camp from Cusco: However, if he had but four hundred men, on whose valour and fidelity he could rely, he told them, he did not doubt but to come off victorious: and immediately began his march to possess himself of an advantageous camp near Chuquinga, on the road in which the enemy was marching; and such was the situation of the post he had chosen among woods, rocks, and precipices, that he wish'd for nothing more than that the royalists would attack him here: But their Generals, having view'd the ground (tho' their forces were treble the number of GIRON's) thought it was not practicable to engage him in this place; they determined therefore to surround the rock with their Indians, and cut off his provisions on every side; by which means the rebels must have been obliged to surrender in a very short time, or have been starved. But an officer deserting over from the rebels to the royalists, and informing them that GIRON intended to retire in the night, and that his men were in a miserable condition, and by no means able to defend that post, if they were briskly attack'd, the Marshal alter'd his resolution, and commanded his officers to prepare to give the enemy battle; and the attack was begun early the next morning, at the only two places it was possible to approach the rebels; at one of which the royalists were obliged to pass a rapid river almost up to their necks; and the other pass was so narrow, and encumber'd with rocks and bushes, that forty men might defend it against ten thousand. GIRON, the General of the rebels, had so judiciously drawn up his men to defend both these avenues, that the royalists were cut off as fast as they advanced by the fire of the small arms; and tho' they renew'd their attacks several times, and were led on by the Marshal in person, they were at length totally defeated, and put into the utmost confusion, two-thirds of the royalists being kill'd, or taken prisoners; and the rest, with their General at the head of them, escaping with great difficulty out of the battle, left the plunder of their camp to the enemy, which was the

CHAP.

X.

GIRON de-
feats Ge-
neral Al-
varado.

CHAP. X. the richest that had been known, even in that rich country; the wealthiest Merchants and Planters from the silver mines of the Charcas and Cusco having taken the field with the Marshal in most splendid equipages, and with numerous retinues of servants, all their arms, furniture and accoutrements being adorn'd with gold, silver, and precious stones, with which this part of Peru abounds.

HERNANDEZ GIRON, having obtained this important victory, remained five or six weeks in his impregnable camp, from whence he sent out strong parties to Cusco, Arequipa, the city of Peace (or La Paz) and other great towns, which they plunder'd of an immense treasure. He also lifted great numbers of the prisoners he had taken, and by other means augmented his forces to upwards of a thousand Spaniards, besides Indians and Negroes; and being sensible he still wanted a train of artillery, to be upon the level with the royalists, he took several of the bells out of the churches of Cusco, and with them he cast six field-pieces, on which he engraved the word **LIBERTY**, the rebels motto; and then began his march towards that capital.

He converts the bells of Cusco into great guns.

Miserable was the condition both of Spaniards and Indians at this time; it was but a very little before that the royalists had done justice, as they call it; that is, plunder'd and murder'd the adherents of **HERNANDEZ GIRON**, and now that rebel retaliated the injury he conceived was done him, both upon Spaniards and Indians that had declared for the royal cause, and especially on such as had betray'd or deserted him; and, as he was conscious he had by these outrages exasperated the citizens of Cusco, he did not think fit to trust himself amongst them. The clergy were no less provok'd (by taking the bells out of their churches) than the citizens were by giving up the town to the plunder of his foldiers. Having therefore sent for his wife and family, and all that he valued, out of Cusco, he advanced to the delightful vale of Yuca, about two or three leagues from that city; where he refresh'd his troops, and spent his time in rural sports, 'till he receiv'd advice that the royalists (having increased their forces to two thousand men, besides Indians, and a fine train of artillery) were marching towards Cusco; and then he thought fit to retire to a pass about forty leagues to the southward of that city, where he posted his army, that it was impossible to force his camp; and at the same time had a plentiful country in his rear, which supply'd him with plenty of provisions. By taking this pass he also cover'd the province of Charcas, in which were the principal silver mines; so that he could never want treasure to pay his troops while he remain'd there.

In this happy situation he waited for the enemy, expecting that their superiority in numbers would have encouraged them to attack him, as they had done at Chuquina; but they were grown wiser by their misfortunes, and chose to entrench themselves in a plain not far from him, where their cavalry might be of use to them; for they had more horse than the rebels. Thus the two armies lay looking upon one another for a considerable time, only some skirmishes happened between small parties, in which it was observed the rebels had generally the advantage; and this encouraged **HERNANDEZ GIRON** to think of attacking the royalists, since there appear'd little likelihood of their advancing nearer him: He might reasonably expect also, that the royal army would be daily increased by the arrival of fresh forces from Old or New Spain; and was under some apprehensions, probably, that his people might desert him, and make their peace with the

CHAP. X. Government, if he remained unactive much longer: He laid a design therefore to surprize the royalists in their camp, which seems to have been admirably well concerted; nor did his officers and foldiers want resolution to have it put in execution, if the project had not been betray'd to the enemy by two deserters the very evening before the attempt was made.

The moon going down about two o'clock, **HERNANDEZ GIRON** had order'd his regiment of Negroes, with fourscore or an hundred Spaniards, to conduct and animate them to attack the enemy's camp in front, as soon as the moon was set, while he, with the rest of his army, should fall upon the rear; and he order'd his men to be cloath'd in white, that they might be able to distinguish each other in the dark: But the enemy (being acquainted with the scheme by the deserters above-mention'd) march'd their army out of their trenches, and drew up upon a spot of ground, from whence they intended to have attacked them in their retreat, or when they were busy in plundering their camp.

Giron attacks the camp of the royalists, but is forced to retire.

The Blacks very bravely attack'd the enemies trenches, and to their surprize enter'd them with little opposition, there being very few left to defend them; and these were order'd to retire on the approach of the enemy: Whereupon the Negroes fell to plundering the camp (as was expected) while the royalists attack'd **GIRON**, and the main body of his forces, before they came near the trenches. However, the rebels defended themselves so well, that they made their retreat in pretty good order, and with very little loss from the fire of the enemy; but suffer'd extremely by the desertion of two hundred of their company at the time the retreat was made. 'Tis probable, the deserters apprehended their army was totally defeated, and that their General would never be able to make head against the royalists again; and therefore thought it prudent to save their lives by a timely surrender.

HERNANDEZ GIRON however (having muster'd his men, and observed there were scarce any missing besides the two hundred that had deserted) still thought himself in a condition to maintain his post against all the power of the royalists; but two or three days afterwards, **THOMAS VASQUEZ**, who had been one of the forwardest in promoting this rebellion, and one of the most popular men amongst the malecontents, deserting over to the enemy, with ten or twelve officers more, on whom **GIRON** principally relied, he was confounded, expecting every hour to be betray'd, and deliver'd up to his enemies: Therefore (without communicating his suspicions to his wife, or any mortal) he fled by himself to the mountains in the night-time, leaving his forces to shift for themselves. His departure was no sooner known, but his Lieutenant-General, with an hundred more that were devoted to his service, went in search of him; but taking a different way, were all surprized by **MENESES**, one of the Generals, of the royalists, who hang'd up most of the officers upon the spot: But another of the rebel Generals, with great part of his forces, had the good fortune to go over in time to the royal camp, before the escape of **GIRON** was known, and were allow'd the benefit of the pardon that had been publish'd for the present; but many of these also were hang'd up afterwards for this very rebellion by a succeeding Vice-roy.

Giron deserts. Flies to the mountains.

As to **GIRON** himself, he wander'd about the mountains some weeks, with fourscore or an hundred of his friends, who had found the way after him; but was at length taken prisoner and carried to Lima, where he was condemn'd and executed as a

Giron taken and executed.

CHAP.

X.

The rebellion entirely suppressed.

traitor; which put an end to the rebellion: And from this time (viz. from the month of November 1554, in the reign of PHILIP II.) the Spaniards may be said to have been in the peaceable possession of Peru; the subduing the first Adventurers, who endeavour'd to render themselves independent of the Crown of Spain, having proved a much more difficult task than the conquest of the defenceless Indians. And tho' the Spaniards are by no means to be justified in their invasions of this country, yet their last wars, which were carried on by them for restoring the natives to their liberty, and rescuing them from the oppressions of the first planters, must be approved by all the world: Had they gone one step farther, and restored the Inca's (the Sovereigns of that country) to their dominion, they had perform'd the most just, and consequently the most glorious act that ever was recorded in history; but this was too great a piece of self-denial to be expected, that they should part with a country replenish'd with mountains of gold and silver, after they were once in possession of it.

The Spaniards have also this to say for themselves, that the Prince they found upon the throne (namely, ATABILIPA) had no more right to that kingdom than themselves; nay, that none of the Inca's could pretend any other right to any part of Peru, but what they had gain'd by unjust invasions and usurpations; and since it was next to an impossibility to discover who was the lawful Sovereign of any part of it, they who had gain'd the possession of this country by the same forcible means the Peruvian Princes had done, did no body any wrong by maintaining their possession. Some of the future Vice-roys, however, seem to have been of opinion, that the Inca's had a better right than the Kings of Spain, by their putting to death, or banishing to remote countries, all the blood of the Inca's, and even the issue of the Spanish officers who had match'd with any of the Princesses of that family; tho' I must do that justice to King PHILIP II. that he reprov'd and punish'd the Vice-roy that was guilty of that piece of barbarity, telling him, "He did not send him over to extirpate those Princes, but to protect them."

CHAP. XI.

Of their women, marriages, children, slaves and funerals; and of the navigation and shipping of the Peruvians.

CHAP.

XI.

Of the marriages of the Peruvians, &c.

HOWEVER it comes to pass, we find great part of the world entertain a very high opinion of a single life. This whimsey prevails in the new world as well as the old. Mexico and Peru have their cloister'd Virgins, to whom they pay uncommon honours; and there are others who devote themselves to a single life without confining their persons to a convent; and these also, both sexes have in great veneration. I have already mentioned the nunnery in the capital city of Cusco, where there were five hundred Ladies of the royal blood, who neither went abroad, or were visited by any of their relations, except the Queen: These were called the wives of the Sun, and it was sacrilege to touch them; but if any man was so prophane as to attempt their chastity, he drew upon himself and his whole family the severest punishments that could be inflicted; and even his houses, lands, flocks and herds, and all that he had in the world were destroyed with him.

In every province also there was a convent of Nuns, consisting of the daughters of noblemen, and

those of the first quality, and these were not to be approached by any but the Inca; and as the former were call'd the wives of the Sun, these were still'd the wives of the Inca, though he never saw them, or had any commerce with them; however, they had all a possibility of being his wives in a literal sense, for he sent for them to Court whenever he pleased, and took them to his bed; so that they seem to have been nurseries for the royal Seraglio; the violating the chastity of one of these was as penal as an intrigue with one of the former. As to the marriages of the Peruvians, it appears that their Princes and Nobility were allow'd a plurality of wives and concubines; though their first King and Law-giver decreed, that no private man should have more than one; their Kings thought it incumbent upon them to increase their families by all possible ways. In this they apprehended they fulfilled the commands of their father the Sun, and were benefactors to the world; but this does not consist with the honours they paid to a state of celibacy; for, by the same rule, those that kept their virgin vows, and did what lay in them to put a stop to the propagation of their species, were to be honour'd, those who endeavour'd to people the world should have been despised, so inconsistent were they with themselves; and full as inconsistent are we with ourselves in this part of the world. We rejoice when a man is born, and we admire the virgin that vows there shall be no more born if she can help it; but how these unnatural and impious vows came to be encouraged and approved either there or here, is not easy to conceive. To proceed in the account of their marriages.

The laws of Peru did not only permit, but command the Emperor to marry the eldest sister of the whole blood; though it prohibited all other brothers and sisters to marry; however, they were all obliged to marry in their respective tribes or families like the Jews, and their marriages were solemnized by the chief magistrate of the province. Those of the tribe or family of their Inca's or Kings were married by the King himself. Once a year, or once in two years at most, the King's officers were commanded to make a list of all the young men of his family above twenty years of age, and of all the virgins above eighteen, and bring them before him, when he match'd them as he saw fit, the ceremony being no more than this: The Inca, standing between the couple that were to be married, call'd each of them by their names, and then joining their hands, sent them home to the bridegroom's father's, where the wedding was kept for several days, with feasting, musick, dancing and drinking, as in this part of the world. I don't find there were any previous addressies, or that the parties had any knowledge of each other 'till they came before the Prince, or that he made any judgment how suitable the match was like to be, in any other respects than as to their persons, their respective ages, and their quality. Here was no such thing as courtship; no consent demanded, either of the parties or their parents; but the Inca disposed of both as he saw fit: And in the provinces of the empire at a distance from Cusco, the vassal Princes perform'd the ceremony, as the Inca did in the capital city; but as to the King himself, and the Princes of the several provinces, they took what women they pleas'd for their wives and concubines, without any manner of ceremony.

And if the common people were not allow'd more wives than one, they had a liberty however to entertain a commerce with other women (besides their

CHAP.

XI.

Common women.

CHAP. XI. their wives) who lived in poor huts in the fields, or in the suburbs of great towns, but were never suffer'd to dwell or appear among honest people, and were generally esteem'd infamous. These stewes, according to DE LA VEGA, were conniv'd at by the Government, to prevent greater inconveniences, such as adultery and sodomy; and this it is that induces the Pope, 'tis said, to indulge his subjects in the like liberties, whose constitutions are as warm as the Peruvians.

When any of the royal family of the Inca's married, the vassal Indians of that province immediately built houses for the new-married people, which were furnish'd by the fathers of the bride and bridegroom, and every one of their relations brought some present for the new-married couple, and came and rejoiced with them on the occasion: And when any of the common people married, their neighbours were oblig'd to assist in the building their houses, and raising a little plantation of fruits, roots and herbs; and every married man had a portion of food and cloathing assign'd him every year out of the royal magazines and store-houses, in proportion to the bigness of his family. None were suffer'd to starve for want of necessaries, as they are in some Christian countries; neither were any people suffer'd to live idly, but all were busied in husbandry, or some mechanick employment; and the wives of their Nobility and Gentry carried their work with them, even upon visits; for the women spun and wove all their cloathing, tho' they had slaves and vassals who were oblig'd by their tenures to do every thing of that kind for them.

The laws of descent and inheritances.

As the Emperor or Inca was oblig'd to marry his eldest sister, and if he had no issue by her, the next, and so on; and if he had issue by none of his sisters, to marry his next nearest relation; so none but the eldest son of such marriages could inherit the throne; and thus the crown descended to twelve Inca's successively, 'till the last Inca, ATABILIPA the bastard, or rather the son of a foreign Princess, (viz. the Princess of Quitto) usurp'd the throne and deposed his brother HUASCAR.

If the Inca or Emperor had no son, he was succeeded by his eldest brother, or his next male relation; but DE LA VEGA observes, that the Spanish historians were mistaken, who related that the brother succeeded before the son of the deceas'd Emperor.

The laws of inheritance were not the same in every province. In some, the eldest son did not inherit unless he was the most deserving; for the vassals had the choice of the succession, provided they elected him out of the family of the Caraca's, or Lords of the district; and they were at liberty to take the youngest, or any other son they apprehended would make the best Governor, without any regard to their seniority: But in others the eldest son inherited, as with us; and if there were no sons, the estate went to the eldest uncle. I don't find the daughters ever possess'd their lands or real estates.

Widows and orphans provided for.

The Peruvians, however, seem to have had a particular regard for widows and orphans: Their lands were plough'd and cultivated at the charge of the publick, and were preferr'd to the lands belonging to the temple of the Sun and those of the Inca; but it was look'd upon as infamous for a widow to marry a second husband, especially if she had children, and as infamous for a man to marry such a widow; so that such matches were very rare, and the widows liv'd in great esteem as long as they kept single.

The management of their children.

Their children were weaned at two years of age, when they shav'd their heads and gave them their

names, at which there was great feasting and rejoicing, and the relations all made presents to the infant; some brought cloathing, others cattle, some presented him with arms, and others with cups and vessels of gold or silver plate, according to their quality: This was the custom at the weaning of the eldest son, but no great notice was taken of the weaning the rest of the children, whether sons or daughters.

CHAP. XI.

All their children were bred up very hardily, wash'd with cold water as soon as born, and the mother bath'd in some cool stream as soon as she was brought to bed, if we may credit the concurrent testimony of all the Spanish historians; and they continued to wash their children every day with cold water, 'till they were grown up and able to bathe themselves; which may be one reason that the plunging a lying-in woman into cold water was attended with no ill consequences; for if a European lady, who never used to bathe in cold water, was to make the experiment in that condition, she would not come off so well as the Americans, it is presum'd.

DE LA VEGA relates also, that they never took their children into their laps or arms, unless it were to dress them, but stoop'd down to the cradle where the infant lay to give it the breast, and this only three times a day, keeping them to their set meals, from the time they were born, saying, They would cry in expectation of it all day long, if they were humour'd in it every time they cry'd; and that the gorging them with milk was the way to make gluttons and drunkards of them when they grew up.

The Ladies of the first quality always suckled their own children, and never put them out to wet-nurses; and though the ordinary time of their sucking was two years, the women never came near their husbands beds 'till that time was expir'd, nor had the child any other food 'till it was wean'd, if the mother's milk did not fail. When the child could stand alone it was taken out of its wooden cradle, to which it used to be bound down hard with filletting, and set in a little pit, made in the middle of the floor, which reach'd to the breast of the child, and was lin'd or hung with linnen or woollen, and the play-things set about the verge of the pit or basin; so that they were never troubled to carry their children about or sit with them in their laps, as our nurses and good women are. DE LA VEGA adds, that the Peruvian women had never any occasion for midwives, but there was usually an old hag of a witch, or enchantress, that attended the labour, who muttering over some charms, was supposed to facilitate the birth, and contribute to the good fortune of the infant by the superstitious ceremonies she perform'd.

As to their funerals, the bodies of their Inca's or Emperors (it has been observ'd) were embalm'd and placed in the temple of the Sun, where divine honours were paid them, but their hearts and bowels were solemnly interr'd at a country palace of the Inca's, about two or three leagues from Cusco, where magnificent tombs were erected, and great quantities of gold and silver plate and other treasures buried with them: And at the death of the Inca's and Caraca's, or great Lords, their principal wives, favourites and servants, either kill'd themselves or made interest to be buried alive with them in the same tomb, that they might accompany them to the other world, says DE LA VEGA, and renew their immortal services in the other life, which, as their religion taught them, was a corporeal and not a spiritual state. And here he corrects the errors of those

Their funerals.

CHAP.
XI.

those historians who relate, that these people were kill'd or sacrificed by the successors of the deceased Prince, which he seems to abhor as a most detested piece of tyranny and cruelty; and observes further, that there was no manner of occasion for any law or force to compel them to follow their benefactors or masters to the other world; for when they were dead, they crouded after them so fast, that the Magistrates were forced sometimes to interpose, and by persuasion, or their authority, to put a stop to these self-murders, representing that the deceased had no need of more attendants, or that it might be time enough to offer him their service when death should take them out of the world in a natural way.

Their belief of another state.

However, it is evident from hence, that the Peruvians believ'd another state after this, where they were to live and enjoy their friends to all eternity, and that they were to be cloath'd with flesh and blood there as well as here; though they must imagine the bodies they were to assume would be of a more heavenly constitution, to render them immortal, and free from infirmities. Nor could they believe they would be the same bodies rais'd again, and refin'd, because these were embalm'd, or remain'd in their tombs, while they expected to be translated to those regions of pleasure immediately, and to be cloath'd with bodies on their arrival there: And in that case it could be of no service to them to receive their former bodies again, after some thousand years were elaps'd. But to proceed in their funerals.

Mourning.

The first month after the death of their Prince, the whole city of Cusco bewail'd their loss with loud cries and lamentations, and every ward, or division, of the city assembled and march'd out into the fields in procession, carrying the trophies of their late Sovereign with them; namely, his shield, his offensive arms, his cloaths, and the treasures that were to be buried with his bowels; and in songs repeated his heroic actions in the wars, the most remarkable instances of his justice, and other virtues. After the first month they commemorated the death of the Inca at every new and full moon 'till the end of the year, the last day whereof was observ'd with more solemnity than any of the former. Nor was this done only in the capital city of the empire, but in the chief town of every province, how far distant soever. They went out in procession to all places, where they remembered their Inca had ever been a journey, or upon any other occasion, and there in mournful songs recited his great actions, and bewail'd their loss: And the vassal Princes, or Noblemen, had much the same honours paid them on their decease, in their respective provinces and lordships, by their vassals; and this bids me to say something of the condition of the Peruvians, in relation to their liberties and properties, when the Spaniards arriv'd there. The Inca's were absolute Sovereigns, restrain'd by no laws or compacts, but valued themselves most, it seems, in being the Protectors and Fathers of their people.

The state of the Peruvians when the Spaniards arrived there.

Every province had its Caracas, or prince, as absolute in his territories as the Inca in the empire, and only accountable to him; and in every province were a great many Caciques, or Lords, who had the command of their vassals, as the Caracas had of them; and as for the common people, they were all tenants, or rather slaves to their Lords, both their persons and estates being in their power to do whatever they would with them; for these tenants cultivated and manur'd their Lords lands,

built and repair'd their houses, carried them on their shoulders when they went abroad, and serv'd them both at home and abroad, without any other wages than the produce of their little tenements and plantations, and were sold and transferr'd from one Lord to another, whenever the lands they lived upon were sold or alienated.

CHAP.
XI.

Whenever the Inca, or Emperor, had any particular service to do, he commanded the vassal Prince of the province to see it done, and he again issued his orders to the Nobility under his government, who sent their tenants, or slaves, to perform what was requir'd, or march'd at the head of them in person, if they were commanded to the wars; so that the whole country, like Britain anciently, was divided between the Lords of the soil and their Slaves, or the Barons and their Bondmen, or Villains. The generality of the people were in a state of slavery before the Spaniards arriv'd; all the difference was, that during the government of the Inca's, and their native Lords, their service was extremely easy and gentle; they requir'd their service but at certain times, and by turns, and never overloaded or over-drove them, or commanded them into services or countries destructive to their healths. Whereas the Spaniards had no regard to any of these particulars, but destroy'd thousands of them by exacting a too rigorous service, compelling some to work in the mines, others to dive for pearls, others to carry monstrous burthens, and travel into unhealthful climates, without making a suitable provision for them, and by these means perfectly depopulated several American islands and countries. 'Tis true, the common people were vassals and slaves to their superior Lords before the Spaniards conquer'd Peru, as has been intimated already, but then their own Princes used them as children, and the Spaniards treated them worse than brutes.

Some of the poorer Indians, however, were gainers by this change, or at least thought themselves so at first; for the Spaniards, in order to gain them over to their party, gave many of them their freedom, and made use of them in subduing their countrymen: But when the conquest was finish'd, these were not used much better than the rest, 'till the Kings of Spain, by their repeated edicts, in a manner by force compell'd the Adventurers and Planters to treat the Indians as subjects, and not as slaves; since which time the Spaniards have introduc'd vast numbers of Negroes to work in the mines, and perform other laborious services; and the horses, oxen and mules that have been carried to Peru, have made it less necessary to exact those hard and laborious services from the Indians they did formerly, such as carrying their baggage, and drawing their carriages, by which multitudes perish'd.

Peru is now possess'd by a very different set of people than it was at the time of the Spanish conquest two hundred years ago. Besides the native Indians, there have been transported vast multitudes of Europeans and African Negroes of both sexes, from whose mix'd embraces have sprung another race, being a compound of all three, which have different features and different complexions from the people of any of the three parts of the world from whence they are deriv'd; only those that were born in Spain are call'd Spaniards. If any person is born of a Spanish father and mother in America, he is call'd a Criolli, and so are the children of the Negroes born in Peru; and, 'tis said, this term Criolli came first from the Negroes, who call'd their children so that were born there, to distinguish them from native Africans.

The

CHAP. XI. The children born between a Spaniard and an Indian, are called Mestizo's; and so are the children of a Spaniard and a Negroe. Those born of a Negroe and an Indian, are call'd Mulata's, or Molata's; and to the children of these Mulata's the Spaniards gave the name of Cholo, which signifies a dog of a mongrel breed; and they esteem them little better. The children of a Spaniard and a Mestizo they call Quartravo's, by which they would signify they are three parts Spanish and one Indian; but the children of a Mestizo with an Indian woman, they call Trefalas, or three parts Indian. The descendants of all these have different names and different privileges; and when any of them come to resemble the Spaniards so much in their features and complexions that they cannot be distinguished from them, they chuse to remove to some distant town, where their pedigree is not known; and there they enjoy the honours and privileges of the native Spaniards, especially if they are people of Substance.

But, as was intimated in the history of Mexico, there are always great divisions and heart-burnings between the Spaniards born in Spain, and the Criolli, or those that are born of Spanish parents in Peru.

The Criolli are by far the most numerous (perhaps a hundred to one) and possess'd of the greatest part of the lands; but the power is always lodg'd in the hands of the native Spaniards: The Viceroy, and principal civil and military Officers and Bishops, are always Spanish, which makes the native Spaniards look down with great contempt on the Criolli, though born of Spanish parents, and they are perpetually doing each other ill offices; even among the Ecclesiastics there are everlasting feuds, and the people are taught by the Criolli Priests to hate the Spanish Friars; though the religion of all Peru is now the same, from what nation, or what mixture of nations soever the present inhabitants are descended. The Inquisition (that reigns here with greater terror than in any part of the world) has compelled both Indians and Negroes to profess themselves Catholics; and their way of instructing them in the doctrines of Christianity, is the same here as it is in Spain; namely, by pictures, images, and theatrical entertainments: Every part of the history of the Gospel almost is thrown into a play, and the Indians are the actors; one acts our SAVIOUR, another St. PETER, a third PONTIUS PILATE, a fourth JUDAS, and so on. This they look upon as the readiest way of instructing the vulgar in the Christian religion, and to fix the history of it in their memories.

The navigation of the Peruvians.

I shall conclude this chapter with a word or two concerning the navigation of the Peruvians, who seem to have been provided with most improper vessels and vehicles for transportation or fishing, of any nation in the world. I do not find that they had either ship, boat, or canoe upon their coast when the Spaniards arrived there; they crossed over their rivers on floats of reeds or rushes, and at sea had no other way of fishing, or transporting their goods along the coast, but on bark-logs, of which Mr. DAMPIER gives us the following description.

Bark-logs.

Bark-logs are made of many round logs of wood, in manner of a raft, and very different, according to the use that they are design'd for, or the humour of the people that make them, or the matter they are made of. If they are made for fishing, then they are only three or four logs of light wood, of

CHAP. XI. seven or eight foot long, placed by the side of each other, pinn'd fast together with wooden pins, and bound hard with withes. The logs are so placed, that the middlemost are longer than those of the sides, especially at the head, or fore-part, which grows narrower gradually into an angle or point, the better to cut through the water. Others are made to carry goods; the bottom of these is made of twenty or thirty great trees, of about twenty, thirty, or forty foot long, fastened like the others, side to side, and so shaped: On the top of these they place another shorter row of trees a-crofs them, pinn'd fast to each other, and then pinn'd to the undermost row; this double row of planks makes the bottom of the float of a considerable breadth: From this bottom the raft is raised to about ten foot higher, with rows of posts, sometimes set upright, and supporting a floor or two; but those I observed were raised by thick trees laid a-crofs each other, as in wood-piles; only not close together, as in the bottom of the float, but at the ends and sides only, so as to leave the middle all hollow, like a chamber, except that here and there a beam goes a-crofs it, to keep the float more compact. In this hollow, at about four foot high from the beam, at the bottom, they lay small poles along, and close together, to make a floor for another room, on the top of which also they lay another such floor made of poles; and the entrance into both these rooms is only by creeping between the great traverse-trees, which make the walls of this sea-house. The lowest of these stories serves as a cellar; there they lay great stones for ballast, and their jars of fresh water closed up, and whatever may bear being wet; for by the weight of the ballast and cargo, the bottom of this room, and of the whole vessel, is sunk so deep as to lie two or three foot within the surface of the water. The second story is for the seamen and their necessities: Above this second story the goods are stow'd to what height they please, usually about eight or ten foot, and kept close by poles set upright quite round; only there is a little space abaft for the steers-man (for they have a large rudder) and a fire-hearth before to dress their victuals, especially when they make long voyages, as from Lima to Truxillo, or Guaiquil, or Panama, which last voyage is five or six hundred leagues. In the midst of all, among the goods, rises a mast, to which is fastened a large sail, as in our west-country barges in the Thames: They always go before the wind, being unable to ply against it; and therefore are fit only for these seas, where the wind is always in a manner the same, not varying above a point or two all the way from Lima, till such time as they come into the bay of Panama, and even there they meet with no great sea, but sometimes northerly winds, and then they lower their sails, and drive before it, waiting for a change. All their care then is only to keep off from shore; for they are so made, that they cannot sink at sea. These rafts carry sixty or seventy tons of goods and upwards; their cargo is chiefly wine, oil, flour, sugar, Quitto cloth, soap, goat-skins dress'd, &c. The float is manag'd usually by three or four men, who (being unable to return with it against the trade-wind) when they come to Panama, dispose of the goods and bottom together, getting a passage back again for themselves in some ship or boat bound to the port they came from, and there they take a new bark-log for their next cargo.

The smaller sort of bark-logs lie flat on the water, and are used for fishing, or carrying water to ships, or the like (half a ton or a ton at a time) and

CHAP.
XI.

The pre-
sent ship-
ping of
Peru.

are more governable than the other, though they have masts and sails too. With these they go out at night, by the help of the land-wind (which is seldom wanting on this coast) and return back in the day-time with the sea-wind.

As to the present state of their navigation, the Spaniards have scarce any ships on this sea but coasting-vessels, and the King's ships of war, which may be ten or twelve in number, and serve to protect the trade against the Buccaneers and Privateers, who are, however, very often too hard for them; and should any European Power send a small squadron of men of war into the south-sea, the whole royal navy of Spain on this coast would not be a match for them: But of the forces of the Spaniards (by sea and land) on the western coast of South-America, I shall give a more

particular account when I have survey'd the province of Chili.

CHAP.
XI.

The Peruvian, or Spanish inhabitants, have yet no other foreign commerce but with the rest of the Spanish colonies, either in Chili to the southward, or with those of Mexico to the northward: They sail every year from Peru (at the proper seasons) to the fairs of Acapulco and Panama, carrying the product and manufactures of Peru thither, but chiefly gold and silver, to a very great value; and at those fairs they furnish themselves with the product and manufactures of China and the East-Indies from the west, and those of Europe from the east; and in this rich traffick there are not more than seven or eight ships employ'd within the space of a year, though they export and import the value of many millions.

I shall now give a more particular account of the present state of the navigation of Peru, and of the shipping of that country. The Spaniards have scarce any ships on this sea but coasting-vessels, and the King's ships of war, which may be ten or twelve in number, and serve to protect the trade against the Buccaneers and Privateers, who are, however, very often too hard for them; and should any European Power send a small squadron of men of war into the south-sea, the whole royal navy of Spain on this coast would not be a match for them: But of the forces of the Spaniards (by sea and land) on the western coast of South-America, I shall give a more particular account when I have survey'd the province of Chili.

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THE PRESENT STATE OF CHILI.

CHAP. I.

Of the name, situation, and extent of CHILI, and of the face of the country, their mountains, &c.

CHAP.
I.
Name.

Situation.

Face of
the coun-
try.

The An-
des of
Chili.

THIS country was named Chili by the first Spanish Adventurers, from a famous river and valley of that name, where they obtain'd a signal victory over the natives: Whether the people had any common name for the whole country before the Spanish conquest I very much question, it not being united under one Sovereign, but divided into a great many little clans or tribes, commanded by their respective Chiefs, when the Spaniards arrived there; and every particular nation or family had a distinct name, which they received from or communicated to the several countries they possessed. Chili, in which I shall take the liberty of comprehending Patagonia, the Terra-Magellanica, and Terra del Fogo, is bounded by Peru on the north, by La Plata and the Atlantic-ocean on the east, and by the great South-sea on the south and west, extending in length from north to south 27 degrees, 30 minutes, viz. from 25 to 57 degrees, 30 minutes south latitude: But the breadth is very unequal, being about 400 leagues broad in the north, and lessening gradually till it is not 100 broad in the south, and is consequently of a pyramidal form, the northern boundary being the base, and Cape Horn the summit of the pyramid. The opposite part of the globe to this country is the East-Indies.

The face of this country very much resembles that of Peru; for all our sea-men agree, that the coast of Chili is a high bold shore, and that further within the land there arise other hills, which the Spaniards call Sierra's, and above them the Andes, the highest mountains in the known world, which extend, as has been observed in the description of Peru, from Santa Martha in Terra-Firma, to the Straights of Magellan, that is, from 10 degrees north to 55 south latitude, running 65 degrees from north to south. To the description I have given of these hills in Peru, I shall here add OVALLE's account of them, and of the face of this country, which he had cross'd often between Chili and La Plata (as he informs us.)

These mountains, says that writer, are a prodigy of nature, and without parallel in the world, being a high chain of hills 1500 leagues in length, and 40 leagues broad, with many intermediate valleys: The ascent is so prodigious that we employ three or four days in arriving at the top of them, and as many more in the descent, that is, speaking properly, and only of the mountain; for otherwise it may be affirmed, that one begins to mount even from

the sea-side, because all the way, which is about 40 leagues, is nothing but an extended shelving coast, for which reason their rivers run with such force, that their streams are like mill-streams, especially near their sources.

When we come to ascend the highest part of the mountains, we feel an air so piercing and subtil, that it is with much difficulty we breathe, which obliges us to fetch our breath quick and strong, and to open our mouths wider than ordinary, applying to them likewise our handkerchiefs to condense our breath, and break the extreme coldness of the air, and so make it more proportionable to the temperament which the heart requires. This I have experienced every time that I have passed those mighty mountains.

DON ANTONIO DE HERRERA, and other writers observe, that those who pass the Andes in Peru, suffer great reachings and vomitings; because no one thing produces so great an alteration at once as a sudden change of air, and that of the mountains being so unproportioned to common respiration, produces in those who pass over it those surprizing and painful effects. 'Tis true, that in that part of the Cordillera in Peru which they call Periacaca, there may be a concurrence of other causes, and a particular disposition of the climate, to which may be attributed some of these effects: For if they were to be attributed only to the height of the mountain, we that pass it in Chili ought to find those inconveniencies as much or more, because the mountain is highest without comparison here; and yet I never endured those reachings, or vomitings, nor have seen any of those motions in others, but only the difficulty of breathing, which I have mentioned.

Others experience other effects, which I have often heard them relate; but certain it is, we go through these mountains, treading as it were upon clouds; when we ascend to the highest we can no longer see the earth for the clouds below, but the heavens are clear, and the sun shines out in its full lustre.

The Iris, or rainbow, which in the valleys we see crossing the heavens, we observe from this height extended under our feet; nor is it less admirable, that while we travel over these hills, and see at a distance tempests and storms falling into the valleys beneath, the serenity over our heads exceeds that of the finest summer's evening.

There

CHAP.

I.
Vulcano's
in the An-
des.

There are, in this Cordillera, or chain of mountains, sixteen vulcano's, which at several times have broken out, and caused effects very terrible and astonishing to all the country. Amongst the rest, that which happen'd in the year 1640, is worthy to be remember'd; it broke out in the enemy's country, in the territory of the Cacique ALIANTE, burning with so much force, that the mountain cleaving in two, cast forth pieces of rocks all on fire, with so horrible a noise, that it was heard many leagues off just like the going off of cannons.

The first of these vulcano's is called the vulcano of Copiapo, and is about 26 degrees on the confines of Chili and Peru; in 30 degrees is that of Coquimbo; in 31 and a half that of Ligua; in 35 that of Peteroa; in 36 and a half that of Chilau; in 37 and a quarter that of Antoco; this is followed by that of Notuco in 38 and a half; that of Villarica is in 39; near this is another in 40 and a quarter, and in 41 is that of Oforno; and near that, in less than a quarter of a degree, that of Guanatraca; and in a little more than 42 degrees, that of Que-trucabi; and last of all are two more, one without a name, in 44, and that of St. Clement, which is in 45 and a half.

Mines of
the Andes.

These mountains are supposed to be very rich in mines, but there may be two causes assigned why their riches do not manifest themselves more: The first is that general state-reason and inviolable maxim among the Indians, to conceal and not discover them to any other nation: For if any one among them, either out of interest, negligence, or any other motive of convenience, discovers any thing of this kind, his death is infallible, and no power on earth can save him.

The other reason to be assigned for not seeking after these mines is, the great plenty of every thing necessary for life; so that hunger, which is the prompter of covetous desires, being wanting, there are few that care to run hazards, and go through impracticable deserts in search of hidden treasure; especially finding already so much gold in the valleys and rivers, that even the mines in the low countries are not wrought.

Further
observa-
tions on
the Andes.

The difference which may be observed in passing the Cordillera between each side of the mountain is so great, that they seem two different worlds (the east and west parts.) One would think heaven had placed these mountains here to divide them as a wall, and keep off from the west all the storms and ill weather of the east. Any one that travels to the top of them may experience this clearly, for there he discovers both horizons, and when he looks to the east, all is covered with great vapours, which seem to hinder the light, and shadow all the country; and at the same time looking west, the heavens are so bright, that it causes pleasure and joy to look on them. The east side is full of a cloudy thick air, which engenders storms and hail, with horrible thunders and lightnings: On the other side, in the west, there is not a cloud to be seen, but all is clear and bright, as if in the heavens themselves there were such a partition as the Cordillera to divide the climates; and upon earth there is a difference in the trees, plants, and animals on each side.

A curious observer contemplating once from this height, this remarkable difference, said, That nature, in the fabrick of this part of the world, seem'd to have turn'd her back upon the eastern provinces, and look'd with her face only upon Chili, giving blessings with both hands to this last, and leaving the other as it were disinherited, and grieving at the pre-eminence of its elder brother. In going down

to the eastward also, there are fewer fountains and rivers, and those muddy, the face of the land melancholy, without so much as one green tree to recreate the sight, nor any pleasant verdure; and when at last you meet with some, as in the valley of Uspallata, the heats begin to be intolerable, but when we go to the west 'tis quite otherwise; for as soon as we begin to descend, we meet with lovely springs, the trees are green, the groves fragrant and pleasant, and the little valleys are like so many refreshing places in that great stair-case; from the very foot of the mountains one feels the mildness of the sea-air, and one is charmed with the harmony of the birds and other delightful objects.

At the foot of the mountains, on the east-side, on the contrary, the land is barren and little cultivated, neither are there flocks of any kind fed or bred; so that the fields look like a barren desert, but this may proceed possibly from the thinness of the people, who have not try'd the fertility of the earth; for the plains below these are extremely fertile where they are cultivated.

The springs on the west-side of the mountains do so fertilize the fields below, that they keep the earth fresh and green all the year: And there is such variety of trees, so admirably disposed, that one would think they were planted by the hand of man; many of these are loaded with the fruits of the country, of which the Indians make excellent liquors, and some of their fruits are very good to eat. The valleys also are full of odoriferous beautiful flowers, produc'd by nature without human industry, and there are among them most extraordinary physical plants. The little hills afford good pasture, and in their valleys, olives, almonds, and all sorts of fruit-trees thrive extremely. In the plains also are vineyards, of which are made excellent wines.

With the first rains of the winter, which are about the middle of May, the Cordillera begins to be cover'd with snow, and to put on, as it were, a white armour to hinder its being pass'd, not only by men, but even by animals and birds, which are so driven out of it by the rigour of that season, that there is not one remaining in it.

Weather
on the An-
des.

Even the Silguerillo's and Sorfales (birds, which of their own nature are so hot, that in the very beginning of the summer they take to the mountains) as soon as they perceive that the winter draws near, come in flocks down to avoid its rigour in the mountains; and then the ground being almost covered with them, it proves the season of pleasure, for the youth of the country take and carry loads of them home, reserving some to put in cages, their notes being very sweet. The Cordillera is thus shut up five or six months in the year; so that till October or November, it cannot be pass'd without manifest danger of one's life, and in the midst of winter not at all, because all the paths and ways are cover'd to the height of many yards; and if any one should be rash enough to attempt it, he would not be able to go forward or backward, as has happened to several who either upon some very pressing concern and interest, or flying from a death which threatened them for their crimes, have found it in these deserts.

These are buried in the very bosom of frost and snow, which preserves them without being embalmed, and yet keeps them incorruptible and dry, for so they have been found after many years; such is the cold of those mountains, that it dries up all the moisture that can cause corruption in dead bodies, and so preserves them.

This

CHAP. I. This difficulty of passing the Cordillera is less at the entrance than at the end of the winter, because the drifts of snow are not then so violent as to shut up the ways entirely. In those seasons, therefore, some do venture to pass, tho' with great danger, and sometimes they are so lucky as to get off well, because they meet with a clear sky, yet at other times it costs them dear, and always 'tis with infinite labour that they get through.

In short, every body has some story to tell of the mountain, and complain of it; for some lose their toes, others their fingers, some their sight, some are benumb'd and lam'd, and so remain all their lives with great infirmities. And I do not wonder at all at this, because tho' one should pass without a storm, yet the cold is so intense, that it cannot but injure nature extremely in that season, since even in the midst of summer when we pass this mountain, and in the lower part of it we sweat with heat; as soon as we come to pass the top, we are forced to put on double cloathing, and prepare the stomach with good warm things to withstand the sharpness of the cold, and the subtilness of the air, which penetrates the body through and through if it be not well covered.

'Tis necessary to observe, that it is of this cold of the mountain that authors speak when they say, that the cold of Chili is so severe, that the rivers are frozen up, and men frozen to death in the fields: For this is true only of those uninhabitable mountains where I believe at that season the rivers are frozen, and if any springs do escape, they are very few, and that in the valleys most secur'd and shelter'd.

And thus the truth of what historians relate may be reconciled; for they not knowing the contrary, make no distinction between the mountains and the plains, in which there never was seen any such effect of cold in any part of them; for the sea-air, which is thick and moist, tempers the sharpness of the blasts from the Cordillera; and for this reason it is, that the colds of the Pampas of Cuyo and Tucuman, on the east side of the Andes, are so insupportable; which being at such a distance from both seas, and not enjoying the warmth of its vapours, the air in summer is intollerably scorching, and in winter so cold, and for want of rain so dry, that 'tis common for animals to be found dead in the fields as well as men.

CHAP. II.

Of the springs, lakes, baths, rivers, ports, seas, winds, tides, and seasons of Chili.

CHAP. II. I HAVE already taken notice of the numerous springs, lakes and rivers that are found on the mountains of the Andes in Peru: There are as many on the mountains of Chili; and 'tis observed, that springs and rivers abound much more in the low lands of Chili than they do in Peru. The rivers which run from the Andes westward, and fall into the South-sea, both in Peru and Chili, as has been observed, are rapid torrents, generally occasioned by the melting of the snows on those mountains, and the declivity of the ground, and consequently are scarce any of them navigable far from their mouths; but near their sources they run so violently, that there is no crossing them at some seasons. There are rivers also that precipitate themselves from the tops of those high mountains, forming the most beautiful natural cascades that ever the eye beheld, while others tumble from so vast a height, that

VOL. III.

CHAP. II. their waters disperse and fall upon the valleys beneath in drops like showers of rain; and when the sun shines upon them, afford a most agreeable prospect as they descend; of these, the water-works in the palaces of Italy and France are but faint resemblances, and would be condemn'd by any one that had view'd those splendid effects of natural causes.

OVALLE mentions several famous fountains in the mountains of the Andes, particularly those call'd Los Ojos de Agua, or The Eyes of Water, in a valley of about a mile diameter, adorned with evergreens and flowers, which make it the very picture of Paradise, he says. This valley is surrounded with prodigious high rocks, and in the middle of it these fountains spring up, throwing themselves with great force into the air, and falling down again form two large streams, running into a winding serpentine course through the valley, sometimes at a distance, and then approaching nearer each other till they unite at length in one channel and form a considerable river, the water whereof is as clear as chrystal, and so extremely cold, that 'tis impossible to drink a draught of it. He mentions also some streams issuing from the Andes, that forcing themselves thro' a mountain, have a natural bridge over them, form'd of a rock, the vault whereof is adorned with stones of various colours, which hang like icicles from the top and sides of it, under which run five different rivers of hot water that cure many diseases.

There are many salutary fountains also in the Baths, plains and valleys of Chili, particularly one that rises at the foot of the volcano of Villarica, and runs into a neighbouring lake. There are two more which rise near each other and form the river Chico, one of them hot and the other cold. The baths of Rancagua, near the town of St. Jago, are celebrated also for the cure of many distempers; those of Mayten, Mapocho and Concialia, have the like healing virtues; but, my author observes, those fountains are the best that are the farthest from the Andes.

The most considerable fresh-water lakes are those of Tagatagua, near St. Jago, and that of Puren; in which the Chilians had an impregnable fortress, from whence the Spaniards could never drive them. They have also several salt-water lakes, which have a communication with the sea, part of the year. In stormy weather the sea forces a way into them, and leaves them full of fish; and when the communication with the sea ceases, as it does in January, and the hot weather comes on, the water congeals, and leaves a crust of fine white salt a foot thick.

I come now to speak more particularly of the rivers of Chili, of which there are fifty large ones rising in the Andes, and running westward into the South-sea, and these are join'd by many other lesser streams that fall into them in their course, none of them running more than 30 or 40 leagues before they reach the sea, and that so precipitately from those high mountains, that they are not navigable (as has been hinted already) for a vessel of any burthen much beyond their mouths.

The chief of these rivers are, 1. The river of Salado, a salt river on the south confines of Peru, which falls into the South-sea in 25 degrees of south latitude, the waters whereof are so hot that they cannot be drank. But, I presume, Ovalle talks merrily when he relates that a horse which drank plentifully of them was turned into salt while he was drinking.

2. The river Copiapo, which discharges itself into the same ocean in 26 degrees south latitude.

CHAP.
II.Guafo.
Coquimbo.
Govanadore.Valpariso.
Maypoco.

Maule.

Itata.

Bobio.

Imperial.

Baldivia.

Chico.
Coronado.

Ports.

Seas and
winds.

Tides.

Coquimbo.

3. The river Guafo, which falls into the sea in 28 degrees: The last two forming good bays at their mouths for shipping to ride in.

4. The river Coquimbo, which discharges itself into the South-sea in 30 degrees south latitude.

5. Govanadore, in 31 degrees, 20 minutes south latitude.

6. Jongoy.

7. Lemari.

8. Chuapa.

9. Tongotoma.

10. Valpariso, and

11. Maypoco. All which discharge themselves into the South-sea between 31 and 33 degrees of south latitude.

12. There are four or five smaller rivers which fall into the sea together, near Valpariso, as FUNNEL relates; but says, he does not know another instance of so many rivers so near together on the whole coast of Chili.

13. The river Maule, one of the largest of their rivers, the mouth whereof is in 33 degrees and an half.

14. The great river Itata, in 34 degrees.

15. The river Bobio, in 37 degrees, esteemed the largest river in Chili.

16. The river Imperial, which falls into the South-sea in 38 degrees, 40 minutes.

17. The river of Valdivia, or Baldivia, which discharges itself into that ocean in 40 degrees south latitude.

18. The river Chico, Balena, and Coronado, which fall into a great bay, form'd by the island of Chiloe and the Main, between 41 and 43 degrees of south latitude, to the southward of which are the river of Martyrs and the river of the Apostles, which fall into the South-sea between 45 and 48 degrees of south latitude.

The chief ports of Chili upon the South-sea, are, the port of Copiapo, in 26 degrees south latitude; of Coquimbo, in 30 degrees; of Govanadore, 31 degrees, 20 minutes; of Valpariso, 32 degrees, 30 minutes; of Itata, 34 degrees, 35 minutes; of Concepcion, 37 degrees; of Santa Maria, 37 degrees, 30 minutes; of La Moucha, 38 degrees, 30 minutes; of Valdivia, 40 degrees; of Brewers-haven, or Carelmepe, 41 degrees, 30 minutes; of Castro in the island of Chilve, 42 degrees, 30 minutes.

The seas that border upon Chili, if we include Patagonia, are the Atlantic on the east, and the South-sea, or Pacific-ocean, so nam'd from the fine serene weather seamen meet with there, on the west; but this pacific name is only proper to that part of the South-sea which lies within 30, or at most 35 degrees of south latitude, for all that lies south of 35 is as subject to storms as any other sea, and the winds are variable as in other places. But to the northward of 35 or thereabouts, the winds are always southerly two or three points upon the shore, and these southerly winds continue to blow 140 or 150 leagues to the westward of the shore before they alter; and at 200 leagues to the westward, the true trade-wind sets in at east-south-east 'till you have passed the Pacific-ocean and arrive at the East-Indies.

The tides on this coast rise but nine or ten foot, it being an open bold shore, with very few bays or harbours in it; and 'tis an observation of DAMPIER and other seamen, that the tide never rises so high on such a shore as it does where there are bays, gulphs and great rivers that confine it.

In speaking of the seasons of Chili it is necessary to have regard to the three grand divisions which are comprehended under that general name; for these are as different from each other in many respects as they are from any other part of the world almost; only in this they all agree, that when it is summer, in those countries which lie to the northward of the Tropic of Cancer, as Europe, Asia, and North America for the most part do, then it is winter in Chili and all other countries to the southward of the Tropic of Capricorn.

The three grand divisions of Chili are, 1. That of Chili Proper, which lies between 25 and 45 degrees of south latitude, and between the mountains of Andes and the South-sea. 2. The province of Cuyo, or Cuito, which lies between the Andes on the west, and La Plata on the east; and 3. Terra-Magellanica, comprehending Patagonia and Terra del Fogo, and extending from 45 degrees of south latitude to Cape Horn, in 57 degrees, 30 minutes, bounded by the Atlantic-ocean on the east, and the South-sea on the south and west.

1. In Chili Proper the spring begins in the middle of August, and lasts to the middle of November, when the summer begins and lasts 'till the middle of February; and then follows the autumn, which lasts 'till the middle of May, when they enter upon their winter. The trees are all bare of leaves, and white frosts cover the ground in a morning, which are usually dissolv'd however within two hours after sun-rise, and 'tis very seldom that any snow falls in the valleys or low grounds.

Neither the heat or the cold are so great here as in other countries of the same latitude, but that part of the country which lies next the sea is warmer than that which is contiguous to the mountains: Nor is there so much cloudy or rainy weather here in winter as in countries that lie in the same latitude either north or south. The north wind, which brings wet weather with it, seldom lasts more than two or three days at a time, and then is succeeded by the south wind, which is always attended with a bright clear heaven, and brings health and pleasure with it. In summer they have constant serene settled weather without rain; nor have they occasion for any, the country is so well watered by the rivers of melted snow, which in the beginning of the summer descend from the mountains of Andes.

2. In the province of Cuyo, which lies east of the mountains of Andes, extending from La Plata to 45 degrees, on the contrary, the winter is extreme cold, it freezes in the house, and their cattle die if left abroad; and the heats are equally intolerable in summer: Thunder, lightning, and tempest, are frequent here also in the summer, and such deluges of rain in the spring, as overflow the country; all which, it is supposed, the mountains of Andes screen the country of Chili Proper from: But then I find the province of Cuyo has scarce any rain in the winter, only continued frosts and bright settled weather.

3. As to that part of the country which is call'd Terra Magellanica, and Patagonia, which I have comprehended within the bounds of Chili, and lies between 45 and 57 degrees, 30 minutes south latitude:

This is a cold uncomfortable country, and, according to our seamen, who have surrounded it, the cold is more intense here than in other countries in the same latitude in our northern hemisphere. Certain it is, that none of our European Adventurers have been invited either by the air or soil to plant colonies either on the east or west coast of Patagonia, or Terra Magellanica, hitherto, and the Spaniards that possess the rest of Chili, contiguous to this country,

CHAP.
II.
Seasons.The three
grand di-
visions or
provinces
of Chili.In Chili
Proper.Weather
in the low
lands.

In Cuyo.

In Terra
Magellen-
ica.

CHAP. II. country, perfectly neglect it, and do not think it worth their while to penetrate further southward than to the latitude of 45 or thereabouts; tho' they claim the property of the land as far as the promontory of Cape Horn, the farthest boundary of South-America.

CHAP. III.

Of the provinces and subdivisions of Chili, and of their chief towns, buildings, and fortresses.

CHAP. III. **THE** provinces and subdivisions of this country are the same I mention'd in treating of the air and seasons, viz. 1. Chili Proper. 2. Cuyo, or Cuito; and 3. The southern district of Terra Magellanica, in which is included Patagonia and the Terra del Fogo.

Chili Proper. The province of Chili Proper is bounded by Peru on the north; by the province of Cuyo, or Cuito, on the east; by the Terra Magellanica on the south; and by the Pacific-ocean on the west, being about fourteen hundred miles in length from north to south, and scarce an hundred in breadth, from east to west, being confin'd between the mountains of Andes and the South-sea.

The chief towns in Chili Proper are, 1. St. Jago. 2. Concepcion. 3. Coquimbo, or La Serena. 4. Baldivia, or Valdivia. 5. Imperial. 6. Villarica. 7. Osorno. 8. Castro. 9. Copiapo. 10. Guasco. 11. Angol, or the city of the Confines; and 12. Arauco.

St. Jago. 1. The city of St. Jago, situated in 34 degrees south latitude, 77 west of London, 2 leagues west of the mountains of Andes, and 18 east of the Pacific-ocean, on a small river at the foot of a hill, in a pleasant and fruitful valley, which is above 28 leagues in circumference, and watered by the great river Maypo, or Maypocho, on the banks whereof the Indian villages are very numerous. The Spanish writers relate, that there were not less than four-score thousand Indians inhabited this valley when they first arrived there, which, from the great river that runs through it, was call'd the valley of Maypocho.

St. Jago being the metropolis of Chili, before it was destroy'd by the natives, was the largest and best built city in the country, and, according to the usual Spanish model, had a great square in the middle of it, from whence the principal streets ran in a direct line, and were cross'd by others at right-angles. On the north-side of the great square stood the town-hall, in which their Courts of justice were held; and on the west the cathedral and Bishop's palace; and the other two sides were adorn'd by piazza's and balconies over them. Besides the cathedral, there were several parish-churches, monasteries, and nunneries, built with white hewn stone, and richly adorn'd; and into the principal streets were brought canals from the river, which lies on the north side of the town, and from thence their gardens and the adjacent fields were watered in the dry season, the town being plentifully supply'd with all manner of corn and fruits, both European and Indian, and with flesh of all sorts from the numerous flocks and herds that are fed in the valley that surrounds it. This was a Bishop's see, the seat of the Governor of Chili, and the Courts of justice here was a university, at least the fathers had schools in their monasteries, and a power of conferring degrees on such as had qualified themselves for them by their studies. This city was founded by PETER DE VALDIVIA, who conquer'd this part of Chili in the year 1541. Valparizo is the port-town to it.

CHAP. III. 2. The city of Concepcion, situated on a fine bay of the South-sea, in the form of a crescent, in 37 degrees south latitude, the island of Santa Maria lying before it, and forming a good harbour. The town to the landward is encompass'd by hills that rise gradually one above another, and are planted with vines and fruit-trees in a semi-circular form, affording a most agreeable prospect from the sea. This town also is a Bishop's see, and was founded by VALDIVIA, in the year 1550.

Coquimbo. 3. Coquimbo, or La Serena, is situated in 30 degrees south latitude, on a small river in a fine valley (from whence it takes the name of Coquimbo.) It stands in full view of a bay of the sea, from which 'tis about two miles distant, over-looking a fruitful plain, which lies between the town and the sea. This place is of a pretty large extent, containing seven or eight churches, and several monasteries, but of no great strength, as the Buccaneers relate, who took the town and burnt it in the year 1680, with an hundred men only, tho' the Spanish garrison consisted of treble their number; but the people had carried off most of their treasure and valuable effects. This town also was founded by VALDIVIA, in the year 1544.

Baldivia. 4. The town of Baldivia, or Valdivia, is in 40 degrees south latitude, situated on an eminence at the point of a peninsula, form'd by two rivers, which, with the islands before it, make it the securest and most spacious harbour on the coast of Chili. It is defended also by several forts on the said island and peninsula: but, in the opinion of Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH, who visited this port by the command of King CHARLES II. in the year 1670, the town might easily be taken.

The passage up to the town for great ships is on the east side, being about 6 leagues, but it is not above 2 leagues from the sea by another passage on the west-side, by which the smaller vessels go up. This Commander observ'd there were three rivers fell into the harbour, but they were not navigable much beyond the town: What this place is most considerable for besides the harbour is, the rich gold mines in the neighbourhood, in the working of which, PETER VALDIVIA, who founded it in the year 1552, and gave his own name to it, employ'd twenty thousand Indians, who finding themselves cruelly oppress'd, by being forced to dig in the mines and to do other intolerable drudgeries, rose upon the Spaniards, re-took this and most of the towns they had built, and making VALDIVIA prisoner, 'tis said, pour'd melted gold down his throat, reproaching him, that his avarice was not to be satisfy'd otherwise. The war continued between the Spaniards and the Chileans for an hundred years, and is not entirely ended at this day, tho' the Spaniards have repossest'd themselves of Baldivia and some other places; but I shall enlarge upon these articles when I come to treat of the history of this country.

Imperial. 5. The town of Imperial is situated on an eminence at the confluence of two rivers, in 39 degrees south latitude, about 23 leagues to the northward of Baldivia, being about 3 leagues distant from the sea, but the port is not deep enough for vessels of any considerable burthen.

Villarica. 6. The town of Villarica, situated on a lake near the foot of the Andes, in 40 degrees south latitude, 20 leagues east of Baldivia. This place obtain'd its name from the vast quantities of gold found in the adjacent country. It was taken and destroy'd by the Chileans, in the year 1604, who put every man they found in it to the sword, not sparing

CHAP. III. sparing the Priests or Monks, and carried the women into captivity, in revenge for the numerous cruelties exercised on them by the Spaniards: Nor can I learn that the Spaniards have ever re-built the town since, or even re-possess'd themselves of this part of the country.

Oorno. 7. Oorno is situated on a bay of the sea, in 41 degrees south latitude, about 20 leagues south of Baldivia, and was built by HURTADO DE MENDOZA, who succeeded VALDIVIA in the government of Chili. This town was also destroy'd by the Indians in another insurrection, but the Spaniards afterwards rebuilt it, and are possess'd of it at this day.

Castro. 8. Castro is situated on the west side of the island of Chiloe, in 42 degrees south latitude. This town was built by the Spaniards, about the year 1600, when the Chileans had in a manner driven them from the continent, and forced them to fly for refuge thither. This island of Chiloe, according to Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH, extends from 41—40 south latitude to 43—30. It is a fruitful island, and bears good wheat; and both here and at Oorno, over-against it, there is great plenty of gold, which the Spaniards purchase of the natives; but the Chileans will not suffer the Spaniards to search for mines as formerly, keeping possession of all the inland country, and maintaining their liberties to this day, which they recover'd with so much bravery after the Spaniards had enslaved them, and in appearance establish'd their dominion.

Copiapo. 9. The town of Copiapo is situated 26 degrees north latitude, at the mouth of a river of the same name, which, with an island that lies before it, forms a tolerable harbour in the South-sea. The valley of Copiapo, to which this town communicates its name, was the first the Spaniards possess'd themselves of after their conquest of Peru, being a fruitful and well-peopled country.

Guasco. 10. Guasco is situated on a bay of the same sea, in 28 degrees south latitude, where ships ride secure from the south and south-west winds, but is not a place of any consequence.

Angol. 11. Angol, or the city of the Confines, is situated in 38 degrees south latitude, in a fine fruitful plain 8 leagues west of the mountains of Andes, being wash'd by the great river Biobio on the south, and another river on the north, and is said to be founded by VALDIVIA, soon after the town of Concepcion, from which it is about 20 leagues distant.

Arauco. 12. Arauco is situated about 5 leagues north of Angol, and gives name to a valley inhabited by the bravest people of Chili, who long defended their country against the invasion of the Spaniards, and when they were subdu'd by the irresistible artillery, fire-arms, and cavalry of the Spaniards, not being able to bear the oppression of their conquerors long, had recourse to arms again, took the towns and fortresses that had been built to keep them in subjection, and defeated and kill'd their General VALDIVIA in battle, as will be more particularly related in the ensuing history.

Cuyo province. 2dly, The province of Cuyo, or Cuito, in which I comprehend the deserts of Pampas, is bounded by La Plata on the north; by the Atlantic-ocean on the east; by Patagonia on the south, and the mountains of Andes on the west; being about a thousand miles in breadth generally from east to west, and extending from the 35th to the 45th degree of south latitude; of which the Spaniards are masters only of a very small part between the Andes and La Plata; the rest of the country be-

tween the Andes and the Atlantic was never yet subdu'd.

I find but three Spanish towns mention'd in the province of Cuyo, viz. 1. Mendoza. 2. St. John de Frontiera; and 3. Oromante, or St. Lewis of Loyala, all of them upon the northern confines, the Spaniards possessing very little of this country on the south and east.

1. Mendoza is situated in 35 degrees south latitude, on a pass of the mountains of the Andes, between the provinces of Chili Proper and that of Cuyo.

2. St. John de Frontiera is situated to the northward of Mendoza, on the confines of La Plata.

3. Oromante, or St. Lewis, is situated south-east of Mendoza, in 36 degrees south latitude, and 70 degrees of western longitude, which is all the description I can meet with of these three towns.

3dly, The province of Patagonia, or Terra Magellanica, in which I include the Terra del Fuego, is bounded by a line drawn from the Atlantic to the Pacific-ocean, in 45 degrees of south latitude, on the north; by the Atlantic-ocean on the east; and by the South-sea, or Pacific-ocean, on the south and west. The most southern promontory, call'd Cape Horn, lying in 57 degrees, 30 minutes south latitude.

In this part of the world I meet with no towns either of the natives or Europeans, and therefore I proceed in the next place to describe the houses of the Chileans, and their way of life in these three Chilean provinces.

The Chileans do not live in towns, but every tribe extends itself on the bank of some river in the valleys between the mountains, their houses standing regularly, and at a distance from each other; neither do they remain long in one place, but remove for the conveniency of pasture, and, as the season of the year requires, sometimes into the higher and sometimes into the lower grounds, in which they do not find much difficulty, for their houses are all upon a floor, slightly built of wood, and consist of three or four rooms only, which are so contriv'd that they can be taken asunder and remov'd one after another: Their doors have neither hinges, locks, or bolts, their furniture being so mean, though they live in one of the richest countries in the world, that they fear no robberies: Their beds are the skins of beasts laid upon the floor, a block or a stone serves them for a pillow, and they lay a coverlet or two over them, made of the wool of their country sheep. Their dishes are of wood, or made of some calabash, or gourd, which serve them also instead of pails and pitchers; earthen pots they have to boil and stew their meat in; a rough unhewn block serves for a seat, and another of the same kind for a table; and their lances, swords, and other arms are the principal ornaments of their houses: This is to be understood of the Indians of the province of Chili Proper; for those who inhabit Cuyo, and the plains on the east side of the mountains of Andes, are still less polish'd. Some of them live in caves, and others, after the Arabian way, are ever roving from one part of the country to another; and that they may do this with the greater ease, they have no houses at all, only a slight tent made of the skins of beasts to shelter them against the rain and sun, and they have nothing to do but to take up their tent-poles and skins, whenever they are dispos'd to march.

They look upon it as a sort of imprisonment to be confin'd to one place, therefore have neither houses,

CHAP. III.

Chief towns in Cuyo.

Mendoza.

St. John de Frontiera.

Oromante.

Patagonia.

Buildings of the Chileans.

Natives of Cuyo no fix'd abode.

CHAP. III. houses, gardens, plantations, or furniture to clog or stop their progress.

The liberty of wandering whither they please is esteem'd the greatest of all earthly blessings. Sometimes, say they, we are pleas'd with the freshness of a river side, and weary of that, we resort to the woods and shades, and then again we remove to the open and champain country. All the pleasure of life is in variety. In one season we hunt, in another we are employ'd in fishing, and in another we enjoy the fruits of the earth, which are produc'd spontaneously; when these begin to fail us in one country, we resort to another. Whenever we happen to encamp, that is our home. We have no more fondness for one place than another. We go where we will, without leaving any thing behind us we much regret or desire, which uses to torment those who have fix'd habitations when they are forced to part with them, or from them: We fear no ill news, having nothing to lose. Our wives and children are our only treasure, and while we have these we want nothing.

As to the natives of Patagonia, or Terra Magellenica, I could never learn there was a single town in the country, and scarce any thing that looks like a house; nothing but poor huts of a pyramidal form, just to screen the miserable inhabitants from the rigour of the weather have ever been seen there, and very few of these; for this seems to be the most thinly inhabited of any part of South-America.

Fortresses. As to the fortresses, and strong places of the Chileans, according to the account the Spaniards give us of them, they seem to resemble those of the ancient Britons. They were usually situated in woods, surrounded by lakes, or morasses, and the trees cut down and laid a-cross serv'd them instead of walls. Where they had no water or marshes to defend them, they made broad ditches, and planted sharp stakes at the bottom of them. In some places the ditch was cover'd over with a slight crust of earth, so that the Spanish horse fell in upon them when they least suspected it; and this seems to have been a common stratagem all over America to dig pits in the roads and set stakes in them whenever they expected to be attack'd by the Spanish cavalry; but the Spaniards reveng'd themselves with great severity on the natives whenever they happen'd to lose either men or horses by this stratagem.

CHAP. IV.

Of the persons and habits of the Chileans; their genius, temper, arts, manufactures, food, exercises, and diversions.

CHAP. IV. Persons.

THE Chileans, according to Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH, are of the middle size, and strong limb'd, of a tawny complexion, and have long black hair exceeding harsh; their features tolerably good, their teeth white and sound, active of body, but of a dejected countenance. They agree with the rest of the Americans in pulling the hair off their chins and other parts of their body, as soon as it appears, with tweezers, or nippers made of shells. Their women are moderately tall, slender, and well-shap'd: They braid and curl their hair frequently, letting it grow to a very great length.

When OVALLE, and other Spanish writers, tell us that the Chileans are very fair, it must be understood in comparison of those Indians that lie near the Equinoctial, and perhaps they may be fairer than some of the Spaniards and Portuguese; VOL. III. NUMB. CXXXVI.

but Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH, who was an Englishman, esteem'd them very tawny compar'd with his countrymen.

As to those Chileans who inhabit the province of Cuyo, and the plains of Pampas, between the mountains of Andes and the Atlantic-ocean, these are people of a larger stature than those of Chili Proper, and of a darker complexion, and the women paint their faces, or some part of them green.

The third province of Chili, denominated Patagonia, and Terra Magellenica, is the country which our first Discoverers peopled with giants, dwarfs and monsters: But none that have visited these coasts the last hundred years having seen any thing of this kind, the most credulous seem now ready to give up those relations as fabulous; I shall say nothing more therefore of the people that inhabit this tract of land, but that the further we proceed to the southward beyond the Equator, the more robust the people are, and the lighter the colour of their hair, as we find it in our northern hemisphere; and as they have very little communication with any part of the world, they are esteem'd as savage as any of the Americans.

The men of Chili Proper wear a loose garment made of the wool of their country sheep, pretty full, and reaching down to their knees or lower, which is put on like a surplice, not being open before, or on the sides, and has not sleeves. They have a kind of open drawers and doublets, but no shirts, any more than shoes and stockings, but wear a kind of buskin, or half-stocking, on their legs; and on their heads a stiff hat or cap, cock'd up before like a dragoon's cap, the crown of which is sometimes adorn'd with a beautiful plume of feathers, dy'd wool, or a nosegay of flowers.

The habits of the women differ little from those of the men, only they have no covering on their heads, but a kind of coronet of wool of several colours binds their temples. Their hair is part of it curl'd and braided, and the rest flows down their backs to a great length. The women have also a kind of sash with which they bind or swathe their bodies from the middle upwards, and when they go abroad, throw a cloak or mantle over all.

On festivals their cloaths are of the same form, Ornament. but finer, and of more beautiful colours: and as they adorn their heads with feathers or flowers, their necks are cover'd with chains of beautiful shells, or precious stones.

The Indians on the east side of the Andes, in the province of Cuyo and the plains of Pampas, are not near so well clothed as those on the west: They are contented with leaves to hide their nudities, and the skins of beasts serve them for cloaks, or mantles, which is all the cloathing they wear as far as I can learn, and their ornaments are some glittering trifles which they hang upon their lips, that are bor'd through for that purpose, and rather disfigure than adorn their faces, in the opinion of strangers.

As to the people of Patagonia, or Terra Magellenica, 'tis said, they go like the ancient Britons, perfectly naked, though they live in an exceeding cold climate; so cold, that the Spaniards who were sent to build forts and settle colonies in the Straights of Magellan, all of them perish'd, and the whole country is so disagreeable to Spanish constitutions, that they have not one colony in it, though they claim the property of the whole as far as Cape Horn, the most southern promontory in America.

As to the genius and temper of the Chileans, they are the bravest people of the new world, and to this day remain unconquer'd, for the most part.

CHAP.
IV.

The Peruvian Emperors formerly made some impression on their northern frontiers, but were repuls'd when they came to the valley of the Araucans, and could never penetrate further. The Spaniards, by the advantage of their artillery, fire-arms and horse, which these people had never seen before, also subdu'd several of their provinces; but when the terror of these were over, and the Chileans had learned the use of fire-arms, and to manage horses, they revolted and drove the Spaniards out of their country, of which they at this day retain but a very small part near the coast of the South-sea, as will be observ'd in the ensuing history.

Nor were these people less remarkable for their wit than their courage; they did not only learn the art of war of the Spaniards, but excell'd them soon in warlike stratagems, and their Generals became superior to the Spaniards: What gave their enemies a vast advantage of them at first was, their being divided under so many petty Princes, the heads of their clans; but they no sooner united under one Chief or General, than they became exceeding formidable.

The Chileans are remarkable also for their patience and fortitude, being bred up to hardships from their infancy: They endured fatigue, heat, and cold, to admiration, insomuch that they wanted scarce any qualification that is requisite to form good soldiers; and where they apply themselves to learn any other art or science, frequently excel their Spanish masters.

In temperance only they are deficient. In eating, drinking, and venereal encounters they know no bounds; particularly at their festivals and entertainments, which last several days, they eat and drink most immoderately, scarce ever parting sober; and the women, as well as men, frequently drink to excess, but then it is by themselves, and at different times; for when their husbands carouse, they make it their business to attend and take care of them when they are disorder'd, and prevent quarrels, which frequently arise when they are elevated.

Their food.

They eat very little meat, except venison, before the Spaniards arriv'd and stock'd their country with beef and mutton, hogs and goats; for America, as has been observ'd, produc'd no such animals, and now they seldom eat flesh but at their festivals: Their usual diet is maiz, or Indian-corn, boil'd, parch'd, or ground, and made into paste, with pulse, roots, fruits and herbs: Their drink is either made of their Indian-corn dry'd and steep'd, or of their fruits, and is very strong and palatable; and in the southern provinces the Spaniards have introduc'd grapes, and make good wine, but the northern provinces are too cold for it.

Their diversions.

They dance, sing, and play upon instruments at their festivals, tho' they make but dull musick with their wooden drums and flutes, as they are call'd; and if their wind-instruments are made of the bones of their enemies, as some relate, it cannot be very harmonious. They dance round a kind of may-pole, as the common people sometimes do here, but with this improvement, that they lodge several bottles of good strong liquor about the pole, and drink round to one another in the intervals of their dances 'till they are exceeding merry, and sometimes very drunk. And thus they frequently pass away whole nights as well as days; and it is when the men are thus heated with liquor that they resolve upon some expedition against their enemies, or on a hunting-match, in both which they will endure incredible fatigues, tho' they live so luxuriously at

other times: And indeed it is their laborious exercise, and the hardships they sustain in the field, that makes them excel all other Indians in military exploits, and gives them such robust constitutions. Pain and pleasure they experience alternately, and the labours of the chase, or a severe campaign, give a relish to their softer amusements.

CHAP.
IV.

Their children are bred up from their infancy to endure hardships, to manly sports and the exercise of arms; and even their women are not exempted from them, but attend their husbands in the most hazardous enterprizes, in which they sometimes bear a part. The whole nation is so addicted to war, that it seems to be both their business and their pleasure: Nor did they ever want an exercise for their courage during the reigns of the Peruvian Emperors, who were perpetually invading and harassing their frontiers, tho' they could never make any great impression on them. Since the Spaniards arriv'd, they have been in a perpetual state of war with those invaders, and have learn'd of them to manage their horses so well, and to use the fire-arms they have taken from the Spaniards, that to this day they maintain the inland-country against them, suffering the Spaniards to possess only some few towns upon the coast. This genius for war, possibly, may be one reason they have made so little improvement in other arts and sciences; for except those who form their arms, their bows, arrows, lances and darts, there are very few artificers among them: And indeed they have very little occasion for mechanicks, neither their houses or furniture requiring many materials, or much skill to put them together; and their cloathing is always the same, nor shap'd to their bodies, but loose about them, and they never alter their fashions. However, it appears they understand spinning, weaving, and dying pretty well, and could sew or tack their cloaths together before the Spaniards came amongst them; and where they apply themselves to learn any mechanick art of the Spaniards, they make excellent workmen.

Few artificers.

They had no books, letters, or writings among them, any more than the rest of the Americans, but assisted their memories by quippo's, or knots, as the Peruvians did, and would cast up an account by them with great exactness: And many of them are now become the greatest proficient in the liberal arts who live under the Spanish jurisdiction.

Learning.

The skill the natives of Chili had in physick and surgery was very mean; bleeding, purging, and vomiting, and the application of certain herbs to their wounds, was all they knew of this science almost: And instead of a lancet, they used a sharp piece of flint set in a small cane, not much unlike the instrument we bleed horses with. But the natives are said to be of such strong, hale constitutions, and use so much exercise, that they have very little occasion for physick, and live frequently to an hundred years of age, their memory seldom failing them to the last, any more than their teeth or eyes; but if they are remov'd into Peru or any hot climate, they soon sicken and die, as we find by the Chilean prisoners the Spaniards take and send to their colonies nearer the Equinoctial.

Physick.

So averse are they to slavery, that there is no keeping them prisoners long in their own country: They will run any hazard to make their escape, and sometimes die by their own hands; so much do they dread the cruelty of the Spaniards, who send the captive Chileans therefore to the most distant countries. Several of them however have escap'd back to their own country, even from Lima, which is 500 leagues distant from it; tho' they are forced

Their aversion to servitude.

CHAP. IV. to creep along by the sea-side, and traverse all the turnings and windings of the shore, which make the way as far again; and in this extensive journey they dare not enter any town or inhabited place for fear of being retaken by the Spaniards, inasmuch that they are forced to feed upon cockles and other shell-fish they find by the sea-side. Nor are they less put to it for water to drink in the Peruvian deserts than they are for food: And a further inconvenience is, that they are forced to swim cross the mouths of several rapid rivers in their passage; and yet do they frequently overcome all these difficulties by time and patience, and arrive at their own country.

OVALLE relates, that some of these Chileans being taken captive, and sent in chains from Baldivia to Peru on board a ship, found means to get off their fetters, and jumping into the sea, swam on shore when the ship was more than a mile distant from it; and that one old man, who was not so fortunate as to get away with the rest, when he found all his companions gone, the next day fell upon the master of the ship, and having wounded him in several places with a knife, threw himself into the sea, but was shot before he could reach the shore; which occurrence OVALLE produces as an instance of the bravery of the Chileans, and the aversion they have to the being carried out of their country.

CHAP. V.

Of the animals of Chili.

CHAP. V. **Animals.** **I**N this country we meet with the Peruvian Sheep and Goats, and such other quadrupeds as have been described in Peru, but they don't seem to have abounded in four-footed animals in any part of America, or to have had that variety of them as we have in this part of the world. The Spaniards, however, transported thither almost every species about two hundred years ago, which being left to run wild in their forests, are vastly multiply'd, inasmuch that 'tis said, the Chileans can now bring a body of ten or twelve thousand horse into the field at a short warning; and they carry on a very great trade with the hides of their black cattle as well as the flesh, which they dry and send to Peru, but are forced to burn or bury vast quantities of beef every year, not having a sufficient demand for the flesh of those numerous droves they annually kill for their skins.

Their birds and fowls also are much the same that are found in Peru; Eagles, Hawks, Parrots, and the Couder, a prodigious large and ravenous bird of prey, two or three of which will seize upon a young calf or heifer and devour them, and they are not afraid to attack boys or girls; but of these there are not many here, any more than in Peru.

The Parrots fly screaming in such numerous flocks, that they obscure the sight of the sun, and never fail to come down from the mountains into the valleys at the season of the year when the fruits are ripe, of which they destroy great quantities.

At the time when they slaughter their beef, there comes down another voracious fowl, larger than a duck, which gorges itself with the carcases that are left in the fields, so that it cannot fly till it has got rid of its load; and they are hunted and knock'd on the head by the boys at this season.

The Ostrich is another bird the natives hunt, and tho' he cannot fly, yet by the help of his wings

he runs so swiftly that he frequently escapes from the fleetest dogs and horses.

They have another long-legg'd fowl, bigger than a turkey, that wades through ponds and rivers, and lives upon fish. These the Indians hunt for their feathers, which are red and white, and take many more fowls on the same account; for plumes of beautiful feathers are the principal ornaments of their heads. They abound also in singing-birds of various kinds, many of them unknown to this part of the world; and they have several the same as ours, such as Linnets, Nightingales, Blackbirds, and Finches. Of tame fowls they had but one sort, between a Duck and a Hen, when the Spaniards arrived here, but now they have introduced all manner of European poultry, which multiply exceedingly, and are much better food here than in warmer climates. These only, of all the people of America, can say they are gainers by being acquainted with the Spaniards; for they still retain their liberties (most of them) and have acquired the possession of European cattle, fowls, grain, and fruits, which they wanted before. They have also learned several arts and sciences of the Europeans, and in many instances excel their masters.

Their lakes and rivers abound in good fish as well as their seas. Whales and Grampus's are frequently found on the coast of Chili, and there is plenty of Albecores, Boneta's, flat-fish, and shell-fish.

CHAP. VI.

Of their forest and fruit-trees, grain, plants, herbs, roots, flowers, and minerals.

CHAP. VI. **Forest-trees.** **A**MONG the forest-trees of this country, the principal are the Cypress-tree, the Cedar, the Oak, the Paregua, and the Cinnamon-tree, so call'd, I presume, from some resemblance it may have to the true Cinnamon in its colour; but the bark has neither that fine smell or taste as the true Cinnamon has. This timber is used chiefly in their buildings, and they have also the Sandal, the Palm, the Pine-tree, and the Guayac, which is a wood as hard and as heavy as iron almost. There is another tree call'd the Thorn-bush, that grows in clusters, or groves, which is their ordinary fuel near St. Jago: It has some resemblance of an Oak, but more durable; the heart of it is red, and scarce ever decays. They make charcoal of this wood for their furnaces and forges. Both this and the Oak lose their leaves in winter, as well as their fruit-trees, but there are some wild trees that do not, though covered with snow. The mustard-plant, OVALLE relates, grows vastly large here: He says, he has travelled many leagues through groves of mustard, which were taller than man and horse, and the birds, as 'tis said in the Gospel, build their nests in the branches.

As soon as the first rains fall in the spring, the fields are clothed with green, and within a month there is good grass, with which nature produces yellow flowers in great abundance, and after these, a vast variety of other flowers, red, blue, green, yellow, &c. of which, OVALLE says, he numbered two and forty several sorts at one time: Nor did he reckon among these any of their garden flowers, or those brought from Europe, such as Carnations, Roses, Gilliflowers, Lillies, &c. and those wild flowers smell extremely sweet morning and evening, as do several of their green herbs, from which they distil perfum'd waters.

They

CHAP.
VI.
Medicinal
herbs.

They have also physical herbs of great virtue, and the Spaniards have discovered many more, since their arrival, than the natives were acquainted with, some whereof will expel poison.

OVALLE mentions a plant call'd Quinchamalí, which rises about a foot above the ground, and spreading like a nosegay ends in little flowers that resemble saffron; this they take up and boil with the roots, and the liquor being drank hot, dissolves any coagulated blood in the body, occasioned by wounds or bruises, preventing impostumations.

Another of these healing herbs is called Albalquilla, which grows on a shrub almost as large as a tree; the leaves are fragrant and sweet to the taste, the juice whereof apply'd to green wounds is a present cure.

A third healing herb grows like a lock of fine hair, and being boiled in water and drank, cures fevers and pleuritis. There are herbs that cure the Sciatica, others that dissolve the stone in the bladder, and, if we may credit OVALLE, here are herbs that cure almost every malady.

Fruits.

The fruits peculiar to the country mentioned by OVALLE are, the Pengu, a red fruit of an oval form, something bigger than a Filbert, which they boil and eat with their meat. The Magne, whose fruit is black, like a Mistle-berry, and well tasted, but perfectly dyes the mouth and hands black. They have many other fruits, of which they make good liquor; but the most admired is the Murtilla, which grows in 37 degrees beyond, and is the common food of the natives of that part of the country: It is of a red colour, and in form like a small grape with little seeds in it, like those we find in figs: This fruit has a delicious taste or smell, and they make a wine of it, which excels our European wine, 'tis said, and all other liquors, and is the more valuable because it grows in a part of the country that is too cold for our wine; and when it turns sour exceeds all other vinegar in flavour.

They had also a seed call'd Madi, which afforded very good oil before the Spaniards introduced olives.

European
fruits.

As to their fruits in general, the Spanish writers observe, that they have scarce any of those that grow in the countries between the Tropics, and consequently those that are found in Mexico and Peru are not many of them to be met with here. But then they have this advantage, that whatever fruits are carried thither from Europe thrive prodigiously, particularly Vines, Figs, Olives, Apple-trees, Pears, Apricots, Peaches, Quinces, Pomegranates, Cherries, Plumbs, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons and Almonds. But the fruit that thrives most is the Apple of every kind, of which they have prodigious orchards, and they are forced to thin them when they are small, or they break down the trees before they are ripe.

Corn.

Of Maiz, or Indian-corn, they had great plenty before the Spaniards arrived, but they had neither Wheat, Barley, Oats, Annis, Cummin, Coriander-seed, Linseed, Flax, Hemp, Peas, Cabbage, Lettice, Radishes, Cardoons, Chicory, Endive, Cucumbers, Pursley, Garlick, or Onions, all which they have now in abundance, and in greater perfection than they are to be met with here; and their roots, particularly Turnips, grow to a prodigious size.

OVALLE observes, that though every part of America is obliged to the Spaniards for some of these European seeds and plants, yet they are all to be found only in Chili. In some provinces, says he, they have European grain, in others oil, in others fruit, but in Chili they have now all manner of

CHAP.
VI.
trees, plants, seeds and animals almost that are in Europe, and here they thrive and multiply to admiration. He adds, that he has seen Apple-trees, Pears, Mulberry-trees, and Walnut-trees grow to the size of Elms, Strawberries as big as Pears, and Quinces as big as a man's head: That fruit is so plentiful that they enjoy it in a manner in common. No man refuses to let another go into his garden and take what he pleases; and he has seen their best fruits grow wild in the fields for a mile together.

There are mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, Quick-silver and Lead in Peru, but the Spaniards seem to slight all of them but the Gold. When VALDIVIA made a conquest of part of this country, it is said, he employ'd no less than fifty thousand Indians in working the gold mines; at which the natives were so provoked, that they made a general revolt, defeated and kill'd VALDIVIA, and drove the Spaniards out of most of the towns they had built. After which they made a law, that it should be capital to discover a mine to the Spaniards or any other foreigners. Nor will they suffer a mine to be opened now; so that though the Spaniards have repossest themselves of some towns upon the coast, they meet with no other gold at present than what they purchase of the Chilians, who gather none but what they find in the sands of their rivers, or on the surface of the earth, tho' there are more gold mines here than in any part of the world. Both the English and Dutch have endeavoured to cultivate an understanding with the natives of Chili, in order to traffick with them for their gold, but could never succeed. They look upon all strangers to have the like passion for gold as the Spaniards have, and imagine, if they should suffer them to plant colonies there, they would attempt to take their country from them, as the Spaniards have done. And since I am now treating of the produce of this country, it may be proper to say something of the foreign trade of Chili, which consists altogether in exporting that produce to Peru and Mexico; namely, gold, copper, and other metals, hides, tallow, dry'd flesh, fish, corn, fruits, wine, oil, salt, hemp, flax, cordage, leather, timber for shipping and other uses, medicinal herbs and drugs: The chief articles in these exportations being hides and tallow. OVALLE relates, that he has known twenty thousand quintals of tallow exported in one year from Chili to Lima only, and hides and leather in proportion. Their naval stores are another great article, which the Peruvians receive entirely from thence, as also the copper, of which they make their great-guns and bells: And the Spaniards of Chili take in return from Mexico, Panama, and Lima, the merchandise of China, East-India and Europe: At least this was the nature of their traffick when the Spaniards were possessed of this country; but no doubt it must be decreased in proportion to what the natives have received from them.

What has been said hitherto upon this head the reader will observe, relates to the province of Chili Proper; as to that of Cuyo, which lies on the east of the mountains of Andes, and between those mountains and the Atlantic-ocean, we have not so perfect an account as could be wished, nor indeed of any of the inland provinces. The reader must be content therefore with such a one as I can collect from the authors before me, among whom OVALLE, a native of Chili, and who was Procurator for the Jesuits of that province at Rome, is the principal.

He

CHAP.

VI.

The difference between Cuyo and Chili Proper.

He repeats, in the first place, some observations he made upon another occasion, namely, that it is amazing to reflect when there are only the mountains of Andes between the provinces of Cuyo and Chili Proper, they should be so different in their qualities, and in every respect almost diametrically opposite to each other, tho' the latitude be the same.

In Cuyo, he says, the heats are intolerable in summer, while the weather in Chili is very temperate. In Cuyo thunder, lightning, rain, and tempests are frequent in summer, while in Chili they have settled serene weather, without thunder, lightning, or rain. In winter the weather is variable in Chili, but never excessive cold to the westward of the mountains, whereas in Cuyo they have constant serene weather in the winter, and excessive hard frosts, insomuch that the cattle die in the fields if they are not hous'd, and for five or six months every year the passages of the mountains are so lock'd up by the snows, that these two provinces have no manner of communication.

In Chili there are scarce any snakes or poisonous insects, but in Cuyo they abound, and they are tormented also with bugs, musquito's and other vermine, of which they have none, or very few, in Chili.

As for cattle, the Spaniards have pretty well stock'd this province with all manner of European cattle as well as Chili, and they have great numbers of Peruvian sheep and goats of their own. They abound also in corn and wine, and their fruits are said to have a better flavour than those of Chili, their summers being hotter, and of this there is such plenty that they supply the province of La Plata, and even Buenos Ayres, on the Atlantic-ocean, with dry'd grapes, dry'd peaches, apples, oil, and excellent wine. But then this must be understood of that part of the province that lies next the mountains, for the deserts of Pampas extend six or seven hundred miles further eastward, over which they are forced to pass in their way to Buenos Ayres. These, says my author, are vast plains, which, like the ocean, afford an unbounded prospect, but produce neither trees or herbage; and then proceeds to relate the manner of travelling over those deserts, which gives us some further light into the nature of this country.

The deserts of Pampas.

They travel, he says, in covered carts and waggons, made as commodious almost as an house, with doors to shut, and windows on each side to let in the air; and they lay beds, or mattresses, on the floor, on which they sleep great part of the journey. These waggons are drawn by oxen, and they set out about two hours before sun-set, travelling all night and 'till the sun is an hour high the next morning, and then they bait (not at an inn, for I can't learn there is a single house in the country) but they rest and eat that provision they carry with them, or take in hunting by the way; for those that are disposed for rural sports have horses and dogs with them, and take great numbers of the guanaco's and vicunes, a kind of wild sheep and goats, animals almost peculiar to South-America, which have been already describ'd in treating of Peru. They take also a great many partridges, francolins, and other game, from whence one would be inclin'd to think it must be a mighty pleasant journey from Chili to Buenos Ayres; but travellers inform us that they are subject to inconveniencies which very much abate the pleasure of it, particularly the excessive heats which oblige them to lie still all the middle of the day, and then they have no other defence from the sun or rain than what the waggon

VOL. III.

affords at many stages, though at some there happens to be small brooks and willows growing by them that afford the traveller a refreshing shade: But the greatest inconvenience is the want of water, which they do not meet with sometimes for several days journey, and therefore are forced to carry water both for themselves and their cattle; and sometimes this is all spent, as my author says it happen'd when he pass'd these plains, and they must have perish'd if they had not happily been reliev'd by a shower of rain. But all this might be remedied if the country was inhabited; for they meet with springs it seems in many places within a few yards of the surface: And the rains alone, which happen frequently in summer, might be preserv'd in cisterns and reservoirs, if there were any towns or villages in the country; but at present, says my author, these are the difficulties we meet with in the plains of Cuyo, Tucuman, and Rio Plata; adding, for many leagues we do not see a hill, a tree, or a stone, any more than water, unless our way lies near the banks of the river Plata, or some other river.

CHAP. VII.

The history of Chili, containing the ancient and present state of that country.

THE first account the Spaniards receiv'd of Chili was from the Peruvians, who subdu'd the northern part of that province in the reign of their tenth Inca, YUPANQUI, but afterwards met with so powerful an opposition from the confederate Chileans, that the Inca's determin'd to make the river Maule the utmost bounds of their empire, and accordingly fortified the banks of it against the invasions of the Barbarians, as they call'd them; for all we can learn of the ancient Chileans from the Peruvians is, that they worshipp'd a great many creatures animate and inanimate as gods, and were very unpolish'd and unciviliz'd; that they had no other form of government than the patriarchal. Every tribe or family was govern'd by its respective head, or chief, who was succeeded by his eldest son, or nearest relation, on his decease. And when they were invaded, or had wars with their neighbours, they made choice of the man most famous for courage and military skill for their General. As to that part of the country that was conquer'd by the Inca's, the Chileans were oblig'd to conform themselves to the religion and manners of the Peruvians, and their Emperors made no difference between these and the rest of their subjects.

CHAP.

VII.

The history of Chili.

DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO was the first of the Spanish generals who, after the reduction of Culco, the capital of Peru, undertook an expedition against Chili, in which he was introduced by the Inca PAULLA, who put him in possession of that part of it which was under the dominion of the Peruvian Emperors, about the year 1535, as has been already related in the history of Peru: After which, ALMAGRO subdu'd some of the more southern provinces of Chili, and probably would have extended his conquests further, if he had not been oblig'd to return to Peru to make head against the PIZARRO's, who had formed a design to deprive him of his share of that province, and to have usurp'd the sole dominion of all the conquests the Spaniards had made to the southward of the Equator.

VALDIVIA, or BALDIVIA, was the next Spanish Commander that attempted to extend their conquests

CHAP.
VII.

conquests in Chili. He had served in the wars of Italy, and was look'd upon as one of the best officers that went over to America, for which reason he was made choice of by the Marquis PIZARRO to enlarge their empire on that side. VALDIVIA enter'd upon this service in the year 1540, and met with little opposition from that part of Chili which was subject to the Inca's; but on his advancing further he was frequently encounter'd by the confederated Caciques. However, he penetrated as far as the valley of Mapocho, which he found extremely fruitful and well-peopled. In this valley, being 80 miles in circumference, and situate 2 leagues to the westward of the mountains of Andes, he founded the city of St. Jago, in the year 1541, in 34 degrees south latitude, and built a castle for the defence of it and of the gold mines in the neighbourhood, which he compell'd the conquer'd Indians to work in: At which the Chileans were so exasperated, that they raised forces and attack'd the castle before it was well finish'd, and were very near carrying it; however they were at length repuls'd, and VALDIVIA acquainting the Vice-roy of Peru with the state of his affairs, received a reinforcement of troops from thence, under the command of JOHN BAPTISTA PASTENE. But still it appears he was not strong enough to make any great progress; and the Indians giving out that there were very rich gold mines in a certain part of the country not far from St. Jago, drew a detachment of his forces (who went in search of them) into an ambuscade, and cut off every man of them except their Commander and a Negroe, who escap'd to St. Jago by the swiftness of their horses. Whereupon VALDIVIA sent for another reinforcement of troops to enable them to advance against the Chileans; and built the town and castle of Coquimbo, or Serena, on a bay of the sea, in 30 degrees south latitude, to secure his communication with Peru, and prevent the supplies being cut off which he expected from thence.

In the mean time the civil wars breaking out in Peru, VALDIVIA was commanded thither with some of his officers and soldiers, and left his conquests in Chili to the care of his Lieutenant FRANCISCO DE VILLAGRA; but the rebels being defeated in Peru, VALDIVIA returned again to Chili with a good body of veteran soldiers, who had serv'd in those wars. During the absence of VALDIVIA, there happened a misunderstanding between his Lieutenant FRANCISCO DE VILLAGRA and PEDRO SANCHEZ DE HOZ, to whom the King of Spain had granted the government of the further part of Peru and Chili, and who with reason therefore expected the command of the forces in Chili in the absence of VALDIVIA; and indeed he had a right to that command before VALDIVIA himself, as he received his commission only from the Marquis of PIZARRO, who had no authority in Chili; nor would Don SANCHEZ have submitted to VALDIVIA's taking upon him the command of that army, but upon condition of his being put in possession of the richest part of Chili.

This VALDIVIA had agreed to, but his Lieutenant VILLAGRA, taking an opportunity to quarrel with SANCHEZ in the absence of VALDIVIA, as has been intimated, made him prisoner and cut off his head, whether by the order of VALDIVIA his rival or not, is uncertain, but he appear'd very well pleas'd with the fact when it was done, having thus got rid of a man that had so much colour to claim the best part of his conquests, and look'd upon VALDIVIA himself as a usurper.

CHAP.
VII.The civil
wars of the
Spaniards
in Peru
and Chili.

While the Spaniards were thus engaged in civil broils both in Peru and Chili, the Chileans made their advantage of them, surpriz'd the Spanish garisons of Copiapo and Coquimbo, and putting them to the sword, demolished both those towns: And it was with difficulty FRANCISCO DE VILLAGRA defended himself in St. Jago itself till the return of VALDIVIA, who bringing a good army with him, restor'd his affairs, drove the Chileans from the valleys of Copiapo and Coquimbo again, and rebuilt the towns the Indians had destroy'd there; after which he marched further southward, and having passed the river Maypo, subdu'd the Promocas, a warlike nation, who had defended their frontiers not only against the Peruvian Emperors, but against the Spaniards commanded by ALMAGRO. He afterwards transported his troops over the great rivers Maule and Itata, and observing an advantageous situation on a bay of the South-sea, in 37 degrees south latitude, he founded a city there in the year 1550, giving it the name of Conception. But the Chileans, enraged to see themselves thus bridled and restrain'd of their native liberties by the towns and fortresses erected by the Spaniards in their country, assembled in great numbers, and harra's'd the new city of Conception with repeated attacks, killing a great many Spaniards, and endangering the loss of their whole army. VALDIVIA, however, finish'd the fortification of that town the latter end of the year 1550, and having sent out a party to discover the country, advanc'd further southward in the beginning of the year 1551, bending his march towards the plains of Angol; and having cross'd the great river Biobio, founded the city of Imperial on a hill at the confluence of two rivers in 39 degrees south latitude, 4 leagues east of the Pacifick-ocean, and 40 to the southward of Conception.

This city stands in a fine fruitful plain, inhabited, as the Spaniards relate, by fourscore thousand Indians when they arrived there, a very peaceable nation, that gave them no disturbance while they were building the city, and suffered VALDIVIA to parcel out both their persons and their lands among his followers without opposition.

From hence he marched towards the mountains of Andes, and 16 leagues to the eastward of Imperial laid the foundation of a city, which he call'd Villa Rica, from the richness of the gold mines he found there. And here the Spanish historians take the liberty of censuring the conduct of their hero BALDIVIA, in endeavouring to grasp more than he could possibly hold with the few Spanish forces he commanded. That brave people, they observe, had never been vanquish'd by the Spaniards in so many encounters, if they had not been terrify'd and astonish'd at the firing their artillery and small arms, which the Indians, at first, imagin'd to be real and not artificial thunder and lightning; and that those who discharg'd them were rather gods than men: Their horses and the men upon them, arm'd cap-a-pee, seem'd also invulnerable, not being able to pierce their armour with their spears and darts, which rendered the Spaniards still more terrible. But the Chileans being at length undeceived, and finding their enemies to be but men like themselves, notwithstanding the disadvantage they had in the want of horses, artillery, and armour, resolv'd to make another bold push for the recovery of their liberties, being persuad'd they should be able, by their numbers and courage, to expel these strangers out of their country, who had so unjustly enslav'd them; in which they were not entirely mistaken; for the Spaniards, not considering that the dread of

CHAP.
VII.
The Chi-
leians re-
volt.

their arms and horses was now worn off, grew remiss and negligent in their military discipline, and attended more to the enriching themselves than to the securing their conquests, which was attended with many ill effects; for by compelling the Indians to dig in the mines, they daily exasperated them more and more. And by assembling so many of them together at the mines, gave them an opportunity of forming schemes, and executing them too with better success than they could have done if they had remain'd dispersed in their respective villages.

The Araucans, the bravest nation of the Chileans, had opposed the Spaniards with the greatest success, but had been at last oblig'd to submit; and this being one of the most desirable countries in Chili, VALDIVIA, in the distribution of the lands, had reserv'd this valley for himself; and being sensible that the natives were not to be kept under unless by pure force, he erected three castles in this valley, and left garrisons in them while he march'd further southward, and built the town of Valdivia, as has been related; where finding still richer mines, 'tis said, he employ'd fifty thousand Indians in the working of them, and spent so much time there in amassing wealth, that the Araucans, taking advantage of his absence, engaged the whole country in a conspiracy against the Spaniards, and chose the celebrated CAUPOLICAN for their General.

Caupoli-
can Gene-
ral of the
Chilese.

VALDIVIA receiving intelligence of the intended insurrection, return'd in some haste to the valley of Arauca, where he found thirteen or fourteen thousand of the natives assembled in arms, whom he charg'd with his horse, and oblig'd them to retire into the woods and inclosures as often as they appear'd, but was not in a condition to disperse them entirely; they frequently rallied and attack'd his troops, and thus they continued to encounter him for several days in a sort of running-fight.

His con-
duct.

The Chilean General observing that his engaging the Spaniards with such numbers only occasion'd confusion among his people, those in the front frequently giving way to the Spanish cavalry, and disordering the rest of his forces before ever they were engag'd, divided his army into battalions of a thousand each, ordering them to charge the enemy by turns. He represented to them, that the Spaniards were but an hundred and fifty horse, and that a thousand of his brave countrymen might easily maintain their ground for some time against so small a number, notwithstanding the advantage the enemy had in their arms and horses. However, he only desir'd they would make their utmost efforts. He had no expectation that the first battalion should gain the victory; but when they found themselves oblig'd to retire, requir'd them to take care in their retreat not to disorder the other bodies, but rally themselves, and draw up in the rear, that they might be ready for a second charge; and the same commands he gave to the officers of the other battalions.

In pursuance of these orders, the first battalion engaged the Spanish horse with great resolution, and having held them in play some time, leisurely retir'd, being succeeded by the second and that by the third, and so on 'till the Spaniards had continued the engagement for seven or eight hours without intermission, and both men and horses began to faint with the labours of the day, or for want of refreshment; which VALDIVIA too late observing, made a precipitate retreat, ordering his troops to take possession of a pass about a mile from the field of battle, where he did not doubt he should yet be

able to defend himself against all the power of the enemy. But a Chilean, who had been Page to VALDIVIA, and baptized by the name of PHILIP (whose Indian name was LAUTARO) hearing his master give orders for their retreat, deserted at that instant to his countrymen, and directed them to take possession of the pass before the Spaniards could arrive there. He bid them (says the royal historian, DE LA VEGA) "make use of the advantage they had in their hands, recover their liberties, and rescue their country from destruction, by cutting off those thieves and usurpers who had invaded it": And taking up a spear charged his late lord, VALDIVIA, at the head of a company of Chileans, while another detachment of the Indians secured the pass, as he directed them.

CHAP.
VII.
Lautaro
deserts to
the Chi-
lese.

And now the Chileans seeing the Spaniards unable longer to resist their attacks, pressed them on every side, without giving them a moment's time to breathe, who finding death inevitable, call'd upon JESUS CHRIST, but more upon the blessed Virgin and the rest of the Saints, to save them; but were all cut in pieces on the spot, except the General VALDIVIA himself, who was taken prisoner while he was making his confession to a miserable Priest in the same circumstances, whom they kill'd immediately, but brought VALDIVIA, with his hands bound behind him, before CAUPOLICAN, the Chilean General, who ordering him to be ty'd to a tree, that he might be executed with more ceremony than those that fell in the battle. VALDIVIA, 'tis said, meanly begg'd his life of the conquerors, addressing himself chiefly to LAUTARO, who was but a few hours before his slave. He promised, if they would spare him, to withdraw all the Spanish forces out of Chili, and never more disturb their peace, swearing by all that was sacred to perform his promise; but the unrelenting enemy was deaf to his entreaties; even LAUTARO observed, that it was madness to trust to the promises of a captive, who would infallibly change his note if he was set at liberty. Whereupon the General pronounced his doom, tho' authors differ about the manner of his execution. Some affirm, they poured melted gold down his throat, bidding him satisfy himself with that metal he so violently thirsted after. Others relate, that one of the Indian Caciques, not bearing to hear it debated whether the destroyer of their country should live or die, beat out his brains with a club, without asking the General's leave; and all the Spanish writers agree that they made trumpets and flutes of his bones, and preserved his skull as a memorial of that important victory; which they celebrated by feasting and dancing after their country manner, and instituted publick sports and exercises, such as running, wrestling, and leaping, to be observ'd annually in memory of it; and expecting the Spaniards would give them another visit, they encamped in some of their most inaccessible woods and mountains; and CAUPOLICAN constituted LAUTARO his Lieutenant-General for the services he had done in the late battle, finding him every way qualified for that post.

The Spa-
niards
routed.

Valdivia
taken,

and exe-
cuted.

Lautaro
Lieut-
enant-
General.

The news of VALDIVIA's misfortune arriving at the city of Concepcion, his Lieutenant FRANCISCO DE VILLAGRA assembled the Spaniards that were dispersed in the several provinces of Chili, and being joined with several thousand of his Indian allies, marched to the valley of Arauca to give battle to CAUPOLICAN; but that General cunningly retir'd before him, 'till he found the Spaniards so far engaged in the woods and defiles that their horse could

CHAP.
VII.The Chile-
sians ob-
tain a se-
cond vic-
tory.
Concep-
tion aban-
don'd and
burnt.
Imperial
besieg'd.Concep-
tion re-
built, and
destroy'd
a second
time.Lautaro
kill'd be-
fore St.
Jago.Caupoli-
can taken
and put to
death.The Span-
iards
driven out
of all Chili
almost.Imperial
taken by
the Chi-
lese.Six Span-
ish towns
taken by
them.

could be of little use to them; and then sending out detachments to possess the passes in their rear, he boldly fac'd about and attack'd them in front, ordering his men not to stand to be shot at, but immediately advance and come to a close engagement, mixing themselves with the enemy, whereby they avoided the mischief they used to receive from their fire-arms at a distance; and being much more numerous than the Spaniards and their allies, by this stratagem gained another memorable victory, killing no less than two thousand five hundred Spaniards and Indians on the spot. After which LAUTARO, with a part of the Chilean army, marched towards the city of Concepcion, and finding it abandon'd by the Spaniards, set fire to the town and demolish'd it.

LAUTARO afterwards laid siege to the city of Imperial, but the winter coming on, was oblig'd to raise it, by the great rains which fall at that season; tho' the Spaniards ascribe their deliverance to a miracle, assuring us, that the Virgin MARY appeared visibly to the whole army over the city Imperial, and defended it against these Barbarians.

The Spaniards afterwards rebuilt the city of Concepcion, but LAUTARO drove them from thence a second time; and observing that the Chilean liberties would ever be precarious while the Spaniards had any footing in their country, he assembled a great army, and laid siege to the capital city of St. Jago, where being unfortunately kill'd with an arrow, the siege was raised.

However, the Governor of Peru apprehending all Chili would be lost, sent his son DON GARCIA DE MENDOZA with a powerful reinforcement of troops to suppress the Araucans, who was so fortunate, after several encounters with various success, to make their General CAUPOLICAN prisoner, whom he put to death after he had persuaded him to declare himself a Christian. But this was far from putting an end to the war, the Chileans were determined to perish rather than become slaves to the Spaniards, and raising fresh forces attack'd all their colonies at once, some of which were taken and retaken several times; and thus the war continued to be carried on with great obstinacy and cruelty for upwards of fifty years, when it appears, by the Spaniards own relation, that they were driven with great slaughter from most of their settlements in that country.

The royal historian, GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, being then in Spain, informs us that he receiv'd the following relation of the miseries of the Spaniards there from an intimate acquaintance in two letters, one of which was dated from St. Jago in Chili, in the month of March, anno 1600, in which the writer acquainted him, that about break of day, on Wednesday the 24th of November, 1599, five thousand Indians, whereof three thousand were horse, and the rest foot, seventy of them carrying fire-arms, and two hundred of them in armour (they had taken from the Spaniards) took the city Imperial by surprize, being guided thither by a treacherous spy, burnt and destroy'd the whole town, killing and taking four hundred Spaniards, men, women and children.

And in another letter from Chili, in the year 1604, the writer tells us, that of the thirteen cities which were established in this kingdom of Chili, the Indians had destroy'd six, namely, Valdivia, Imperial, Angol, Santa Cruz, Castro in Chiloe, and Concepcion. They overthrew their houses, dishonour'd and prophan'd the temples, obscur'd the brightness of that faith and devotion which shined

in those parts, and what is worse (says the writer) this success hath encouraged and raised the spirits of the Indians in that manner, that they are grown bold and confident, omitting no opportunity or advantage which may offer to rob or destroy our cities and monasteries with fire and sword. They have learned also many arts and stratagems of war; for when they besieged the city of Osorno, and compelled the Spaniards to retire within their works, they so straiten'd them that they could receive no sustenance, unless it were some small quantities of the seed of herbs, and leaves of turnips, which too they were fain to fight for and gain with the point of the lance. In one of the sieges of this city they broke the images of CHRIST and our Lady, and other Saints, to the great dishonour of God, which none but his infinite mercy and patience could have suffer'd. In the last siege which the Indians laid to this place they surpriz'd the Spaniards, and kill'd the centinels, and without any opposition entered and possessed themselves of the town, exercising such cruelty as was agreeable to the barbarity of their natures; for they butcher'd the children, and put the women and nuns in chains, intending to carry them away into slavery: But while they were thus busily employ'd in packing up and disposing their booty, and plundering every where without order, the Spaniards took courage, and with that opportunity fell upon them, and God assisting their endeavours, they rescu'd their wives and nuns from their violent hands, and with the loss of some few forced them to fly, and quit both their prey and their city. The last victory which the Indians obtained was when they took Villarica with great effusion of Spanish blood: They set fire to the four quarters of the town, and killed the Friars of St. DOMINICK, St. FRANCIS, and the Merceds, with all the Clergy that were there, carrying the women away captives, many of which were ladies of quality and condition. And this was the fate of that city, which was once of fame and great renown, and illustrious among the neighbouring cities of that new world. Thus far proceeds the relation of Chili in the year 1604.

To which nothing can be said (says DE LA VEGA) but that "these were judgments which God" in his secret providence permits for the chastisement of mankind." Not reflecting that these calamities were no more than the Spaniards richly deserved, who had unjustly invaded this country, and made slaves of the natives without any manner of colour or pretence.

The Chileans afterwards recovered several other places from the Spaniards, and almost expell'd them their country, of which the Hollanders receiving intelligence, their West-India company, in the year 1642, fitted out a squadron of men of war under the command of Captain BREWER, and having put some land-forces on board, order'd them to sail to the coast of Chili, and settle colonies there, not doubting to possess themselves of some of the gold mines of that country; for they concluded, that every people which were enemies to the Spaniards would be well received by the Chileans.

The account the Dutch were pleased to publish of this expedition was of the following tenour.

That BREWER and his squadron set sail from the Texel on the 6th of November, 1642, and arriv'd at Fernambuco, on the coast of Brazil, in 9—degrees of south latitude, on the 22d of December following, where having consulted with Count MAURICE of Nassau, General and Commander in chief for the Dutch in Brazil, he sailed from Fernambuco

CHAP.
VII.Osorno
siege.Taken by
storm,and reco-
ver'd
again.Villarica
taken and
destroy'd.Remarks
on these
calami-
ties.The Hol-
landers at-
tempt to
settle co-
lonies in
Chili.

CHAP. VII. nambuco with five ships well equipp'd and provided with necessaries, on the 15th of January 1642-3, and on the 5th of March they came in sight of the Straights of La Maire, as they are call'd, which is only a passage between a small island denominated Slate's island, and the most easterly point of Terra del Fogo, in 54 degrees, odd minutes south latitude. They came to an anchor in a bay of Slate's Island, to the eastward of the Straights of La Maire, where having remained till the 25th of March, they sailed round Cape Horn, suffering pretty much by stormy weather, and losing the company of one of their ships, called the Orange-tree, and arrived with the other four on the coast of Chili, of the 30th of April, 1643; and on the 9th of May they came to an anchor in a bay of the South-sea, in 41 degrees, 30 minutes south latitude, to which they gave the name of Brewer's-haven, being a little to the southward of the Spanish town of Carelmappa.

Arrive on
the coast
of Chili,
April
1643.

An officer being sent on shore with a company of soldiers, they discovered great herds of oxen, sheep, and horses, and some houses, but the inhabitants were fled; however, they supposed that part of the country to be in the possession of the Spaniards, by the large wooden crosses they saw fix'd at the entrance of the houses; and going on shore the next day, they discovered a party of Spanish horse, and some cannon-shot were fired at their boat.

Engage a
Spanish
party. A company of fifty soldiers being sent on shore again, the 20th of May, they discover'd the town of Carelmappa, and had a smart engagement with a Spanish party, consisting of ninety men, horse and foot, whom they defeated. Whereupon the Spaniards abandoned the town of Carelmappa, and the Dutch took possession of it, where they remain'd till the 25th, and then setting fire to the town, and killing the horses they had taken in the engagement, they retir'd to their ships.

They land
at Castro. They afterwards sail'd to the town of Castro, on the island of Chiloe, where they arrived on the 6th of June. There appeared a good body of Spanish horse and foot on the shore, but the Dutch no sooner landed some soldiers than the inhabitants set fire to the town and abandoned it, having before carried away every thing that was valuable.

They relate, that Castro was heretofore a fine Spanish town, replenish'd with magnificent buildings, pleasantly situated on a hill, surrounded with fruitful orchards and gardens, adorned with fountains, and the fields beyond well cultivated; and that at the time when the Dutch arrived there the fruit then remained on many of the trees, tho' it was in the beginning of their winter.

The Dutch having taken an hundred sheep, and some hogs off the island, reembark'd, and on the 17th of June returned to Brewer's-harbour. From hence they propos'd to sail to the river Baldivia, but the north wind blowing hard in their teeth, they altered their minds and came before Carelmappa again, where landing a company of soldiers on the 16th of July, they took three Spanish prisoners, who inform'd them, that the winters on that coast were usually tempestuous, but that the most stormy month was past; that there were gold mines at Oforno, and more at Baldivia, but the mines were not wrought of late; and that at Castro there were none to be seen, the Indians not having been compelled to work in the mines since the general revolt in 1559.

The conditions of the Spaniards before the Indians revolted. They learned also from an old Spanish woman they had taken, that before the said general revolt, the Spaniards lived in great splendor at Oforno; that the meanest of them had three hundred Indian

VOL. III.

CHAP. VII. vassals at least, who were compelled to pay their respective lords a certain weekly tribute in gold, and were used so cruelly by the Spaniards, that the Chileans rose as one man, drove them from Oforno and other Spanish towns, and they possessed little more in this part of Chili than Carelmappa and St. Michael de Calimbuco. Since which, however, the Indians of Oforno, Baldivia, Villarica, Imperial, Tucapel, Aurauco and Puren, had lived in a pretty good intelligence with the Spaniards till very lately, when the Indians took up arms again, and they were now actually in a state of war with the Spaniards; which was confirmed by six Indian Caciques, who came on board the 20th of July, and assured the Dutch they were extremely rejoiced that they were come to assist them against their ancient enemies the Spaniards. The Dutch answered, they had brought good store of arms to exchange with their countrymen of Oforno, Baldivia, and other places, for such merchandize as Chili afforded, that they might be enabled to carry on the war against the Spaniards, and were ready to assist them to the utmost of their power. The Chileans reply'd, they lived very uneasily under the Spanish government of Carelmappa, and were contriving how to get to their friends at Oforno and Baldivia; but the Spaniards had possessed the passes, and the country was so overflow'd by the winter-rains, that they found it impracticable to go by land at present, and therefore desired the Dutch would carry them to Valdivia in their ships; which the General agreeing to, they returned on shore to give their friends an account of it, and make preparations for their voyage.

The next day more Chileans went on board, and one of them brought the head of a Spaniard with them, whom he had killed, and declared they were determined to shake off the Spanish yoke. Whereupon the General made a present to them of some spears and swords, as also muskets, with powder and ball: And the Chilese sent some black cattle on board in return; but on the 7th of August the Dutch General BREWER died, who had projected the enterprize, and was best acquainted with the state of that country, and in what manner the Indians were to be treated, whose death was evidently the reason the Dutch had no better success in this expedition. He had set his heart upon this undertaking, and had a prospect of bringing the whole country of Chili under the dominion of his masters the Dutch; and though Captain HERCKEMAN, who succeeded him in the command, might have no less zeal to serve his country, yet he certainly miscarried for want of a proper address. He too soon discover'd to the natives with what view the Hollanders visited their coast, and created jealousies in them which he found it impossible afterwards to remove, as will appear hereafter. The late General was so confident of the success of the enterprize, that he directed his countrymen to take his corpse with them and bury it at Baldivia, which he had determined to fortify, and appointed the Chileans to rendezvous there and meet the fleet; not doubting of a general revolt in their favour. His great ambition was to have a tomb erected in that place, which might perpetuate the memory of his being the author of so great a good to his country.

But to proceed in the relation. The Dutch having taken four hundred and seventy Chilese on board, who had furnished themselves with corn, cattle, and other provisions for the voyage, set sail for the river Baldivia on the 21st of August, where they arrived the 24th. The river is but a league

General
Brewer
dies.

CHAP.
VII.

over at the mouth; and the Dutch having failed half a league up it, they observed three channels, of which taking the middlemost they run a-ground, and it was two or three days before they could get all their ships a-float again; so that it was the 28th before they arrived at the town of Baldivia, where they only found the ruins of the ancient gates, which were very high and strong built, but the place was now over-run with bushes and weeds, and more like a wilderness than a city. Here they found three or four hundred Chileans, horse and foot, armed with spears eighteen foot long; some of whom came on board and welcomed them at their arrival. The Dutch General harangued them by an interpreter, and acquainted them, that the Hollanders were now in possession of Brazil upon the same continent, not above two months sail from them, and were in a condition to supply them from time to time with arms and ammunition, and would assist them to drive their enemies the Spaniards out of the country, desiring they would enter into a league offensive and defensive with them. He also presented them with letters from the Prince of Orange of the like tenour, which were interpreted to the Indians. For we must remember here, that neither the people of the East or West-Indies have any notion of a republican form of Government; and therefore the Hollanders in all their negotiations with those distant nations, pretend to be authoriz'd to treat with them by the Prince of Orange, or some single person whom they insinuate is their Monarch, or Sovereign of their country.

The Caciques gave the General no other answer to his propositions at present, but that they would consult their brethren of Oforno and Coneo, and then return to Valdivia again. Whereupon the Dutch proceeded to land their soldiers on the 2d of September, and the General took a view of the ground, in order to erect a fort.

A treaty
between
the Dutch
and the
Chile-
ans.

The same evening arrived above a thousand Chileans from Oforno and Coneo to treat with the Hollanders, and the next day the General, by his Interpreter, made them another speech, acquainting them, that the chief motive of their voyage was to assist the Chileans, the fame of whose great actions had reached as far as Holland; that the Dutch had been at war with these same Spaniards for upwards of fourscore years as well as the Chilese, for the preservation of their liberties, and had met with the like success, extending their conquests as far as Brazil: And if the Chilese would now enter into a confederacy with the Hollanders, they were ready to supply them with cannon, small arms, and ammunition, which they would exchange for the product of their country, and the Chileans would be enabled thereby not only to defend themselves, but to expel the Spaniards from their coasts. After which, a letter was delivered to every one of the Caciques, as sent them from the Prince of Orange. To which the Chileans answered, that they thought themselves extremely fortunate to meet with a supply of arms from so distant a country as Holland, at a time when the war with the Spaniards was revived.

The Dutch thereupon enquir'd if the Chilese could supply their fleet with flesh and other provisions, if they continued on their coast to protect them against the Spaniards? To which they unanimously answered, they would not fail to bring them all the provisions they wanted, for they had plenty of corn and cattle, provided the fleet did not stir from the coast: And they readily entered into a parole-alliance offensive and defensive with the Hol-

landers against the Spaniards, but would not be persuaded to sign written articles which were offer'd and interpreted to them, declaring that this was not customary amongst them, promises were ever look'd upon as sacred and of equal obligation with written contracts. But I am apt to think they had an apprehension that there was some witchcraft or charm in writing, as several other Americans had when the Europeans came first amongst them; or perhaps they were so politick as not to enter into a written engagement, lest the articles might fall into the hands of the Spaniards, and be made a pretence for oppressing and tyrannizing over such of the Indians as lived under their government, or were made prisoners by them.

CHAP.
VII.

The Hollanders then proceeded to build a fort at Baldivia for their security, which the natives did not seem to oppose; but when the Dutch proposed the trafficking with the Chilese, and exchanging arms for their gold, the Caciques immediately appear'd jealous of their new allies, and declared they had no gold mines, nor was there any such thing as gold in use amongst them. They remember'd, indeed, that heretofore they had been forced to pay heavy taxes to the Spaniards in gold on pain of losing their ears and noses, and many of them did who could not procure as much as was expected, and this had given them such an abhorrence of that metal that they could not bear to hear it nam'd amongst them: They were very far from valuing or coveting it, as they found all strangers did.

The
Dutch
erect a fort
and disco-
ver their
thirst of
gold; which
ruins the
enterprise.

The General finding the natives were not ignorant of his views, reply'd, they were not come to exact any thing of them, as the Spaniards had done, but were ready to pay them with arms, or whatever merchandize they lik'd best, for their gold. Every one was at liberty to exchange what he pleased.

Whereupon the Caciques stared at one another without returning one word of answer; and the Dutch relate, they did not think fit to urge them any further on that head, lest they should imagine they intended to serve them as the Spaniards had done; tho' they had certain information there were very rich mines in that part of the country.

The Dutch General therefore, sensible he was now to expect but little assistance from the natives, and that it would be impossible to maintain his ground long against the Spaniards, and the rest of the Chileans in alliance with them, dispatch'd Captain CRISPINSON with two of his ships to Fernambuco in Brazil, to give their friends an account of the state of their affairs, and to desire a further reinforcement, and in the mean time continued to fortify the post he had taken at Baldivia, where he hoped to defend himself till those supplies arriv'd.

In the letter the Dutch General sent by Captain CRISPINSON to Brazil, he informs the Government, that the Spaniards had not more than fifteen hundred soldiers, either on the continent or islands of Chili, viz. three hundred in Valpariso and St. Jago (this must be a little port call'd St. Jago on the coast, and not the capital city of St. Jago, that lay far within land near the foot of the mountains of the Andes, for that was demolished by the Indians, and lay in ruins at that time, as I apprehend) three hundred in the city of Concepcion (at this time the capital of the Spanish settlements in Chili) one hundred in Serena, or Coquimbo, one hundred on the banks of the river Biobio, eighty in Tucapel, five hundred in the forts in the valley of Arauco, one hundred and twenty in the island of Chiloe, Carelmappa and Calimbuco. What the number of the Spanish inhabitants were he does not

The ac-
count the
Dutch
gave of
Chili at
that time.

CHAP. VII. not say, only that they were more numerous than the garrison soldiers: And it is evident that many of the Chilese professed the Christian religion, and were intermarried with the Spaniards at this time, and therefore were in a manner one people with them; and that some tribes or clans that were not under the Spanish government were in alliance with them, tho' most of them were in a state of war with the Spaniards.

And in these circumstances the Dutch General informs the Government of Brazil, that in case ten ships and three yachts, with eight hundred soldiers, seamen, cannon, and ammunition in proportion, were sent to his assistance, he did not doubt making himself master of all the Spanish settlements above-mentioned, and should have no reason to be afraid of all the naval force the Spaniards had, either in Peru or Chili: And if he could make himself master of Chili by this means, it might encourage the natives of Peru to throw off the Spanish yoke, those Indians having entertain'd an inconceivable aversion to the Spaniards. He informs his employers also, that they had received advice that the natives of the neighbouring province of La Plata had rose upon the Jesuits (the then Sovereigns, or Usurpers of that country) and had murder'd many of those Fathers; which was look'd upon as an indication of a general revolt against the Spaniards: And then repeating his importunities for a speedy and effectual supply, concludes, that it was not improbable, when the war should be once kindled on that side, it might spread over the whole Spanish West-Indies; and the Hollanders might supplant them in the West, as they had done the Portuguese in the East-Indies and Brazil. Such was the ambition of this Dutch Officer to make his Masters Sovereigns of all Spanish-America, as they actually were of the most desirable and profitable countries in the East, from whence a little before they expell'd the English as well as the Portuguese.

This express had not been dispatch'd a week, before the Dutch General became sensible of his mistake; and that whatever misunderstanding there might be between the Chilese and the Spaniards, the natives were now much more afraid of the Hollanders than of their ancient enemies; and would probably join with the Spaniards to expel him their country.

For in the next conference he had with the Caciques, they gave him to understand that he must expect no provisions from them; and endeavour'd to terrify the Dutch, by reporting that the Spaniards were assembling their forces by sea and land to drive them from Valdivia. And it is highly probable that the Dutch in this case expected no assistance from their new allies, but were rather apprehensive they would betray them to the Spaniards; for he soon after demolished his new-erected fort, and having re-imbarked his people, set sail for Brazil, on the 28th of October, 1643; and having surrounded Cape Horn, repass'd the Straights of La Maire on the 21st of November, and on the 28th of December arrived at Fernambuco in Brazil; so that they were but just two months in their voyage from Valdivia to the northern part of Brazil.

The Dutch abandon Chili.

Brewer's harbour.

I shall conclude this expedition of the Hollanders to Chili with some remarks they made on Brewer's-haven, and the port of Valdivia; viz. that Brewer's-haven, by some call'd the English-harbour, was a very convenient harbour, there being good anchorage, and an easy passage into the open sea; nor did there want wood or fresh water on the land; and

there was plenty of fish, both in the harbour and in the brooks on shore: That the country and the neighbouring islands abounded in horses, sheep, hogs, goats, and poultry: That the soil was fruitful in wheat, peas, beans, turnips, potatoes, flax and fruit; but their fruits were frequently spoil'd by stormy weather before they were ripe.

That the mouth of the river Valdivia formed a spacious bay, at the entrance whereof there was a small island that would have commanded the passage if it had been fortify'd: That the country thereabouts abounded in horses, oxen, sheep, hogs, goats, and tame fowl, producing great quantities of peas and beans, and some wheat, very good apples, and other European fruits: That the weapons of the natives were chiefly pikes of fifteen foot long, and they had some fire-arms and armour they had taken from the Spaniards: That they were generally good horsemen, and manag'd their lances on horseback with great dexterity.

The next remarkable voyage to Chili was made by Captain (afterwards Sir JOHN) NARBOROUGH, ^{rough's voyage to Chili, ann.} by the command of King CHARLES II. in the year 1669, about thirty years after the said attempt of the Hollanders. It seems to have been undertaken upon some intelligence given to the Court of England by an old Spaniard, usually call'd Don CARLOS, who had formerly resided in South-America, importing, That his countrymen had in a manner abandon'd Chili, and that it would not be difficult for the English to cultivate a good understanding with the natives, and establish a very advantageous traffick there, the principal returns whereof would be in gold: And he pointed out Valdivia, as the port where they were most likely to succeed, it not being imagin'd that the Spaniards had re-possest themselves of that place, having deserted it for three or fourscore years: For Captain NARBOROUGH was expressly commanded not to molest the Spaniards in any of their settlements, or to commit any acts of hostility against Spain.

Captain NARBOROUGH having performed this voyage, printed a narrative of it, of the following tenor, viz.

That having receiv'd a commission to command the man of war call'd the Sweep-stakes, of 300 tons and 36 guns; mann'd with fourscore men, and provided with fourteen months provision: And instead of beer having four half tuns of Brandy allow'd him, with guns, nets, and other implements for fishing and fowling, he began this voyage from England in company with the Batchelor Pink of 70 tons, four guns, and mann'd with nineteen men and a boy, on the 26th of September, 1669, ^{Sept. 26, 1669.} carrying with him, at his majesty's cost, the following goods to exchange with the natives, viz. knives, scissars, looking-glasses, beads, hatchets, hoes, nails, needles, pins, pipes, bells, linnen and woollen cloths and stuffs, tobacco, &c. That taking his departure from the Lizard at noon the same day, he made the island of Madera on the 17th of October, and on the 23d of the same month he pass'd the Tropic of Cancer, and then thought it proper to have all his men let blood, having observed in former voyages to St. Helena and the coast of Guinea, that this tended to the preservation of his men from calentures, and other distempers in those hot climates; for he never had one day's illness in those or any other hot voyages, which he imputed to his opening a vein whenever he approach'd the Equinoctial: And the writer of these sheets well remembers, that Captain RAINS, with whom he sail'd to the East-Indies, observ'd the

CHAP. VII.

CHAP.
VII.Made
Cape
Verde
islands Oc-
tober 28.

the same rule when he passed the Tropick of Cancer, and had scarce a man sick the whole voyage, tho' he had 150 men on board, and passed the Equator twice.

But to proceed: Captain NARBOROUGH relates, that he made the Cape Verde islands (in 15 degrees north latitude) on the 28th of October, where having taken in water, cows, hogs, and other fresh provisions, he sailed on the 8th of November to the southward, having first given orders to the Batchelor Pink, if she was separated from him, to sail to Port Desire near Cape Blanco, on the coast of Patagonia, in 47 degrees odd minutes south latitude; and that after he had passed the mouth of the river Plata, he should keep along the American coast 'till he made Cape Blanco aforesaid, and look for him at Port Desire; and if he (Captain NARBOROUGH) should be there before him, he would leave an inscription engraven on a board, and fastened to a tree or post, mentioning the time of his departure, and the port he intended to make next; and that he would do the like at St. Julian, in 49 degrees odd minutes south latitude, and order'd the Pink to do the same, and to stay two whole months for the Sweep-stakes, as she would for the Pink, if she arrived first at those ports; and inform'd the Pink, that she should touch on the coasts of South-America, beyond the river Plata, to endeavour to establish a commerce with the natives.

The Sweep-stakes and the Pink kept company together 'till they came into soundings on the coast of Patagonia, in 45 degrees south latitude; but here the Sweep-stakes lost sight of the Pink in foggy weather, and on the 21st of February the Captain made Cape Blanco, in 47 degrees, odd minutes south latitude, having past Port Desire in a fog. Whereupon he stood to the northward again, and came to an Anchor at Port Desire, where he went on shore and waited six weeks for the Pink, but heard nothing of her afterwards.

While the Sweep-stakes remain'd in this port, the Captain made several journeys into the country, where he informs us he met with great store of wild pease with green leaves and a bluish blossom, some sweet herbs like tares, with white and yellow flowers, and another herb like sage, which made very good fallads, and preserved his men from the scurvy. On the rocks they found abundance of muscles and limpets, and on a neighbouring island great numbers of seal and water-fowl, which were excellent food, and his ship's crew lived on them and the fish he caught there a considerable time; and here he found two tolerable springs of fresh water also, with which he replenish'd his casks.

That on Friday, on the 14th of March, he went with his boats and forty men to an island near Port Desire, where they knock'd down four hundred Seals, and loaded their boats with them, from whence he gave it the name of Seal Island. He observ'd the full grown male Seals were of the size of a large calf, or young heifer, having shaggy necks, heads and faces like lions. The females also resembled lionesses before, only their hair was smooth like horses; whereas the male was smooth only in his hinder-parts. Both of them were very deformed, the body growing tapering downwards 'till it came to a point, where grew two fins like feet, and two feet more grew out of its breast, so that they could climb to the highest rocks and hills, though they delighted chiefly up sleep near the shore. The length of this amphibious animal was from eight to eighteen feet, and they were generally as big about as a barrel at the shoulders.

On Saturday, the 5th of March, he went eight or ten miles up into the country, and met with some

herds of guanaco's, or camel-sheep, which are so common in Peru. He also saw several ostriches, a fox, and a wild dog, and five or six hares, of which he kill'd one with his grey-hound: It resembled an English hare, only was much larger, and had a stump of an inch long instead of a tail; and he observed they liv'd under ground like rabbits. They saw no wood, unless some bushes like white-thorn. The land was a dry gravelly soil, moderately hilly, and produc'd grass in the valleys, but scarce any thing else; no fruits of any kind.

He found, in a small island near Port-Desire, an inscription upon a post, signifying that JAMES LA MAIRE was at that port in the month of January, 1616 (being written in Dutch;) and thereupon he call'd it La Maire's Island.

The Captain being about to depart from Port Desire, formerly took possession of that country for his British Majesty, under an apprehension that it might yield gold as Chili, which lies on the opposite shore, does; but though he ordered his people to search diligently in the brooks and gullies for gold-sand, and dug in several places, he could discover nothing that look'd like a mineral.

On March the 26th, 1670, he observ'd an eclipse of the moon, which shew'd there was four hours forty minutes difference of time between the meridian of London and the meridian of Cape Blanco, which lies in 47 degrees, 20 minutes south latitude, on the south-east coast of America. From Port Desire he sail'd to Port St. Julian, in 49 degrees, 10 minutes south latitude, where not finding the Pink as he expected, his men were much discouraged, considering, they could expect no relief if they should happen to run a-ground on that unknown coast. But the hopes he gave them of finding immense riches in Chili, and setting before them the example of Captain DRAKE, who sail'd round the world in one ship, when navigation was not brought to so great perfection, they recovered their courage. That on the 21st of April, he caught in this port, with his Scinnet, in the space of four hours, five hundred fishes of the size and form of Mulletts, and some of them as big as a man's leg, which were a great relief to his ship's company. And now the winter came on apace; the snows fell, the waters froze, and the wind blew very hard and cold from the south-west; from whence he concluded he should not be able to pass the Straights of Magellan at this time of the year, and therefore determin'd to winter thereabouts, ordering every one of his men a quart of brandy a week, and for meat they had salted seals and penguins given them, which prov'd very good food.

Going on shore at Fort St. Julian on the 22d of April, he found a salt-pond, or lake, two miles in length, crufted over with good white salt two inches thick, of which he laid two tuns in.

Having remain'd here till the 6th of June, he went on shore with sixteen men, and travelled ten miles into the country, but could go no further for the mountains, which were cover'd with snow. They yet saw no people, but discover'd there had been some in the snow, and that they had made fires, and eaten guanacoes and ostriches by the remains they found of their feast.

That going on shore again the 22d of June, he sent Mr. WOOD, his Lieutenant, to the westward with three armed men, who saw seven indians on a hill, and three of them advanced towards him, with bows and arrows in their hands, loose skins about their shoulders, furs on their heads, and pieces of skin wrapp'd about their feet, and all the rest naked,

CHAP.
VII.Finds an
inscription
left by La
Maire.Finds the
longitude
by an
eclipse.Port St. Ju-
lian. He
winters
here.A Salt-
lake.The na-
tives of Pa-
tagonia.Cape
Blanco and
Port De-
sire, Feb.
21.Some de-
scription of
this Port
of Patago-
nia.Seal, or
Penguin
Island.Seals de-
scrib'd.Other ani-
mals.

CHAP.
VII.

Their
figure.

The proof
of their
being can-
ibals.

Other ani-
mals.

naked, only some part of their faces and bodies were painted with red and white, their natural colour being olive: They were of a middle stature, not so tall as the Lieutenant, well limb'd, their hair black (which they did not wear very long) and spoke in the throat. They came pretty near, but would not suffer themselves to be touch'd. The Lieutenant threw them a knife and some other trifles, which they took up; but when he offered them a bottle of brandy they would not drink.

That some others of his crew saw two more of the natives behind a bush, and would have approach'd them, but they run away, leaving a bundle and two little dogs coupled together, which were brought to the Captain; and he found in the bundle several bags made of skins, with red and white earth in them, used in painting their bodies and faces. There were also flint-stones, arrow-heads, bracelets of shells, braided thongs, armadillo-shells, and some other trifles; that the skins were guanacoes and seals, and sewed together with a green gut in a slit stick, and near the bundle were found two staves of tough cane, in short joints, about four foot long. The Captain saw afterwards a place where the natives had made a fire, and left the bones of some guanacoes and ostriches scatter'd about. He also saw the skulls of three men without any flesh upon them; from whence the Captain conjectures that the natives were man-eaters; and such evidence as this is frequently produced to prove the Americans to be cannibals. The Captain was fully convinc'd by ocular demonstration that the Patagonians were not giants, as the first Adventurers reported; but still he seems to be in doubt, whether they were not cannibals, tho' the evidence of both is the same; and the Indians might as well infer that the Europeans were cannibals, because our Surgeons and Apothecaries have frequently skulls, and sometimes skeletons in their houses. But our people, it seems, began to be ashamed of the fabulous relations of the American giants and monsters at that time, though they were yet extremely prejudiced in favour of cannibals; and though Captain NARBOROUGH is admitted to be a gentleman of good judgment, yet allowances must be made for the age and country every person lives in. At some times, and at some particular places, magick, witchcraft, and apparitions are in great vogue, and not a week passes but our belief is requir'd to some notable story of this kind, on pain of being reputed infidels: While in other countries, and at other times, people imagine they may be very good Christians without swallowing every incredible tale that weak or designing people have the confidence to affirm the truth of, especially when they bring no better proof of what they relate than the Captain produces to maintain that heavy charge against this nation of their being cannibals, namely, that three skulls happen'd to be found in the possession of some of the people of the country.

But to proceed: The farthest journey the Captain made into the country while he lay at Port St. Julian, he says, was twenty-five miles to the north-west, in which he met with real and other fowl, a kind of herons all over red, great numbers of guanacoes and ostriches, hares and partridges bigger than ours, some snipes and small birds, penwrens, kites, hawks, owls, foxes, wild-dogs, brant-geese and armadillo's, but no snake or venomous creature, or any wild beasts, and was of opinion that the country was very proper both for European corn and cattle, seeming to be a good fruitful soil.

VOL. III.

CHAP.
VII.

Returns to
Port De-
fire.

Penguins
describ'd.

Sails from
Port De-
fire, Octo-
ber 13,
1670.

Magella-
nick
Straights.

Tides
here.

In the mean time the Captain relates, that twelve of his men, who did not use much exercise, fell ill of the Scurvy, and their legs and thighs turned perfectly black. Whereupon he thought proper to leave Port St. Julian and sail to Port Desire, where he took great numbers of seals and penguins, which he distributed to the sick, with such sallads as this part of the country affords, and they all recover'd in a very short time.

While the Captain lay on shore at Port Desire, he says, the natives came in the night-time to the place where his men used to fill their fresh water, and stole from thence an iron pot, and three suits of cloaths, with some linnen; and he saw, in an adjacent valley, a model they had made of his ship with earth and sticks, which he imagin'd they did in order to preserve the memory of that floating castle, having never seen one before, possibly on that coast.

Here the Captain takes an opportunity to inform us, that the isle of Penguins, which lies at the entrance of Port Desire, affords such numbers of penguins and seals, that at the time he was there, as many of them might have been taken as would have fill'd three hundred tons of cask, when dress'd and salted, and that the flesh might be kept sweet and good for four months, if well cur'd.

The Penguin, he observes, is of the bigness of a Brant-geese, weighing usually about eight pounds, and lives upon fish. Instead of wings it has flat stumps, like fins, and its feathers are a kind of down of a blackish colour, only grey on the head and white on the neck and belly. The legs are short, like those of a goose; and the bill hooked. They are driven in flocks to the boat-side, and knock'd on the head by the seamen; so that shipping can never be in want of fresh provisions at this port; and he was of opinion there might be found a sufficient quantity of salt also here in the summer to salt up their seals and penguins, but if not, they would never fail of finding salt at Port St. Julian.

The winter being now pass'd, the Captain set sail from Port Desire on the 13th of October, 1670, and on the 19th pass'd by the cape call'd Beachy-head, and the hill of St. Ives, in 50 degrees, 10 minutes south latitude, where the land forms a bay, into which the river of St. Cruce discharges itself. And on the 22d of October, they arriv'd at Cape Virgin Mary, at the north entrance of the Straights of Magellan, situated in 52 degrees, 26 minutes south latitude, which are in some parts three or four leagues, but in others not half a league broad.

All about the entrance of the Straights, 'till he came to the first narrow passage, he observ'd there was very good anchorage and not much tide; but in the narrow the tide runs stronger than in the Hope at the Thames-mouth, the flood setting into the Straights, and the ebb out, and kept a constant course, as on other coasts, viz. six hours flood and—hours ebb, and rises and falls near four fathoms perpendicular.

The Captain having pass'd the second narrow in the Straights, went on shore on the island Elizabeth, and nineteen of the natives coming down the hill to him, he exchange'd knives, beads, and other implements with them for their bows, arrows, and coats, which were made of the skins of guanacoes, seals, and otters: That they were for laying hands on every thing they saw in a very brutish manner, and the more he gave them the more they craved: That several of his men danced and sported with them, and shewing them some gold, he intimated by signs, that if they could bring him

CHAP. VII. any he would purchase it of them; but either they did not understand him, or knew of none: And he no sooner left them and went on board, but they set fire to the grass.

Natives described again.

He relates, that these people are of a middle stature, well-limb'd, with round faces, low foreheads, little noses, and small black eyes; their teeth are smooth, even and white, their hair shaggy and very black, of an indifferent length, men and women alike; they are all full-breasted, of an olive colour, and painted all over their bodies with red earth and grease, their faces daub'd in spots with white clay, and black streaks made with smut, their arms and feet like the like; their heads are generally small, their fingers short, and their bodies very active; their cloathing is of the skins of seals, guanacoes, and otters sewed together; their garments are in form of a carpet five foot square, which they wrap about them as the Scotchman does his pladding: On their heads they wear caps of the skins of fowls with the feathers, and on their feet pieces of skins to keep them from the ground. They are very hardy, for tho' it was very cold then, they don't wear these skins when they go about any business that requires stirring. They have no hair on any part of their bodies or faces, nor any thing to cover their nudities, except that the women have a piece of skin hanging before them. The men and women are clothed alike, only the women go without caps, and wear bracelets of shells about their necks, which the men have not. The men are something taller than the women, and fuller faced; the men have a harsher voice, and rattle in the throat, the women somewhat shriller; they often repeat the word *Ursah*, and if they did not like any thing, would cry *Ur, Ur*. They feed both upon fish and flesh, live under no manner of government, or worship any thing. At our landing, they came to us with a great noise, every one his bow ready, and two arrows in his hand: Their bows are about an ell long, and every arrow eighteen inches, neatly made of wood, headed with flint-stones curiously wrought, broad-arrow fashion, and well fastened to the arrow, the other end being feather'd with two feathers, and ty'd on with the gut of some beast while yet green and moist, the bow-string is of twisted guts. They have large mungrel dogs of several colours, not unlike Spanish dogs. I saw no other domestick creatures, nor their boats, which then lay on the other side of the island towards the main, where they waited for fair weather to catch penguins, of which there is a vast quantity, as also of white-breasted divers.

Trees in the Straights. A spicy bark.

He saw on both sides of the Straights woods which seemed to be regularly planted, and timber in them two foot diameter. The bark of some of these trees is as hot as pepper, and when dry'd had the smell of fine spices, and they used it in seasoning their meat and soup, to which it gave a fine flavour, and he believed this spice to be very wholesome; but he saw no fruit-trees on the shores, or oak, ash, hazel, or any trees like ours in England, the woods consisting chiefly of the pepper-rind-tree above-mention'd, and another like our beech. The largest tree he saw in the Straights was about two foot and a half diameter, and thirty or forty foot high. The woods were usually on the sides of hills, the land being very high on both shores, and the tops of the mountains scarce ever free from snow.

Cape Forward the most southern promontory.

He observes, that Cape Forward, the most southerly land on the continent of South-America (for Cape Horn is upon the island *Del Fogo*) lies in 53 degrees 52 minutes south latitude, 68 degrees 40

minutes west of the Lizard: And he computed the whole length of the Straights from Cape Virgin Mary to Cape Disseada to be an hundred and sixteen leagues: And on the north-west part of the Straights, in the South-sea, lie four little islands near Cape Victory, which he denominated The Islands of Direction, being a guide to those who enter the Straights from the South-sea. From the Straights mouth he sailed north to the Island of Succour, in 45 degrees south latitude, where he arriv'd the 26 of November and took in fresh water. He saw none of the natives of this island, only one of their huts, which resembled those of the natives on the continent of Patagonia, and were more like arbours than houses, being composed of boughs of trees.

CHAP. VII. Length of the Straights.

Island of Succour. Nov. 20, 1670.

Between the Isle of Succour and the continent, there lies another island, where the Captain went on shore, and having taken possession of it for his Majesty, gave it the name of Narborough Island. Here, he says, he found his men in pretty good health, and seventy-two in number; so that he seems to have lost eight in his passage hither. He sailed from Narborough Island to the river of Baldivia, where he set on shore the Spaniard, Don CARLOS, on the south side of the harbour, on the 15th day of December. He carried with him a sword and a case of pistols, a bag with beads, knives, scissars, looking-glasses, combs, rings, pipes, bells, and tobacco, to make himself acceptable to the natives; for the Captain does not seem to have been then apprized that the Spaniards had repossess'd themselves of the town of Baldivia and rebuilt it.

Narborough Isle.

Baldivia, Decem. 15. Don Carlos set on shore here.

Don CARLOS took the path by the sea-side, leading to the mouth of the harbour, and after a quarter of a mile's walk, turned out of sight, behind a rock. He had directed the Lieutenant who set him on shore to look out for his fire in the night-time, but they never saw or heard of him more.

The next morning the Captain sent one of his Lieutenants with his boat to make some discoveries in the harbour, and coming near a Spanish fort, call'd St. Jago, the garrison waisted a white flag, and invited them ashore; whereupon the Lieutenant landed in hopes of meeting with Don CARLOS, whom they had seen going along the path leading directly to this fort between the wood and the sea-side; for the fort stands on an eminence by a wood on the south side of the harbour. The fort had seven guns mounted, which were defended by a breast-work and some slight pallisadoes.

The Lieutenant was received on shore by about twenty Spaniards and Indians, who conducted him to the Governor, whom he found sitting with two other Spanish gentlemen under a great tree. The Governor welcomed him on shore with a silver bowl of wine, and asked which way they came into these seas; and the Lieutenant in his turn enquired whether the Spaniards were at war with the Indians, to which the Governor answer'd, Yes; intimating, that they were enemies all round the harbour, and tho' barbarous, were a brave people and good horsemen: That the Spaniards had scarce any ground belonging to their fort, nor durst walk out a musket's shot from their pallisadoes without being well arm'd: That the Indians had such plenty of gold, the breast-plates of their armour were of that metal.

The Spanish Fort of St. Jago, and the garrison

After this conference, the Spanish Governor made the Lieutenant a handsome entertainment in a tent; and he observ'd, that not only the dishes, but all the kitchen utensils were of silver, as were the hilts of the common soldiers swords, and those

of

CHAP. VII. of their officers of gold, and the plate at the butt end of their muskets of the same metal.

When the Lieutenant return'd on board the Sweep-stakes, four Spanish gentlemen came with him, who offer'd to conduct the ship into the harbour; but the Captain being well acquainted with the treachery of the Spaniards in those parts, civilly refused the favour. These Spanish gentlemen related, that there was a great deal of gold about Baldivia, but that the natives being a brave people, of a gigantick stature, and able to bring ten thousand horse into the field, would not let them come at their gold: That their arms were long lances or pikes, bows, arrows and swords, and they had some muskets which they had taken from the Spaniards: That the Indians were very numerous about Baldivia, Oforno, and at Castro in the island of Chiloe, and would barter their gold with the Spaniards, tho' they were not at peace with them.

The Spaniards demanding of the Captain whether he was bound, he answered for China, and only touched at Baldivia to refresh his men and take in provisions. They reply'd he should have what the country afforded, and pointed to a rivulet where he might take in fresh water, which they said had golden sands; adding, that the Spaniards bought a great deal of gold of the natives, which they gathered with dishes in the brooks and gullies between the hills and rocks about thirty leagues from the sea; and that between the sea and those hills was a fine fruitful country (abounding in horses, oxen, sheep and goats) which the Indians had taken from the Spaniards: And that there was more gold in Chili than in any country yet discover'd in America. But the Captain observ'd the Spaniards had little knowledge of the country to the southward of Baldivia, except of Oforno, and the island of Castro over-against it, which was a fine island fruitful in wheat; but the Indians were so numerous there, that they would not suffer the Spaniards to search for gold if there were any in the island.

That a ship loaden with arms, ammunition, wine, linnen and woollen cloth, tobacco and sugar, came annually from Valdivia and took gold, bezoar-stone, and red-wool of the guanaco sheep in return: That there was a road from Baldivia to the Spanish settlements in the north of Chili, but they never used it, unless furnish'd with a very strong convoy, for fear of the natives: That the Spaniards represented this country as an earthly paradise, where people lived in the greatest delight and plenty in the world; and indeed the Spanish gentlemen who came on board him, and those he saw on shore were corpulent jolly fellows, and had good rosy complexions.

Upon this intelligence, the Captain sent his boat and eighteen men on shore to view the harbour and fortifications, and to endeavour to settle a commerce with the natives, being of opinion that this country was lost for want of a true knowledge of it. The Spaniards bought several things of the boat's crew, for which they gave them pieces of eight, but would not part with their gold or their bread. However, they had a considerable profit by what they sold them; as for a fowling-piece, worth twenty shillings in England, they had sixteen pieces of eight (or crowns); for a case of knives, bought for three shillings, they had five pieces of eight; for a pair of gloves of ten-pence, a piece of eight; and the Spaniards appear'd very desirous of purchasing cloaks of bays, though their under-garments were very rich, viz. velvet, silk and silver brocades, and they wore fine linnen, and good

Flanders-lace: That four of the Spaniards wives came into the boat, who were born in Peru, of Spanish parents; these were dress'd after the Spanish mode, had large gold chains about their necks, and pendants of saphire in their ears: And the Governor presented his Lieutenant with some ostrich feathers, a silver-headed cane, and some other trifles; but the boat's crew could find no opportunity of conversing with the natives by themselves; for tho' some Indians made a fire by a wood side, and hung out a white flag, as a signal they would traffick with them, the Spaniards would not permit the English to go to them. Whereupon the boat return'd on board, and the Governor of St. Jago sending word he had no orders to permit him to take in water there, and directing them to go to St. Peter's Fort, he sent one of his Lieutenants and three more to the Governor of St. Peter's Fort, who receiv'd them with great civility, but detain'd them prisoners under pretence he had receiv'd orders from Don PEDRO DE MONTADES, Governor of Chili, to keep them prisoners 'till the ship came under the command of the fort; which when the Captain understood by the seamen who return'd with the boat, he seem'd resolv'd to attack the fort and rescue his Lieutenant and his three companions by force: But whether, upon mature consideration, he did not think this practicable, or remember'd Sir WALTER RALEIGH's fate, who lost his head for attacking the Spaniards in America when he had no commission for it, he altered his resolution, and left his four men prisoners at Baldivia, whose names were THOMAS ARMIGER, the Lieutenant, JOHN FORTESCU, Gentleman, HUGH COE, Trumpeter, and THOMAS HIGHWAY, the Interpreter, who was born of Moorish parents in Barbary, but a Christian, and lived formerly with an English merchant at Cadiz: Captain NARBOROUGH observ'd they were all healthful people, well qualify'd to make observations, and he hoped would give a good account of the country; but I am afraid they met with worse usage from the Spaniards than he expected, and whether any of them ever return'd to England I cannot learn.

While Captain NARBOROUGH lay in the river Baldivia, some Indians under the Spanish Government came on board him, whom he acquainted that he was come to establish a trade with them, and desir'd they would communicate this to their friends in the country. They seem'd glad of it, and were unwilling to return on shore, declaring that the Spaniards were mere devils, insulting and abusing those they had in their power without mercy, and said, that both the Spaniards and the Indians had abundance of gold. He gave them some knives, looking-glasses, and other toys, when they went on shore, and they promised to acquaint the inland inhabitants with what he said. But, it seems, these people were of a middle stature, they were not those giants the Spaniards had represented them.

And here we may observe, that the accounts we have receiv'd of America from the Spaniards are not agreeable to truth, but formed upon the plan of interest, bigotry or vanity. They furnish'd us with such relations as might deter other European nations from sending colonies thither; or such as might seem to justify their usurpations and cruelty to that people, and reflect honour on the Spanish nation, or the Roman catholick superstition, to which they are known to be more bigotted than any nation in Europe; and we poor credulous Protestants, notwithstanding our abhorrence of Popery, greedily swallowed

Narborough trafficks with the Spaniards,

CHAP. VII.

But is not suffer'd to trade with the natives.

His Lieutenant and three more made prisoners by the Spaniards.

The stature of the Chilians.

Remarks on the Spanish accounts of America.

CHAP.
VII.

swallowed the most improbable and incredible tale they were pleased to frame.

From these sources we may derive those shocking relations which obtained so universally on the first discovery of America, of giants, monsters, and canibals, tho' the Spaniards carried the matter so far, and dress'd up their stories with so many contradictions and unnatural circumstances, as one would have thought should have confuted their own narratives; and indeed now we come to reflect coolly and deliberately upon them, and discern with what view they were propagated, they need no other confutation, where the prejudices of people are not insuperable, and they have an opportunity of examining them thoroughly.

The Spaniards, we find, inform'd Captain NARBOROUGH, that tho' there was a great deal of gold in the country, yet the mines were in possession of the natives, who were a barbarous and gigantick race, expert in the exercise of arms, both Indian and European, and who could bring ten thousand good horse into the field upon a very short warning; from whence they would have him conclude, that it was in vain for any European nation to attempt to settle colonies in Chili, or expect to come at their gold. The Spaniards themselves had no more than what was found in rivulets, or on the surface of the earth, which they purchased of the natives; and tho' they had been settled there so long, they had been driven from the mines, and could not at present penetrate further into the country than the pallisadoes of their own forts.

But Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH saw with his own eyes that the natives were not the giants they were represented: That their stature was rather inferior to that of the English, and that the Spaniards were so much masters of the sea-coasts thereabouts that the natives durst not come thither to traffick with his people: He was sensible also, how poor a fortification that of Baldivia then was, and that there was not an hundred Europeans in garrison there. How then was it possible to believe that the Chileans were giants, or expert soldiers, and could raise a body of ten thousand horse? This was evidently all gasconade, and only fit to amuse women and children with. Notwithstanding the Spaniards therefore had represented the Chileans as such a powerful and barbarous people, and averse to the entertaining any commerce with foreigners, Sir JOHN declares it to be his opinion, that the most advantageous trade in the world might be established in those parts, if England had the Freedom of the Spanish ports there, or if they had not, that a trade might be carried on in spite of all the Spanish forces on that side by a squadron of four or five ships of twenty or thirty guns each; and he did not question but the natives of the south parts of Chili, about Castro, Oforno, and Baldivia, would be willing to exchange their gold for knives, scissars, looking-glasses, beads, combs, hatchets, and other merchandize of that kind.

But can any one imagine, that a rascally garrison of a hundred Spaniards, defended only by seven guns and a poor breast-work, could have kept the brave Chileans in awe, and prevented their trafficking with foreigners on the coast, if, according to the Spanish account, the Chilese could have brought ten thousand men of a gigantick stature, completely arm'd and vers'd in the trade of war into the field? Would not such a force have been able to toss the Spaniards and their paltry fort into the sea, and made their way to the coast against all the power of Spain in South-America?

But to get some farther light into the state of Chili, and discover whether it be yet practicable, or worth the while to settle colonies and establish a trade with that coast, I shall consider some other voyages that have been made with that view to Patagonia, to the Straights of Magellan, and round Cape Horn and the Terra Magellanica, to the coast of Chili, and to the islands near it: Give me leave only to observe in the first place, that Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH in his return took his departure from Cape Gallery, the south point of the harbour of Baldivia, on Thursday the 22d of December, 1670, sailing to the southward along the west coast of America till the 6th of January, when he made the islands of Direction, at the western mouth of the Straights of Magellan, which he pass'd, and arrived at Cape Virgin Mary in the North-sea, on February 14, 1670-1, he made Cape Blanco on the 23d, and on the 24th anchor'd in Port Desire bay, in 47 degrees odd minutes south latitude, from whence setting sail on February the 26th, he arrived at the Lizard in the English channel on the 10th of June, 1671, so that he was about a year and three quarters from home upon this voyage, but not more than half a year in his passage from Valdivia, in Chili, to England. So that it appears to be much the same in extent as an East-India voyage, and possibly may be perform'd in less time now they have found the way round Terra del Fogo, and are not hinder'd by going through the Straights of Magellan, which usually took up six weeks or two months of the voyage.

Before the passage round Cape Horn was discovered, the Spaniards imagining there was no other way into the South-sea but through the Straights of Magellan, built forts on the narrowest part of that Strait, and garrison'd them with several hundred men, in order to exclude all other nations from the South-sea, and secure the empire of that ocean and those rich and extensive countries bordering upon it to themselves; but Sir THOMAS CAVENDISH passing the Straights of Magellan in January, 1586, and coming to the first Spanish fort, found no more than twenty-four alive of four hundred that were left there, and these almost starv'd. He arriv'd afterwards at another fort in the Strait, to which the Spaniards had given the name of Fort St. Philip, and found it in ruins, most of the garrison whereof perish'd for want of food; whereupon Sir THOMAS gave it the name of Port Famine, and proceeding in his voyage passed happily into the South-sea. Several other Commanders also have passed these Straights successfully, particularly Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH, already mentioned; but many however have been disappointed, drove back and lost by tempests; and the passage was found for the most part so difficult, that it put some enterprising seamen upon finding a way round Cape Horn further to the southward, in which both LA MAIRE and Admiral BREWER succeeded: The first passing through a short and narrow Strait, between Terra del Fogo and States-island on the east of it, which has since obtain'd the name of La Maire's Strait, and BREWER passing through a straight made by States-island, and another small island to the eastward of it, gave that pass the name of Brewer's Strait; but none of these straights are used at present; ships that are bound to the South-sea or coast of Chili now stand away to the south-east till they come into 58 or 60 degrees, surrounding the Terra del Fogo, and all the other islands in the neighbourhood of it: Nor do they find any inconvenience in going thus far south but the meeting

CHAP.
VII.Sir John
Narborough
returns thro'
the
Straights.Spanish
forts on the
Straights
of Magel-
lan.Passages
found out
by La
Maire and
Brewer.The pas-
sage round
Terra del
Fogo, and
the other
islands.

CHAP. VII. ing with vast pieces of ice, as our mariners do in Greenland, which are not so numerous however as to interrupt their voyage. Our countrymen, Captain COWLEY, Captain DAMPIER, Captain ROGERS, and Captain SHARPE, all passed these seas round Cape Horn without any ill accident, and sav'd a great deal of time by avoiding the Straights of Magellan.

The islands of Patagonia and Chili describ'd. And here I shall give some further description of those three considerable islands on the coast of Patagonia and Chili, of which all seamen, who visit the Pacific-ocean, take so much notice, viz. 1. The island of Terra del Fogo; 2. The island of Chiloe; and, 3. The island of John Fernando.

Terra del Fogo. Situation and extent. 1. The island of Terra del Fogo is bounded by the Straights of Magellan on the north, by the Atlantic-ocean on the east, and by the great South-sea on the south and west, being of a triangular figure, the base whereof is the Strait of Magellan, three hundred miles in length from east to west, and it is about the same extent from north to south, viz. from the Straights of Magellan to Cape Horn, the point or summit of the pyramid, which lies in 57 degrees, 30 minutes south latitude.

Face of the country. This island, like the continent over-against it, is mountainous and woody, the tops of the mountains almost always cover'd with snow; but it has several good bays and harbours on the coast to shelter shipping from the storms and tempests that reign in these seas, and does not want rivulets of fresh water.

Natives, their persons and habits. As to the natives, travellers differ very widely in the description of them in some particulars, tho' they agree pretty well in others. They all agree, that they are a brave and hardy people, but not very numerous: That they paint both their faces and bodies, and have no other cloaths but a cloak or mantle made of raw hides, or the skins of fish and fowls rack'd together with green guts, only the men wear a cap of feathers. The women have nothing on their heads, but wear a piece of penguin's skin before their nudities. They live in huts, or in arbours, made of the boughs of trees, and eat seals, penguins, venison, and other game they take either by land or water. Their arms are clubs, bows and arrows pointed with sharp flints or bones. Their boats are canoes, or hollow trees, and they make their nets of guts and sinews, the fibres of the bark of trees, or such other materials as their country affords.

But some travellers, especially the Dutch, related, that the natives were giants, ten or eleven foot high at least: That they tore up the trees by the roots to encounter their enemies, and threw stones at them big enough to sink their boats: And they reported also, that they were cannibals, though it is universally acknowledged they liv'd chiefly on the flesh of other animals.

But late travellers, and even the Dutch themselves, since they have discover'd the way round the island of Cape Horn, acknowledge the people are of a moderate stature, not exceeding that of the Europeans: And as to their being cannibals, no manner of proof has ever been brought of it from first to last; this fact is supported solely by the surmises of our wife Adventurers, and the credulity of their readers.

Probably some of the first Discoverers thought it convenient to give out that the natives were giants, to excuse their running away from them; and added, that they were cannibals, to render them still more terrible, and to justify their murdering these naked defenceless people with their artillery and fire-arms.

VOL. III. NUMB. CXXVII.

CHAP. VII. 2. The island of Chiloe, situated on the west-side of a great bay of the South-sea, near and over-against the continent of Chili (a multitude of lesser islands (some say forty) lying in the same bay.) It is a long island, stretching from north to south, and extending from 41 degrees 40 minutes, to 53 degrees 30 minutes south latitude, computed to be about 140 miles in length, and 20 in breadth.

The face of the country is various, consisting of mountains, valleys, woods, champain, savannah, or meadow and marshy grounds, and has in it some fine springs and rivulets of fresh water.

The chief, and for ought I can learn, the only town in it is that of Castro, built by the Spaniards, and already described, which is situated in 42 degrees odd minutes south latitude, and 84 degrees of western longitude. The country, according to BREWER and Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH, abounding in corn, cattle, and fruit, both European and Indian, though by TETCHO, and some others, said to be barren, and one of the poorest of all the Spanish settlements; which different accounts may easily be reconciled. I don't find any reason to doubt the relations given us by the Dutch, and Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH, that it appear'd a fruitful country when they were there, for this was before the Spanish plantations were quite ruined. But in the time of TETCHO the natives seem to have recover'd the country again, and left the Spaniards little more than the town of Castro, which has been so often burnt and plunder'd, that it is now reduced to a miserable village, with a small fort that defends it: And in these circumstances no wonder the lands are uncultivated, and consequently appear unfruitful. This is the case of many parts of the world; the soil seems to alter according to the genius or circumstances of the inhabitants. We are told of these very Chileans, that upon the continent they sow and plant no more than just furnishes their particular families with food, and the Spaniards have no encouragement to improve a country they are not masters of, and where they cannot enjoy the fruit of their labours in quiet. Besides, the Chileans are not now their slaves to do their drudgery, as they did formerly; and we are well acquainted with the pride and laziness of the Spaniards even in their own country, where the French frequently cultivate their lands for them; the owners will not work or improve their estates, tho' they starve upon them; and this possibly is the case of their countrymen in Chiloe, now they have no slaves to work for them, and cultivate the lands in that island.

3. The third and last island I propos'd to describe on the coast of Chili is that of Juan, or John Fernando, which obtain'd its name from the first Discoverer and Planter. This island is situated in 34 degrees odd minutes south latitude, about 400 miles west of the coast of Chili, being thirty-eight or forty miles in circumference. Hither it was that Governor PULLEN advis'd the sending of a squadron of men of war during the last war with France and Spain in the reign of Queen ANNE, when the Ministry requir'd his opinion concerning the feasibility of preventing the treasures of Peru and Chili from being brought to Europe by the French and Spaniards, and of excluding the French from that traffick, whereby they were enabled to maintain the war so long against the Confederates. It was propos'd also to the Governor's consideration, whether it was not practicable to fix British colonies in those rich countries of Chili and Peru, and thereby come in for a share in those treasures. And because it is very possible that this nation may

Island of John Fernando.

Propos'd to be planted and fortified by England, by Governor Pullen.

CHAP.
VII.

be in the like situation again (that is) be at war with France and Spain again, or at least with the latter, and the same conduct may hereafter become expedient which was adviseable then; and because we no where meet with a juster account of the state of the Spanish West-Indies, and of Chili in particular, the country I am now treating of, than in the writings of this ingenious gentleman, I shall take the liberty to transcribe as much from that essay of Mr. PULLEN's on the subject above-mentioned as I apprehend for my present purpose.

I shall first begin (says Mr. PULLEN) with what is necessary to be done to ruin their commerce (that is, of the French in the South-sea; for then they were admitted into all the Spanish ports in America, supplied their towns and colonies with European goods, for which they received gold and silver in return, and were entrusted by the Spaniards to bring their plate to Europe) a commerce the most beneficial to them, and consequently most prejudicial to us. To effect which, I propose the sending thither eight fifty and sixty gun ships the next season; for the manning of which squadron, I propose but half the complement of seamen that are allow'd to such ships by the rules of the navy, and that the rest of the number should be made up with soldiers, either mariners or detachments out of marching regiments, as the Government shall judge most expedient, provided they be men acquainted with service; and if they have served some campaigns, so much the better, because they will be less subject to sickness, and not so soon be discouraged with hardships as raw men; for probably they may often have their patience exercised in so long and remote a voyage: And the reason why I propose so few seamen is, because most of the soldiers will be made seamen by the length of the voyage, and be much more serviceable both for landing, of which there will be frequent occasion, as well as for small-shot upon the decks in an engagement, at which they are much more expert than our sailors.

I am concern'd that I am oblig'd here to take notice of the great ignorance of our seamen (generally speaking) in the use of small-arms, which, by a great blindness, they have too much neglected of late days, and endeavour to confirm one another in the contempt of them, by alledging, that in loading the great-guns with cartridge-shot you perform the same thing better; than which nothing is more false in fact, and is one of the chief reasons the French are so bold in boarding our seventy and eighty gun ships; for they know that our seamen are so unskilful in the use of the musket, that when they are beat from their artillery, they seldom give them much trouble afterwards, and what resistance they have found upon our men-of-war's decks of late time, hath mostly been from our mariners, who have very justly acquir'd a great reputation, and are certainly a most useful body of people, and the motto which I have seen upon some of their caps (*Sine his Nihil*) is now literally true. I affirm, this is one of the principal reasons that makes the French despise our seamen, and hath expos'd us to such loss both of reputation and shipping as hath not been known but of late days, and deserves a very serious consideration, in order to procure a speedy and effectual remedy. If I should say that the fire-arms that are put on board our men-of-war are both too heavy and too short, and the locks good for nothing, and that the French extremely excel us in the commodiousness of their fire-arms in all respects, I should advance nothing but truth.

The season of the year proper to begin their

voyage is from the first to the middle of September; but I advise by all means that they should set out by the 15th of August, that they may arrive some small time in the South-seas before the French trade, that goes the same year: For by this means one could hardly fail of destroying all the ships bound thither that season, and perhaps meet with some returning home; for they must observe the same time of year and return by the same rout out of those seas that they went into them by.

To make this still plainer, it will not be amiss to set down here the rout they always use going thither, which is by or round Cape Horn, the southernmost promontory of all America; for they never venture through the Straights of Magellan, because they find now by experience, that for one ship that gets through, three are forced back, and so lose their voyage that year, to the ruin of their owners: But having sufficient sea-room the other way, they are never expos'd to any such risque. After they have doubled Cape Horn, they steer directly for the isle of Juan Fernando, to refresh their men, who by the time they get thither want sufficiently, and likewise to take in fresh water, for their first stock can't fail of being near expir'd before they reach this place. I have taken a great deal of pains to inform myself of this matter from several French sailors that have perform'd the voyage, who all agreed that they never miss'd that island if they could help it, because their men are almost all in the scurvy by that time, and it would infallibly occasion a mutiny, if the Captain should refuse touching there.

It seems necessary, having mention'd this island, that I should give you a description of it, the rather because of the advantages I propose from the planting of it. The isle of Juan, or John Fernando, lies in the latitude of 34 degrees, 45 minutes, its circuit may be about thirty-eight or forty English miles, and its distance from the continent of South-America four hundred. Its soil is indifferent upon the hills, but its valleys are fine, fruitful and pleasant, interspersed with savannahs, as they are usually call'd here, that is, natural meadows which are common in the West-Indies, and which I have mention'd elsewhere in the description of Buenos Ayres. These valleys therefore are doubtless capable of great improvements, since there need be no question of their producing every thing which is agreeable to this climate; and tho', as I have said, the hills are in their soil unfruitful, yet I would not be understood by that to exclude trees, of which there are many, and some which might be of great use; but what principally induc'd me to mention the settling of it was the breeding cattle and raising fruits of the earth, and by tillage; by means whereof great advantage might accrue to the inhabitants, since the ships which pass the Straights of Magellan, or by Cape Horn, constantly touch here, by reason that their crew having by this time contracted an epidemick scurvy, the Captain's missing the island, might, as I have said, occasion a mutiny. I foresee one objection which would be made to this proposal, and that is, the difficulty there would be in maintaining such a settlement at such a distance from Britain, and from any British colonies: But to this I answer, "That never any island was more capable of being fortified so as to resist an enemy who could attack it in that part of the world." There are in it but two bays capable of receiving ships, which are both at the east-end, and a small charge would soon build such works as would render it impracticable for any to land there against the will of its inhabitants. The west-end, which is the highest,

CHAP.
VII.

Governor
Pullen's
description
of the
island of
John Fer-
nando.

CHAP. VII. est, rockiest, and by far the most barren part of the island, hath yet this advantage, that it is of such natural strength that a small body of men might defend it, even against the greatest force that could be brought against it.

Seals are found here in the greatest plenty of any part of the world, and their skins are of an extraordinary value from the fineness of the furs: Their fat makes very good train-oil, and much better still is made of what is called the sea-lion, which is a creature much bigger than the seal, tho' amphibious like them, yet without a fir. The number of these creatures, which is frequently so great as entirely to cover the shore, sufficiently demonstrates the plenty of fish which must be on its coasts, those amphibious animals living on little else; and indeed there are here as fine, and in as great quantity, as could be wish'd. To these advantages may be added the great abundance of goats, which have been produc'd by three or four which were left here by its first discoverer. All which put together, would render it no disagreeable place for those who in the voyage I propose have no other view than settling somewhere in the world, to plant themselves here, where they would be sure of finding most of the necessaries of life ready to their hands; the grass of the savannahs in this island not being like those throughout the rest of America long and flaggy, but thick and short, extremely fit for grazing, insomuch that a very competent judge avers, he has not carry'd his calculation too high in avering, that these savannahs are now capable of maintaining a thousand head of cattle, besides goats, who grow fattest on the most barren part of the island.

JOHN FERNANDO discover'd this isle in the voyage he was making from Lima to Baldivia; and being exceedingly pleas'd with its situation, soil and climate, resolv'd to settle it, judging that its produce might very well support four or five hundred families. On his return to Lima he endeavour'd to procure a patent for that purpose. In his first instance he was favourably receiv'd, but whether it clash'd in any degree with the private interest of the Spanish Vice-roy, or whether it be a maxim in the Spanish policy not to settle in any place in America in which are no mines, I shall not pretend to determine, but shall only add, that it has continued uninhabited ever since, except now and then some body who has been left when the ships watered there, and who have found a way to subsist tolerably till they have been taken in again by some other ship that came on the same errand.

But I have dwelt long enough on this subject of planting it. Let us next observe of what use in its present state it might be to our Squadron. And in the first place it is evident, that while our ships remain'd here it would be next to an impossibility for them to miss those for whom they waited. But besides, we should not lose a moment's time here by such a view more than is necessary to all ships that come on the same design; and we should likewise have an opportunity of fitting up our small-craft, design'd for landing of men, in order to the surprising such places as it should be resolv'd to attempt. Nor can there be a more proper conjuncture than while the fleet lies here, to concert the scheme of action while they remain in the South-seas.

The Squadron having done this, ought to sail for Aurica, on the coast of Peru, and by sending a nimble sailer a-head, endeavour to learn, by taking some prisoners, whether the plate be yet there which is brought from the mines of Potosi to this place; for

Aurica is the barcadeer or port to Potosi; thither the King's galleons come once a year to fetch it up in the first place to Callao, and from thence, after some stay, to Panama, from whence it is sent over land to Porto Bello, where it is put on board of the galleons, which convey it to Spain.

Now if it should happen that the plate be there (as 'tis odds but it is) I advise without more ado to land and attack the place, and 'twill be a miracle to me if you can fail taking it: For Captain SHARPE took this place with no more than eighty men, tho' the whole force the country could raise was there to defend it. But there was a little paltry fort at the end of the town, that while his small force was attacking it, the people whom he had just before beat out of the town, return'd and charg'd him at his back: And tho' he beat them out again four or five times, his small number so diminished by these repeated attacks, that he was forced to make his retreat, tho' he saw, and was in possession of for some time, more silver than would have loaded four or five such ships as his was. You may see an account of this whole matter in Mr. RINGROSE's journal, who was one of Captain SHARPE's crew at that time, and is printed under the name of The history of the Buccaneers. But if nothing is to be done at this time here, then sail immediately to Cape Pasco, under the Equinoctial line, where you can hardly fail of taking every ship that comes from the coast of Peru to Panama; for the whole trade of the South-seas consists in going and coming from this last port to Peru, as 'tis well known to every one that knows any thing of these seas.

In this cruise you will meet with the provisions that must support you in these parts: for the city of Panama is wholly sustain'd by the provisions sent from the several ports of Peru, as wheat, flour from Guanehaco, wine, bacon, and marmalade from Pisco, and chocolate from Guiaquil, sugar and oil from Hillo. In my opinion these foregoing articles may afford a comfortable subsistence for our people, during their stay there, and what they need never fear meeting with in sufficient quantities, if their Commanders understand the proper methods for intercepting it.

The provisions the Spaniards are forced to send for the support of this great city was the reason they could never hinder the Buccaneers subsisting in these seas, which they endeavour'd by all means within their power: And I am of opinion, that that they might probably effect it were it not for the continual supplies they are oblig'd to send to Panama, which can never be dispensed with; for if they should take such a resolution, that great city would certainly be famished. I have dwelt longer upon this article than otherwise I design'd, to convince people that a Squadron need neither perish by hunger, or be driven by it out of these seas, if they know how to take the proper means to prevent it. But I shall say more upon this head when I come to answer the objections against the impracticableness of this voyage, which I propose to do in the sequel of this discourse.

After the Squadron hath made what stay they find convenient in this last station, they ought to proceed to the bay of Panama, where there are several small islands that abound with refreshments and water, and very good anchoring, in several places. Here they will intercept all ships bound for this port, and likewise a great number of small barks from Natta, La Velia, and Puebla Nova, which are laden with fowls, hogs, manatee, and Indian-corn for the use of Panama, and you may attack

CHAP. VII. **attack Panama itself, or the golden mines of St. Maria, or both, according to the information you receive from the prisoners you take; and indeed if you staid long here, the city of Panama would infallibly be starved.**

At this place, in my opinion, they should divide the Squadron, after they have perform'd all the service they can here, and send four ships to cruize on the coast of New Spain, in order to take the Acapulco ship; two of these ships must cruize off the mouth of Acapulco harbour, or rather to the northward of it, and the other two must take their station near Cape St. Lucar, in California, which is always the first land the Manilla ship makes coming home, except she hath reason to fear an enemy there, and then she endeavours to make the land as near the harbour's mouth as she can, for which reason I have placed two ships in each station. The time she arrives never exceeds ten days before or after Christmas, which makes it almost impossible to miss of her, if the disposition I have here laid down be followed. They will likewise have a chance to take the outward-bound Acapulco ship, if they take care not to be discover'd from the coast, for she never fails to begin her voyage betwixt the 10th of December and the 10th of February, and is most prodigious rich in pieces of eight.

Now to return to the four ships which we left in the bay of Panama, I think they ought to take this opportunity to go over to the Galleppagos (under the Equator) where they will find both great store of excellent refreshments for their sick men, and ports where they may careen and refit their ships with all manner of security; therefore the four ships sent to look out for the Acapulco ship must be appointed to rendezvous here after their cruize is out. Now I have pointed at all the principal things that can be undertaken at sea in these parts, but have omitted a great many enterprizes that might be formed against the rich towns upon the coast of Peru, because I would not swell this discourse to too great a bulk.

First, 'Tis objected, and with a great deal of seeming reason, that having no ports there where the Squadron can either revictual or refit upon any occasion, that therefore they would run the greatest risque imaginable of starving, or having the ships in a little time render'd unserviceable.

To which I answer, That if they please to make use of the following advice, they need neither fear the one or the other, viz. To send all such ships as you take in your cruize between Peru and Panama (loaden with provisions) over to the Galleppagos with one of your frigates, with orders to chuse out the best harbour, and where there is the greatest plenty of refreshments, and there unrig your prizes you think fit to send, and form a magazine, which indeed the place itself invites you to, for you need never fear the Spaniards disturbing you, for two reasons; First, because they have no naval force, though join'd by the French, capable to dispute the sea with you. Secondly, because they know hardly any thing of these islands but the name, dreading them extremely, and telling strange romantick stories of whirlpools and currents that have destroyed several of their ships: that had the imprudence to come too near them in their voyages [you may see more of this in Mr. RINGROSS's Journal] and indeed here is so many of them, that it would not be an easy matter to find that out which we should pitch upon except by chance. The ignorance of the Spaniards in these parts is hardly credible.

CHAP. VII. I say, hither they must send all the ships they take loaden with provisions, timber, or any other stores that may prove useful to them whilst they staid here; and the very ships themselves may serve for hulks to clean by, and such of their masts and yards as are large enough be preserved for the use of our own ships. The only reason why the Privateers never did this, in my opinion, was because nobody had authority enough to make part of the men staid here to look after the stores; for there might indeed happen among that unruly sort of people forty accidents that might occasion their being left there for ever. But that they made other very good uses of them is very plain to them that know any thing of Captain DAVIS's voyage, or Captain SHARPE's, or indeed of any of the Rovers that ever enter'd those seas for thirty years last past.

And 'tis worth considering, that Captain DAVIS staid in these seas three years, and twice took the very ships equipp'd out to fight him, which had the very best men they were able to pick out of all Peru, and after surprizing several of their rich towns, return'd to these very uninhabited islands, where he fitted and victuall'd his ship for his return home, which he happily perform'd, though he used none of the precautions I have here recommended. Captain SHARPE did yet much more in a ship of less force; for after having made a good voyage (as they call it) he sail'd to Nicoya, a small village that consists all of carpenters, and surprized it, and made the very Spanish carpenters take down his ship's poop, and alter his main-deck to make her fitter for the sea: And though the Spaniards could not but know of it, they durst never give him any interruption; and when his work was done to his mind he very generously rewarded his Spaniards and dismiss'd them, and afterwards successfully perform'd his intended voyage to the West-Indies.

Thus I could name several others that have carried their point, in spite of all the opposition the Spaniards could make; and if it be objected, that they were only in small numbers, therefore could better subsist: I answer, they perfectly mistake the matter; for the force I propose could upon occasion ravage the best and most plentiful country in these parts in the face of the sun. But things may easily be kept from coming to these extremities.

The second objection is, that the Spaniards or French could not fail of being inform'd by their good friends here of the intended expedition, and so render it useless and unsuccessful. To this I answer, that if it was to be carry'd on in a method I could propose, they could never know of it, except it was betray'd by them that only have the power to put it in execution: But suppose it was, I can tell you, they could ward against very few of the intended blows; for in the first place, they could send no silver from Peru to Panama, and so the galleons would come empty; and pray consider the consequence of that. In the next place, you must of necessity ruin the French trade during the time you staid there; neither could they prevent with all their knowledge your taking their sea-port towns, or the homeward bound Acapulco ship. In my opinion, it could only hinder your taking the galleons going between Aurica and Panama, or the Spaniards bringing their silver to Aurica from the mines; and as to the French sending a superior Squadron after us, 'tis not so easily done as supposed, for reasons too long to insert here, but such as I shall be very ready to produce when desir'd. In my poor opinion, these foregoing objections are the only

CHAP. VII. only ones of weight that can be brought against this proposal.

The Governor proposes settling colonies in Chili. I have yet left untouched a most noble design that may be formed upon Chili, a country that the Spaniards have but hold on by the border. King CHARLES the II^d seem'd to aim at something of this kind by his sending Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH thither in the Sweep-stakes to discover it; but the Spanish Don who went with him in the nature of a pilot, and without doubt put the King upon the enterprize, after his being put on shore in the man-of-war's boat where he desired, never appear'd more; upon which, and upon some other disasters, Sir JOHN return'd home. But 'tis certain this is one of the best and richest countries in America, where if we could settle ourselves, we should prodigiously enrich our native country; and for my part, I don't think it impossible to be done.

In my opinion, the proper time to undertake this will be in returning home; for if the design does not succeed, it will not put you a league out of the way. But I advise by all means to attack the city of Coquimbo, which is situated upon the very confines of Chili, because you will certainly find here several Chilean slaves, who, if manag'd dexterously, will prove exceeding serviceable; and likewise you can't fail of being informed of the present posture of affairs in that country, and if it prove impracticable at this time to prosecute the project any further, the squadron may take in their stores of fresh water and other excellent provisions for their voyage home; for there is not a better port for that purpose in all these seas. Captain SHARPE took this place with ninety men, and though discover'd before he landed, met with very little resistance.

To make what I here advance more intelligible, it will be necessary to give a short account of the Spanish affairs in Chili. This noble country, which all the Spanish authors that have wrote concerning it compare, both for temperature of air and productions of the earth, to France, was search'd into by PEDRO BALDIVIA, some considerable time after the conquest of Peru; and the principal city, if not the only one the Spaniards have at this time in that country, is call'd after his name. He found the country to abound with the finest gold in the world, which caus'd a great many people from Peru to join themselves with him. By this means three considerable cities were built and fortify'd in a very small time in that country, viz. Baldivia, Osorno, and Castro.

After the Spaniards had settled themselves, securely, as they thought, from any attempts of the Indians, according to their usual custom, they began to treat the natives of the country in a most inhuman manner, but they presently found themselves mistaken, and were convinc'd they had to do with a people the bravest and most martial of any in all America; for they gave the Spaniards several battles, and always routed them; and at last took their very cities and utterly expell'd them the country. In one of the battles, wherein they not only defeated the Spaniards, but likewise took BALDIVIA their General prisoner, and served him as the Parthians did CROESUS, pouring melted gold down his throat, and telling him, at last they had found a way to satisfy his avarice.

In this interim the Dutch made a voyage to the South-sea with four ships from Brazil, which was then almost all in their possession, and touch'd at Baldivia, which at that time was not re-settled by the Spaniards. The natives flock'd down to them

in very great numbers, perceiving they were not Spaniards, by their complexions and hair, and were overjoy'd when they understood that they were at war with them, and would assist them against their common enemy upon all occasions. This good understanding lasted several days, with abundance of interchangeable good offices, 'till unluckily the Dutch began to be very inquisitive after gold, which as soon as the Chileans perceived, they immediately abandon'd the port, and would never afterwards converse with them, notwithstanding all the endeavours the Dutch could use.

After this imprudent negotiation, perceiving they could never retrieve the blunder they had made, they set sail and return'd to Brazil, being only four months and some days upon the whole voyage, which is a remark worth taking notice of. The Spaniards, some time after this voyage was made, re-settled at Baldivia, not being able to support the thoughts of losing so rich and pleasant a country entirely, or perhaps fearing the Dutch might find means to seize upon it, being then in open war with them, who besides depriving them of the vast quantity of gold they used formerly to draw from this country, would prove troublesome neighbours to Peru.

These and the like considerations made the Spaniards resolve to re-establish a new colony at Baldivia at all hazards, and without doubt it was done with great trouble and expence; for by all the relations I ever could procure (and I have been very inquisitive) I can't find the Spaniards have any other settlements in the whole country. But this I am sure of, that the war continues between the Spaniards and the natives as fierce and bloody as ever. And Mr. FUNNELL says, in the year 1764 they durst not touch at the island La Moucha, which is on the coast of Chili close to the main-land, because, says he, we should run great danger of being murder'd by the inhabitants, who are always at war with the Spaniards, and think all white men to be such: But grant they do, there may be found out means to undeceive them; but I think the voyage I have quoted sufficiently refutes that opinion.

I shall only mention a particular or two more of the Chileans, and then come to what I propose concerning them. Amongst the several nations that inhabit this province, and are at war with the Spaniards, there is one call'd the Araucans, who, the Spaniards say, are so valiant that they attack them whenever they meet with them, though inferior sometimes considerably in number, and know not, at least have not the use of fire-arms; and notwithstanding these disadvantages, generally are successful, insomuch that the Spaniards stand in great fear of them; and add, that they are so good at imitation in what relates to war, that they learn to camp and decamp, and intrench themselves in places of advantage to make a handsome retreat or an assault, with having but once seen them practis'd; and sometimes make improvements upon their teachers to their great cost, who heartily curse them for their docility. A famous Spanish Poet, during the time he serv'd in the Chilean war, compos'd a poem must esteem'd by those of his nation, call'd H. Araucano.

Now I propose, that the Commander of this squadron should have instructions to endeavour by all possible means to get a conference with the natives of this province, which if he can bring about, the business will be done to his hand; for as soon as they perceive he is an enemy to the Spaniards, he will want no assistance they can give him, if he

CHAP.
VII.

gives orders that neither gold nor silver be mention'd in any discourse held with them. After this, he may either attack Baldivia in conjunction with them, or seize on any other port he finds convenient, where he may repair to in case of need, either for victuals, which this country abounds with, or for other occasions. But if he takes Baldivia, which I recommend if practicable (for I believe it is in a good posture of defence, because they have an enemy at their very gates, who they stand in great dread of) in such a case it would be requisite to leave a garrison, a small one would serve the turn, whilst the Squadron cruized in those seas, because the Spaniards can't go thither by land, and durst not peep by sea during the time it stay'd in those parts.

But when it was thought convenient to return home, it ought to be provided with a very good garrison, for this country is well worth the keeping possession of, and would mightily enrich our native country, and take off a great quantity of our woollen manufacture, because here is a severe winter of four months: And I am verily persuaded, if a prudent man should be left Governor, who cultivated a good correspondence with the natives, that the Spaniards, tho' assisted by the French, would never dare to stir a foot to retake it; or if they did, would be unsuccessful, they would be so harass'd and plagu'd by the Indians, their implacable enemies, who, if they had fire-arms, would certainly be too hard for them on all occasions. Indeed 'tis requisite this acquisition (if made) should be encourag'd from England as a thing of the greatest importance, and a sufficient number of men, with all other necessities, be sent away by the first opportunity. For,

Besides the riches of this country, you would infallibly in time of peace have a stol'n trade with Peru for all sorts of woollen goods, as we formerly had from Jamaica with the Spaniards inhabiting the ports of the North-seas; and the Indians in a short time would be brought to supply you with gold when they saw you paid them for it in goods they wanted and valued, as cloaths, arms, and toys. These Indians must always be treated as a free people, and all manner of satisfaction given them upon all occasions that's reasonable. I should imagine this following way to be a good method to begin a friendship with them.

Upon taking any towns upon the coast of Peru, to enquire narrowly if there be any Chilean slaves; and if you meet with any such, as you certainly will, to send them abroad, and treat them with all imaginable good usage, and carry them to their native country and set them ashore, having first engag'd them to settle a correspondence betwixt you and their countrymen, which without doubt they will readily undertake, and be as joyfully accepted of. And these slaves, speaking the Spanish language, will be of as great use as interpreters. I am mightily mistaken if Mr. RINGROSE does not say, in some place, the Spaniards remov'd their Chilean slaves from the sea-ports, for fear of their joining with the Buccaneers when they made descents upon the coast of Peru to surprize any place they had an intention to plunder. I shall now dismiss this head, tho' there may be much more said of it; but I think it will not be amiss to take notice that 'tis situated betwixt the 25th and 45th degrees of south latitude, and is the first country that is inhabited by any Spaniards, as you come into those seas round Cape Horn.

I have been more concise in the several points treated on in this short work than otherwise I should have been, because I intended at the same time that

CHAP.
VII.

I publish'd these papers of my own, to accompany them into the world with a small treatise of Captain LEWIS PAIN's, a very understanding honest gentleman, who was taken by the Spaniards in Europe, and sent over in 1707 to America, where he was kept in chains several years, being made use of as an engineer, by which means he had paper, pen and ink allow'd him; and in those intervals he had of leisure compos'd the following short memoir of the state of the Spaniards there. At last he found a way, by means of a Mestee woman, to escape to Jamaica, but dy'd three weeks after his arrival. I purchased all his manuscripts for ten pistoles, and amongst them found this, with which I now present my readers, containing a more exact and intelligible draught of those truly Terra incognita, the in-land Spanish plantations, than any that (I at least) have any where met with.

The love of my native country prevail'd on me to enter on this work, which I hope will afford at least hints to some unworthy persons to improve the naval strength of Britain, extend her commerce, enrich her inhabitants, employ her hands and exalt her glory: Which are the utmost wish of the author of these pages, and have been equally the end of his endeavours, as they were the farthest aim of his ambition.

Thus far Governor PULLEN. I shall, in the next place, exhibit such passages out of Captain PAIN's papers, which fell into the Governor's hands, as may enable us to form a just idea of the state of the Spanish colonies in general, and of this province of Chili in particular, and then proceed to make remarks on the Governor's scheme of sending a Squadron of men-of-war into the South-seas in case of a war with Spain, and the endeavouring to settle colonies upon the coast of Chili.

The empire of the Catholick King in America (Captain PAIN observes) is a sufficient demonstration that projects, how surprising soever in their extent, are not always chimera's. COLUMBUS, when he first form'd that which with so much glory he executed, offer'd it with all its advantages to his countrymen the Genoese. Those in the government of the publick affairs examin'd it, and being satisfy'd with the reasons, were for encouraging the proposal; but Signor LUCIO BERNERDI representing to them the condition of the State, and that any conquests attained in this new-discover'd world would be almost impossible to be preserv'd, and would serve but to open the way to more powerful Princes, it was thereupon rejected, perhaps not without cause. Then it was by BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBO offer'd to King HENRY the seventh of England, next to the King of Portugal, a great encourager of navigation, and lastly, to FERDINAND and ISABELLA, or rather to her only, for it seems agreed amongst the Spanish historians, that Queen claim'd a sole and peculiar right thereto, suffering none other but her own subjects, the Castilians, to pass over thither; which FERDINAND at her decease alter'd, and left all Spaniards as much freedom in this respect one as another. Several brave Captains and well-appointed ships of war soon after were transported thither; which quickly subdu'd not only the islands COLUMBUS had discover'd, but also conquer'd a great part of the continent, erecting two noble governments on the ruins two vast empires, viz. Mexico and Peru. Each of these hath its Vice-roy, who has many great officers under him, with some places within the bounds of these two general divisions, which yet are independant,

Captain
Pain's ob-
servations
on the pre-
sent state
of Spanish-
America.

CHAP.
VII.

dant, and subject only to the Council in Spain; but the form, the maxims, and the end of their policy, being throughout the vast extent of their American dominions the same, I shall, for the sake of being at once concise and perspicuous, first describe their method of ruling, and then give a particular description of the several provinces which are at present under their dominion.

The only essential maxim which runs through the whole political economy of the Spaniards, in respect of their territories here, is the keeping them in an absolute dependance upon Spain. All things therefore relating to their American empire receive their first form, and all disputes, all projects, and all designs of extending or improving their dominions are consider'd in their dernier resort by the Council for the Indies in Spain, composed of such who both from theory and experience have attained a perfect knowledge of these countries. As to America itself, it is, as I have said, divided into two large governments, Mexico, called also New-Spain, and Peru, each of which hath its Vice-roy, who is honour'd with a very extensive commission. He hath for his assistance a Council, and under him, in the large provinces of his government, several subordinate officers, who wear the titles of Presidents, Alcalds, &c. appointed at the will of the Vice-roy, who, notwithstanding some outward forms and shew of limitations from his Council, is for all that absolute; making by presents, perquisites and traffick, an immense wealth by large sums, out of which he procures himself to be continu'd another five years (his first and usual term) in his government, and sometimes more. The two chief points which these Vice-roys have committed to their care is, the conserving, and if it be any way practicable, the increasing the King's revenues in plate, &c. which yearly is carry'd from Porto Bello to Spain, and the keeping the natives, Criolo's, Mestee and Indians in subjection, which is executed with the utmost rigour, and is the source of all the evils that are felt here: And since the chief knowledge that can be acquir'd of the true situation of these affairs is deriv'd from hence, it seems reasonable I should explain it a little farther.

The natural-born Spaniards are solely vested with command throughout all the Spanish-Indies; they only enjoy posts of honour, profit and trust; and this it is which occasions those draughts which have so drain'd and weaken'd their dominions in Europe; for putting no confidence even in the very first generation of their descendants, and absolutely prohibiting all strangers from going thither in their service, a necessity follows of sending thither continually large supplies, that they may be still in a condition to hold the reins with equal tightness. This form of government creates an irreconcilable antipathy between the European Spaniards and the Criolo's, i. e. those born of Spanish parents in the West-Indies. These latter see with indignation themselves equally shut out from all considerable preferment either in Church or State, the most palpable partiality shewn in all judicial decisions between them and Spaniards, and in a word, the whole policy of their Governors bent to distress and to deject 'em. The Spaniards, on the other hand, no ways ignorant of their sentiments, and moreover continually jealous of their desire to throw off the Spanish yoke, entirely exert their utmost arts to enfeeble and enslave them: They discourage, as far as they are able, all sorts of manufactures, of which being unprovided, they must of course purchase such as are sent from Spain; they also endeavour to hin-

CHAP.
VII.

der plantations (except Estantians, or Beef-farms) that they may not have it in their power to possess rich and improv'd settlements, the cause why those noble countries are so little cultivated, and lastly, they make it their aim to increase luxury, idleness, and pusillanimity amongst them; that they more easily may be kept in obedience; whence it apparently follows, Buccaneers and such like in small numbers are able to do the utmost mischief. And thus throughout all these vast rich and noble provinces, the inhabitants seem inspir'd with a spirit of dissention, which renders them continually restless and uneasy, making almost useless those blessings indulgent Providence has conferr'd upon them.

As to the religion of the Spanish Americans it is universally popish; and if there be any degree in bigotry amongst them, it is among the natives, who almost adore the Priests, and are severely fleec'd by them, paying them out of all they have much more than the tythe. Amongst the Clergy there are great divisions, occasion'd chiefly by the national quarrels between the Criolo's and the Spaniards, which have subsisted long, and seem rather to increase than diminish. The several orders of Friars, as in Europe, are exceedingly jealous of one another, tho' they all find ways to gain so much upon the minds of the people, that there is not perhaps in the world finer and more costly monasteries and religious houses than are here, the power, riches, and grandeur of the church rising no where higher.

The inhabitants of these countries are, 1. Natural-born Spaniards, 2. Criolo's, of Spanish parents, born in America. 3. Mestee, born of Indian and Spanish parents. 4. Indians, properly natives. 5. Negroes brought hither from Africa. As for the Spaniards, they differ little from those in Europe, except that they are more high and lofty than in Spain, as they are lords here, possessing every thing, and living on the labour of others. The Criolo's fall not a bit short of them in vanity and haughtiness; but, as I have said, are kept much under, never allow'd any considerable preferment, and are even worse us'd than the Indians themselves; they are ignorant, lazy, and pusillanimous in general, though here and there, especially amongst the church-men, some deserve a better character. The Indians are a simple well-natur'd industrious people, much lessen'd in their numbers by the excessive cruelty us'd at first by their conquerors; they are yet sufficiently press'd by the yoke of bondage, but wherever they are allow'd a relaxation, they build convenient cities, and so make themselves rich and flourishing. The Negroes here as elsewhere are made use of as slaves.

As to the commodities of this country, I shall speak more particularly under the description I shall give of its several parts. In respect of its trade, it is wholly domestick, except what is carry'd on with Spain in a yearly ship from Acapulco to the East-Indies, and the prohibited commerce they us'd to carry on with the English. The Spaniards, who, as I have said, own no other maxim in their Indian politicks, than to keep the Americans in absolute subjection, are in nothing more careful than what relates to traffick, having taken every precaution they were able to hinder their intercourse with other nations both by heavy fines and severe punishments, which sometimes have extended even to death itself, and by maintaining vessels of force in pay, under the name of Guard de Costa's, in order to cruise about, and make prize of whatever ship they find within the limits of their seas. They likewise suppress

CHAP.
VII.

prefs some, and carefully discourage all manufactures from being carried on there, though for all that, some very tolerable cloth is made in Quitto; for it is here as in some other polite countries, a handsome present to those in the administration is a certain method to strike justice, or at least the ministers of justice, both blind and dumb. The shipping here are neither numerous nor convenient, what there are continually pass to and fro between the two vast divisions of this empire; which as they were before the only parts of the world known to the Indians, so they are now the only places which have any commerce together under the government of the Spaniards: But as all is of late fallen under the direction of the French*, it is highly probable they soon may be alter'd.

Captain
Pain's re-
marks on
Chili.

Chili lies next to the province of Peru, and is absolutely the finest country and richest in all America, whether north or south. The inhabitants are a hardy, valiant, and stubborn people, who having been ill used by the Spaniards, drove them out of their country, kill'd their Governor, and are their inveterate enemies to this day: However, the Spaniards have now recover'd Baldivia and some other places on the sea-coast. Paraguay, or rather La Plata, is at the back of Chili, in which the Catholic King hath the valuable settlement of Buenos Ayres, one of the finest in America; the true Paraguay is entirely subject to, and formed by the Jesuits. Terra Magellenica is the last Spanish settlement I have to mention, and to say truth is difficult enough to determine whether it be settled or no; however, they claim it, and as they reckon it part of their possession, so shall I.

The au-
thor's re-
marks on
Governor
Pullen's
project of
settling
colonies in
Chili.

I come in the last place to give my own thoughts on Mr. PULLEN's project, in case we should ever have another war with Spain; and must agree with the Governor that nothing could more sensibly affect the enemy than the interrupting their trade with Peru and Chili, and that a squadron might be well employ'd in the South-sea for that end; but I should rather chuse the island of Chiloe for a station for our ships than that of John Fernando's, because the latter lies four hundred miles from the coast, and the other in sight of it, within three or four leagues of the continent in many places; besides, the island of Chiloe is ten times larger, already well stock'd with cattle, has many good harbours in and near it, and is known to be well watered and fruitful where it is cultivated. And if any thing should be wanting for the fleet or land-forces, provisions might easily be procur'd from the neighbouring continent, which is in view of it. Besides, Chiloe is known to have gold mines in it, which might be wrought by our Negroe slaves; and were we once fix'd here, we should command the whole coast of Chili, if not that of Peru. It would not be possible for the Spaniards, tho' assisted by the natives, to expel us from that important island of Chiloe; and as it lies between the latitudes of 41 and 44 the climate is not disagreeable to British constitutions in point of health and convenience. All manner of European grain and fruits grow here, our cattle multiply and improve to a miracle, and it might be stock'd with them in a few hours from the adjacent continent if they were not to be met with there already.

But further: The town of Baldivia, near which are the richest gold mines of America, lies almost in sight of the island of Chiloe, and would infallibly fall into the hands of the English if they were possess'd of that island, there being no naval power in those seas that could protect that port against us.

And tho' I don't suppose the Chilese would willingly suffer us to open those mines at first, yet were we once establish'd on the continent, and supported by the garrisons I propose to leave in Chiloe, and a squadron of men-of-war, we might traffick with the natives, as the Spaniards do for the gold they pick up, and possibly in time, by one means or other, procure the mines to be opened and wrought by our own Negroes; for the great objection the natives have against working them is, lest they should be put to that drudgery themselves, as they formerly were by the Spaniards.

But I must confess there are some very considerable objections against our attempting to plant colonies on the coast of Peru or Chili. As first, That it is a very long and hazardous voyage of five or six months, and if any misfortune should happen by tempests, or the sickness of our men, it would probably be defeated: That the Dutch actually attempted this, and fix'd themselves at Baldivia, and yet were forced to relinquish it again: Nor have they ever thought fit to attempt it a second time, tho' they have frequently been at war with Spain.

Objections to
the settling colo-
nies on
the coast
of Chili
consider'd.

It may be objected further, That neither the French or Dutch would sit still and see the English in possession of the gold and silver mines of America, but would assist both the Spaniards and natives in expelling us from thence.

As to the first, I do not think the hazard so great as to deter us from attempting an enterprize that would enrich the nation to so great a degree, and weaken our enemies (as this scheme supposes the Spaniards to be). And as to the miscarriage of the Dutch in the like attempt, it is evident their squadron and land-forces were too weak for such an enterprize; and their losing their General, who projected it, was another great disadvantage to them. But their principal misfortune was his being succeeded by a person that wanted address, and gave the natives such jealousies of their design to enslave them, as made them his enemies. But what discourag'd the Dutch most from pursuing this design, and making another attempt, was a suspicion very well founded, that neither the French or English would sit still and see them in possession of the treasures of Peru and Chili.

And this is indeed the grand objection against our attempting to fix colonies there, and getting possession of the gold and silver mines of Peru and Chili. The French and Dutch would no more permit us to be masters of them than we should suffer either of those nations to monopolize that treasure: We are all agreed that they are much better in the hands of the indolent unactive Spaniard, who makes but little use of them to the prejudice of his neighbours. Nay, most of the plate he brings from America is employ'd in paying for the merchandize of Britain, France, Holland, Italy, &c. which countries perhaps have this way had as great a profit, or a greater (at least some of them) than they could expect if they were masters of the mines. We should but send the same goods to the Spanish West-Indies directly which we now send by the Spanish Flota: And had Britain as great a share in that traffick now as formerly, she would have no reason to covet those treasures; but unhappily for us, ever since the French used those seas, and have had so good an understanding with Spain, they have supplanted us, and we are now in a manner beaten out of that most valuable branch of our commerce, where for our woollen manufactures, which were dispersed all over Spain and Spanish-America, we received chiefly bullion in return: This traffick is

now

* This was wrote during the wars in Queen Anne's reign.

CHAP. VII. now in a manner lost to us, as we too sensibly feel at this day.

The advantage of erecting forts on the isthmus of Darien.

And since we have lost the affections and trade of Spain in a great measure, and are never likely to recover them again by fair means, the next best thing we can do is to render ourselves as formidable to the Spaniards as possible. It is certainly our wisdom at this day, if they persist to quarrel with us and insult our merchants, to possess ourselves of some port-towns, either on the islands or continent of America, that they may fear us, and be compell'd to admit us into a good share of that trade again, on pain of seeing their own commerce with Mexico and Peru interrupted and ruined; which I am apt to think might be more effectually done by planting colonies and erecting forts on the isthmus of Darien than by any settlements on the coasts of the South-sea; for the first would give us the command both of the North and the South-seas, and make us masters of the trade and navigation both of Mexico and Peru: Not a Spanish ship could stir either way if we had once fix'd ourselves on the isthmus of Darien. We might then prescribe to the Spaniards what goods they should take of us, and upon what terms we pleased, which would be more to our purpose than possessing the mines of Spanish-America, if that was feasible; for by this means all our handicrafts and mechanicks would have full employment, our woollen manufactures would be disposed of to the best advantage, and the commerce of our neighbours with the Spanish-West-Indies lessen'd in proportion to the increase of ours.

Another reason for planting colonies on the isthmus of Darien rather than on the coasts of the South-sea is, that the voyage to Darien is but short, not above six weeks or two months, whereas that

into the South-sea is a voyage of five or six months, and in case of a misfortune we have no friendly port to sustain or refresh our people.

We have also the island of Jamaica a little distance from Darien, from whence our garrisons might be supply'd with arms, ammunition and provisions from time to time, and even with men inured to the same climate, and consequently not so subject to the diseases of hot countries, as our northern people are. Though it appears, that there are some situations even upon the isthmus of Darien that are agreeable to Europeans. The Scots actually found such a one when they erected their fort of New-Edinburgh, which was naturally so strong that with a very small force they could have maintain'd against all the power of Spain, if we had not inhumanly and impolitically denied them provisions at Jamaica and other English settlements.

I know every one will be apt to object the misfortunes of Admiral Hosier and his squadron to this scheme: But that was a very different case. They were oblig'd to lie before Porto Bello, the most unhealthy place in Spanish-America, for an unreasonable time, without going on shore, or receiving any refreshments from thence. The Scots fared much better, who pitch'd upon a place, for aught appears, as healthful as any in England; and why we should not plant the same, or find out another as good, in case of a rupture, I can't see. Nay, why we should not immediately endeavour it, since great part of this country is not under the dominion of the Spaniards, I can see no manner of reason. It would make them cautious how they disturbed our trade by their Guard de Costa's, and readier to make us satisfaction for their repeated depredations.

VOL. III.

23 C

THE

THE PRESENT STATE OF LA PLATA, OR, PARAGUA.

CHAP. I.

Of the name, situation, and extent of LA PLATA, and of the face of the country.

CHAP. I.
I.

Plata the name.

Its situation and extent.

Face of the country.

THE province of La Plata (sometimes call'd Paragua) receiv'd its name from the river Plata, which rising near the city of that name in Peru, runs to the south-east through this country.

It is bounded by the country of Amazons on the north, by Brazil on the east, by Patagonia on the south, and by Peru and Chili on the west, lying between the 12th and 37th degrees of south latitude, and between the 50th and 75th degrees of western longitude, being about 550 in length, from north to south, and near as many leagues broad in the middle of it; but towards the north, where it is bounded by Brazil on the east, and by Peru on the west, it is not 200 leagues broad.

That part of this country which lies west of the great river Paragua consists of large plains extending two or three hundred leagues in length, without any trees, at least any thing that looks like timber, and scarce a hill or a stone to be seen in them; but in the country to the eastward of that river which borders on Brazil, there is a variety of hills and valleys, woods and champaign.

CHAP. II.

Of the seas, lakes, springs, rivers, and seasons of La Plata.

CHAP. II.
II.

Seas.

Lakes.

THIS is for the most part an in-land country, and only borders upon the Atlantic-ocean on the south side of the mouth of the river La Plata, near which the city of Buenos Ayres is situated.

Lakes they have in great abundance, and some of them very large, particularly that of Xarayes, which our Geographers place in 15 degrees south latitude, and out of which the great river Paragua is said to rise.

There is another call'd the Lake of Venoras, in 31 degrees south latitude, about eighty miles west of the river Paragua; and a third call'd Caracaroës, in 30 degrees, 20 leagues east of the river Paragua, which is an hundred miles in length and upwards;

but there are not many springs in the flat country.

The sources of their rivers are some of them in the mountains of Andes; those that rise there run to the south-east, and fall into the great river Paragua: Others rise in the hills which separate this province from Brazil, and running south-west, fall into the same river Paragua, which rises, as has been said, out of the lake Xarayes, in 15 degrees, and running almost directly south, unites its waters with the Uragua, in 34 degrees; after which it is call'd the river of Plata 'till it reaches the Atlantic-ocean.

2. As to that which is properly call'd the river Plata of Plata, it rises, as has been observ'd, near the town of La Plata in Peru, and running to the south-east, falls into the river Paragua, in 28 degrees south latitude, after which it loses the name of Plata, and the united stream is call'd the Paragua 'till it meets with the river Uragua, and then it resumes the name of Plata again 'till it discharges itself into the ocean.

This river is said to have obtain'd its name of Plata upon a double account; 1. Because it rises near the town of La Plata; and, 2. Because the plate is sometimes brought down this stream from Peru to Buenos Ayres.

3. The third considerable river is that of Uragua, Uragua which rising in the mountains that divide Brazil from this province, runs almost due south 'till it unites its waters with the Paragua, in 34 degrees south latitude, and is almost as large as that river, being navigable for ships several hundred miles.

4. Out of the same mountains to the northward Parana rises the river Parana, another very large stream, which running almost parallel to the former, falls into the Paragua in 28 degrees south latitude.

5. The fifth river I shall mention is the river Salado Salado, so named from the saltiness of its waters. This river rises in the Andes, and running to the south-east falls into the Paragua in 33 degrees, south latitude.

The river Tercero, which rises in the mountains of Andes, and running almost due east, falls into the river.

CHAP. II.

Rivers.

Paragua river.

river.

river.

river.

CHAP. II. the Paragua in 34 degrees, not far from the town of Spirito Sancto.

There are a multitude of other rivers both on the east and west of this province which fall into the great river Paragua, and so fertilize the plains that they abound in good meadow and pasture grounds, which feed innumerable herds of European cattle, viz. horses, cows, sheep and goats, which, from a few of each species that were carry'd thither by the Spaniards two hundred years ago, are multiply'd to admiration.

Seasons. As to the seasons, the north part of this country, which lies within the Tropic of Capricorn, has in November and December annually, when the sun is vertical, very heavy rains, storms and tempests, as other countries which lie in the same latitude within the southern Tropic have: And at this time all the flat country is over-flow'd, their cisterns and reservoirs of water are replenish'd, which serve them the rest of the year 'till the rains return: Their lands are moisten'd and made capable of tillage, and whenever these rains fail it occasions a famine amongst them. The beginning of the rainy season is the time of sowing and planting, and the fair season, which follows upon the retreat of the sun to the northward, is their harvest.

Periodical storms and floods. But directly contrary, in that part of the country which lies south of the Tropic of Capricorn, it is their summer (their fair season, when the sun is nearest them, viz.) in November, December, and January: And those rivers which rise within the Tropics, particularly La Plata, Paragua, and Parana, after the rains are fallen within the Tropics, swell and overflow their banks as they pass through the south part of this country, rendering it as fruitful as the Nile does Egypt; and indeed this is the case in almost every part of the world where the rivers rise within the Tropics; the periodical rains swell them, and occasion them to over-flow their banks, so that the flat country near their mouths appears like a sea, and as the water goes off the husbandman begins to sow and plant his lands, which are render'd exceeding fruitful by the inundation; whereas without this it would be impossible for him to raise a crop in many places. Their plains are so exceeding hot and dry, and there falls so little rain in the countries which lie just without the Tropics, as this and Egypt does, that they would produce scarce any thing if they wanted these annual floods. And I am apt to think it is when these are at the height, that the mouth of the river Plata appears to be two or three hundred miles broad; for the same thing happens annually near the mouth of the river Niger in Africa, near the mouth of the Ganges, in the East-Indies, and at the mouth of every river almost that has its source within the Tropics, where the rain falls in vast quantities whenever the sun is vertical.

CHAP. III.

Of the provinces, chief towns, and buildings of La Plata.

CHAP. III. L A Plata may be thrown into two grand divisions almost equal in extent, viz. 1. The provinces on the east side of the river Paragua; and, 2. Those that lie west of the said river. The provinces on the east side of the Paragua are those of, 1. Paragua Proper; 2. Guayra; 3. Parana; 4. Uragua. Those on the west side of the Paragua are, 5. Tucuman; and 6. La Plata Proper.

CHAP. III. 1. Paragua Proper is bounded by the country of the Amazons on the north, by Brazil on the east, by Guayra on the south, and by the river Paragua, which separates it from Tucuman and Peru, on the west; at least these are the boundaries assign'd by Geographers. But it must be acknowledg'd that Paragua Proper is a perfect Terra incognita. I meet with no author or traveller that pretends to give any description of it, or to know the extent of it: And our map-makers are so ingenious as not to incumber their maps with the name of one town in all the country.

2. Guayra is bounded by Paragua Proper on the north, by Brazil on the east, by Parana on the south, and by the river Paragua on the west. The chief towns whereof are,

1st, Guayra, situate on the river Parana, in 24 degrees south latitude.

2dly, St. Xavier, situate on the confines of Brazil, about 100 leagues to the eastward of Guayra. St. Xavier town.

3dly, Conception, situate on a river about 100 leagues south-west of St. Xavier. Conception town.

3. The province of Parana is bounded by that of Guayra on the north, by Brazil on the east, by the province of Uragua on the south, and by La Plata Proper on the west. The chief towns whereof are,

1st, Acarai, situated in 26 degrees south latitude, at the mouth of a small river which falls into the Parana. Acarai town.

2dly, Ignatio, situated on the south side of the river Parana, in 30 degrees, 30 minutes south latitude. Ignatio town.

3dly, Itapoa, situated to the northward of the river Parana, in 27 degrees south latitude. Itapoa town.

4. The province of Uragua, bounded by the province of Guayra on the north, by Brazil on the east, by the river Plata and Paragua on the south and west. The chief towns whereof are,

1st, Purification, situate on the river Uragua, in 29 degrees south latitude. Purification town.

2dly, La Capia, or Tapia, situate on the east side of the river Paragua, in 32 degrees, odd minutes south latitude. Tapia town.

5. The province of Tucuman (in which I include that of Charco) bounded by Peru on the north, by the river Paragua and La Plata Proper on the east, by La Plata Proper on the south, and by Chili on the west. The chief towns whereof are,

1st, St. Jago de Ibero, situate almost in the middle of the province in 29 degrees south latitude, being a Bishop's see and university, the capital of Tucuman, and lies in the mid-way between the mines of Potosi and Buenos Ayres, being about 250 leagues from each. The plate is brought from Potosi hither on the backs of mules, the country of the Charcas, which lies to the northward of this province, being very mountainous; but from St. Jago to Buenos Ayres the plate is carry'd in waggons over one continued plain, in which there are neither woods or hills to be seen. St. Jago town.

2dly, Cordua, or Corduba, is situated about an hundred leagues south of St. Jago, on the road to Buenos Ayres. It is a Bishop's see, and university, and has several fine convents in it, but the Jesuits infinitely excels all the rest. As the inhabitants trade chiefly to Peru and Chili, and take gold and silver in return for their merchandize, they are vastly rich, and the Clergy still richer than the Laity: Their churches and monasteries are magnificently built and adorned. Cordua.

3dly, Salta is situated on the road from St. Jago to Potosi, almost in the mid-way. Salta.

6. The province of La Plata Proper is bounded by the river Plata towards the north, by the river Paragua and the Atlantic-ocean on the east, by Patagonia

La Plata Proper.

CHAP.

III.

Buenos
Ayres.

tagonia on the south, and by Chili and Tucuman on the west. The chief towns whereof are,

1st, Buenos Ayres, said to be so named from its healthful situation. It stands on the south side of the river La Plata, 50 leagues from the mouth of it, in 36 degrees south latitude, and in 60 degrees of western longitude, the river La Plata being seven leagues broad at this town, and navigable for ships twenty miles higher, but there they meet with a cataract that spoils the navigation. Buenos Ayres is a Bishop's see; there are in it five churches besides the cathedral, and several convents, and it is defended by a castle regularly fortify'd with upwards of forty guns mounted on the walls. It is a very great mart, for hither all European merchandize is brought, and sent from hence to Peru and Chili; and hither greater numbers of Negroes also are brought and sold to Peru and Chili, which traffick the English have the advantage of at present by virtue of the Assiento contract, and lands are assign'd them to keep their Negroes upon 'till they meet with a sale. From Buenos Ayres are exported to Europe part of the gold and silver of Peru, with vast quantities of hides and tallow, and such other merchandize as this part of America affords.

Santa Fé

2^{dly}, Santa Fé, or St. Faith, a well-built town, situate in 32 degrees, odd minutes south latitude, at the conflux of the rivers Salado and Paragua, being almost surrounded with their waters, and lies between two and three hundred miles north-west from Buenos Ayres on the road to Peru.

Assumpti-
on town.

3^{dly}, Assumption, situate in 25 degrees, odd minutes, at the conflux of the rivers La Plata and Paragua, between four or five hundred miles north of Santa Fé. It is said to be a well-built populous town, and the see of a Bishop, Suffragan to the Archbishop of La Plata in Peru. As to the natives, before the Spaniards came amongst them, they lived in tents or slight huts, wandering from place to place like the wild Arabs. But this is to be understood of those that inhabited the plains on the west side of the great river Uragua. Those that dwell on the east side of the river lived in woods or caves; but neither the one or the other had any thing like a town amongst them 'till the Spaniards taught, or rather compell'd them to alter their way of life.

The Jesuits, who are now in a manner Sovereigns of that part of the country which lies between Brazil on the east, and the great river Paragua on the west, boast of their having reduced these savage nations to civility, and made Christians of them purely by their preaching. Certain it is, they govern them absolutely both in spirituals and temporals. There is no place in the world where the people express a more profound submission to their superiors. Among other things the Jesuits relate, that they have prevail'd on them to abandon their brutish and vagrant way of life, and dwell in towns and cantons, as the Missionaries call them, the situation whereof is always chosen and assign'd them by these Fathers. And as the flat country near the rivers is annually over-flow'd (as has been related already) and yet in the dry season it is absolutely necessary to have their habitation near some water, as well on account of their plantations and husbandry, there being the greatest increase where the inundation has been, as also for the conveniency of water-carriage, and an easy communication with the several cantons: for these and many other reasons, the Fathers pitch upon some fair eminence on the side of a lake or river where they have plenty of wood, and here they lay out a town after the Spanish model; that is, they first form a square, on the side of which

The Indi-
an towns.

usually stands a handsome church, their schools, the Father's house, who presides in the canton, and the halls and offices of their Courts of justice, and from the square run broad handsome streets of a great length, having other streets crossing them where the canton is large.

Father SEPP informs us, that they have twenty-six of these cantons on the banks of the rivers Uragua and Parana, each of them containing eight hundred or a thousand houses, and seven or eight thousand souls, under the government of two Missionaries. The church of each canton is usually built of brick or stone, and has a lofty steeple, containing four or five bells. It is as richly furnish'd and adorn'd with plate, vestments, and utensils as the Spanish churches in Europe: And besides the high-altar, they have frequently several side-altars and chapels. They have also organs, trumpets, haut-boys, violins, and other instrumental musick, and some exceeding good voices; so that few cathedrals are better accommodated than the churches of these cantons.

The Father further relates, that the station allotted him was the canton of Japegu, the first of the twenty-six converted cantons, situated on an eminence near the river Uragua, in 29 degrees south latitude, in a place form'd for pleasure and delight; for to the eastward of it runs that noble river, the banks whereof are planted with large timber-trees for several hundred leagues, and there are some islands in it lying in view of the canton, which he describes as a perfect paradise. On this river and the islands in it, says the Father, I frequently take the air, attended by my disciples and a numerous band of musick. On the south-west and north the canton is surrounded with the most fruitful pastures in the world, of a vast extent, and stock'd with incredible numbers of European cattle; venison also is in great plenty, such as deer, wild goats, and Indian sheep; and they do not want partridges, pigeons, and other fowls wild and tame. They have also shoals of excellent fish in their rivers.

But notwithstanding the pleasant and advantageous situation of these Indian towns thus laid out by the Jesuits, the buildings were generally mean at first: A brick and tiled house was very rare. The materials were usually thatch and clay, and one room serv'd the whole family: Here they lay promiscuously, some on the skins of beasts on the floor, and others in hammocks of net-work; their kitchen utensils being only some few pots, pans, and calabashes, with wooden spits, and gridirons, on which they dry'd rather than broil'd their meat.

But the Father tells us they begin to improve both in their buildings and furniture since the Jesuits have taught them to make tiles, and instructed them in other mechanick arts. He had in his canton particularly six long streets, the houses whereof were cover'd with tiles.

CHAP. IV.

Of the persons and habits of inhabitants of La Plata; their genius and temper, food, exercises, and diversions; and of their mechanick arts.

IN this country, as in every other part of South-America almost, the first Discoveries were pleas'd to affirm the natives were giants and canibals, though we meet with neither of them here at this day. Father SEPP is perfectly silent in the article of canibals; though he lived long amongst them, and mentions

CHAP.
III.

Buildings.

Furniture.

CHAP.
IV.

La Plata.

CHAP.
IV.
Persons.

Habits.

Genius
and tem-
per.

Food.

Excellent
mecha-
nicks.

Exercises
and diver-
sions.

tions the rest of the food they eat: And as to their persons he relates, that they are so far from being of a gigantic stature, that they are not so tall as the Europeans. However, he describes them to be big-boned, strong, well-set men, and their legs usually pretty thick: That their faces are flat, and rather round than oval, and their complexion olive: That they have black hair as strong as horse-hair, which they wear very long before they are converted; but then the Fathers oblige them to cut it shorter: That those who have not yet conformed to the Spanish customs, wear only the skin of some beast about the middle of their bodies; and the better sort have another skin which serves for a cloak or mantle; the ordinary women have their arms, shoulders and breasts bare, and no covering on their heads but their hair, which they wear of an immoderate length. Their ornaments are glittering fish-bones, which they wear in their ears, and about their necks and arms in chains, and their Chiefs have a kind of triple crowns upon their heads. Boys and girls go perfectly naked.

They seem to be a brave people, having defeated several considerable bodies of Spaniards when they first invaded their country. It was a great many years before the Spaniards could fix themselves even in the plains: But in the woods and mountains, to the eastward of the river Uruguay, the natives defended themselves so well that they were never subdued, 'till the Jesuits found means in the last century to insinuate themselves into their good opinion, and in a manner wheedled them into a submission without making use of force.

The same Father SEPP informs us, that their principal food is Turkey or Indian-corn, which they beat to flour in a mortar and boil with flesh, or make cakes of it on the hearth: That they eat all manner of fish, flesh, and fowl, and are the greatest gluttons in the world: That they are extreme lazy and indolent, and dull at invention, but will imitate almost any thing you give them a pattern of: That several of them are lately become such excellent mechanicks that they make organs and other musical instruments as good as those that are brought from Europe; others are watch-makers, painters and musicians, in all which arts they have been instructed by the Jesuit-Missionaries, who are taught the mechanick as well as liberal arts before they are sent abroad, that they may have an opportunity of rendering themselves useful and agreeable to every class of men, and without which they could never have propagated their superstition with that success in every kingdom almost upon the face of the earth: But this they have done no where with such success as here, where the country is their property, and may justly be stil'd, The Jesuits earthly paradise.

The exercises and diversions of these people are at present either rural sports, such as hunting, fishing and fowling, or dancing and feasting, as in other countries: But their principal diversion, or rather business, before the Spaniards brought them to remain in fix'd habitations, was to rove about the country from place to place, and view new scenes every day they lived.

CHAP. V.

Of their husbandry, plants, animals, and minerals.

CHAP.
V.
Husbandry.
Corn.

THEY have a wooden plough which does not enter the ground above three inches deep, and yet they have usually a very plentiful crop however of Turkey or Indian-corn. The Missionary of every canton has commonly forty or fifty acres

sown with European-wheat, and frequently gives his Indian disciples enough to sow their grounds and make provision for their families; but instead of putting it to that use, they usually devour it as soon as they have it. The Father adds, It may truly be said of these Indians, that they follow our SAVIOUR'S rule, Not to be concern'd for the next day; for if I happen to allot a cow to a family enough to serve them three or four days (says he) they will often eat her in one, and come the next morning for more; so that we are forc'd to give to the father, mother, son, and daughter, and to the young children to each his piece of flesh of five, six, seven, nay eight pounds, and that twice a day; for if they had it at once, they would eat it all at noon, and want more by night; for they are so voracious that the mother will snatch the meat from her child, and eat all that comes in sight of them: For which reason each Missionary has a great barn, into which he forces them to lay up a certain proportion of corn, which he gives them back at feed-time: Notwithstanding which they sometimes deceive the Missionary, or rather themselves. It is to be observ'd, that their seed-time is in June or July, when the Missionary allots each Indian two or three oxen to plow withal. One of these Indians, after a quarter of an hour's plowing, began to grow weary of the sport, and finding himself and his wife very hungry, they agreed to kill one of the oxen, which they did accordingly, and having quarter'd the ox (as they usually do) they put the flesh on a wooden spit, and (for want of other fuel) made a good fire with the plow, throwing into it some of the suet to increase the flame; and thus they roasted and eat it. The Missionary perceiving the smoke in the field, began shrewdly to suspect the truth; and making the best of his way to the field, he soon saw by the bones that he had not been mistaken in his guess. He fell to chiding the Indian, who gave no other answer, but that he being both tir'd and hungry, he had made bold with the ox, begging the good Father to give him another, which he was oblig'd to do, unless he would see him and his family want bread all the year after. Such things often happen to the Missionaries, these Indians being naturally so lazy, that often (unless compell'd thereunto by blows) they will not carry in their Turkey-wheat when it is ripe.

You wonder, perhaps, which way they can be compell'd by blows: This is done in the same manner as we do our children, only that instead of birch they make use of a scourge: This is perform'd by some Indian or other, who gives the delinquent twenty-four or more strokes, according to the Missionary's order. This correction they take very patiently, without any cursing or swearing, nay, without making the least noise; and if they happen to make any exclamations, it is by the name of Jesu Maria. The correction being over, they kiss the Missionary's hand, and return him thanks into the bargain, their love and respect being such towards the Missionaries, that they take every thing without the least regret at their hands; which being imprinted in them from their tender age, they can never shake off afterwards.

As to their fruits and kitchen-gardens, Father SEPP gives us the best account of them I meet with, in the description of his own gardens in the canton of Japega. Next to my apartments, says that Father, I have a garden divided into several partitions, one whereof is my flower-garden, another my physic-garden (for they know not what a Physician or Apothecary means) another my kitchen-garden,

CHAP.
V.

besides an orchard and vineyard. In the kitchen-garden grow all the year round divers sorts of salad-herbs, Endive curl'd and not curl'd, Cichory-roots, Parsnips, Turnips, Spinage, Radishes, Cabbages, Carrots, Beet-roots, Parsley, Aniseed, Fennel-seed, Coriander-seed, Melons, Cucumbers, and divers sorts of Indian-roots. In my physick-garden I have Mint, Rue, Rosemary, Pimpernel, Sweet-marjorum, &c. My flower-garden produces White-lillies, Indian-lillies, yellow and blue violets, Poppies, and many sorts of Indian flowers.

In my orchard I have Apple and Pear-trees and Hazel-nut-trees; but these two last will bear no fruit here, though they grow very lofty; Peaches, Pomegranates, sweet and sour Lemons, sweet and sour Citrons, Vaninceys, and divers other Indian fruits.

My vineyard has so many vines, that sometimes it may produce five hundred large casks of wine in one year, but this year I have scarce had Grapes enough for my table; the reason is the vast number of pismires, wasps, wild-pigeons, and other birds, which have devour'd all, though I have constantly kept eight Indian boys on purpose to cleanse them of the pismires: Add to this the north-wind, which has blown continually all this year: A slender recompence for the pains I have taken in pruning, having, and attending the vines; but patience!

However, these frequent miscarriages of the vines make wine here a dear commodity, a cask being sold sometimes for twenty or thirty crowns, a great price for such an unwholesome wine as this, which is not to be preserv'd without a great deal of lime, without which it would turn to vinegar in a little time. This makes us use the wine very sparingly, and sometimes we have scarce any in six months, it being so scarce that we shall not have enough for the Communion-table.

No wood
in the
plains.

He relates also, that in the plains on the west side of the river Uruguay, and particularly between the city Buenos Ayres and St. Jago, there is not a tree to be seen fit for timber or fuel of the natural growth of the country; but that the Spaniards have of late years planted such abundance of peaches, almonds, and figs, that there are now vast woods of them, which serve for fuel at Buenos Ayres and other Spanish towns: On the contrary, that the country to the east-ward of the river Paragua, has large woods and forests well replenish'd with timber, extending several hundred leagues on both sides the river Uruguay, and that they have the finest pastures and meadows in the world, both in the east and western parts of La Plata; however, there is no mowing of grass, or making of hay here, because their cattle feed all the year up to the knees in grass.

Woods in
the hilly
country.

They have also whole fields of cotton, but no hemp or flax growing in the country, which makes linnen excessive dear.

Beasts.

They had no great stock of cattle before the Spaniards imported European animals; the principal were their Indian sheep, goats, swine, and deer, already describ'd, with a sort of hares, armadillo's, and other American animals, already described in treating of Mexico and Peru; but the European cattle are so vastly increased of late years in La Plata, that there is scarce a canton which has less than three or four thousand horses and mules, with black cattle in proportion, and thirty or forty thousand European sheep in some of them: They abound also in hogs, goats, and poultry, and have plenty of fish in their rivers.

The same Father assures us, that they see some-

times fourteen or fifteen thousand oxen feeding together that have no particular owner, but any one sends and takes what he pleases: And that the Jesuits at Buenos Ayres sold at one time, to the shipping that came thither, twenty thousand tall oxen for twelve thousand crowns, which were valued only for their hides, their carcases being devour'd by wild dogs or birds of prey.

CHAP.
V.

In another place the Father relates, that his canton sent out a party of Indians two days journey into the country, who within two months brought in fifty thousand cows, which were to serve for provisions for the canton the following year; for they eat cow's-flesh altogether, and kill the bulls only for their skins, there being no oxen, properly so call'd, in that country. He adds, that the three ships he went over with carry'd back to Spain thirty thousand bulls hides, without any cows skins amongst them: And these they had for little or nothing; tho' every skin would make six crowns in Spain, so prodigiously are European cattle multiply'd in La Plata: And 'tis observ'd, that one sheep is more valued there than three horses, on account of their wool; for a good horse may be purchased for a knife of the value of six-pence, and a bridle is of more value than three horses, and a horse-shoe is worth six horses; but they seldom shoe their horses here on account of the scarcity of iron, nor do they much need it, the turf or surface of the ground being very soft, and few stones in the country.

As to minerals, it is certain there are few or none in the plains or flat country; and tho' 'tis reported the Jesuits have discover'd some gold mines in the mountains that divide La Plata from Brazil, those Fathers do not acknowledge there are any.

Minerals.

CHAP. VI.

Contains an abstract of the history of La Plata, and treats of the religion of its ancient and modern inhabitants, and of their marriages.

AS the natives of La Plata were divided into a multitude of tribes commanded by their respective Chiefs, they knew nothing of the general history or state of their country when the Spaniards arriv'd: And what they receiv'd by tradition relating to their particular clans could be very little relied on as they were not acquainted with letters, and had no way of recording the actions of their ancestors. All that we know of their history is, that those on the west side of the river Paragua lived a wandering life like the Arabs, and those on the east-side of that river in caves: That the Spaniards and Portuguese made several attempts in vain to subdue the inhabitants of the plains from Brazil and the mouth of the river La Plata, in which they met with very great opposition and losses, 'till the Spanish Governors of Peru and Chili attack'd them from the west, and then they made a compleat conquest of that country.

CHAP.
VI.
History.

The first Adventurer that penetrated into this country was ALEXIUS GARCIA, a Portuguese, who was sent upon that enterprize by the Governor of Brazil, in the year 1524. He march'd quite cross La Plata, as far as the borders of Peru, where having amass'd a vast quantity of plate, he was cut off in his return with most part of his men; and GEORGE SEDENHO, with sixty Portuguese, having been sent out to support him before the death of GARCIA was known, was also cut in pieces by the Indians with all his party.

In

CHAP.
VI.

In the year 1526, SEBASTIAN CABOT being employ'd to make a further discovery of South-America by the Emperor CHARLES V. enter'd the mouth of the river La Plata (first discover'd by JOHN DIAZ DE SOLIS, in the year 1515) and sailing up that river as far as the place where GARCIA was kill'd, there met with the plate he had got on the confines of Peru, which he purchas'd of the natives, who did not know the value of it, for a trifle, and imagining it to be the product of that country, concluded he had made a very important discovery. Whereupon he erected a fort on the north side of the river, near the place where the town of Assumption now stands; he also detach'd ALVARO RAMON with one of his ships to sail up the river Uragua, and get further intelligence of the mines he supposed were to be found near the banks of it; but RAMON having proceeded three days in that voyage, his ship run a-ground, and he and all his people were cut off by the natives. After which accident, CABOT remov'd from that shore, and built another fort on the south-side of the river of Plata, where the town of Spirito Sancto now stands, and leaving a garrison of one hundred and twenty men in it, he return'd to Spain for a re-inforcement of troops to prosecute his discoveries: But the natives surpriz'd the fort soon after he was gone, and put the garrison to the sword.

However, CABOT representing to the Court of Spain that Plata was one of the richest countries in the world; and bringing so much plate and treasure along with him as sufficiently confirm'd his report in the opinion of the Spaniards, several of the best families of that kingdom made interest to be sent on an expedition thither. Whereupon a body of two and twenty hundred land-men, besides mariners, were embark'd for the river of Plata, among whom, it is said, there were thirty heirs of noble families, the whole being commanded by DON PETER DE MENDOZA, the Emperor's Sewer; who arriving at the mouth of the river La Plata, founded the town of Buenos Ayres, in the year 1535, but not without great opposition from the natives, for they attacked a body of three hundred Spaniards, commanded by JAMES MENDOZA, the Governor's brother, and killed him with two hundred and fifty of his men upon the spot; and provisions growing very scarce at the same time, the Governor thought fit to return to Spain, leaving OYOLA his Deputy-governor behind him with part of the troops. But OYOLA thought fit to abandon Buenos Ayres, and built the fort of Assumption, on the north-side of the river Plata, whither he removed with his half-starv'd garrison. The Governor ALVARO NUNEZ CABEZA DE VACA afterwards made further discoveries, planting colonies as far as the north of Tucuman, and he and his successor rebuilt Buenos Ayres and some other towns near the mouth of the river La Plata. And in 1553, FRANCIS DE ACQUIRE being detach'd from Chili with two hundred men by VALDIVIA, built the city of St. Jago, the metropolis of La Plata; and two years afterwards JOHN GOMEZ ZARITA was sent from Chili to La Plata with another body of troops, who built the town of Cordua, and made an entire conquest of all the country as far as the river Paragua; but the provinces to the eastward of that river were never conquer'd by force, but reduc'd, as has been said, by the address of the Jesuits under the dominion of the Crown of Spain; and that Court, in return for this service, conferr'd the property of that country on those Fa-

thers. If it be demanded how the Jesuits were able to effect this, I have already intimated, that they are instructed in every art and science when they are sent upon these missions. They don't only understand physick and the mathematicks, but almost every mechanick art, by which means they become exceeding useful where they reside. Their administering physick gratis infinitely obliges the people, and by their skill in mathematicks they surprize the ignorant natives, who are ready to adore them as gods, and readily resign their understandings and consciences to their direction. But what prevail'd still more on these people to submit to the Jesuits was, the protection they gave them against the Spanish officers and soldiers, and preventing their imposing on them those rigorous services they did on other Indians under their government. They even furnished the natives with arms and ammunition, and instructed them in the art of war, whereby they were enabled to repel the attacks both of the Spaniards from the west, and of the Portuguese from Brazil on the east, who harass'd their country for several years till they found they had so formidable an enemy to deal with, that they lost more than they got by their incursions into La Plata; and the Jesuits and their subjects who inhabit one of the finest countries in the world between the river Paragua and Brazil, have of late years enjoy'd an uninterrupted peace in the greatest affluence and plenty imaginable.

As to the religion of the natives of La Plata, if we are to credit TECHO the Jesuit, he relates, that they worshipp'd the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and Thunder and Lightning, as the Peruvians did, and had temples dedicated to the Sun; which is not at all improbable, since this country is contiguous to Peru, and part of it was under the dominion of their Inca's; and in some parts of the country, the Jesuits relate, they worshipp'd trees, stones, rivers, animals, and almost every thing animate and inanimate; which likewise may be true, because other nations in South-America have done the like. But as to the great serpent the Fathers tell us of, that was as big about as an ox, and one of the objects of their adoration, we may without offence suspend our belief of such relations till we find it prov'd that there ever were any such monsters on the face of the earth.

But whatever the ancient religion of La Plata was, the people are now in general as good catholics as the Jesuits can make them, and the most obedient vassals of that order.

As to the marriages of these Indians, anciently they allow'd both of polygamy and concubinage, and the greatest objection they have to Christianity the Fathers inform us is, their confining them to one woman. At present the Jesuits have the entire direction of this matter: And Father SEPP tells us, when a virgin is fourteen and a lad sixteen, they do not suffer them to remain longer unmarried for fear of worse consequences, having found by experience, that when the maidens and young men continue in a single state for any considerable time, they have found means to pair themselves. The objection which in other places is made against such young marriages takes no place here, where there is no dispute about dowry or settlements, or which way they will maintain themselves; all this they leave to God Almighty and our care (says this Father) never applying themselves to any trade or profession unless we oblige them to it, and upon the marriage it is the Missionary that provides the hut, it is he that provides the wedding-cloaths, viz. five yards

CHAP.
VII.
Qualifications of the Jesuit Missionaries.

Religion of the natives, according to Techo.

Marriages according to Father Sepp.

CHAP.
VI.

yards of coarse woollen stuff for each; a bed they never want, bull-hides being cheap enough; and the wedding dinner is made with a fat cow, which is likewise presented by the Missionary.

Their marriage agreement consists only in two articles, viz. The woman promises to fetch what water the husband wants from the river, in lieu of which he engages to furnish the kitchen with fuel. We allow them no musick nor dancing at their weddings, but so soon as they are marry'd and have heard mass, the bridegroom goes his way and the bride her's: And if the Missionary has presented them with a fat cow, a little salt, and a few loaves, they invite their parents to dinner, and

so make the best cheer they can. There is one thing peculiar in their marriages, viz. that here the man does not woo the woman, but on the contrary the woman the man: In this case the maid comes to the Missionary and says, Pay, i. e. Father (for so they call us) I have an inclination to marry such or such a one, if you will be pleased to give your consent. Whereupon the Missionary sending for the person, says, my son (for so we call them) such or such a one is desirous to be marry'd to you, are you contented she should? Unto which if he replies yes (as they seldom do otherwise) then the match is made, and wants nothing but the Priest's blessing.

CHAP.
VI.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE AMAZONS.

Name of
the coun-
try.

THE country of the Amazons obtain'd its name from a suppos'd nation of female warriors that were said to inhabit the banks of one of the greatest rivers in the world, which runs through this country from west to east. There is not a circumstance related by the ancients of the Asiatic Amazons which has not been applied to these by the moderns, tho' all the ground there was for these fictions seems to have been, that there were seen some women mingled with the men that came to gaze on the Spaniards when they first invaded their country.

And here it is not easy to avoid reflecting how exactly the first Spanish Adventurers copied after the romantic writers among the ancients.

In one part of America they furnish us with Giants, in another with Monsters, in a third with Canibals, and here with a race of Amazons. They seem to have been a little dull of invention, that they struck out no new whimsys or monsters in nature, but barely transcrib'd or imitated the fabulous relations they met with in the ancient poets and other writers, who intended no more perhaps than beautiful allegories, or to display their talents at invention, never dreaming that after-ages would look upon such flights of fancy as historical facts. But to proceed in the describing the situation of this country, which has obtain'd the name of the Amazons. It is bounded by the Equator, which separates it from Terra-Firma on the north, by Brazil and the Atlantic-ocean on the east, by Brazil and La Plata toward the south, and by Peru on the south-west, lying between the Equator and the 15th degree of south latitude, and between 50 and 75 degrees of western longitude.

The situa-
tion and
extent.

As we have no other accounts of this country than what we have receiv'd from those who have

been sent by the Spaniards and Portuguese to make discoveries either up or down the river Amazon, I shall give an abstract of the several Adventurers of this kind, and then collect from them the state of the country.

GONZALO PIZARRO, brother to the Marquis (Conqueror of Peru) was the first that accidentally discover'd this mighty river, in the year 1540, when he was Governor of Quitto, the most northern province of Peru. Some Indians had assur'd him, that to the eastward of Quito, on the other side the mountains of Andes, were countries that abounded not only in cinamon but in gold, more than any countries the Spaniards had hitherto discover'd, tho' they were exceeding difficult of access on account of the rocks and precipices they must first pass, and the woods and morasses on the other side of them, and the little provisions they must expect to meet with in a desert and uninhabited country, and what would render their march extremely troublesome were the heavy rains that fall under and near the Equator for the greatest part of the year. But nothing could deter PIZARRO from an expedition wherein he expected to meet with mountains of gold in a literal sense. He made extraordinary preparations therefore for this difficult and hazardous undertaking, assembled three hundred and forty veteran Spaniards, of whom one hundred and fifty were horse, and took with him four thousand able body'd Indians, some of them soldiers, but most of them employ'd in carrying his ammunition, provisions and baggage, and driving some thousands of Indian-sheep and hogs before them, which he propos'd to kill by the way. And thus provided, he set out from the city of Quitto at Christmas, in the year 1539.

The river
Amazon
discover'd
by Gon-
zalo Pi-
zarro.

An account of which expedition we find thus related by DE LA VEGA, in his Royal Commentaries

of Peru. The General (says the royal historian) having continued his march some few days, there happen'd so terrible an earthquake that many houses in the villages where they then were, fell to the ground; the earth opened in many places, and so terrible were the lightnings and thunder, and so very quick and almost without intermissions, and so fierce were the rains, which pour'd down like buckets of water, that the Spaniards much admir'd at the nature of that climate, so different from any thing they had ever seen in the northern parts of Peru.

After this storm was over, which continued forty or fifty days, they prepar'd to pass the Andes, or snowy mountains, for which tho' they had made good provision, yet the climate was so extremely cold by the great quantities of snow which fell, that many Indians who went thin in their cloathing perish'd. The Spaniards, that they might make haste out of the snow and cold, left their cattle and provision behind them, expecting to find sufficient supplies of all things at the next place where the Indians inhabited. But the matter succeeded otherwise; for having pass'd the mountains, they enter'd into a country so barren that it was void of all inhabitants, whereof doubling their journeys to get out of it, they came at length to a province and people call'd Cumaco, situated at the foot of a volcano, where they found plenty of provisions; but the country was so wet, that for the space of two months they remain'd there it never ceas'd one day from raining.

In this province, call'd Cumaco, or Canela, which is situate under the Equinoctial, or very near it, grow the cinamon-trees, as they call them, which they went in search of as well as gold. These trees are lofty, bearing a leaf as big as the laurel, with a small sort of fruit which grows in clusters like the acorn: Some grow wild in the mountains, and produce fruit, but not so good as that which is gather'd from the trees which the Indians plant and cultivate in their own grounds.

The Spaniards found that in Cumaco and the adjacent countries the Indians went naked, without any cloaths, only the women, for modesty sake, wore a little flap before them: the climate is so excessively hot that they need no cloaths (says DE LA VEGA) and is so subject to rains, that they would become rotten in a short time if they had them.

GONZALO PIZARRO leaving the greatest part of his people in Cumaco, took with him a small party of such as he esteem'd most active, to search for some pass leading out of the country; for as yet the way for an hundred leagues together had been nothing but mountains, deserts and woods, which they were forced to lay open by the hatchet and strength of their arms; and sometimes the Indians, who were their guides, deceiv'd them, carrying them out of the way by mountains and deserts and difficult passages (where they sustain'd hunger and cold, without any other sustenance than herbs and roots, and wild fruit) and conducting them through by-ways, to avoid the country of their friends and confederates.

With such labours and sufferings as these, which may rather be fancy'd than describ'd, they came at length to a province call'd Cuca, which was more populous than any they had formerly pass'd. Here provisions were plentiful, and the Cacique, or King of the country, came in a peaceable manner to welcome them, and brought them provisions.

In these parts they remained two months, in expectation of the coming of those Spaniards whom they had left in Cumaco, and had directed to fol-

low them by such traces and marks as they should find of the way they had taken before them. Their companions being come up and refresh'd after their journey, they march'd by the banks of a great river for the space of fifty leagues, in all which way they neither found bridge nor ford.

At length they came to a place where the whole river falls from the top of a rock above two hundred fathom high, which cataract, or falling of the waters, makes a noise that is heard above six leagues from the place, at which, tho' the Spaniards were amazed, yet it was much more wonderful to see, above forty or fifty leagues lower, that immense quantity of water contracted and straitened within a channel made by one great rock. This channel is so narrow, that from one side to the other it is not above twenty foot wide; but so high, that from the top, where the Spaniards made their bridge, was two hundred fathom from the water. GONZALO PIZARRO and his Captains considering there was no other passage to be found over the river, and that it was necessary to pass to the other side, because the country was barren on that side where they then were, agreed to make a bridge over the top of the rock.

The Indians on the opposite side, tho' few in number, stoutly defended the pass, but were driven from it by the fire of the muskets; and the pass being now clear, the Spaniards fell to work on the bridge of timber, which cost much labour before the first beam could be pass'd over to the opposite rock, by the help of which a second was more easily laid, and then other pieces of timber, so that by degrees they formed a bridge, over which both men and horse securely pass'd: After which they march'd by the side of the river over mountains so thick with wood, that they were forced to open their way again with the hatchet. Through these difficulties they came at length to a country call'd Guema, where the Spaniards and their Indian servants were forced again to sustain themselves with herbs and roots, and with the tender sprouts of trees. Thus with famine and the perpetual rains many of the Spaniards fell sick and died. They arriv'd afterwards at a country where the natives were more civiliz'd than the former; for they eat maize or Indian-corn, and clothed themselves with garments of cotton; but still the climate was subject to violent rains.

Whilst they stay'd in this place they sent small parties out every way to see if they could discover a better country; but they all return'd with the same news, that they met with nothing but wild mountains full of bogs, lakes and morish grounds, over which was no passage. Hereupon they resolv'd to build a brigantine or vessel to ferry over from one side of the river to the other, which now was become two leagues broad. In order whereunto, the first thing to be done was to set up a smith's forge for nails and iron-work, which they made of the horses shoes they had kill'd for food, and some iron bars they had carry'd with them; but iron was now become more scarce than gold.

GONZALO PIZARRO, tho' Chief Commander, was the first that laid his hand on the ax to hew down the timber, and to make the charcoal which was requisite to forge the iron, and was always the most forward in every office, tho' never so mean, that so giving a good example, none might excuse himself. The resin which issued from certain trees served them instead of pitch, and their old shirts and rags were made use of instead of ockam to caulk the seams of their vessel, which being in this manner finish'd, they launched into the water with great joy and triumph, imagining that herewith they should quickly escape

They embark their gold and baggage.

out of all their dangers and difficulties. But it proved otherwise; for a few days shewed the contrary, and gave them cause to repent that they had ever made it.

All the gold they had gather'd, which amounted to above the value of one hundred thousand pieces of eight, with abundance of emeralds, some of which were of great value, as also their iron and iron-work, and whatsoever was of any esteem, they laded on their vessel; and such as were weak and sick and not able to travel were also put on board. And now after a journey almost of two hundred leagues they departed from this place, taking their course down the stream, some by water and others by land, keeping such a convenient distance each from the other, that at night they always join'd and lodg'd together; which journey was perform'd with great difficulty, for those on the land were forced to open a great part of their way with hatchet and bill, and those on the water were put to hard labour to keep the vessel from being forcibly carry'd down by the current from the company on shore, when at any time their passage was interrupted by some mountain; so that they could not keep near the river: They then ferried to the other side by help of their vessel and four canoes they had made; but this was a great hindrance to them, and very grievous to men starving and perishing with hunger.

Having in this manner travelled for the space of two months, they at length met with certain Indians, who by signs, and by some words which were understood by their Indian servants, gave them intelligence that about ten days journey from thence they would find a country well peopled, plentiful of provisions, and abounding with gold and other riches of which they were in pursuit; and farther signified to them, that this country was situated on the banks of another great river which join'd and fell into that wherein they now were. The Spaniards being encourag'd with this news, GONZALO PIZARRO made FRANCISCO DE ORELLANA Captain of his brigantine or vessel, and thereon put fifty soldiers aboard, giving them orders to pass down the stream to that place where the two rivers met, and that there leaving the goods he had then on board, he should lade his vessel with provisions, and return towards them with all the speed imaginable to relieve them in that great distress, many of the Spaniards being already dead, and more Indians, who from four thousand were now reduc'd to half the number.

Orellana with fifty soldiers embarks on board the brigantine.

He runs away with the vessel.

According to these orders, FRANCISCO DE ORELLANA enter'd on the voyage, and in the space of three days, without oars or sails, only by force of the current, was carry'd to the confluence of the two rivers mention'd by the Indians, but found no provisions there; whereupon ORELLANA pretending it was impossible to return to PIZARRO against the stream, resolv'd to set up for himself, and accordingly casting off all care and regard for PIZARRO and his companions then in distress, he resolv'd to continue his voyage to the mouth of the river, and then go over into Spain and obtain the government of those countries for himself: But this cruel resolution was oppos'd by many of those who were then with him, who told him plainly, that he was not to exceed the orders of his Captain-General, and that it was inhuman to forsake his companions in their great distress, knowing how useful and necessary that brigantine was to them. In this point none were more zealous than Friar GASPAR CARVAJAL, and a young gentleman native of BADAJOZ, named HERNANDO SANCHEZ DE VARGAS, whom those of the contrary opinion made their Chief, and were so warm in their debates on this subject, that the quarrel had

come to blows had not ORELLANA with fair words appeased the tumult: However, he manag'd so artfully afterwards with those who had oppos'd his intention, that he entic'd them all over to his party, and then rudely treated the poor Friar whom he had expos'd to the same famine and misery (had it not been for respect to his habit and profession) as he did SANCHEZ DE VARGAS, whom he left in that desert encompass'd with high mountains on the one side, and a great river on the other, to perish by famine.

FRANCISCO DE ORELLANA afterwards found some provisions amongst the nations on the river below; but because the women came out at first with their husbands to oppose his landing, he gave it the name of the river of Amazons.

Proceeding yet farther down this river, they found these Indians more civil than the other, who received them amicably, admiring the brigantine and men so strangely habited. These treated the Spaniards hospitably, and furnish'd them with as much provision as they had occasion for. ORELLANA remain'd here therefore several weeks, and built another brigantine, for they were much straitned for room in the first, and having fitted it up as well as they were able, they adventur'd out to sea, sailing along the coast of Caribiana, about 200 leagues to the northward, till they arriv'd at the island of the Holy Trinity, having escap'd such dangers that they often gave themselves over for lost. At this island ORELLANA bought a ship, with which he sail'd into Spain, where he requested his Majesty's commission for the conquest and government of the country of the Amazons, as he was pleas'd to stile it. To make this enterprize appear the more desirable, he alledg'd that it was a country abounding with gold, silver, and precious stones, and in testimony thereof produc'd the riches which he had brought with him; whereupon his Majesty granted the request he made for the government of what he should conquer there, and ORELLANA was join'd by five hundred volunteers, the greatest part of them brisk young gentlemen, and persons of honour, with whom he embark'd at St. Lucar for the river Amazon, in the year 1554; but he lost one of his ships in his voyage thither, and met with so many difficulties and misfortunes before he had sail'd an hundred leagues up the river, that he abandon'd the enterprize, and died in his return home.

Orellana comes into the Atlantic-ocean.

Sails to Spain and obtains the government of the Amazon country.

And now let us return to GONZALO PIZARRO, whom we left in such distress after FRANCISCO DE ORELLANA was run away with the brigantine: And first he built ten or twelve canoes and other floats to pass from one side the river to the other, as often as his march was interrupted by impassable mountains or morasses, and proceeded in that manner down the river in hopes to meet the brigantine they had dispatch'd for provisions.

At the end of two months they arriv'd at the point where the two rivers met; but instead of their brigantine and the provisions they expected to meet with, they found only the honest HERNANDO SANCHEZ DE VARGAS, who with constancy of mind, like a man of honour, had endur'd with great resolution famine and all the miseries to which he was expos'd in that solitude; and from him they receiv'd a particular account of the villainy of the perfidious ORELLANA, which PIZARRO could scarce credit, having hitherto entertain'd an entire confidence in the man.

The General however, putting a good face upon the matter, cheer'd up his men, and encourag'd them with hopes of better fortune, telling them, that they ought, like Spaniards, to bear with equality

Dies in an attempt to subdue it.

Pizarro's difficulties.

lity of mind these labours and disappointments, and yet greater if any such could be: That the more danger the more honour, and the greater would their renown be in history, which would transmit the fame of their adventures down to future ages. The soldiers observing the cheerfulness of their General, who had most cause to resent ORELLANA's usage of him, took heart and continued their march by the banks of the river, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other.

But the difficulty of carrying the horses over upon floats (for there still remain'd about fifty of their number) cannot be express'd, any more than the famine they were expos'd to: However, the Indians who remain'd alive serv'd their masters with great faithfulness and affection in these extremities, bringing them herbs, roots, wild fruit, snakes, and other vermin they found in those mountains, all which went down with the Spaniards; nor could they have subsisted without such kind of food.

Pizarro returns to Quitto.

And now GONZALO PIZARRO being resolved to return to Peru, left the river and took his way more to the northward, which proved shorter by 100 leagues than the way they came, but no less difficult, being forced to cut their way frequently through the woods, and for want of other provisions they now eat up all their remaining horses and dogs; for the four thousand Indians, who used to purvey for them, all died in this expedition; and there were but fourscore Spaniards who return'd to Quitto alive, and these almost without cloaths, and so sun-burnt and emaciated with the fatigue and want of food, that their nearest friends scarce knew them.

With such insupportable hardships and hazards did the first Spanish Adventurers struggle in search of gold, even when they had before acquir'd enough one would have thought to have satisfy'd the most boundless avarice. I question whether GONZALO PIZARRO, who was one of the proprietors of the mines of Potosi, had not amass'd more than a million of crowns before he enter'd upon this expedition.

Peter de Orsua attempts to discover this country.

PETER DE ORSUA, who afterwards obtain'd a commission from the Governor of Peru, in the year 1550, to subdue the provinces bordering on the river Amazon, embark'd on the river Xauxa in Peru with seven hundred armed Spaniards and two thousand Indians, and sail'd down the stream two or three hundred leagues, 'till he came to the confluence of the two rivers Amazon and Xauxa, and continuing his voyage afterwards 200 leagues further, was kill'd in a mutiny of his men, which put a period to that enterprize.

Several other Adventurers made the like attempts afterwards, but most of them prov'd unfortunate, 'till two Monks and some Soldiers, who set out with JOHN DE PALACIOS from Quitto in Peru, in the year 1635, and embarking on the river Amazon, where it first becomes navigable, sail'd the whole length of it 'till they arriv'd at Paria in Brazil, which lies on the south side of the mouth of this great river: But their Captain, JOHN PALACIOS, was kill'd in a skirmish with the natives in their passage.

Two Friars successful in discovering it.

The Friars having given an account of their voyage to the Governor of Brazil, he order'd sloops and boats to be provided, on which he embark'd seventy Portuguese and two thousand Indians, and in October, 1637, order'd them to sail up the river, under the command of TEXEIRA, a mariner of great skill and experience, who by the help of the easterly wind, which generally blows here, sail'd up against the current 'till he arriv'd at Les Reyes, a town of Quitto in Peru; and the river not being

Texeira sails up the river to Peru.

navigable higher for his vessels, he left them there and went by land to the city of Quitto, where he was kindly receiv'd by the Spanish Governor, and furnish'd with whatever he wanted to facilitate his return to Brazil: And the Governor sent Father DE ACUNA and another Spanish Jesuit down the river with him, ordering them to embark for Spain when they arriv'd at Brazil, and communicate the observations they should make in this voyage to his Catholick Majesty; and TEXEIRA embarking again at Les Reyes, on the river Amazon, with the two Jesuits, in the month of February, 1638-9, arriv'd at Paria in Brazil the December following; from whence DE ACUNA and his companion went over to Spain, and publish'd a relation of their voyage in 1640, which is the best account of this river and the countries bordering upon it that is extant.

From these several relations we learn that the head of the river Amazon rises in Quitto, almost under the Equator, in 76 degrees of western longitude, and running south-east 'till it unites its waters with the river Xauxa, continues its course almost due east in the latitude of 4 degrees for 26 degrees of longitude, and then returning to the north, by many mouths discharges itself into the Atlantic-ocean, almost under the Equator. They compute, that with all its turnings and windings it does not run less than 1800 leagues; and observes that it is ordinarily 2 or 3 leagues broad; but in the rainy season over-flows the flat country on the right and left, and at the mouth of it is fifty or sixty leagues broad; that from the river Negro, which falls into it about five hundred leagues from the mouth, it is generally thirty or forty fathom deep, and up higher from eight fathom to twenty; that there is one straight where it is not above a quarter of a mile over, and that there are near two hundred rivers which fall into it from the north to south.

The sources of the river Amazon.

Its course and magnitude.

The Adventurers in general agree that the air is cooler than could be expected so near the Equator, which proceeds from the heavy rains that occasion the numerous rivers to overflow their banks one half of the year; from the cloudy weather, from the shortness of the days, which are never more than twelve hours long, and from the brisk easterly wind that blows frequently from the Atlantic-ocean quite through the country so strong that vessels are enabled thereby to sail against the stream, and perform the voyage almost as soon up the river Amazon as down it, which I perceive is a voyage of eight or ten months, where no ill accident interrupts the passage. Travellers also observe, that they have most terrible thunder and lightning great part of the year; but this is no more than what is usual in other countries that lie under the Equinoctial: And it may properly be said they have two summers and two winters every year; that is, fair weather when the sun is at the greatest distance from them in either Tropic; and foul when it is vertical, as it is at the vernal and autumnal Equinox.

The air.

Weather.

Winds.

Thunder.

Seasons.

The trees here are ever-greens, and they have fruits, flowers and herbage all the year round. Their fruits are Cocoa-nuts, Anana's, or Pine-apples, Guava's, Banana's, and such other fruits as are usually found between the Tropics. Their forest and timber-trees are Cedar, Brazil-wood, Oak, Ebony, Log-wood, Iron-wood, so call'd from its weight and hardness, the Canela, or Cinamon, as it is call'd from its spicy bark, and several sorts of dying-wood.

Trees and fruits.

They

Corn, roots, and plants. They have also Indian-corn, and the Cassia-root, of which they make flour and bread, Tobacco, Cotton, Sugar, Yams, Potatoes, Sarsaparilla, and other roots. They have also plenty of venison, fish and fowl, among which they mention Deer, Indian-sheep, and Goats, Guano's, Manatee, Armadillo's, Tortoise, and vast flocks of Parrots of all colours, which serve them for food, and their feathers for ornament.

Persons of the natives. The natives are of the ordinary stature of men: They have good features, long black hair, and black eyes, and their complexion is a copper colour, whereas the natives of Africa in the same latitude, on the opposite side of the Atlantic-ocean, are all Negroes.

The stories of Amazons, &c. fictitious. As to the nation of Amazons, which were said to give name to this river and country, they are now no where to be found, any more than the Giants and Canibals the first Adventurers mention'd. The people are generally acknowledg'd now to have as much humanity or more than the Europeans who invaded them, and to have a genius for painting and some mechanic arts, particularly they make good joiners-work, though they have no other tools than such as are edg'd with sharp stones.

Genius. They also spin and weave themselves cotton garments, and are pretty decently cloath'd: Their earthen-ware also is much admir'd; but I don't perceive they have learnt to make bricks, or build with stone, the materials of their houses being of wood, thatch, and clay, but one floor, and built usually on some eminence near the river-side to avoid the inundation.

Government. The banks of every river, as they relate, are in-

habited by a distinct people, commanded by their respective Caciques or Sovereigns, who are distinguish'd from their subjects by coronets of beautiful feathers: Their arms are bows, arrows, and spears, and they make war on each other by water as well as land, but have no other boats than canoes, which are great trees made hollow: Whatever their pretensions are for war, their principal end in it is to make slaves; however, 'tis said, they use their slaves with great humanity, and never sell them to foreigners.

They worship images, and carry them with them in their expeditions; but I don't find they have temples dedicated to any god, or any order of Priests. They countenance both polygamy and concubinage. As to the gold and silver mines the Spaniards went in search of when they first discover'd the river of Amazon, I can't learn they have yet met with any here, though they find some gold in the rivulets that fall into the river Amazon near its sources in Peru. After the river is swoln to any magnitude there is no more gold to be found; and this I don't doubt is the reason that neither the Spaniards or Portuguese have planted any colonies in the lower part of it. The Spaniards made great efforts from Peru to subdue this country while they had a notion it abounded in gold, but seem to have neglected the discovery ever since they were undeceiv'd in this particular; and indeed they have a larger dominion already in America than they can defend, which is a sufficient reason for their slighting such countries as do not produce gold or silver.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE Spanish ISLANDS.

CHAP. I.

Of the island of Cuba.

CHAP. I. **T**HE three principal Spanish islands that remain to be describ'd are those of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Porto Rico.

Situation and extent. The island of Cuba is situated between the 20th degree of northern latitude and the Tropic of Cancer, and between the 74th and 87th degrees of western longitude, 30 leagues north of Jamaica, and about as many south of Cape Florida, being 300 leagues in length, and generally between 20 and 30 leagues broad.

Name. The natives had given it the name of Cuba before COLUMBUS arriv'd there, who at first call'd it

Juanna, 'tis said, and afterwards Ferdinandino, from King FERDINAND, who was King of Spain when this island was discover'd; but it soon recover'd its American name of Cuba, which it retains to this day.

A ridge of mountains run almost through the island from east to west, well replenish'd with timber and other trees, but the land near the shore is generally a plain champaign country.

There are abundance of rivulets which run from the mountains north and south, but none of them large, falling into the sea after a very short course, and

CHAP. I.
Harbours. and no place in the world has better harbours, the chief of which are St. Jago, at the bottom of a large bay at the east-end of the island, and that of the Havana, on the north-west, which is one of the strongest and most commodious havens in America.

Seasons. They have no winters here, but great rains and tempests usually when the sun is vertical in July and August, which cools the air however, and renders the climate tolerable. The fairest season is when the sun is at the greatest distance from them, and then the morning is much the hottest part of the day; for towards noon the sea-breeze begins to blow pretty briskly, and continues to do so till the evening. From October to April they have brisk north or north-west winds in these seas at the full and change of the moon, and in December and January they frequently increase into storms, though this be their fair season: And DAMPIER observes of the isle of Pines, situated near the south-west coast of Cuba, that it rains there when it is fair every where else; and if we may credit our mariners, they scarce ever have a fair day on the Isle of Pines. The trade-wind in these seas blows from the north-east.

Provinces. I don't find the island of Cuba divided into provinces, though some relate that the east part of it is subject to the Governor of St. Jago, and the west to the Governor of the Havana.

Chief towns. The chief towns in the island are, 1. St. Jago; 2. The Havana; 3. Baracoa; 4. Porto del Principe; 5. Santa Cruz; 6. Trinidad; and 7. Spirito Sancto.

St. Jago. 1. St. Jago is situated (as has been already observ'd) at the bottom of a fine bay in the south-east part of the island, which with some small islands in the bay, form a very commodious harbour: It was built by General JAMES VELASQUEZ, who reduc'd this island under the dominion of the Spaniards about the year 1514: And it may still be stil'd the capital of Cuba, being the only Bishop's see in it, but is very much upon the decline at present, both the Bishop and Civil Governor residing at the Havana, for the most part.

The Havana. 2. The Havana, situate at the north-west part of the island, about five hundred miles to the westward of St. Jago, of which that celebrated traveller GEMELLI CARRERI, who was at the Havana in the year 1698, gives us the following description, together with some other particulars relating to the country, and the voyage of the galleons from thence to Spain, which I am confident will be acceptable to my readers.

The Havana (says GEMELLI) is a little city half a league in compass, seated in a plain, and in the latitude of 23 degrees, 20 minutes. It is almost round, inclos'd with poor low walls on the land side, and defended on the other part by water. The inhabitants are about four thousand souls, Spaniards, Mulatto's, and Blacks, who live most of them in low houses. The women are beautiful, and the men ingenious. The Governor hath the title of Captain-General of the island, and administers justice with the assistance of an Assessor, call'd a Lieutenant, who is appointed by the Council of the Indies.

It is very dear living there; for three ounces of bread cost fifteen grains of Naples money; that is, about three-pence English, and half a pound of meat the same price. A hen is worth a noble, and fruit and other things proportionably; so that a man can scarcely live under two pieces of eight a day, especially when the galleons are there: Though the climate is temperate, wheat has not throve there for some years, and the reason is not known; so that what comes from abroad to the bakers is dearly paid for: But this want is in some measure supply'd by a root call'd Yuca (the Cassavi-root) whereof they make bread, boiling and then pressing it to get out a venomous juice there is in it. They bake it upon little earthen stoves, and this bread serves not only the poor, but the better sort who have large families. This root produces neither leaves nor seed, but they set bits of it into the ground to grow again.

CHAP. I. The island is three hundred leagues in length from east to west, and about thirty in breadth. The inhabitants are poor, having no trade but tobacco and sugar; and all the labour falls upon the Blacks, of whom their masters exact four rials (two shillings) a day, and six when the fleet is there, and at least three of the women: Now what can a miserable Black do who has two masters, as it often happens? In Peru the master's avarice is greater; for they send the Black women to be got with child, like cows, and if they prove barren they sell them.

The city Havana is encompassed on two sides by its safe harbour, which is so deep that the ships anchor within a few steps of the shore. It is defended by three castles, the chief of them call'd Del Morro, on the left-hand of the mouth of it; the second De la Punta, or Of the Point, on the right; and the third call'd only The Fort, on the right of the last: We shall speak of them at large hereafter.

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Friday the 3d, I saw the little, but neat, church, call'd Santo Christo del Buen Viage, serv'd by Secular Priests. Next day that of the Recolets, seated on the best ground in the city, and in it twelve beautiful chappels, and in the monastery cells for fifty Fathers.

The weather, which had continued serene and warm as summer, on Thursday the 9th, chang'd so cold, with rain, that I believe the like has scarce ever been felt in a place lying in 23 degrees and 20 minutes of latitude.

Wednesday the 15th I heard mass in the church of St. Clare, which has seven altars well adorn'd. The monastery will contain an hundred religious women and servants, who are there cloath'd in blue.

Thursday the 16th the chests of pieces of eight (crowns) began to be put on board the galleons, the King's held three thousand each, and the rest two thousand, in all amounting to thirty millions, as well belonging to the King as Merchants, for goods sold at the fair of Porto Bello, carry'd on between the traders of Seville and those of Lima. The great faith these traders repose in one another is very remarkable; for when once agreed about the price, they interchangeably deliver one another the bales of goods and chests of pieces of eight without seeing any thing of the contents, but giving entire credit to the written particulars they deliver to one another; for afterwards the bales and chests are opened in the presence of Publick Notaries, and if they find any thing amiss, the Companies of Seville and Lima are to make all good. This year the Company of Lima traders paid five thousand pieces of eight for goods found over and above in the bales at the foregoing fair. The same is practis'd at Acapulco when the galleon comes from Manila.

There was also deliver'd to the Master of Plate (which is an officer on board the galleons, who had charge of all the plate and jewels) aboard the Admiral,

CHAP.

I.

ral, a pearl weighing sixty grains, shaped like a pear, by F. FRANCIS DE LA FUENTE a Jesuit, to be deliver'd to the King. This pearl was taken at Panama in the King's island, by a Black belonging to a Priest, who being rich would not sell it to the President of Panama for fifty thousand pieces of eight; nor to the Vice-roy of Peru for seventy thousand, both of them being to send it to the King, but said, "He would carry it to his Majesty himself." Being come to Porto Bello with the pearl, which he call'd La Perseguida, or the Persecuted, he there died before he went aboard, and therefore committed it to the care of the aforesaid F. FUENTE, who told me that it was larger than that call'd La Peregrina, but somewhat duller. The Black had his liberty for his reward.

There went on board the galleons twenty Doctors of Peru, being the sons of Spaniards and Indian women going to Court for preferment, and the least that every one of them carry'd was thirty thousand pieces of eight.

Monday the 20th, going abroad a shooting, I kill'd a great many of those birds they call Cotorre-ra's; some of them have black and green feathers, and others blue, others black and green wings, their breasts red, and half the head white. They are not amiss to eat. Returning home I kill'd two Guacamaija's, which though they do not talk, are so finely colour'd, that the best pencil can scarce equal them. The country is very delightful, being full of little houses with gardens and farms where there is no want of Indian fruit. I found a sort of snails, very large like the sea-snails.

Friday the 24th, I saw the church and monastery of the Augustinians; the first has thirteen little altars, the latter very poor dormitories.

Sunday the 26th, I was at the mother-church of the city, where the Bishop officiates with the Clergy belonging to it, his residence being at Havana, tho' the cathedral is at St. Jago where the Canons reside.

Tuesday the 28th, I heard mass in the church of St. John de Dios, which is small and has nine altars. The monastery is also small, and the hospital is for soldiers; its revenue is twelve thousand pieces of eight per annum.

On Saturday, the 1st of February, arriv'd the long-wish'd for vessel with provisions for the fleet, being seventeen hundred quintals, or a hundred weight of biscuit, six hundred load of meal, fish, and other necessaries for the galleons.

Tuesday the 4th I went to the hermitage of St. James, a church built by the Bishop within the walls of the city for his own particular devotion, well adorn'd, and with an apartment for him to retire to sometimes.

Wednesday the 5th, I saw the castle of the Point, which is very small, and has four bastions.

Monday the 10th, going to visit the Castellan D. ANTONY DE ROXAS, I had the opportunity of seeing the castle they call The Fort: Its compass is small, but it has four good bastions, and a platform towards the mouth of the port, well furnish'd with brass cannon.

There are two particular sorts of fruit at Havana, which do not grow elsewhere. One is like a heart, call'd Guanavana, green without, and has some thorny prickles within, made up of white morsels of an unpleasant taste, between sweet and sour, with some stones. The tree is as big as that which bears the anana's, or pine-apple; the other is exactly like an orange on the out-side, and within has a white and red pulp of a sweet taste. The tree is

as tall as a pear-tree; the leaf on the one side is green, and on the other of a cinnamon colour. Of European fruit there grow quinces, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and other sorts.

The mountains are full of wild Hogs, Cows, Horses, and Mules. Of birds there are abundance, especially Parrots and Partridges, with blue heads, and as for those that are fit for the cage, there is great plenty of those they call Chambergos.

Monday the 3d of March, I saw the castle Del Morro, built upon a rock on the left of the mouth of the harbour, which it defends with a platform of twelve pieces of cannon, call'd the Apostles, which lie level with the water. There are in all about fifty-five guns in the castle. The ditch about it is cut out of the rock and filled by the sea. Abundance of the birds call'd Cardinals are brought over from Florida; I saw the people belonging to the galleons give ten pieces of eight a-piece for some of them, and six for the worst. Upon computation, they said, there had been eighteen thousand pieces of eight laid out upon those foolish birds, notwithstanding the deplorable loss of Cartagena, and the expensive delay of keeping the fleet three years in America.

Saturday the 8th, proclamation was made, forbidding any that belong'd to the fleet to stay in Havana upon pain of death, and in the evening a cannon was fir'd to warn all aboard.

To return to the description of the towns; 3. Baracoa is situated at the north-east part of the island, upon a good harbour for small vessels, but is not capable of receiving large ships.

4. Porto del Principe, situated on the north-side of the island, about three hundred miles to the eastward of the Havana.

5. Santa Cruz, situated also on the north side of the island, thirty miles east of the Havana, upon a very good harbour.

6. Trinidad, situate at the bottom of a bay on the south side of the island; and

7. Spirito Sancto, situate also on the south-side of the island, about thirty miles south-east of Trinidad.

This island produces the same animals as the neighbouring continent; but there is no place where the seas and rivers abound more with crocodiles, from whence several small islands upon this coast have obtain'd the name of Caymans, or the Crocodile Islands. Tortoises and Manatee are also exceeding plentiful here, and the European cattle the Spaniards brought hither are so vastly increas'd, that they run wild, and are killed chiefly for their hides and tallow, and their horses are said to be the best bred in America. Their timber-trees are cedar, cotton, oaks, pines, palms, cocoa-nut-trees, and such others as are usually found between the Tropics. Their fruits plantains, panana's, anana's, guava's, oranges, lemons, grapes, and other fruits introduced by the Spaniards; but their wine turns sour and will not keep, as is the case in other countries situate in hot climates. They have also ginger, cassia, fistula, aloes, and long-pepper; but as to cinnamon, which our voyage-writers talk of, and other fine spices, they are only to be found in the East-Indies.

There are a kind of bituminous fountains in the island, which produce a substance that serves instead of pitch: And there is a stone-quarry, we are told, where vast quantities of flints are found of the shape and size of cannon-balls.

Travellers mention also gold mines in this island; but if there were any they are exhausted, tho' there are some of copper not far from St. Jago.

COLUM-

CHAP. I. **COLUMBUS** first discover'd this island in the year 1492, as related in the introduction in this volume; but in all the voyages he made to America, he never found that it was an island, and the Spaniards fixing first at Hispaniola on account of the gold mines there, this island of Cuba was not entirely conquer'd till the year 1512, or 1514, Don **JAMES VELASQUEZ** having the honour of reducing it. The Spaniards having frequently been disturb'd in the possession of it by their enemies and the Buccaneers, particularly Captain **CLIFF** took the capital city of St. Jago in the year 1601, and Captain **MORGAN** the town of Porto del Principe in the year 1669; for the rest I must refer to the introduction.

CHAP. II.

Of the island of Hispaniola.

CHAP. II. **T**HE island of Hispaniola is situated between 18 and 20 degrees of north latitude, and between 66 and 75 degrees of western longitude, being about 80 leagues in length, and generally about 40 leagues broad, and lies 15 leagues to the eastward of Cuba, 20 leagues east of Jamaica, and upwards of 100 leagues north of Terra-Firma.

Name. The name the Indians gave it anciently was Bohio, but **COLUMBUS** call'd it Hispaniola, or Little Spain, probably in honour to the Crown of Spain, which employed him in this discovery; and it was frequently call'd Dominica, or Domingo, from its capital.

Face of the country. As to the face of the country, there are mountains in the middle of it well planted with forest-trees, and other mountains more barren, in which formerly were gold mines, that seem to be entirely exhausted at this day. On the north and south are fine fruitful plains, watered with abundance of pleasant rivers which fall from the mountains, of which those on the south-side of the island are the largest. There are also several woods and groves of timber and fruit-trees: And no island hath more secure and commodious ports. The air and seasons are much the same here as in the island of Cuba. The island may be thrown into two grand divisions, viz. The south-east part which is subject to the Spaniards, and the north-west now subject to the French.

Chief towns of the Spaniards. The chief towns under the Dominion of the Spaniards are, 1. St. Domingo, or Dominica; 2. Higüey; 3. Zibo; 4. Cotuy; 5. Afo, or Azua; and 6. Conception.

Domingo. 1. The city of St. Domingo, situated on a commodious harbour on the south-side of the island, near the mouth of the river Hayna, in 18 degrees, 20 minutes south latitude, and in 70 degrees of western longitude. This town is built after the Spanish model, having a large square in the middle of it, about which are the cathedral and other publick buildings; and from this square run the principal streets in a direct line, being cross'd by others at right-angles; so that the form of the town is almost square. It is most delightfully situated, having a fine fruitful country on the north and east, a large navigable river on the west, and the ocean on the south, and is the see of an Archbishop, to whom the Bishop of St. Jago in Cuba and several others on the continent of Honduras and Terra-Firma are Suffragans. It is also a royal audience, the most ancient in America, and the seat of the Governor of the island. There are in it several fine churches and monasteries, and it is so well fortify'd that it defended itself in the year 1654, against one of the

most formidable fleets and armies that ever was sent to America by the English. The inhabitants are Spaniards, Mestices, Mulatto's, and Albetraces, a sixth part of which may be Spaniards: And in its flourishing state, when its audience received appeals from every province of Spanish-America, it might contain about two thousand houses; but is very much declin'd of late years. It was founded by **BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS**, brother to the Admiral, in the year 1594, who gave it the name of Domingo, or Dominic, in honour of their Father who was of that name.

2. The town of Higüey, situated 30 leagues to the eastward of Domingo, most considerable for its sugar-works.

3. Zibo, 20 leagues east of Domingo.

4. Cotuy, situated near the east-end of the island formerly a rich town when there were gold mines in its neighbourhood, but now an inconsiderable place.

5. Azua, or Afo, a good port-town at the bottom of a bay on the south-side of the island, 8 leagues west of Domingo.

6. The city of Conception de la Vega, situate 25 leagues north of St. Domingo, in which is a cathedral and several parochial-churches, and others belonging to convents, being heretofore a Bishop's see, founded by **COLUMBUS**, who from this town had the title of Duke DE LA VEGA conferr'd on him by his Catholick Majesty.

The towns subject to the French are, 1. Petit Guaves; 2. Logane; 3. Port Lewis; and 4. Cape St. Francis.

1. Petit Guaves is a port-town situated in a great bay at the west end of the island, the principal settlement the French have upon it.

2. Logane, another port belonging to the French in the same bay.

3. Port Lewis, a good harbour on the south-west part of the island.

4. Cape St. Francis, the most easterly settlement the French have on the north-side of the island, near which they have the Fort De Paix. Besides these there are at this day a great many more thriving French colonies on the north and west part of the island.

As to the inhabitants, it has been already hinted that the south-east part is under the dominion of the Spaniards, and the north-west subject to the French, and consequently the Spaniards and French are Lords of their respective districts; but these are not a fifth part of the people upon the island; the Crioli, Mestices, Negroes and Albetraces are much more numerous than their European Lords, tho' their slavery and dependance are as intolerable here as upon the continent; but there is this difference between the French and the Spanish settlements, that the French work and apply themselves to business sometimes themselves, whereas the Spaniards live a lazy indolent life, depending on their vassals and slaves entirely for their subsistence.

The stature and complexion of the natives are the same as in the like climates on the continent. There may be observ'd a great variety of features and complexions here, and in all European colonies in America; some of the native Spaniards and French are fair, and others tawny: The descendants of these are a degree browner, and the next generation still of a darker colour: Whereas on the other hand the imported Negroes and their issue are as black as possible, and their features like those of other African Blacks; but mixing with Europeans or Indians, their children are tawny, and in some gene-

CHAP. II. generations these tawny creatures cohabiting with other Europeans, their children and grandchildren are scarce to be distinguish'd from native Spaniards or French by their features or complexions; and when their original is forgot have the same privileges as those descended from French or Spanish ancestors on both sides, provided they have acquir'd fortunes or estates to support their pretensions.

Quadrupeds. It is very remarkable that when the Spaniards first discover'd Hispaniola and the neighbouring islands, there was not one four-footed animal upon them, unless some little Cur-dogs that could not bark: But the Spaniards afterwards importing horses, oxen, asses, mules, sheep, hogs, dogs, and cats, they multiplied prodigiously, and the Spaniards afterwards deserting this island in a manner, having first destroy'd the natives, the black cattle run wild in the mountains and forests, and for many years were kill'd by the Hunters and Buccaneers chiefly for their hides and tallow, of which incredible quantities were exported to Europe: And here the Buccaneers used to victual their ships with beef and pork and sell the same kind of provisions to the shipping that touch'd there; but since the French became masters of the north-west part of the island, and the number of cattle is decreased by the continual slaughter that was made of them, they have apply'd themselves to the planting sugar, tobacco, &c.

Fowls. As to the feather'd kind, there is a sort of fowls in their woods equal to our poultry, which the Spaniards call Pintado's, and great numbers of Parrots of various colours. Here is also the Carpenter-bird, so call'd from his pecking holes in trees, with the Cabrero, a sort of Cormorants, Men-of-war birds, Ravens, Crows, Swallows, Ducks, Teal, and many more such as are found in the same latitude on the continent.

Reptiles and insects. As to reptiles and insects, there are serpents of various kinds, but none of them venomous; Chego's, Musketo's, Fire-flies, Crickets, and Millipedes.

Crocodiles and Tortoises. The Caymans, or Crocodiles, and Tortoises also are as numerous here and in the small islands on the coast as in any place of the world, and they have plenty of fish in their seas and rivers.

Fish. The principal forest-trees on Hispaniola are the Cedar, the Oak, the Pine, the Maho-tree, the Acoma-tree, Brasil, and other dying woods, and the Manchiril, the fruit of which last is poisonous, and the very saw-dust of this wood has been fatal to the workman. They have also several sorts of Palms, as the Latimer-plum, the Prickle-palm, the Wine-palm, and the Rosary-palm, with several kinds of fruit-trees, such as Banana's, Plantains, Guava's, Anana's, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, Limes, Grapes, Apricots, Caramite-trees, whose fruit resembles Damascene-plumbs, the Genipa-tree, not unlike our cherry-trees, but the fruit bigger than a tennis-ball, and the Abelcote, which yields a fruit as big as a Melon.

Fruits. But the principal produce of the island at this day is Sugar, of which the French, as well as the Spaniards have very large plantations: And the great plenty of provisions, or rather the frugality and parsimony of the French, enables them to sell this kind of merchandize cheaper than the British colonies can do, and consequently must diminish our trade in that particular; for which I know no remedy but to advise our Planters to live as frugally as the French, and then possibly they may recover the trade they have lost.

Sugar. They plant Tobacco also in Hispaniola, and have several gums and drugs that are used in medicine,

Tobacco. Drugs.

such as Gum-elema, Guaiacum, Aloes, Cassia, and China-root.

CHAP. II. The first discovery of this island, in the year 1492, and part of its history have been already treated of in the introduction in this volume. I shall take leave to add in this place, that the Spaniards, after they had made an entire conquest of it, lived in great splendor here for many years, 'till they had exhausted the gold mines and worn out the natives in the working of them, and in other rigorous services, insomuch that of three millions of Indians that were found here there was not one Indian left upon it. After which the Spaniards (who at one time, 'tis said, amounted to fourteen thousand families) deserted the island themselves, and went over to the continent, most of them to Peru and Chili, where they understood there was the greatest plenty of gold and silver. Whereupon this island became the habitation of wild beasts 'till a people no less savage than these brute creatures, consisting of Out-laws, Buccaneers, and Pirates of all nations, began to make settlements here, and maintain themselves by hunting the wild cattle on shore, and the prizes they made at sea; or by plundering the maritime towns in those seas. The Spaniards finding their commerce very much interrupted by these Free-booters, and apprehensive that other European nations might at length take possession of Hispaniola, and dispute their dominion in that part of the world, thought fit to send colonies thither, and repossess themselves of the south-east part of the island again, but could not entirely drive the Buccaneers from the north-west coast and the little island of Tortuga over-against it, where they had fortify'd themselves; and these being most of them French, his most Christian Majesty at length sent a Governor thither, and oblig'd these disorderly people to build towns, cultivate the lands, and live in subjection to the laws of France, since which time they have made prodigious improvements, insomuch that Hispaniola may now be look'd upon as one of the most valuable acquisitions the French have in America, particularly with regard to their sugar-plantations (as has been intimated already) and the noble harbours and forts they are now in possession of on that coast, which gives them an opportunity of disturbing and ruining the commerce of other nations they happen to be at war with, as the Spaniards experienc'd in King WILLIAM's war, and the English in that of queen ANNE.

One reason of the Spaniards deserting this fruitful island of Hispaniola, 'tis said, was their being perpetually harass'd and plunder'd by the English and Dutch in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH; and why neither of those nations possess'd themselves of this important island when they had driven the Spaniards from thence is not easy to be conceiv'd; for were either of the maritime Powers possess'd of it, there are so many fine harbours for the security of their ships, and such plenty of provisions, that here they might ride masters of the American seas, and give laws to all other Powers.

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, in the year 1586, took the capital city of St. Domingo by storm with twelve hundred men, and then quitted it again, as he had done several other Spanish ports in America. It seems to have been a maxim then in the Court of England, to humble the pride of the Spaniards, but not absolutely to drive them from their settlements in the West-Indies.

But CROMWELL and his Ministry were of a different mind. There is no one enterprize that cunning Usurper seem'd to have set his heart upon

Cromwell attempts the conquest of Hispaniola.

C H A P. II. more than the possessing himself of this important island, which he evidently saw must give him the command of those seas, if it did not let him into a share of the treasures of Mexico and Peru. He sent Admiral PENN and VENABLES thither therefore, in the year 1654, with a fine fleet and ten thousand landmen on board, who had infallibly made themselves masters of the island, if some that envied CROMWELL that glorious conquest had not defeated the design by unnecessary delays in executing his orders, and sending such provisions, arms, and ammunition on board the fleet, that when they came to use them were found to be good for nothing. However, tho' these forces were not so fortunate as to subdue the island of Hispaniola, they did the nation the next best service they could possibly have perform'd in making a conquest of Jamaica, which the English have kept possession of to this day.

His forces
seduce Ja-
maica.

Islands of
Savona.
St. Cata-
lina.
Navaza.
Guanabo.
Tortuga.

Bucca-
neers,
their ori-
ginal.

There are several small islands near the coast of Hispaniola, of which the chief are Savona and St. Catalina, at the south-east part of the island; Navaza, at the west end of Hispaniola; Guanabo, in the bay of Leogane; and, lastly, Tortuga, on the north-west coast, an island of between twenty and thirty leagues in circumference, in which there is an excellent harbour of difficult access.

Here the Buccaneers and Free-booters of all nations had their first rendezvous, and fortifying the island, bid defiance to all mankind for some years. They consisted chiefly of the French Hunters of Hispaniola, who possess'd part of that island on the Spaniards deserting it, and spent their time in hunting, and taking the black cattle that run wild there. These were joined by great numbers of English and Dutch and other seamen, who having been barbarously treated by the Spaniards, form'd considerable fleets, and made all Spanish ships prize that came in their way; and sometimes, 'tis said, they made no scruple of seizing the ships of other nations, or at least plundering them of their ammunition and provisions when they wanted themselves; but since the French King has oblig'd those people to submit to a regular form of government, and establish'd his dominion in the north-west part of the island of Hispaniola, the Buccaneers have desisted their depredations at sea as well as their hunting by land, and apply'd themselves to cultivate the soil, and particularly to improve the sugar-plantations there, in which they have been very successful. This colony, as has been intimated already, does not only prejudice the British sugar-plantations extremely, but will ever remain a thorn in our sides in time of war; for from hence they will be in a condition to disturb the trade of our American colonies, unless we can find means to remove them: And one reason why the Spaniards have of late years favour'd the French more than the English may be, that they dread the power of the French more than the English, since they have possess'd themselves of the north-west part of Hispaniola, where they have a variety of commodious harbours for the greatest fleets, with which they can at any time cut off the trade between Spain and America.

C H A P. III.

Of the island of Porto Rico.

C H A P. III. **T**HE island of Porto Rico is situated in 18 degrees of northern latitude, and between 64 and 66 degrees of western longitude, being of an oblong form, about forty leagues in length from east to west, and twenty in breadth from north to south, and lies about twenty leagues east of Hispaniola.

Porto Ri-
co. Situa-
tion and
extent.

VOL. III.

C H A P. III. **N**ame.

The Indian name was Boriquen, and COLUMBUS when he discover'd it call'd it St. John, but the chief town being afterwards built upon a commodious harbour, call'd Porto Rico, or the Rich Harbour, the island lost both its former names, and goes by the name of Porto Rico to this day.

The whole island is pleasantly diversified with woods, hills, and valleys, but has few large plains, and is well watered with springs and rivers; only on the little island, on which the city of Porto Rico stands, they have neither spring or brook, but fetch their fresh-water from the main island, or preserve it in the time of the rains in cisterns and reservoirs: However, as two of the most considerable rivers discharge themselves into the same bay, they easily import fresh-water from thence in boats.

Face of
the coun-
try.

The chief towns are, 1. Porto Rico; and, 2. St. Germain.

1. The town of Porto Rico, or St. John's, is situated on a small island in the harbour from whence it takes its name, the island being about two miles in length, and join'd to the main island by a narrow causey.

co city.

The town stands upon an eminence, and is about half a league in circumference, built after the Spanish model; and being a Bishop's see, has a handsome cathedral and six or seven parochial and conventual churches. The entrance of the harbour is very narrow, and defended by strong forts and batteries, which render the town inaccessible by sea.

Nor is the place less pleasant than it is strong, for its elevated situation gives it the command of the sea on the one side, and of the main island on the other, and the small island in which it stands is planted with fruit-trees which are green all the year long.

2. The town of St. Germain is situated at the west end of the island of Porto Rico, about four miles from the sea; but of this I do not meet with any particular description.

St. Ger-
main.

Their rainy and tempestuous season is in the months of June, July and August, when the sun is near them, and then the winds in these seas are at south-east, though they are north-east at other times; but the hurricanes (which they are subject to as well as the Caribbee islands in their neighbourhood) blow from every point of the compass; and it is about Midsummer, or something later, that they expect these storms, though they do not happen every year.

Seasons.

It is very fortunate that it rains here in those months, which would otherwise be the hottest: And the sea-breezes are another great relief; for about eight in the morning there rises a fresh gale of wind and blows 'till four in the afternoon: From six in the morning 'till the sea-breeze rises is very hot, but five in the afternoon is the hottest time of the day: From three in the morning 'till six it is the coolest, then a man may bear the bed-cloaths upon him very well.

The time of the rains is usually unhealthful; foreigners especially find it so, as the Earl of CUMBERLAND experienc'd, who, after he had taken the town of Porto Rico with its castles, was forc'd to abandon them again, having lost the greatest part of his men by the flux; which leads me to give a short abstract of the history of this island.

St. John de Porto Rico was discover'd by COLUMBUS in his second voyage, in the year 1493, who informs us that he met with some elegant buildings and gardens in this island; but being employ'd in discoveries on the continent afterwards, it was not reduc'd under the obedience of the Spaniards, or planted by them 'till the year 1510, when

History of
this island.

CHAP.
III.

JOHN POUNCE DE LEON, Deputy-governor of Hispaniola, being inform'd there were gold mines in Boroquen, obtain'd leave of NICHOLAS OBANDO, the Governor, to plant a colony there, and embarking with some few Spaniards, arriv'd at Boroquen; where pretending he only came to establish a friendly commerce with the natives, the chief Cacique, or Lord of the island, made an alliance with the Spaniards, and treated them very hospitably, shewing them two rivers wherein were some gold sands. Whereupon POUNCE DE LEON introducing a good number of Spaniards, and building several forts in the island, usurp'd the dominion of it: And not content with taking the country from the inoffensive natives, he obtain'd a commission from the Court of Spain to be Governor of the island, under colour whereof he made all the people slaves, dividing them among his captains and followers, who employ'd those poor people in digging for gold (of which it seems there was little to be found) and in all manner of drudgery, such as building, planting, carrying burthens, &c. using them as unmercifully as the Spaniards had done the natives of Hispaniola. Whereupon some of the Indians run away to the woods and mountains, and others stood upon their defence; but not being in a condition to resist the fire-arms, horses and dogs of the Spaniards, they were at length most of them compell'd to submit to that cruel bondage, and those that would not were tortured or torn in pieces with dogs. The Spanish writers relate abundance of incredible stories of the sagacity of their dogs in distinguishing between those who submitted to this slavery and those that refused to obey them: However, all agree that their country-men hunted those naked people with dogs in the woods and mountains as they would wild beasts or other game, and frequently tore in pieces men, women, and children in mere sport, turning them loose before their dogs, as they would a hare or a fox: And when repeated orders came from Spain to use the people better, and to prohibit the making the Indians slaves, those Adventurers represented to his Catholick Majesty that they were cannibals, and procur'd leave to make slaves of all they were pleas'd to denominate such. And this is one reason so many of the American nations have been represented as cannibals in Europe; nothing short of such prejudices could have induc'd any Christian Prince to have suffer'd his subjects to be treated so barbarously as the Indians were by the Spaniards; for though they claim'd their country by virtue of the Pope's grant, no Prince would ever have authoriz'd them to worry and tear in pieces whole nations after they had submitted to the Spanish yoke, if these savage Adventurers had not first dress'd them up in horrid colours, and falsely accus'd those inoffensive people of the most barbarous and unnatural customs: And strange it is (as has been observ'd on other occasions) that if almost all the American nations were cannibals, as the Spanish writers affirm'd, that there should not be one of those nations left at this day in the inland-countries that were never under the dominion of any European power, and consequently have not been brought off these customs by any such Catholick reformations. But to return to the history.

Porto Rico founded, Drake repuls'd there.

The city of St. John de Porto Rico was founded in the year 1514, and continued in a flourishing condition for many years. Sir FRANCIS DRAKE having a good fleet under his command, with land-forces on board, gave several assaults to the town in the year 1595, but was beaten from it. The Earl of CUMBERLAND had better success; for with a much less force he made himself master of the place

the next year with a fleet set out at his own expence, assisted by two regiments of the Queen's, for it was Queen ELIZABETH's good husbandry to encourage private men to be at the expence of such expeditions to the West-Indies, only lending them her ships and men. It was not often she put the publick to the whole expence of them. But it was with great hazard and difficulty the Earl carry'd the town of Porto Rico, tho' thus assisted; for in an assault he made upon the place, he fell from a rock into the sea in his armour, and remain'd so long under water before his people could get him out, that he was almost dead; and Sir JOHN BARKLY continued the attack, 'till the Earl recover'd; soon after which the enemy abandon'd the town and retir'd into their forts, and these also surrender'd two or three days afterwards. The Earl had determined to take possession of Porto Rico, and from thence to have attack'd the Spanish settlements on the continent and islands after he should have been reinforce'd from England; but losing more than half his men by the bloody-flux in a very short time, he was compell'd to set sail for England on the 14th of August, with much less treasure than he expected to have met with here; for the Spaniards having notice of his coming, had carried off or conceal'd all that was valuable. The best prize he made was eighty pieces of brass cannon he found in the town and forts. He demanded a great sum of the Spaniards to ransom the town from being burnt, which they promised to pay him; but finding his men rot so fast they neglected to pay the money, and though the Earl was press'd to set the city on fire on their disappointing him, he left the town standing, and only demolish'd their forts.

There is no doubt but Porto Rico would have been of vast advantage to the English if they could have kept it; and had they come before it in the dry season, possibly that mortality among the soldiers had not happen'd; which the Earl ascrib'd partly to the great labour his men sustain'd in this service, but more to the heavy rains that fell at that season, and observes when there was no rain the dews that fell in the evening were no less fatal to his men, who chose to lie in the open air in that hot country in fair weather: The fruits of the country also might contribute to this distemper; which brings me to treat of the produce of the island of Porto Rico.

The soil is rich, producing long coarse grass, which they feed their cattle with, but never make into hay. They have good timber fit for the building of ships, and variety of fruit-trees, such as Cocoa's, Pine-apples, Mameys, Guava's, Banana's Plantains, Palms, Oranges, Limes, Citrons, Jamaica-Pepper, and the bastard Cinamon. The country also produces Rice and Indian-corn, but they make more bread of the Cassavi-root than of corn, being too lazy to cultivate the soil. The principal produce of the island for exportation is Ginger, Sugar, and Hides, for they have vast numbers of black cattle here as well as in the neighbouring island of Hispaniola; but they have more Goats and Hogs than they have of European Sheep, and the mutton they have is poor dry food: Their pork is excellent, and their Kids are pretty good meat: They have also all manner of European poultry, and plenty of fish. Parrots are as common as Crows in England, and they are well stocked with Wood-pigeons as well as Guanoes, a kind of great Lizard, which they esteem good food in the West-Indies. They have also Land-crabs, not unlike the Sea-crab, which burrow in the ground like Rabbits; but these are the food of dogs more than of men. Those who were in the expedition

The Earl of Cumberland takes the town.

Loses his men by sickness, and forced to quit it.

Produce of Porto Rico.

Their dogs feed on land-crabs.

CHAP.
III.

dition against Porto Rico with the Earl of Cumberland relate, that the Earl proposing to make this an English colony, transported the Spanish inhabitants to other places; whereupon the dogs set up a dismal howl, which they continued all night after their Spanish masters were gone, and run away to the woods next day, which the English apprehended was in search of their masters. However, the dogs returned to the town again in the evening; and after they were acquainted with the English, left off their howling in the night-time, but still went every day to the woods by the sea-side, where the English at length observ'd that they devour'd the Land-crabs, these being their principal food.

Gold, none
here.

As to the gold mines that travellers relate there are in this island, there are none wrought at this day; nor was there ever any that were very considerable,

but possibly there might be some little gold found in their rivulets formerly, which invited the Spaniards to take possession of the island; though I believe their chief reason for keeping Porto Rico at present is, that it may not fall into the hands of some other European power that might disturb their commerce with their American dominions, and perhaps endanger the loss of their more valuable settlements on the continent.

The Virgins Islands are the last Spanish islands I shall mention. These are a cluster of barren rocks, a little to the eastward of the island of Porto Rico, through which the passage is something difficult. They are scarce worth claiming by the Spaniards, or any other nation; though they are generally said to belong to Spain.

CHAP.
III.The Vir-
gins islands

THE CONCLUSION OF

Spanish-AMERICA.

IN this survey of the Spanish territories in America, it appears that they are the richest (if gold and silver are to be accounted riches) and the most extensive that ever any Monarch possess'd since the flood. What are the conquests and acquisitions of ALEXANDER or CÆSAR if compar'd with these? especially at a time when CHARLES V. was upon the throne, who was Emperor of Germany, Sovereign of Spain, Italy, and the Low-Countries, and had part of Asia and Africa under his dominion?

This Prince was actually engaged in war with the Turk, the French, the Flemmings, the Africans, and Indians of north and South-America almost at the same instant: And in every part of the world was generally successful: But the empire of Mexico and Peru, a dominion of seven thousand miles extent almost, was entirely subdu'd by the Spaniards during his reign; so numerous were the enterprizes his forces were engaged in, that he might well be deem'd the grand Knight-errant of his times; and CERVANTES is suppos'd by some to have had an eye to CHARLES V. in his DON QUIXOTE, especially where he brings in the hero charging the flock of sheep, to which the naked Indians might properly be resembled when they were attack'd by men arm'd cap-a-pee on horseback, with the advantages of artillery and fire-arms. In this and in shipping, it must be acknowledged that CHARLES V. had the better of ALEXANDER and CÆSAR, and other Knight-errants of antiquity; for though the

Greeks and Romans excell'd in military discipline, which enabled them to subdue the nations about them, their conquests probably would have been swifter and more extensive if they had known the use of fire-arms, and been better skill'd in navigation. These render'd the Spaniards so much superior to the Indians, that they might well be looked upon as sheep, if compar'd with their Conquerors, as they were call'd, though with as little property as a troop of horse may be said to conquer a flock of sheep or hares they trample under their feet without resistance. They might have stiled their expeditions to America executions, or barbarous massacres; but the name of conquest (which carries in the notion of it hazard and difficulty, and presumes the enterprize to be just and honourable) ought never to be profaned and apply'd to butchers and hangmen, to robbers, pirates, and usurpers, who make no scruple of torturing and murdering the inoffensive or industrious part of their own species to possess themselves of their country and treasures.

But how barbarously or unjustly soever the Spaniards acquir'd the dominion of America, they remain'd in the uninterrupted possession of it (except Brazil) for an hundred years and were possess'd of that too for threescore years and upwards, namely, while Portugal was in possession of the Spaniards.

The English and other European nations seem'd to have resign'd the dominion of that new world to the Spaniards, scarce endeavouring to make a settlement,

The vast
extent of
the Span-
ish terri-
tories in A-
merica.
Charles V.
the grand
Knight-
errant.America
possess'd
by the Spa-
niards a-
lone for
100 years.

tlement, or send a colony thither for three or four-score years after it was discovered. **SEBASTIAN CABOT** was employ'd indeed by **HENRY VII.** of England to find out a passage to the East-Indies by the north-west, in the year 1496, and in that attempt discover'd the north-east coast of America; but no endeavours were made to improve that discovery till the year 1560, when the English and some other European nations began to promote a fishery on the banks of Newfoundland.

Monfieur CHATILLON carried a colony of the French to Florida, in the year 1562, and call'd that part of the country Carolina, in honour of **CHARLES IX.** of France, which name it retains to this day; but the French were driven from it soon after by the Spaniards, which they revenged and then abandon'd this country again. In the year 1567, **DRAKE** sail'd with Captain **HAWKINS**, who had five ships under his command, to Guinea, and from thence to Vera Cruz in Mexico, with Negroe slaves, where the Spaniards agreed to traffick with them, but surpriz'd **HAWKINS** and three of his ships in the harbour; and **DRAKE** return'd to England, having lost all he had in the world, which he revenged on the Spaniards two or three years after by plundering Nombre de Dios, and seizing abundance of treasure that was coming from Panama: And on his return to England made preparations for that memorable voyage round the world, which he enter'd upon in the year 1577, and being come into the South-sea, took and plunder'd several Spanish towns and made prize of their ships; after which he came home by the East-Indies and the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1580. The same bold Seaman took and plunder'd several Spanish settlements in the North-sea afterwards, but planted no colonies in America. **Sir WALTER RALEGH** procur'd the first patent to govern such countries as he should discover in America, in the year 1584, and sent a colony to Virginia, which was driven from thence by famine again. The English miscarry'd a second and third time in their endeavours to settle a colony at Virginia in the years 1586 and 1587 (but here it is necessary to observe, that **Sir WALTER RALEGH** gave the name of Virginia to all the north-east coast of America, now in possession of the English, in honour of Queen **ELIZABETH** his Sovereign.) The first settlement the English actually made and establish'd in America, was that at James-Town in Virginia, in the reign of King **JAMES I.** 1606: And eight or ten years afterwards colonies were sent to New-England: And about the same time the French made some acquisitions in Canada. From whence it appears that the Spaniards had the sole dominion in America for upwards of an hundred years (except that the Portuguese were masters of Brazil part of the time.) And the Spaniards look'd upon themselves to be so much the proprietors of those countries, that they sunk the ships of every nation they met with in those seas, and hang'd up the men; which put both the English and the Dutch on making reprisals, questioning by what title the Spaniards claim'd the sole right of that part of the world; and these disputes continue in some measure to this day, the Spaniards seldom failing to make prize of such ships they find in the gulph of Mexico, or on the coast of Terra-Firma, when they find themselves strong enough; and we are become so very tame as to put up these insults for the most part, while the French have in a manner bullied the haughty Spaniards into a submission since their fixing themselves on the north-west of Hispaniola, and may now be

looked upon as the most formidable power in those seas; and indeed that nation seems to assume the privilege at present of giving laws to the English as well as the Spaniards both on the continent and islands. But to return to Spanish-America.

Notwithstanding the vast addition of dominion and treasure to the Spanish Crown, which their Princes enjoy'd almost without a rival for the space of an hundred years, that kingdom has been upon the decline ever since they were possess'd of them.

One reason whereof may be that the countries subject to them were too numerous and extensive for any Prince that had not the capacity of an Angel to govern them. Even **CHARLES V.** who had so vast a genius, and who actually attempted and made some progress in the conquest of three parts of the world, and was not without hopes of reigning sole Monarch of it, this great Prince sunk at last under the weight of that unwieldy empire. Some repulses he met with abroad, and the stubborn opposition of his subjects at home so ruffled his soul, that he abandon'd the world, and retir'd in discontent to a cloister; and, fully convinc'd that he had grasped too much for any mortal man to govern, divided his dominions between his brother and his son.

Another reason given for the decline of the Spanish Monarchy on the conquest of the new world, is, their sending over annually such numbers of their best men thither for the securing this foreign prize, and neglecting their affairs in Europe. And there is still a third cause more fatal than both the former, namely, that the prodigious treasures which at first flow'd in upon them render'd their people proud, lazy, and inactive, inso much that most of their manufactures were neglected, and at length the greatest part of that treasure they received from America came to be distributed among their more industrious neighbours for the merchandize they received from them, and the Spaniards were little more than factors for the rest of Europe: The gold and silver of America indeed pass'd through their hands, but very little of it remains long in their country; from all which considerations it is pretty evident that the Spaniards are rather losers than gainers by that envy'd conquest.

The next enquiry which it is natural to make is, whether the Americans have been any great gainers by their intercourse with the Spaniards. It is true that they first instructed them in the Christian religion, introduced learning, with the liberal and mechanic arts; and that the Spaniards first imported European cattle, corn, and fruits, by which no doubt America is or might have been abundantly improved, and a more elegant way of living introduced than the Indians were before acquainted with.

But how dear did the first generation of Indians pay for this! and in what a miserable servitude do their posterity still remain! The Spaniards indeed had religion and reformation in their mouths, but practis'd the greatest cruelty, injustice and oppression: And religion was only made a pretence for their barbarity. They represented the natives as sodomites, canibals, and monsters, and then used them as such. Instead of reforming they actually extirpated the greatest part of the natives, and the rest were reduced to a state of slavery: And as to the Christian religion, it was so disguis'd by superstitious rites, and its doctrines so perverted, that instead of improving their morals, the natives who live under the Spanish government are become the most vicious mortals upon earth: And all the present

James-Town in Virginia, the first colony of the English in America, settled in 1606.

The Spaniards in America in a perpetual state of war with other nations.

But humbled by the French, who are now very formidable in those seas.

The Spaniards weaken'd by their conquests.

The Americans the worse for the Spaniards.

sent inhabitants, whether descended from European, Indian, or African ancestors, are oppress'd to a very great degree. Necessitous and rapacious Governors are sent over from time to time, who make merchandize of all places of trust and profit to their inferior officers; and these again fleece the miserable inhabitants in their respective governments till they have repaid themselves what has been extorted from them by their superiors, to whom it is in vain to complain or petition for justice, while a continued series of bribery runs through the whole administration.

The communicating the Christian religion, arts, and sciences, and the importing so many valuable species of animals, corn and plants, might have been esteem'd a very great happiness to the Americans, if they had not been compell'd to resign their country and liberties in exchange for them. But what pleasure can slaves take in the midst of the greatest affluence? They see indeed all that is desirable in life with their eyes; but as they can call nothing of all this their own, it does but add to their misery when they find they have no share in these blessings, or none at least but what they are liable to be depriv'd of every moment by their imperious masters. As it seems evident therefore that the Americans are not much the better for their commerce with Europe, so some make it a question whether the inhabitants of this continent have gain'd any great advantage by their intercourse with the new world.

We have certainly received great quantities of gold and silver from thence, but the multiplication and increase of these metals does not seem to have added much to our happiness. In proportion to the importation the value of them has decreased; and since estates have been converted into money, which may be hoarded up or lodg'd in banks, hospitality has visibly declin'd. The money'd man is generally the most useless member in a commonwealth, where he does not apply it to traffick. An ordinary Farmer employs more people, and does more good in his neighbourhood than a man that is possess'd of ten thousand pounds and lives on the interest of it.

But if we are not much better for the gold and silver of America, it must be acknowledged, however, that Europe reaps great advantages from the rest of the produce of that new world, which furnishes us with abundance of valuable drugs and merchandize we wanted. Our colonies also take off vast quantities of our manufactures, and consequently employ great numbers of people on this side. Navigation and the knowledge of nature also has been extremely improv'd since our discovery of these countries; and in time, when we come to know one another better, and come to treat each other with more humanity, there is no doubt but that they and we shall receive great advantages by a mutual intercourse, and the communication of the produce of the respective continents.

The last observation I shall make is, that the best Spanish historians cannot be relied on: They have evidently made such representations of the country and the natives, as their interest, their vanity or superstition prompted them to make, and have had very little regard to the truth of things; and how false soever their relations have been, they have generally been transcribed and copied by other nations, who had no other opportunity of informing themselves of the state of those countries before the Spaniards arrived, insomuch that I have found as much difficulty in discovering the true state of those countries as if we had but just heard of them, especially as to the religion and morals of the Indians when the Spaniards came amongst them.

As to the numerous nations of cannibals, giants, and monsters that were said to be found in America, I am perfectly satisfied that these relations were all pure fiction: And as to their human sacrifices, I am very much in doubt upon the most strict and impartial review whether there were any such. Certain it is these matters were very much aggravated, if there was ever any foundation for them: And it is strange, if many Indian nations did formerly sacrifice men, there should not be one left among the nations unobdu'd and unconverted that sacrifice men at present. Their celebrated A COSTA and other Spanish writers do charge both the Peruvians and Florida-Indians with sacrificing children, which is now known to be false: Why may we not then suspect the truth of the human sacrifices they pretend there were among the Mexican nations?

Another thing I cannot help doubting of is, the noble and elegant buildings that are said to be found in the city of Mexico and some other cities at the arrival of the Spaniards. I must confess, when I first observed the concurrent testimony of the Spanish writers in these particulars, I did give credit to them; as the reader will observe in the description of the Mexican cities; but having observed since, that there are no such buildings to be found in any other parts of America, I think we have some reason to question whether these were not set in a better light than they deserved: As to the largeness of their buildings, and the vast stones they were composed of, these particulars possibly may be true, since the whole country were slaves to their Princes, who could command as many of them as they pleased to assist in building their palaces, temples, or fortresses. But when it is related, that the materials of their buildings were of jasper and other polish'd marble, when they had no iron tools to form or beautify the stone; and when there are no such works to be found in any part of the country which the Indians possess at this day, and when so many other particulars in the Spanish historians have been found to be false, I cannot give entire credit to all that has been written on this head.

THE PRESENT STATE OF BRAZIL.

CHAP. I.

Of the situation and extent of BRAZIL; of its name, the face of the country, springs, rivers, lakes, seas, air, winds and seasons.

CHAP.
I.
Situation.

I COME now to the second grand division of America, I proposed to describe, namely, that of Brazil, under the dominion of the King of Portugal, which is situated between the mouth of the great river Amazon, under the Equator, and the mouth of the river La Plata, in 35 degrees south latitude, being bounded by the Atlantic-ocean on the north and east, by the river La Plata on the south, and by the province of La Plata, or Paragua, and the country of the Amazons on the west, being two thousand, four hundred miles and upwards in length from north to south, if we measure in a direct line, and near four thousand if we take in all the turnings and windings of the coast, but is not in many places more than two thousand miles broad, though in some the Portuguese may have penetrated four or five hundred miles into the country.

Name.

The Portuguese, who first discover'd this country, gave it the name of The Holy Cross, but it afterwards obtain'd the name of Brazil (by which it is now universally known) from the great abundance of Brazil-wood which grows here.

Face of
the coun-
try.

As to the face of the country, the land is rather low than high near the coast, but exceeding pleasant, being chequer'd (according to DAMPIER's expression) with woods and savannahs, or meadow-grounds, and the trees, for the most part, ever-greens: But on the west side of it, far within land, are high mountains, which separate it from the Spanish province of La Plata, and in these are innumerable springs and lakes, from whence issue abundance of rivers that fall into the great rivers Amazon and La Plata, or run cross the country from west to east, and fall into the Atlantic-ocean, which last are very numerous, and of great use to the Portuguese in turning their sugar-mills, and meliorating their lands, which they over-flow annually, as the Nile does Egypt.

Springs,
lakes and
rivers.

Through every province of Brazil there runs a great river (besides several lesser streams) which communicates its name to the province, the course whereof will be describ'd in treating of the respective provinces.

The sea.

The only sea that borders upon Brazil is that of the Atlantic-ocean, which washing its coasts for the space of three hundred miles and upwards, forms

several fine harbours, bays, capes, and promontories, the principal whereof are, 1. Cape Roque, in 4 degrees odd minutes south latitude. 2. The harbour of Pernambuco, or Recife, in 7 degrees 30 minutes south latitude. 3. Cape St. Augustin, in 8 degrees. 4. The harbour or bay of All Saints, in 13 degrees odd minutes. 5. The harbour of Porto Seguro, in 16 degrees 30 minutes. 6. The port and bay of Reio Janeiro, in 23 degrees south latitude. 7. Cape Frio, some few minutes east of Reio Janeiro. 8. The port of St. Vincent, in 25 degrees south latitude. 9. Cape St. Mary, the most southerly promontory of Brazil, in 34 degrees odd minutes south latitude. 10. The port of St. Gabriel. And, 11. The port of St. Salvador, situate on the north shore, at the entrance of the river La Plata: The rest of the ports and bays will be taken notice of in the description of the respective provinces.

As to the seasons, air and winds, they are not the same throughout this extensive country, but vary with the several situations. I shall divide it therefore, in respect of the seasons, into three parts, viz. 1. The most northerly, which lies next the Equator; 2. That part of it which extends from 5 degrees south latitude to the Tropic of Capricorn; and, 3. That part of the country which is situated between the Tropic and 35 degrees of south latitude.

As to the north of Brazil, which lies almost under the Equator, this, like other countries in the same situation, is subject to great rains and variable winds, particularly in the months of March and September, when they have deluges of rain, with storms and tornadoes; the country is overflow'd, and the air unhealthful; but this part is very little inhabited: The Portuguese only keep possession of the coasts to keep foreigners out. As to the air, winds and seasons in that part of Brazil which lies between 5 degrees south latitude and the Tropic of Capricorn, Mr. DAMPIER has given us this account of it.

He observes, that the winds and seasons are the very reverse here to what they are in other parts of the world in the same latitudes; for whereas the dry season comes on in other places south of the Equinoctial, when the sun goes to the northward of

CHAP.
I.
Harbours
and capes.

Air,
winds, and
seasons.

Near the
Equator.

In the
middle of
Brazil.

CHAP.
I.

the Equator, and the wet season begins when the sun returns to the southward; here the wet season begins in April, when the south-east winds set in with violent tornadoes, thunder and lightning: And in September, when the wind shifts to east-north-east, it brings with it a clear sky and fair weather, and this is the time of their sugar-harvest.

There are but two winds blow upon this coast, viz. the south-east from April to September, and the north-east from September to April again: But thirty or forty leagues out at sea they meet with the constant trade-wind, which blows in the Atlantic-ocean all the year round from the eastward with very little variation.

There is no country between the Tropics where the heats are more tolerable, or the air more healthful than this, being constantly refresh'd with breezes from the sea, and abounding in lakes and rivers, which annually overflow their banks: And in the inland part of the country the winds from the mountains are still cooler than these that blow from the ocean.

In the south of Brazil.

3. I proceed in the next place to enquire into the air and seasons of the most southerly part of Brazil, which lies without the Tropic of Capricorn, and this appears to be like other countries in the same climate, one of the most desirable parts of the world, having a greater share of fair weather, and a more temperate air than those countries that are nearer, or those that are remov'd further from the Equator, and are generally bless'd with a most fruitful soil. The winds here are variable, at least beyond the latitude of 30, and the little winter they have is when the sun is in the northern signs; but the territories of the Portuguese are but very narrow here, lying between the sea and the mountains which divide them from that part of La Plata subject to the Spanish Jesuits, deservedly call'd The Jesuits Paradise, from the excellency of the soil and climate.

CHAP. II.

Of the provinces and chief towns of Brazil, and the buildings of the natives.

CHAP.
II.
Provinces of Brazil.

BRASIL is usually divided into fifteen provinces, or captainships (viz.) 1. The captainship of Paria. 2. Maragnan. 3. Siara. 4. Potigi, or Rio Grande. 5. Parayba. 6. Tamara. 7. Pernambuco. 8. Seregippe. 9. Batria de Todos Santos. 10. Ilheos. 11. Porto Seguro. 12. Spirito Sancto. 13. Rio Janeiro. 14. St. Vincent. And, 15. del Rey.

Paria.

1. The captainship of Paria, or Para, is bounded by the mouth of the river Amazon and the ocean on the north, by the province of Maragnan on the east, by the country of the Tapuyers on the south, and by the country of the Amazons on the west. The principal river, which gives name to the province, runs through it from south to north, and falls into the mouth of the river Amazon; and the chief town, call'd also Para, or Belem, is situated at the mouth of the river Amazon, in 1 degree of south latitude, and 47 degrees odd minutes western longitude, where 'tis said the Portuguese keep a garrison of four or five hundred soldiers. 2. Corupa, situated about fifty leagues south-west of Para.

Corupa town.

Maragnan province.

2. The captainship of Maragnan, bounded by the ocean on the north, by the province of Siara on the east, by the Tapuyers country on the south, and by Paria on the west.

Chief town St. Lewis.

The chief towns are; 1st, St. Lewis de Maragnan, situated in 2 degrees, odd minutes south latitude, on an island in a fine bay made by the mouths

of their three principal rivers, viz. 1. Mary, or Maragnan; 2. Tapucary; and, 3. Mony.

CHAP.
II.

The town and island of St. Lewis were formerly possess'd by the French, and then by the Dutch, but both nations were driven from thence by the Portuguese, who are now in possession of it.

2dly, Cuma, situated on the continent, over-against the said island of Maragnan.

Cuma.

3. The captainship of Siara, bounded by the ocean on the north and east, by the province of Potigi, or Rio Grande, on the south, and by Maragnan and the Tapuyers country on the west. The river Siara, which gives name to the province, runs from the south-west to the north-east, and falls into the sea in 4 degrees odd minutes south latitude, at the mouth whereof stands the town of Siara, and about twenty leagues to the eastward of it the fort of St. Luke.

Siara province.

Siara river and town.

4. The captainship of Potigi, or Rio Grande, bounded by Siara on the north, by the ocean on the east, by the province of Payraba on the south, and by the country of the Tapuyers on the west. The chief river of Rio Grande gives name to the province, runs from west to east, and falls into the ocean in 5 degrees odd minutes south latitude, on which river stands the town of Tiguares, being the only town I meet with in this province.

Potigi province.

Rio Grande river.

5. The captainship of Payraba, bounded by Potigi on the north, by the ocean on the east, by Tamara on the south, and by the country of the Tapuyers on the west.

Chief town Tiguares. Payraba province.

The river Payraba running from west to east, divides this province in two equal parts, and falls into the ocean in 6 degrees odd minutes south latitude.

Payraba river.

The town of Payraba lies on the south side of this river, about five leagues from the sea. There are in it several churches and cloisters, and it is defended by a wall and forts; and two leagues to the north of this town lies the port of Lucena, which is a good harbour for ships.

and town.

Lucena harbour.

6. The captainship of Tamara, or Tamarica, bounded by Payraba on the north, the ocean on the east, by Pernambuco on the south, and the Tapuyers country on the west. The chief river whereof is Tamara, in the mouth whereof lies the island and town of Tamarica, which form a tolerable harbour.

Tamara province, river, and town.

There is another town call'd Guia, or Goyana, situated on the Goyana, about three leagues from the sea, but of none of these towns do I meet with any particular descriptions, only 'tis said the Portuguese have abundance of sugar-mills on these rivers, sugar being the principal produce and manufacture of the country.

Guia town.

7. The captainship of Pernambuco is bounded by that of Tamara on the north, by the ocean on the east, by Seregippe on the south, and by the country of the Tapuyers on the west, extending two hundred miles along the coast from north to south, and an hundred and fifty miles in breadth from east to west, and was the principal province belonging to the Dutch when they were in possession of North-Brazil. The chief town whereof was Pernambuco, or the Recife. This harbour was call'd Pernambuco, or rather Infernoboco, the mouth of hell, by the Portuguese, on account of the rocks and shoals under water at the entrance of it. It is composed partly of a peninsula on the continent, and partly of several small islands which were built upon and fortify'd in the time of the Dutch. The peninsula is call'd The Recife, and lies in 7 degrees 30 minutes south latitude, and 35 degrees of western longitude, a little to the north of Cape St. Augustin. South of The Recife, and just opposite to it, is an island built upon, and call'd Maurice-town, from the palace of Prince MAURICE, which

Pernambuco province.

Pernambuco town, or The Recife.

CHAP.
II.

which was situated on it, and hath a communication with The Recife by a bridge. It was naturally strong, surrounded by water or morasses, and defended by several forts and redoubts; but was however surrender'd by the Dutch to the Portuguese, in the year 1647, for want of ammunition and provisions, which the Dutch West-India Company did not take care to supply their colonies in Brazil with in due time.

Olinda. 2dly, The city of Olinda is situated on some small hills on the sea-coast, a very little north of The Recife, and before the Dutch took it from the Portuguese, was the principal port in Brazil, well built and fortify'd, and contain'd two thousand inhabitants, besides the religious people and slaves, who were both very numerous.

Porto Calvo. 3dly, Porto Calvo, or Cavelo, lies at the conflux of four rivers, about thirty miles south of The Recife, and four leagues west of the sea-coast. This place was strongly fortify'd when in the hands of the Dutch.

Cape St. Augustin. 4thly, Cape St. Augustin harbour is situated near the most easterly promontory of Brazil of the same name, in 8 degrees odd minutes south latitude, and 35 degrees of western longitude, and lies about twenty-five miles north of the little island of St. Alexio. The entrance of the harbour is dangerous on account of the rocks which lie under water; and this is the case of most of the harbours upon the coast of Brazil, which may however safely be enter'd by the assistance of the pilots of the coast.

Captainship of Bahia, or Serigippe. 8 and 9. The captainship of Bahia de Todos Santos, or of the bay of All Saints, in which I include Serigippe, is bounded by the province of Pernambuco, from whence it is separated by the great river St. Francis on the north, by the ocean on the east, by that of Ilheos on the south, and the Tapyers country on the west, being about two hundred and forty miles in length from north to south along the sea-coast; how far it extends to the westward is uncertain, but it is esteem'd the richest and most populous province in Brazil. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Serigippe, or St. Christophers; and, 2. Bahia, or St. Salvador.

Serigippe town. 1st, Serigippe is situated on a bay of the sea, in 11 degrees south latitude, between the great rivers of St. Francis and Real.

Bahia, or St. Salvador, the capital of Brazil, described. 2dly, Bahia, or St. Salvador, of which the last is the true name; but it is generally known by that of Bahia, or the Bay, on account of the commodiousness of the harbour on which it stands. It is situated on a hill above the harbour, in 13 degrees of south latitude, according to DAMPIER, and is the most considerable town in Brazil, whether we regard the beauty of its buildings, its magnitude, or its trade or revenue. The harbour is capable of receiving ships of the greatest burthen. The entrance whereof is guarded by a strong fort, call'd St. Antonio, and there are other small forts which command the harbour, one whereof is built upon a rock, about half a mile from the shore: Close by this fort all ships must pass that anchor here, and must ride also within half a mile of it at farthest between this and another fort (that stands on a point at the inner part of the harbour, and is call'd The Dutch fort) but must ride nearest to the former all along against the town, where there is good holding ground, and less expos'd to the southerly winds that blow very hard here. They commonly set in about April, but blow hardest in May, June, July, and August: But the place where the ships ride is expos'd to these winds not above three points of the compass.

CHAP.
II.

Beside these there is another fort fronting the harbour, and standing on the hill upon which the town stands. The town itself consists of about two thousand houses, the major part of which cannot be seen from the harbour; but so many as appear in sight, with a great mixture of trees between them, and all placed on a rising hill, make a very pleasant prospect.

There are in the town thirteen churches, chapels, hospitals, and monasteries, and one nunnery, viz. the Ecclesia Major, or cathedral, and the Jesuits College, which are the chief, and both in sight from the harbour: St. Antonio, St. Barbara, both parish-churches, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans, and two convents of Carmelites, a chapel for seamen close by the sea-side, where boats commonly land, and the seamen go immediately to prayers; another chapel for poor people, at the farther end of the same street, which runs along by the shore, and a third chapel for soldiers at the edge of the town, remote from the sea, and an hospital in the middle of the town. The nunnery stands at the outer edge of the town next the fields, wherein, by report, there are seventy nuns. Here lives an Archbishop, who has a fine palace in the town, and the Governor's palace is a fair stone building, and looks handsome to the sea, tho' but indifferently furnish'd within, both Spaniards and Portuguese in their plantations abroad affecting to have large houses, but are little curious about furniture, except pictures. The houses of the town are two or three stories high, the walls thick and strong, being built with stone, with a covering of pantile, and many of them have balconies. The principal streets are large, and all of them pav'd or pitch'd with small stones. There are also parades in the most eminent places of the town, and many gardens, as well within the town as in the out-parts of it, wherein are fruit-trees, herbs, sallading, and flowers in great variety, but order'd with no great care or art.

Here are about four hundred soldiers in garrison. They commonly draw up and exercise in a large parade before the Governor's house, and many of them attend him when he goes abroad. The soldiers are decently clad in brown linnen, which in these hot countries is far better than woollen. Beside the soldiers in pay, he can soon have some thousands of men up in arms upon occasion. The magazine is on the skirts of the town, on a small rising between the nunnery and the soldiers church. 'Tis big enough to hold two or three thousand barrels of powder, but it seldom has more than an hundred. There are always a band of soldiers to guard it, and centinels looking out both day and night.

A great many merchants always reside at Bahia, for 'tis a place of great trade. DAMPIER found here, above thirty great ships from Europe, with two of the King of Portugal's ships of war for their convoy, beside two ships that traded to Africa only, either to Angola, Gamba, or other places on the coast of Guinea, and abundance of small-craft that only run to and fro on this coast, carrying commodities from one part of Brazil to another.

The merchants that live here are said to be rich, and to have many Negroe slaves in their houses, both men and women. They are chiefly Portuguese, foreigners having but little commerce with them; yet here was one Mr. COCK, an English merchant, DAMPIER relates, a gentleman of good repute, who had a patent to be English Consul, but did not care to take upon him any publick character, because English ships seldom came hither, and there had been none in eleven or twelve years before

Trade and
shipping.

DAMPIER

CHAP. DAMPIER was there in the year 1699. Here was also a Dane and a French merchant or two, but all have their effects transported to and from Europe in Portuguese ships, none of any other nation being admitted to trade hither. There is a custom-house by the sea-side, where all goods imported or exported are enter'd: And to prevent abuses, there are five or six boats that take their turns to row about the harbour, searching any boats they suspect to be running of goods.

Goods imported and exported.

The chief commodities that the European ships bring hither are linnen cloths, both coarse and fine, some woollens, as bays, ferges, perpetuana's, &c. hats, stockings, both of silk and thread, biscuit-bread, wheat-flour, wine (chiefly port) oil-olive, butter, cheese, &c. and salt beef and pork would there also be good commodities. They bring hither also iron, and all sorts of iron tools, pewter vessels of all sorts, as dishes, plates, spoons, &c. looking-glasses, beads, and other toys; and the ships that touch at St. Jago bring thence cotton-cloth, which is afterwards sent to Angola.

The European ships carry from thence sugar, tobacco, either in roll or snuff, never in leaf. These are the staple commodities; besides which here are dye-woods, as fustick, &c. with woods for other uses, as speckled wood, brazil, &c. They also carry home raw hides, tallow, train-oil of whales, &c. Here are also tame monkeys, parrots, parquoets, &c. which the seamen carry home.

Claying of sugar described.

The sugar of this country is much better than that which we bring home from our plantations: For all the sugar that is made here is clay'd, which makes it whiter and finer than our muscovado, as we call our unrefin'd sugar. Our planters seldom refine any with clay, unless sometimes a little to send home as presents to their friends in England.

Their way of doing it is by taking some of the whitest clay, and mixing it with water 'till 'tis like cream; with this they fill up the pans with sugar that are sunk two or three inches below the brim by the draining of the molasses out of it, first scraping off the thin hard crust of the sugar that lies at the top, and would hinder the water of the clay from soaking through the sugar of the pan. The refining is made by this percolation: for ten or twelve days time, that the clayish liquor lies soaking down the pan, the white water whitens the sugar as it passes through it, and the gross body of the clay itself grows hard on the top, and may be taken off at pleasure, when scraping off with a knife the very upper part of the sugar, which will be a little fully'd, that which is underneath will be white almost to the bottom: And such as is call'd Brazil-sugar is thus whiten'd. When DAMPIER was here, this sugar was sold for fifty shillings per hundred, and the bottoms of the pots, which is very coarse sugar, for about twenty shillings per hundred, both sorts being then scarce; for here was not enough to lade the ships, and therefore some of them were to lie here 'till the next season.

The voyage from Portugal to Brazil.

The European ships commonly arrive here in February or March, and they have generally quick passages, finding at that time of the year brisk gales to bring them to the Line, little trouble then in crossing it, and brisk east-north-east winds afterwards to bring them hither. They commonly return from hence about the latter end of May, or in June.

From Brazil to Guinea.

The ships that use the Guinea trade are small vessels in comparison of the former: They carry out from hence rum, sugar, the cotton-cloths of St. Jago, beads, &c. and bring in return gold, ivory, and slaves, making very good returns.

VOL. III. NUMB. CXXIX.

The small-craft that belong to this town are chiefly employ'd in carrying European goods from Bahia, the centre of the Brazilian trade, to other places on this coast, bringing back thither sugar, tobacco, &c. They are sail'd chiefly with Negroe slaves, and about Christmas these are mostly employ'd in whale-killing; for about that time of the year a sort of whales, as they call them, are very thick on this coast. They come in also into the harbours and inland lakes, where the seamen go out and kill them. The fat of them is boiled to oil, the lean is eaten by the slaves and poor people. These are said to be but small whales, yet here are so many, and so easily kill'd, that they get a great deal of money by it. Those that strike them buy their licence for it of the King, who, 'tis said, receives thirty thousand dollars per annum for this ship-fishery. All the small vessels that use this coasting traffick are built here, and so are some men-of-war also for the King's service: And the timber of this country is very good and proper for this purpose, being more strong and durable than any we have in Europe, and they have enough of it.

Whale fishery.

The way of life of the Portuguese at Bahia.

Besides merchants and others that trade by sea from this port, here are others pretty wealthy men, and several artificers and tradesmen of most sorts, who by labour and industry maintain themselves very well, especially such as can arrive at the purchase of a Negroe slave or two. And indeed, excepting people of the lowest degree of all, here are scarce any but what keep slaves in their houses. The richer sort, besides the slaves of both sexes whom they keep for servile uses in their houses, have men-slaves who wait on them abroad for state, either running by their horses sides when they ride out, or to carry them to and fro on their shoulders in the town when they make short visits near home. Every gentleman or merchant is provided with things necessary for this sort of carriage. The main thing is a pretty large cotton hammock of the West-India fashion, but mostly dy'd blue, with large fringes of the same hanging down on each side. This is carried on the Negroes shoulders by the help of a bambo about twelve or fourteen foot long, to which the hammock is hung, and a covering comes over the pole, hanging down on each side like a curtain; so that the person so carried cannot be seen unless he pleases, but may either lie down, having pillows for his head, or may sit up by being a little supported with these pillows; and by letting both his legs hang out over one side of the hammock, when he hath a mind to be seen he puts by his curtain and salutes every one of his acquaintance whom he meets in the streets; for they take a piece of pride in greeting one another from their hammocks, and will hold long conferences thus in the streets; but then their two slaves who carry their hammock have each a strong well-made staff with a fine iron fork at the upper end, and a sharp iron below, like the rest for a musket, which they stick fast in the ground, and let the pole or bambo of the hammock rest upon them 'till their masters business or compliment be over. There is scarce a man of any fashion, especially a woman, will pass the streets but so carried in a hammock.

Carriages and visits.

The chief mechanick trades here are Smiths, Hatters, Shoe-makers, Tanners, Sawyers, Carpenters, Coopers, &c. Here are also Taylors, Butchers, &c. which last kill the bullocks very dextrously, sticking them at one blow with a sharp-pointed knife in the nape of the neck, having first drawn them close to a rail; but they dress them very slovenly, DAMPIER says. It being Lent when

CHAP.
II.

Slaves.

he came hither, there was no buying any flesh 'till Easter-eve, when a great number of bullocks were kill'd at once in the slaughter-houses within the town, men, women and children flocking thither with great joy to buy, and a multitude of dogs almost starv'd following them, for whom the meat seem'd fittest it was so lean. All these tradesmen buy Negroes and train them up to their several employments, which is a great help to them: And they having so frequent a trade to Angola and other parts of Guinea, they have a constant supply of Blacks both for their plantations and towns. These slaves are very useful in this place for carriage as porters; for as here is a great trade by sea, and the landing-place is at the foot of a hill too steep for drawing with carts, so there is great need of slaves to carry goods up into the town, especially for the inferior fort. But the merchants have also the convenience of a great crane that goes with ropes or pulleys, one end of which goes up while the other goes down. The house in which this crane is, stands on the brow of the hill towards the sea, hanging over the precipice, and there are planks set shelving against the bank from thence to the bottom, against which the goods lean or slide as they are hoisted up or let down. The Negroe slaves in this town are so numerous that they make up the greatest part or bulk of the inhabitants: Every house, as I said, having some both men and women of them. Many of the Portuguese, who are batchelors, keep of these black women for misses, though they know the danger they are in of being poison'd by them if ever they give them any occasion of jealousy. These slaves also of either sex will easily be engag'd to do any sort of mischief, even to murder, if they are hir'd to do it, especially in the night.

Thus far Mr. DAMPIER's description, who was there in the Year 1699: After which it is almost unnecessary to observe, that Bahia, or St. Salvador, is the capital of Brazil, the residence of the Viceroy and the Courts of justice, and the See of an Archbishop, to whom the rest of the Bishops of Brazil are Suffragans. This city was founded by THOMAS DE SOUSA, a Portuguese, in the year 1541, and is observ'd not to be very strong on the land-side, being commanded by some neighbouring hills, and accordingly it has been frequently taken and retaken by the Dutch, the Spaniards, and Portuguese; but the last have now continued in the quiet possession of it for fourscore years and upwards.

The captainship of Ilheos.

St. Antonio river.

Ilheos river.

Ilheos town.

The captainship of Porto Seguro.

Dolce river.

10. The captainship of Ilheos is bounded by that of Bahia on the north, by the ocean on the east, by the province of Porto Seguro on the south, and by the country of the Tupinambes on the west. There are two considerable rivers in this province, the one nam'd St. Antonio, which separates it from the province of Seguro, rising in the west and running easterly falls into the ocean in 16 degrees, odd minutes south latitude. 2. The river Ilheos, which rising in a lake to the westward of this province, runs to the east and falls into the sea about twenty leagues to the north of St. Antonio. The chief town, also named Ilheos, stands on a promontory near the mouth of the said river in 15 degrees, odd minutes south latitude, and is only remarkable for the sugar-mills.

11. The captainship of Porto Seguro is bounded by that of Ilheos, from whence it is separated by the river Antonio on the north, by the ocean on the east, by the province of Spirito Sancto on the south, and by the country of the Tupinambes on the west. The river of Dolce, or the river of sweet-water, is the largest in this province. It rises in the moun-

tains to the westward, and running eastward falls into the Atlantic-ocean in 20 degrees of south latitude; besides which there are three other rivers that run parallel to it (viz.) the river of Crocodiles, the Alequa, and the river of St. Michael.

The chief towns are, 1st, Porto Seguro, situate upon a rock near the sea-coast, in 17 degrees south latitude; 2dly, Santa Cruz, about 3 leagues south of Seguro; and Sancta Amaria, a little further to the southward.

12. The captainship of Spirito Sancto, bounded by that of Seguro on the north, by the ocean on the east, by the province of Rio Janeiro on the south, and by the country of the Tupinambes on the west. The principal river of this province is that of Pariba, or Parina river, which falls into the Atlantic-ocean in 22 degrees, odd minutes south latitude. The only town I meet with here is Spirito Sancto, situate in 20 degrees, 40 minutes south latitude, on the banks of a river of the same name, about twenty-six miles from the sea, a good harbour, but of difficult entrance.

13. The captainship of Rio Janeiro, so call'd from a celebrated bay and river of that name, discover'd in the month of January in the year 1515, is bounded by the province of Spirito Sancto on the north, by the ocean on the east, by the captainship of St. Vincent on the south, and by the mountains which separate it from La Plata or Paraguay on the west, being about two hundred miles long, and as many broad. This bay and river are now resorted to by the Portuguese as much as any part of Brazil on account of the rich gold mines that have been discovered in the mountains to the westward of this and the neighbouring province of St. Vincent; these have occasion'd the building and peopling the banks of the river Janeiro more than any other part of Brazil, and brought hither a very great trade.

The chief city of St. Sebastian is situated in 23 degrees south latitude, on the west side of the river, about 2 leagues from the sea, and defended by several strong forts. It is the see of a Bishop, Suffragan to the archbishop of St. Salvador, or Bahia. 2dly, Los Reyes, or Angra de Los Reyes, situate about twelve miles west of the bay of Rio Janeiro. 3dly, The town and harbour of St. Salvador, over-against which lies the cape or promontory call'd Cape Frio, in 23 degrees, odd minutes south latitude, and in 42 degrees of western longitude.

14. The captainship of St. Vincent is bounded by that of Rio Janeiro on the north, by the sea on the east, by the province of Del Rey on the south, and by the mountains which separate it from La Plata on the west, extending in length from north to south three hundred miles and upwards, viz. from the Tropic of Capricorn to 28 degrees south latitude, and is reckoned two hundred miles broad at the north end of it, but not more than ninety or an hundred miles broad in the south. The chief towns are, 1st, St. Vincent, situated at the confluence of three rivers on a fine bay of the Atlantic-ocean, in 24 degrees, odd minutes south latitude, and defended by several forts. This harbour is at present in a flourishing condition on account of the gold mines that have been discover'd in the mountains to the westward; but the town which has the most immediate advantage by them is, 2dly, that of St. Paul, built on purpose for their security, and situate about an hundred miles north-west of the town of St. Vincent. 3dly, The town of Santos, situate on the same bay with that of St. Vincent, and a little to the northward of it, by some reckoned the chief town in the province.

CHAP.
II.

Three other rivers.

Towns of Porto Seguro, Sancta Cruz, and Sancta Amaria. The captainship of Spirito Sancto. Pariba river.

Town of Spirito Sancto.

The captainship of Rio Janeiro.

Bay and river of Janeiro much resorted to on account of the gold mines.

Chief town of St. Sebastian.

Los Reyes.

St. Salvador. Cape Frio.

The Captainship of St. Vincent.

Chief town of St. Vincent.

St. Paul. Santos.

CHAP.

II.

The captainship of Del Rey.

15. The fifteenth and last province of Brazil is that of Del Rey, bounded by St. Vincent on the north, by the Atlantic-ocean on the east, by the mouth of the river La Plata on the south, and by the country of La Plata, or Paragua, on the west, extending from latitude 28 to latitude 34, odd minutes, being four hundred miles in length from north to south, but scarce an hundred broad in any place from east to west. This province has been pretty much neglected by the Portuguese till of late years. But since they have found gold in the adjoining province of St. Vincent they have built several forts on the north side of the river La Plata, and on the islands at the mouth of it, to prevent the Spaniards settling there again, who were once possess'd of the north side of that river. This has already occasion'd some hostilities between the Spaniards and Portuguese, and possibly may occasion a war between them one time or other; for the gold mines are such a bone of contention that no peace can be of any long duration between two Powers situated as the Spaniards and Portuguese are, for their territories are divided only by the mountains which separate Brazil from La Plata, or Paragua, in which the gold they both thirst after is supposed to be found; but no doubt the Portuguese conceal the place as well as they can from the Spaniards and all other European nations, as they do their mines of diamonds and other precious stones they have discover'd in Brazil of late years: However, there is no doubt but they have great plenty of gold and precious stones in some part of Brazil (and most probably to the southward) there being brought great quantities of both from thence annually to Europe, which has pretty much sunk their value.

Diamonds and other precious stones.

No division of the country before the Europeans arrived.

Towns, houses, and furniture of the natives.

Some vagrant nations.

Before the Portuguese planted Brazil, the country was not divided into provinces, but was all one great common, every tribe and family inhabiting and cultivating what part of it they saw fit, and removing their dwellings whenever they pleased, only every man was looked upon as the proprietor of what he planted or possessed till he removed and left that part of the country with the fruits and produce of it for another he liked better: And as for their towns, they consisted usually of five or six great barns, each of which contained two or three hundred, and sometimes a thousand people, and over these the head of the tribe or family presided. The materials of their houses were only long poles and reeds, or palmeto-leaves for a covering, and consequently it was no great trouble for them to remove or to erect their town in another place: Nor was their furniture any great burthen to them, which consisted of hammocks of cotton net-work, fasten'd to poles, in which they slept; some earthen pots and pans, and their gourds and calabashes which served them cut in half for pails, tubs, and drinking-cups, for they have them of all sizes; besides which they had baskets, in which they carried their provisions on a march; and the ornaments of their houses were their bows, arrows, spears, and other arms.

There were some vagrant nations also that had no settled abode, but living in tents were continually removing from place to place, and both the one and the other as often tied their hammocks to the boughs of trees and slept without doors as within, but used to make fires near their lodging to correct the air, and prevent the ill effects of the cold dews that fell in the night time, or, as others imagine, to keep off wild beasts and noxious vermine and insects.

CHAP. III.

Of the persons and habits of the Brazilians, their genius and temper, arts and sciences, food, exercises, and diversions.

THE Portuguese and Dutch writers give the name of Tapuyers to the natives which inhabit the north part of Brazil, and the name of Tupinambes, or Tupinamboys, to those who dwell in the south of Brazil, but divide these again into several petty nations, differing in language, but not much in manners and customs; and therefore I shall only treat of them under the two first grand divisions of Tapuyers and Tupinambes.

CHAP. III.

Two great nations of the Brazilians.

The Tapuyers are men of a good stature (but not the head and shoulders taller than Dutchmen, as some have related) and as they inhabit a hot climate, almost under the Equator, are of a dark copper colour, their hair black, and hanging over their shoulders; but they suffer no hair on their bodies or faces, and go almost naked, the men only inclosing the penis in a case, as some other Americans do, and the women concealing their nudities with leaves, like their mother Eve. The man has also a cap or coronet of feathers, but I don't perceive the women have any covering on their heads.

Tapuyers, their persons.

Wear no cloaths.

Their ornaments are glittering stones hung upon their lips or nostrils, and bracelets of feathers about their arms. Some of them paint their bodies of all manner of colours, whereas others rubbing their bodies with gums, stick beautiful feathers upon them, which make them look more like fowls than human creatures at a distance.

Ornaments.

Paint.

Feathers.

The Tupinambes, who inhabit the south of Brazil, are of a moderate stature, and not so dark a complexion as their northern neighbours who lie nearer the line; but neither the one or the other are so black as the Africans are, who lie in the same latitude, it having been observ'd already that there were no Negroes in America till they were transported thither by the Spaniards and Portuguese. The Tupinambes, however, resemble the Africans in their flat noses, which are not natural, but made so in their infancy, a flat nose being esteemed a beauty among them. They have also black curl'd hair on their heads, but suffer no hair to grow on their bodies or faces any more than the Tapuyers, and paint themselves like the northern Brazilians.

Tupinambes, their persons.

The general food of the Brazilians was the cassavi, or mandioka-root, dry'd and ground to powder, of which they made cakes, like our sea-biscuit. They carry'd this flour with them also on journeys, and it serv'd them, infus'd in water, as the Scots do oatmeal, both as meat and drink; but I don't find they had any sort of corn till the Europeans carry'd it thither. They used also to feed on other roots, fruits, and herbs, and such venison as they could take in hunting, as also on fish and fowl, if they lived near the water, and with every thing eat a great deal of pepper; some have added, that they were cannibals, and eat human flesh from one end of Brazil to the other; but late travellers observing no such thing, little credit can be given to this. The general liquor the natives drink is spring-water, of which, 'tis said, they have the best and the greatest variety in the world; but there are other kinds of liquors which have a good body, made of their fruits press'd and infus'd, or of honey, with which they sometimes get very drunk, sitting

Food.

CHAP.

III.

Arts and sciences.

fitting whole days and nights over their cups. They are charged also with being a very lazy generation, that will never work or hunt but when necessity compels them: And as to arts and sciences, they were masters of scarce any, unless the art of spinning and weaving, and forming their arms (which consisted of bows, arrows, lances, and darts) and the art of building, which was but mean, for their houses did not want any great contrivance. As for letters, characters, and arithmetick, they were perfectly ignorant of them.

They had some knowledge of the virtues of several herbs and drugs, which they frequently administer'd with success to the sick; but a merry writer relates, that when they despair'd of recovering the patient, all his relations agreed to knock him on the head, which they thought much better than a lingering death; and this may be as true as their devouring human flesh.

Exercises.

Hunting, fishing, and fowling were rather their business than diversion, being absolutely necessary for the support of their families, in a country where they had no tame cattle or corn: Drinking, singing, and dancing were more properly their diversions, these they practis'd on their rejoicing days, on a victory, or the birth of their children. They are great smokers, and take the strongest tobacco: Their pipes are a hollow reed or cane, and the bowl a large nut-shell that holds almost a handful of tobacco.

Genius.

They are a tractable and ingenious people, ready to learn any art or science the Portuguese will teach them, and take nothing so kindly of the Fathers as the instructing their children; which has given the Jesuits an opportunity of making abundance of converts; and those who live under the Portuguese generally conform themselves to their customs in eating, drinking, cloathing, &c. Few of these go naked.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Animals of Brazil.

CHAP.

IV.

Animals. Those of Europe carry'd thither. Beasts proper to this country.

AS it has been observ'd of the rest of America, so here they had neither horses, cows, sheep, asses, hogs, cats, or dogs (unless some little mungrel curs) before the Europeans carried them over, of all which they have no great abundance.

The beasts that were found in this country were the same with those already describ'd in Mexico and Peru, particularly the Peruvian sheep, their peccaree (to which the Europeans gave the name of hogs, from some resemblance they had to our hogs) the sloth, the armadillo, the opossum, the guano, the racoon, and flying-squirrel, with great variety of monkeys, deer, hares, and rabbits, differing something from ours, the ant, bear, and some lions and tygers, but neither so large or fierce as those of Africa, and porcupines. Many of these animals have different names given us by travellers, but are the same already enumerated and described in Mexico or Peru.

Fowls.

Their fowls are maccaws, parrots, parroquets, the quail, the curaoe, the bill-bird, the cockreco, the partridge, the wood-pidgeon, the heron, the pelican, the crab-catcher, the fishing-hawk, the ostrich, the cormorant, the curieu, the carrion-crow, and the humming-bird; all which having been already describ'd, I would not tire the reader with repetition. They have also great variety of singing-birds, several species of wild-ducks, wild-geese, and dunghil-fowls, and there is not any sort of poultry

in Europe but what has been carry'd thither by the Portuguese: However, fowls of all kinds are but dry meat in these hot climates; nor is their mutton very good; pork is the best flesh we eat between the Tropics, and observ'd to be as easy of digestion there as any meat.

The most surprizing relations travellers entertain us with are concerning the multitude and monstrous size of their serpents. We are told of some that are thirty foot long and upwards, as big about as a hog's head, and which will swallow a whole buck, or a man, and that they easily take by throwing their tails about them: And I remember, some travellers, that have wrote of the East-Indies, have mention'd serpents that have swallow'd a buck horns and all; but as I could never hear of any such monsters when I was in the East-Indies, or of any serpents that were any thing near that size, I can't help doubting whether there be any such monsters here, how gravely or positively soever such stories are related; and I am apt to think at last that they have mistaken the crocodile for a serpent here as well as elsewhere, though even this creature does not come up to the dimensions of this pretended serpent.

The same writer (Mr. NIEBUH) has furnish'd us in his cuts with a dragon that has wings and feet, an animal which I am still of opinion had never any other existence than in the brains of the ancient poets. Indeed the word dragon is found in scripture, but as the creature is not described there, the term may belong to an animal of a different form. I believe no one will pretend to affirm that our translators have never mistaken the nature and form of some animals we meet with in scripture: For I don't find the learned are agreed about the behemoth and the unicorn any more than they are about the dragon. But commend me to my friend HARRIS, who tells us of a water-snake in Brazil near forty foot long, and every way proportionable, in whose body were found two whole wild boars he had swallowed. One would think our voyage-writers were lying for a wager in these cases. As for the amphibena, or snake with two heads, I think 'tis agreed now that he really has but one; only some short-sighted people mistook his tail for a head, it seems.

Here is also found the rattle snake, and several other species of snakes, which will be describ'd when I come to treat of the British plantations in America. They have also scorpions, centipedes, spiders, and other venomous insects of an extraordinary size: And their ants are almost as troublesome here as in Africa, marching in great bodies, and devouring every thing in their way, and are only to be destroy'd by fire or water, and one species of them, 'tis said, have wings. Here also is the fire-fly, which seems to differ but little from the glow-worm, only in its wings: When any of these fix on boughs of trees they appear at a little distance like so many stars.

Of bees they reckon up twelve several sorts, some of which have vast nests in hollow trees in the woods, and others in holes of rocks, and yield them great quantities of honey and wax; and the honey does not only serve them for food, but they make a liquor with it that has some resemblance of mead.

Their seas, lakes, and rivers, are full of excellent fish, and as DAMPIER has observ'd, the lean flesh of the whales, of which they have great plenty on this coast, is eaten by the slaves and poor people at Brazil. But the best fish on their coast is the manatee, as big as an ordinary ox, which has been

CHAP. IV.

Serpents and insects.

Insects.

Fish.

CHAP. IV. already describ'd in Mexico. They have also the sword-fish, thrasher, paracood, old-wife, cavally, gar-fish, mullets, snooks, herrings, mackerel, and turpoons, already describ'd; oysters, crabs, shrimps, prawns, and other shell-fish. Their best river-fish has a resemblance of our perch, and they have others not unlike jacks and carp.

Amphibious animals.

Of amphibious animals they have tortoises of three kinds, viz. the hawkbill, the loggerhead, and the green tortoise; but of these it seems the Portuguese never eat, tho' our seamen esteem the green tortoise very good food. There are also great numbers of crocodiles in their lakes and rivers, but not so large as those of Africa; and they have a creature, which the Portuguese call cachora de agua, or the water-dog, as big as a mastiff, and hairy from head to tail; he has four short legs and a long head, and is of a dark colour, and lives in fresh-water lakes and ponds, but comes on shore to sun himself, and is said to be good food.

CHAP. V.

Of their plants and vegetables.

CHAP. V.

Vegetables.

THE soil of Brazil, according to DAMPIER, is generally good, producing very large trees of divers sorts, and fit for any uses. Their savannahs or pastures are loaden with grass and herbs, and being cultivated, produce every thing that is proper for such countries as lie between the Tropics, as cotton, tobacco, indico, sugar-canes, maiz, or Indian-corn, and fruits.

Forest-trees.

Of their forest-trees the chief are, the sapiera, the vermiatoco, the commeserie, the guiteba, and the ferrie; the speckled-wood, the fustick, and other dying-woods; three kinds of mangrove-trees, and the manchinele-tree.

The sapiera is a large tall tree, very good timber, and made use of in building houses, as is also the vermiatoco, a tall straight-body'd tree, which furnishes them with plank two foot broad, and of the bodies of these trees they make their canoes, or little country boats all of a piece, the body of the tree being only scoop'd hollow, and shap'd something like a boat at the head and stern; and though they are so narrow that they frequently overfet, they can't sink, and the Indians, who excel in swimming, make no difficulty when they are over-set to turn them up again.

The commeserie and the guiteba are most used in building of ships, for which purpose they are as much esteem'd as oak with us, and are said to be harder and more durable wood. The ferrie-tree resembles the elm, and is very durable in water. Their mangrove-trees are red, white and black, the red being used in tanning leather here, of the black they make good plank, and of the white, masts and yards for their barks, both the black and white being much larger in Brazil than in the gulph of Mexico.

There grows also in Brazil a wild cocoa-nut-tree, neither so tall or so large as those that grow in the East or West-Indies. They bear nuts as the others, but not a quarter so big as the right cocoa-nuts. The shell is full of kernel, without any hollow place or water in it, and the kernel is sweet, but very hard both for the teeth and digestion. These nuts are in much esteem for making beads for pater-nosters, bowls of tobacco-pipes, and other toys; and every small shop at the bay has a great many to sell. At the top of these bastard cocoa-trees among the branches there grows a sort of long

black thread, like horse-hair, but much longer, which by the Portuguese is called Trefabo; of these they make cables, which are very serviceable, strong and lasting; for they will not rot as cables made of hemp, though they lie exposed to wet and heat. These are the cables which they keep in their harbours to let out to hire to European ships, and resemble the Coyre cables.

There are also in Brazil three sorts of cotton-trees, but very little of the right West-Indian cotton-shrub, of which the cotton-cloth is made.

As to fruits they have several kinds of oranges and limes, pomegranates, pomecitrons, and European grapes; but all these have been transported thither by the Portuguese. There were no such fruits in America till the Europeans introduced them. They have also plantains, banana's, guava's, the true cocoa-nut, cabbage-trees, custard-apples, fourfops, cashews, papahs, jenipahs.

The fourfop is a fruit as large as a man's head, of an oval shape, green on one side and yellowish on the other when ripe. The outside or coat is pretty thick and very rough, with small sharp knobs, the inside is full of a spongy pulp, with black seeds or kernels, in shape and bigness like a pumpkin-seed. The pulp is very juicy, of a pleasant taste and wholesome. You suck the juice out of the pulp, and so spit it out. The tree or shrub that bears this fruit grows about ten or twelve foot high, with a small short body, the branches growing pretty straight up. The twigs are slender and tough, and so is the stem of the fruit. This fruit grows also both in the East and West-Indies.

The cashew is a fruit as big as a pippin, pretty long, and bigger near the stem than at the other end, growing tapering. The rind is smooth and thin, of a red and yellow colour. The seed of this fruit grows at the end of it. 'Tis of an olive colour, shap'd like a bean, and about the same bigness, but not altogether so flat. The tree is as big as an apple-tree, with branches, not thick, yet spreading off. The boughs are gross, the leaves broad and round, and in substance pretty thick. This fruit is soft and spongy when ripe, and full of juice. It is very pleasant, and gratefully rough on the tongue, and is accounted very wholesome. This fruit also grows both in the East and West-Indies.

The jenipah, or jenipapah, is a sort of fruit, of the calabash or gourd kind. It is about the bigness of a duck-egg, and somewhat of the oval shape, and is of a grey colour. The shell is not altogether so thick nor hard as a calabash. 'Tis full of whitish pulp mixt with small flat seeds, and both pulp and seeds are taken into the mouth, but sucking out the pulp they spit out the seeds. It is of a sharp and pleasing taste, and is very innocent. The tree that bears it is much like an ash, straight-body'd, and of a good height, clear from limbs till near the top, where the branches put forth a small head. The rind is of a pale grey, and so is the fruit.

Besides these, here are many sorts of fruits which are not met with any where else, as arifah's, mericafah's, petango's, &c. Arifah's are an excellent fruit, not much bigger than a large cherry, shaped like a catherine-pear, being small at the stem and swelling bigger towards the end. They are of a greenish colour, and have small seeds as big as mustard-seeds; they are somewhat tart, yet pleasant, and very wholesome, and may be eaten by sick people.

Mericaiah's are an excellent fruit, of which there are two sorts, one growing on a small tree or shrub, which is counted the best, the other growing on a

CHAP. V. kind of shrub like a vine, which they plant about arbours to make a shade, having many broad leaves. The fruit is as big as a small orange, round and green. When they are ripe they are soft, full of white pulp mixt thick with little black seeds, and there is no separating one from the other till they are in your mouth, when you suck out the white pulp and spit out the stones. They are tart, pleasant, and very wholesome.

Petango's are a small red fruit that grow also on small trees, and are as big as cherries, but not so globular, having one flat side, and also five or six small protuberant ridges. 'Tis a very pleasant tart fruit, and has a pretty large flatish stone in the middle.

Petumbo's are a yellow fruit (growing on a shrub like a vine) bigger than cherries, with a pretty large stone. These are sweet, but rough in the mouth.

Mungaroo's are a fruit as big as cherries, red on one side and white on the other side. They are full of small seeds, which are commonly swallowed in eating them.

Muckishaws are a fruit as big as crab-apples, growing on large trees. They have also small seeds in the middle, and are well tasted.

Ingwa's are a fruit like the locust fruit, four inches long and one broad. They grow on high trees.

Otee is a fruit as big as a large cocoa-nut. It hath a husk on the out-side, and a large stone within, and is accounted a very fine fruit.

Mufferan deova's are a round fruit as big as a large hazel-nut, cover'd with thin brittle shells of a blackish colour. They have a small stone in the middle, inclosed within a black pulpy substance, which is of a pleasant taste. The outside shell is chewed with the fruit, and spit out with the stone, when the pulp is suck'd from them.

Palm-berries (called here dendes) grow plentifully about Bahia; the largest are as big as wallnuts. They grow in bunches on the top of the body of the tree among the branches or leaves, as all fruits of the palm kind do. These are the same kind of berries or nuts, as those they make the palm-oil with on the coast of Guinea, where they abound.

Physick-nuts, as our seamen call them, are call'd here fincon, and agnus-castus is call'd here carapat. These both grow here; so do mendibeas, a fruit like physick-nuts. They scorch them in a pan over the fire before they eat them.

They have plenty of callavances, pine-apples, pumpkins, water-melons, musk-melons, cucumbers; and roots, as yams, potatoes, cassava's, &c. Garden-herbs also good store, as cabbages, turnips, onions, leeks, and abundance of sallading; and for the pot, drugs of several sorts, viz. saffras, snake-root, &c. besides the wood mention'd for dying and other uses, as suttick, speckled-wood, &c.

DAMPIER relates, that the Jesuits have introduced the cinamon-tree into their garden at St. Salvador, but it is probable it degenerates, and the bark is not so fine a spice as that of the Ceylon-cinamon, from whence it is brought; for if it were, there is no reason they should not propagate it more; and indeed the cinamon that grows on the Malabar coast in the East-Indies, which is but a few leagues from Ceylon, is not comparable to it; which inclines me to believe that no other soil but that of Ceylon will bear the true cinamon. I wish it were otherwise, that we might share that valuable spice with the Dutch, and were not oblig'd to pay what price they are pleased to set upon it.

The Jesuits have mango's also in their garden at

St. Salvador, which is another East-India fruit, but I find they are not common in Brazil. CHAP. V.

As to their corn, there is no sort that thrives in Brazil like maiz, or Indian-corn. Wheat and rye grow too rank and run up into straw; and the only way to procure a good crop is to make the soil poorer by mixing sand with it instead of dung to enrich it: And this is the case of most foreign seeds.

Their seed-time is at the beginning of the rainy season, and their harvest immediately after it. Their own trees and shrubs bear leaves, blossoms, and fruit all the year round; and the same is observed of their oranges, limes, and some other fruits that have been carried thither: And those who would have ripe grapes all the year, 'tis said, only prune their vines at different times to effect it, and they produce a fine luscious grape as sweet as honey; and yet they can have no wine that will keep here, or in any other country between the Tropics, unless in Peru.

And here I must caution the reader to understand what is said above only of that part of Brazil which lies within the Tropic of Capricorn, which is the best planted and peopled of any part of Brazil; for in the countries south of the Tropic of Capricorn, the same grain and fruits grow, as do to the north-ward of the Tropic of Cancer, and many kinds of fruit which flourish between the Tropics will not come to any thing without the Tropics: As the air and seasons are very different, so are their grain, fruits, and plants generally; tho' there are some will thrive on either side the Tropic.

The ants in Brazil are great enemies to the corn, fruits, and other produce of the earth, which the husbandmen endeavour to destroy by fire and water, but all their care sometimes proves ineffectual.

As to their minerals, there is no doubt but they have discover'd very rich gold mines of late years by the vast treasures of that kind they send annually to Europe; and, 'tis said, there are some silver mines in the country. They have also discover'd very rich diamond mines, jasper, emeralds, crystal, and other precious stones, insomuch that the value of these are much fallen. Minerals.

CHAP. VI.

Of their history, government, arms, forces, wars, marriages, women, children, slaves, and funerals.

THE first Adventurer that discover'd the coast of Brazil was AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, an Italian, then in the service of the King of Spain: This was in the year 1498, but then he sail'd no further than to the 5th degree of south latitude. Afterwards, in the year 1500, being employed by the King of Portugal, he sail'd again to Brazil, and extended his discoveries to 52 degrees of south latitude; but he does not give us any account of the country, or the natives he saw in either of those voyages. CHAP. VI. History.

The same year, 1500, EMANUEL King of Portugal sending a fleet of thirteen sail to the East-Indies, they were driven from their intended course upon the coast at Brazil, where meeting with a pretty good harbour, after a storm, wherein they had suffer'd much, they gave it the name of Porto Seguro, which lies in seventeen degrees of south latitude, and to the country they gave the name of Santa Cruz; tho' it soon after lost it, and obtain'd the name of Brazil, as has been observ'd already.

The Admiral of this fleet, PETER ALVAREZ CAPRALIS, sent one of his ships back to Portugal with an account of the richness of the country and its

CHAP. VI. its agreeable situation, and then continued his voyage to the East-Indies with the rest.

Several private Adventurers upon this intelligence went over to Brazil with their families, but were most of them destroy'd by the natives, and no settlement was made to any purpose 'till the year 1549, when JOHN III. King of Portugal, sent a great fleet thither with a thousand soldiers on board, under the command of THOMAS DE SOSA their General, and with them a great many Jesuits, whom Pope PAUL III. desired might be embark'd in order to endeavour the conversion of the natives.

This fleet arriving at the bay of All Saints, General SOSA there built the city of St. Salvador, of which FERDINANDEZ SARDINIA was appointed the first Bishop in the following year 1550.

The Portuguese finding the Brazilians divided into several petty kingdoms and states, at war among themselves, and joining with one nation against another, by this means subdu'd first their enemies and then their allies, making slaves of all without distinction. Serigippe, which lies contiguous to the bay of All Saints on the north, and which I have consider'd as part of this province, was the first conquest the Portuguese made.

The French also made several attempts to settle colonies on the coast of Brazil, but were driven from thence from time to time by the Portuguese, who at length possess'd themselves of all the coast from the river Amazon to the river of Plata.

To justify their invasions of this country, and the barbarous massacres they committed there, they have represented the people as infidels without any notion of God or religion, and even cannibals: And whereas we have been told by the Spaniards that the countries of Guiana and Caribiana, which lie contiguous to Brazil, and extend from the Equator to 10 degrees north latitude, were cannibals; now the Portuguese endeavour to persuade us, that the Brazilians, whose country extends from the Equator to 35 degrees of south latitude, were likewise cannibals and infidels: And indeed this is what the Spaniards and Portuguese have affirm'd of all the American nations at one time or other. They tell us, they were perpetually engag'd in war with each other, and eat up their enemies that fell into their hands; and yet none of our English Adventurers for an hundred years past, none of our Buccaneers, that have penetrated through and through the country, and resided among the Caribbees themselves, who were most fam'd for eating human flesh, have ever seen any such thing.

Knivet's account of cannibals, giants, monsters, &c.

About an hundred and forty years ago, indeed, some of our people, who had their intelligence, I presume, from the Spaniards and Portuguese, pretended that they had seen the Brazilians devour their enemies, of whom the most eminent is KNIVET. This gentleman tells us he was left sick on shore at Brazil by Captain CAVENDISH, in the year 1592, and being taken prisoner by the natives, together with twelve Portuguese, his companions were kill'd, broil'd, and eaten, but his life was sav'd because the natives took him for a Frenchman; and of these executions he gives us the following account.

That having taken a prisoner in battle, and convey'd him into their own country, they gave him one of their sisters or daughters to serve him as a temporary wife, furnishing him with the best food, and all that is desirable in life; and when they have fattened him, they proclaim the day and place of his execution; in the morning whereof many thousands of the people assemble early, drinking, singing, and dancing for several hours; after which the captive

is brought out, bound about the body with cords, which are held by six or seven people, but his hands at liberty: In this condition the prisoner usually makes a speech to the people, and tells them, "Thus have I often bound your friends and relations, and then broil'd and devour'd them; nor will my countrymen suffer my death to be long unrevenged." Then they bring him stones and bid him revenge himself, whereupon he throws them among the multitude, of whom he frequently wounds several; and having continued this sport some time, one advances with the fatal club, and demanding, "Art thou he that hast kill'd and devour'd our people?" "Take leave of all that is pleasant and desirable to thee, for thou shalt see them no more; thou shalt be kill'd and devour'd in like manner as thou hast kill'd and devour'd our friends;" and then beats out his brains with a club. After which the wife they had given him comes and bewails the fate of her husband, but eats the first slice of him, however, when he is broil'd, 'tis said, and then the rest of the carcase is cut in pieces and distributed among the people, particularly they give the guts and entrails to the women, and the head and brains fall to the share of the children. PURCHASE, Vol. IV. p. 1217. Vol. V. p. 914.

If any man should be found credulous enough to believe this formal and improbable tale, yet the rest of the monstrous relations contain'd in Mr. KNIVET's narrative, which are now known to be false, are sufficient to shock his faith in this.

He relates, that the people of Tucuman, a province of La Plata, are pigmies; PURCHASE, Vol. IV. p. 1231. And that at the Straights of Magellan he met with another nation of pigmies, of about five spans high, and with mouths from ear to ear, of whom he saw several thousands; and that they traffick'd with the English, giving them pearls and feathers for European toys.

That in the same Straights he saw naked giants sixteen spans high; PURCHASE, Vol. IV. p. 1231.

That he saw a monster of a mermaid, p. 1240.

That he had seen a snake that swallow'd men, stags, and oxen, and after such morsels would lie sleeping 'till his flesh rotted, or was pick'd clean off the bones by birds of prey; after which new flesh grew upon the bones again, and the creature awak'd, his head having been alive all the while, but bury'd in mud. PURCHASE, Vol. V. p. 914.

That he knew several Brazilians possess'd by the devil, and some of them kill'd by evil spirits. He himself heard an Indian discoursing with an evil spirit, and threatening to turn Christian if the spirit did not cease to afflict him. May we not, after such a multitude of idle stories, very well suspend our belief of the first in relation to cannibals? And yet this is the man whose accounts of these things are most depended upon, and which PURCHASE, in his collection, has given such countenance to, that he has compil'd his narratives twice over (viz.) in the fourth and fifth volumes, from whence I took these pretty stories. But it being acknowledg'd that the Caribbees and other nations charg'd with eating human flesh have generally left it off at this day; and the reason of their present abstemiousness being demanded, one of Mr. PURCHASE's authors informs us, that they happen'd to eat a Friar whose flesh poison'd several of them, and that was the reason they never lik'd man's flesh since. PURCHASE, Vol. III. p. 865.

As to religion, the Portuguese will not allow the Brazilians any, and yet they tell us they have Priests, and allow a state of rewards and punishments; that the

CHAP. VI.

Religion.

CHAP. VI. the brave go to Elysium, or Paradise, and mean and cowardly souls to a place of torment. PURCHASE, Vol. V. p. 915, &c.

The same authors admit, that their Priests direct them to bring their offerings to them, and assure them, on their doing this, that those invisible beings who give them food and all the good things they enjoy, will prosper their affairs; and if they neglect this they must expect some dreadful calamities will overtake them, and that accordingly the people bring them such fruits as they apprehend will be most acceptable. They inform us also, that they believe their souls survive their bodies, and are converted into daemons, or spirits, after death. PURCHASE, Vol. IV. p. 1289. Vol. V. p. 916, 917.

Another writer in PURCHASE's collection tells us, they comforted themselves that they should after death visit their ancestors beyond certain mountains. From all which it is evident that this people were not entirely without religion; that they believe some invisible beings are the authors of all their good and bad fortune in the world; and that they shall be rewarded and punish'd hereafter according to their behaviour in this life, and consequently are not those infidels they are sometimes represented.

And though the idolatrous Portuguese make their having no images amongst them another argument that they have no religion, I presume that will be of little weight with Protestants. But further, we meet with writers in PURCHASE that tell us some of the Brazilians worship the New moon, at least that they dance and sing when it appears: And that others worship the constellation call'd the Great Bear, rejoicing much when it appears in their hemisphere.

As to their having no temples, perhaps they look upon the heaven over their heads to be the only proper temple to adore the great Creator in, or at least most proper to adore the Sun, Moon, and Stars, if they worship them as gods, as some relate.

Nor do these people live without government. They have Kings in their respective territories, who administer justice according to the custom of their several countries, tho' they have no written laws: And where one man has injur'd another, he is obliged to make him satisfaction in kind, if it be possible: And no people are more kind or hospitable to strangers than the Brazilians are, so far are they from murdering and devouring foreigners, even by the relation of those very Portuguese, that have represented them as cannibals.

Mar-
riages.

In their marriages they are not confin'd to one woman, but enter into a contract, however, with their relations to use them well, in which they are usually as good as their words; and when a man takes home his wife there is great feasting and rejoicing, but no other ceremony that I can learn.

The women, however, seem to have much the greatest share in the care and trouble of providing for the family; for they are not only employ'd in their domestick affairs, but it falls to their lot to plant and gather in their fruits, roots, and other food. The man is only employ'd in making his arms, or in hunting or fishing; and upon a march or removal, the women carry all the baggage.

They tell us a great many idle stories in relation to their womens bearing children, and particularly that the woman is no sooner deliver'd but she goes about her business, and the husband is put to bed in her stead, and the child is left to shift for itself upon the floor. And yet in other places they tell us, that no people are so fond of their children as the Brazilians; and indeed the relations that PURCHASE has

compil'd are so inconsistent and full of contradictions, that we scarce know what to make of them.

The best account I can collect of their funerals and mourning is, that upon the death of any person, the friends and relations assemble and set up a howl, not unlike that of the wild Irish, repeating by turns the praises of the deceas'd, admiring his wealth, his strength, beauty, and excellent parts, the multitude of his friends, servants and cattle, concluding with words of the following tenour; "He is dead; we shall see him no more until we dance with him beyond the mountains." These lamentations having continued six hours, they prepare to bury the deceas'd, digging a grave like the mouth of a well, in which they place the corpse in a sitting posture, and building a little tomb of the form of a dome over him, they leave at the place all manner of meat and drink, his arms, and whatever was useful to him while alive, coming every day with fresh supplies to the grave for a month, making the same lamentations they did the first day, and afflicting themselves during this time by fasting and other penances; and if he leave wives behind him they cut off their hair. This mourning having continued a month, they resume their former way of life. The master of the family is usually buried in the middle of the house, and his tomb adorn'd with beautiful feathers and other ornaments.

As to the wars of these people among themselves, they had no other arms but bows, arrows, and wooden swords or clubs, and in some places shields; and when they charg'd an enemy it was never in rank and file, but in great confusion if they came to a field-fight, which was not often, for most of their actions were perform'd by surprize. They would march day and night with great expedition, and lying in woods fall upon their enemies when they were unprepar'd to receive them, carrying away men, women, and children into slavery; for their towns had no walls or fortifications to defend them.

To proceed in the history. I have already observ'd, that the Portuguese discover'd this country in the year 1500; that they made several attempts to plant it with small success, 'till the year 1549, when they fix'd themselves at the bay of All-Saints, and built the city of St. Salvador; that the French also made some attempts to plant colonies on this coast, but were driven from thence by the Portuguese, who remain'd in Brazil almost without a rival 'till the year 1623; but being then under the dominion of the King of Spain, with whom the United Provinces were at war, the Dutch West-India Company fitted out a strong fleet, and putting a good body of land-forces on board, sent them to Brazil, where they attack'd and took the city of St. Salvador, in the bay of All Saints, with very little loss: But the King of Spain sending a great fleet and army thither in the year 1625, recover'd the city again, and drove the Dutch out of the country. However, the Hollanders continued to send strong squadrons to the coast of Brazil every year, where they harra's'd the Portuguese settlements, and made abundance of rich prizes; and making a descent near Olinda, in the year 1629, took that city with the fortress of The Recife, and being join'd by some nations of the Indians against the Portuguese, at length possess'd themselves of the entire province of Pernambuco, where they erected a great many forts, and compell'd the Portuguese who resided in that part of the country to obey them as their Sovereigns; whereupon Count MAURICE of Nassau was pleas'd to accept the government of the Dutch

CHAP.
VI.
Funerals.

Wars and
arms.

St. Salva-
dor retak-
en by the
Spaniards.

The
Dutch
take Olin-
da and the
whole pro-
vince of
Pernam-
buco.

CHAP.
VI.Reduces
three pro-
vinces
more.

Dutch territories in Brazil, and remain'd in that capacity at The Recife, or Pernambuco, from the year 1637 to the year 1644; during all which time the Dutch and Portuguese remaining in a state of war, Prince MAURICE recover'd from the Portuguese three more of their northern provinces: Nor did he content himself with taking places from the Portuguese in Brazil, but detach'd from thence a squadron to the coast of Africa, and took from them the important fort of Del Mina, the strongest fortresses on the Guinea coast, which the Hollanders are in possession of at this day. But the Dutch West-India Company not supplying the Count with such a number of forces as he apprehended was necessary to secure their conquests against the Portuguese, he return'd to Holland in disgust, in the year 1644, after which the affairs of the Dutch in Brazil declin'd apace; for the Portuguese who lived under the government of the Hollanders, joining their countrymen, by degrees recover'd all the towns which the Hollanders were in possession of, and drove them entirely out of Brazil again, in the year 1654.

However, the Dutch still continuing their pretensions to Brazil, and committing continual depredations on the Portuguese at sea, the latter agreed, at a treaty of peace made between the King of Portugal and the States-General, by the mediation of England, in the year 1661, to pay the Dutch eighty tons of gold to relinquish their interest in that country; which was accepted, and the Portuguese have remain'd in the peaceable possession of all Brazil from that day to this.

The pre-
sent inha-
bitants of
Brazil.

I come now to consider the present inhabitants of Brazil, which are, 1. Portuguese; 2. Crioli; 3. Mestize; 4. Negroes; and, 5. Brazilians. The Portuguese of Europe, who are the Governors, are the fewest in number; the Crioli, or those born of Portuguese parents in Brazil, are more numerous; and the Mestize, or mingled breed, still more numerous than either; for few of the Portuguese but have had black or tawny mistresses, and the issue of these having intermarry'd, they are multiplied to a very great degree: But whether the Negroes do not exceed all the rest I much question, there having been so many imported annually from Africa for an hundred and fifty years past. The Dutch relate, that when they were possess'd of the northern province of Brazil, which are not a third of the whole, they employ'd no less than forty thousand Negroes in their sugar-works and other husbandry: And as the Portuguese employ'd a proportionable number, which have been increasing and multiplying for upwards of an hundred years, and so many thousands annually imported all the while, they must of necessity swarm upon the Brazil coast by this time; and indeed there are some Portuguese Planters, 'tis said, that have several hundreds of Negroe slaves; and when they have not employment for them they suffer them to work for themselves, paying their masters something weekly out of what they get: And those Negroes which are bred up to any trade, such as Carpenters, Smiths, and Bricklayers, bring in their masters a handsome income.

As to the native Brazilians, they are partly freemen and partly slaves; but the Negroe slaves are much more valued than the Brazilians, being of more robust constitutions, and fitter for labour: As they come from the coast of Africa, opposite to Brazil, which is much hotter, they endure fatigue in the

hot season better than the natives. Nor are the latter now very numerous; for the Portuguese, on their invasion of this country, like the Spaniards, in their conquests destroy'd the unfortunate natives by all the cruel ways they could invent, insomuch that of an hundred thousand men they found in the small province of Serigippe (if we may credit the Dutch writers) they reduced them in a few years to four or five hundred men.

As to the forces and strength of the Portuguese in Brazil, I don't at all doubt but that it is sufficient at this day to maintain the dominion of that country against any other Power. The English and Dutch and other Powers may disturb their navigation, and perhaps now and then surprize their maritime places, but I don't apprehend they would any of them be able to take this country from them, if they should attempt it; for that mixture of people, Portuguese, Crioli, natives, Mestize, and Negroes, are now in a manner one people, their religion the same, and their blood intermix'd by marriages, and would infallibly unite therefore against all the rest of the world, however they may disagree among themselves while they have no enemy to contend with. And this is an advantage that the Spaniards, Portuguese, and French have of the English in America; these nations always make the natives and Negroes, where they have any power, of their own religion, and these, in a little time, discover as much or more zeal for their superstition than the Spaniards themselves, and would never bear that any people, who carried the name of hereticks, should plant themselves amongst them, if they had no other reason to oppose it.

Nor is the circumstance of marriage and alliance inconsiderable. Blood and relations lay strong obligations upon all people to unite against strangers; and this the English do not enough consider, when they prohibit their people matching with the natives or Negroes, and we seem as averse to the instructing them in our religion as we do to the mingling our blood with theirs; which is the reason they generally remain in a separate interest, and instead of serving their allies or masters faithfully, are ever conspiring to cut their throats, and escape out of their hands, and possibly would rather join an enemy than oppose him.

But to proceed. Any European Power would find much greater difficulties in driving the Portuguese from their settlements in Brazil than they did to fix themselves there; for the inhabitants were then a naked defenceless people, and divided into a great many little states and kingdoms; whereas the present inhabitants are all united and understand the art of war as well as we do. They are also used to that hot climate, which must prove fatal to abundance of Europeans on their arrival there, as well as the want of provisions, which the Portuguese would not fail to destroy in order to distress their enemies. From all which considerations I conclude, that the Portuguese are now so well fix'd in Brazil that it is not in the power of any other nation to expel them from this country and fix themselves in it.

If the Dutch, who had possess'd themselves of four of their provinces, and had so many fortresses in Brazil, could not maintain their ground, it is reasonable to believe that no other Power will be able to succeed in such an enterprize.

The force
of the Por-
tuguese in
Brazil.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE British PLANTATIONS.

CHAP. I.

Of the name, situation, extent, and subdivisions of the British plantations on the continent of America; and more particularly of the province of Virginia.

CHAP. I.

British
plantations
Their situ-
ation and
extent.

THE British dominions in America come next to be consider'd: And these are divided into, 1. Those that are situated on the continent: And, 2dly, the islands. The territories subject to Britain on the continent (except Hudson's bay, or New-Britain) lie contiguous, and are extended along the eastern coast of north-America from 31 degrees of northern latitude to 50 and upwards; lying between the 63d and 83d degrees of western longitude. And as the coast runs or extends from the south-west to the north-east, they are about fifteen hundred miles in length, and generally under two hundred miles broad, but in no place four hundred; unless we take in the Iroquois and other Indian nations under our protection, and then they may be extended further westward.

When the Spaniards first discover'd the country north of the gulph of Mexico, they call'd it all by the general name of Florida; but having grasped more than they could cultivate or defend, they in a manner deserted this part of America, and fix'd themselves in those parts of it that abounded in silver and gold. Whereupon the English, French, and Dutch thought themselves at liberty to send colonies to north-America, and gave such names to the countries they respectively possess'd themselves of as they saw fit.

The name

Sir WALTER RALEGH was the first English adventurer who attempted to settle colonies on this coast, and gave it the name of Virginia, in honour of his sovereign, the virgin Queen ELIZABETH, as will appear more at large in the chapter assign'd for treating of the history of this country. It was afterwards divided into north and south-Virginia, but at this day we find it subdivided into the eight following provinces (viz.) 1. Carolina, in which Georgia is comprehended. 2. Virginia Proper. 3. Maryland. 4. Pennsylvania. 5. New-Jersey. 6. New-York. 7. New-England; and 8. New-Scotland, call'd also Acadia and Acady. 9. There is still a ninth province call'd New-Britain, or the Terra de Labrador; which is in a great measure the same with that call'd Hudson's bay and streights, and is separated from the rest of the British territories by the river of St. Laurence and part of the French Canada. It extends from 50 to 64 de-

Subdivi-
sion.

grees of north latitude, and lies between 60 and 90 degrees of western longitude.

CHAP. I.

British
Planta-
tions.

And that I may not be thought to have assign'd this vast country to Britain without any foundation, I shall here present the reader with that article in the treaty of Utrecht, made in the year 1712, whereby the French resign'd this part of America to Great-Britain, which is of the following tenour (viz.)

"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 situated in the same 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 seiz'd 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, entire and undemolish'd, together with all the cannon and cannon-ball, and powder, &c. which are therein.

As the French have yielded this country to the English, they have at least given us all the right they had to it, and excluded themselves from it; what right we may have to it in regard to the natives is another point that will be discussed hereafter.

I proceed now to describe the respective provinces in the order of time they were severally planted, of which Virginia Proper being the first, naturally becomes the first subject of our enquiries.

This country with the rest of the abovesaid provinces, obtain'd the name of Virginia, as has been already observ'd, from Sir WALTER RALEGH, who call'd it Virginia in honour of Queen ELIZABETH; but the province to which the name of Virginia is now appropriated is bounded by the great river Patowmack on the north-east, by the Atlantick ocean on the east, by Carolina on the south, and by the Apalathian mountains, which separate it from Florida, on the west, extending from 36 to 39 degrees two minutes north latitude, and lying between 74

Virginia
Proper its
situation.

and

CHAP. I. and 80 degrees of western longitude, and is about two hundred and forty miles in length from north to south, and one hundred and twenty miles in breadth from east to west.

CHAP. II.

Of the face of the country, its mountains, seas, capes, bays, rivers, springs, lakes, winds, tides and seasons.

CHAP. II. THERE are no mountains in Virginia, unless we take in the Apalathian mountains, which separate it from Florida; but these have not yet been planted or inhabited by the English or any other people that I can learn.

Virginia.
The face
of Virginia.

As we approach Virginia from the ocean, it appears to be low land, inasmuch that (according to Mr. CLAYTON) the trees seem at a little distance to grow out of the water: and for an hundred miles up into the country, there is scarce a hill or a stone to be met with; only in some places there are rocks of iron ore appear, and in others there are banks of petrefy'd oyster-shells, some of them above twenty yards deep. The whole country, before it was planted, was either forests or bogs and morasses, which the people in the west-Indies call swamps; and such the greatest part of it is at present. Their trees being much loftier than ours, and no under-wood or bushes growing beneath, people travel with ease through these forests on horseback, and never want a fine shade to defend them from the summer heats.

Seas. The only sea that borders upon Virginia is that of the Atlantick ocean on the east, in which are two very remarkable capes or promontories, (viz.) 1. That of cape Henry; and 2. that of Cape Charles. Cape Henry lies in 37 degrees north latitude, and cape Charles about thirty miles to the northward of it; between which capes ships enter the great bay of Chesapeake, which runs up through Virginia and Maryland, almost due north three hundred miles and upwards, being navigable most part of the way for large ships. This bay is at the entrance seven or eight and twenty miles over, and in most places about twenty miles broad.

Cape
Henry.

Cape
Charles.

Bay of
Chesapeake.

Rivers.

James ri-
ver.

York ri-
ver.

Rapha-
nack river.

Patow-
mack ri-
ver.

Into the west side of this bay fall four great rivers, which rise in the Apalathian mountains, all of them running from the north-west to the south-east. The most southerly of these is James river, the Indian name whereof was Powhatan; being generally about two miles over, and navigable at least fourscore miles. York river, whose Indian name was Pamunky, is a little to the northward of James river, and in some places they approach one another so near that they are not five miles asunder. To the northward of York river is the river of Raphanack, which in some places is not ten miles distant from York river, and either of them as broad or broader than James river. North of Raphanack is the great river of Patowmack, which in some places is not above seven miles distant from Raphanack river, and in other places upwards of fifty: this river of Patowmack is navigable near two hundred miles, being nine miles broad in some places, but generally about seven. The mouth of the river Patowmack and that of James river are about an hundred miles asunder; but the heads of all the four rivers rise in the same hills pretty near each other, and, as Mr. CLAYTON expresses it, the heads of these rivers interfere and are lock'd within each other, as they are also within the heads of several other rivers that rise in the same mountains and run towards the west.

CHAP. II. The tides in these Rivers regularly ebb and flow about two foot perpendicular; and at James town there is a tide and a half tide, as they call it; that is, it flows near two hours along by the shore after it is ebb in the channel, and again it ebbs near two hours by the shore after it is flood. This is a great advantage to the boats passing up and down the river. I suppose, says Mr. CLAYTON, this is caused by the numerous creeks and branches of the river, which are many of them as broad as the Thames at London, some ten miles long, and others above twenty, that have little fresh water in them, their current primarily depending upon the flux and reflux of the sea; so that after the tide is made in the channel it flows by the shore a considerable time afterwards, those creeks being still to fill, and therefore (as it were) draws up a source upwards by the shore, and likewise when the tide returns in the channel, the creeks that could not so readily discharge their water, being still to empty themselves, they make an ebbing by the shore a considerable time after it is flood in the channel; and so far as the salt waters reach, the country is deem'd less healthy.

As to their springs, Mr. CLAYTON observes, that their waters are generally more eager than those in England, and require more malt to make beer: nor will they bear soap. He saw a spring in the isle of Wight county, he says, from whence there issu'd a greater body of water than ever he met with, except that of Holy-well in Wales; and there is another spring so cold that it is dangerous drinking of it in summer-time. He observ'd also, that most of their waters had a petrefying quality.

As to lakes, I don't find there are any on the east side of the mountains; unless their swamps or bogs are to be accounted such (as they very well may in winter-time;) and of these indeed they have as many as any country can boast of; but on the west side of the mountains are a great many large lakes, of which the French are in possession, as 'tis said; but these have not a communication with each other, or with the river of St. Laurence, as is commonly reported.

The same writer in his letters to the Royal Society observes, that the air and seasons depend very much on their winds, as to heat and cold, dryness and moisture. The north and north-west winds are very nitrous and piercing cold and clear, or else stormy. The south-east and south, hazy and sultry hot. Their winter is a fine clear air, and dry, which renders it very pleasant. Their frosts are short, but sometimes very sharp, that it will freeze the rivers over three miles broad; nay, the secretary of state assur'd me, says Mr. CLAYTON, it had frozen Patowmack river, over-against his house, where it is near nine miles over. He adds, I have observ'd it freezes there the hardest when from a moist south east, on a sudden the wind passing by the north, a nitrous sharp north-west blows, not with high gusts, but with a cutting brisk air; and those valleys then that seem to be shelter'd from the wind, and lie warm, where the air is most stagnant and moist, are frozen the hardest and seized the soonest, and there the fruits are more subject to blast than where the air has a free motion. Snow falls sometimes in pretty great quantities, but rarely continues there above a day or two. Their spring is about a month earlier than in England; in April they have frequent rains; May and June the heat increases, and it is much like our summer, being mitigated

The air,
winds, and
seasons.

CHAP.
II.

Diseases.

Remedies.

mitigated with gentle breezes that rise about nine of the clock, and decrease and incline as the sun rises and falls. July and August those breezes cease, and the air becomes stagnant, that the heat is violent and troublesome. In September the weather usually breaks suddenly, and there falls generally very considerable rains. When the weather breaks many fall sick, this being the time for cachexies, fluxes, scorbutical dropsies, gripes, or the like; which I have attributed to this, says Mr. CLAYTON, that by the extraordinary heat, the ferment of the blood being rais'd too high, and the tone of the stomach relaxed, when the weather breaks the blood palls, and like over-fermented liquors is de-pauperated, or turns eager and sharp, and there is a crude digestion, whence the abovenamed distempers may be supposed to ensue; and then chalybeates, that raise the decay'd ferment, are no bad practice, after which, I conceive, armoniack spirits might be very beneficial. But their doctors are so learned, that I never met with any of them, says this gentleman, that understood what armoniack spirits were. Two or three of them one time ran me clear down by consent, that they were vomitive, and that they never used any thing for that purpose but *Crocus Metallorum*, which indeed every house keeps, and if their finger ach they immediately give three or four spoonfuls thereof; if this fail they give them a second dose, then perhaps purge them with fifteen or twenty grains of the rosin of jallop, afterwards sweat them with venice-treacle, powder of snake-root, or Gascoin's powder: and when these fail, *Conclamatum est*. 'Tis wonderful, he adds; what influence the air has over mens bodies, whereof I had myself sad assurances; for though I was in a very close warm room, where was a fire constantly kept, yet there was not the least alteration or change, whereof I was not sensible when I was sick of the gripes; and when a very ingenious gentlewoman was visited with the same distemper, I had the opportunity of making very considerable observations. I stood at the window and could view the clouds arise; for there small fleeting clouds will arise and be swiftly carry'd cros the whole element; and as these clouds arose and came nigher her torments were increased, which were grievous as a labouring woman's; there was not a cloud but lamentably affected her, and that at a considerable distance; but by her shrieks it seem'd more or less according to the bigness and nearness of the clouds. The thunder, says Mr. CLAYTON, is attended often with fatal circumstances here. I was with my lord HOWARD of Effingham, the governor, when they brought word that Dr. A. was kill'd therewith after this manner: he was smoaking a pipe of tobacco, and looking out of his window, when he was struck dead, and immediately became so stiff that he did not fall, but stood leaping in the window, with the pipe in his mouth, in the same posture he was in when struck: and these things are remarkable, that it generally breaks in at the gable end of the houses, and often kills persons in or near the chimney's range, darting most fiercely down the funnel of the chimney, more especially if there be a fire (I speak here confusedly of thunder and lightning) for when they do any mischief, the crash and lightning are at the same instant, which must be from the nearness of the cloud. One time, when the thunder split the mast of a boat at James town, I saw it break from the cloud, which it divided in two, and seem'd as if it had shot them immediately a mile asunder to the eye. It is dangerous when it thunders standing

in a narrow passage, where there is a thorough wind, or in a room betwixt two windows, tho' several have been kill'd in the open fields. 'Tis incredible to tell how it will strike large oaks, shatter and shiver them, sometimes twisting round a tree, as if it struck the tree backwards and forwards. I had noted a fine spreading oak in James town island; in the morning I saw it fair and flourishing, in the evening I observ'd all the bark of the body of the tree, as if it had been artificially peel'd off, was orderly spread round the tree in a ring, whose semi-diameter was four yards, the tree in the center; all the body of the tree was shaken and split, but its boughs had all their bark on, few leaves were fallen, and those on the boughs as fresh as in the morning, but gradually afterwards wither'd, as on a tree that is fallen. I have seen several vast oaks and other timber trees twisted, as if it had been a small willow that a man had twisted with his hand; which I could suppose had been done by nothing but the thunder. I have been told by several planters, that thirty or forty years since, when the country was not so open, the thunder was more fierce, and that some times after violent thunder and rain the roads would seem to have perfect casts of brimstone: and he seems to be of opinion, that the fierce and frequent thunders they had formerly, proceeded from the air's being more stagnant when the motion of the winds was impeded by the trees, before the country was clear'd.

CHAP. III.

Of the Provinces and chief towns of Virginia, and of the Buildings of the Indians.

HOW the country was divided when the Indians had the dominion of it does not appear, only the first adventurers inform us, that there were a great many petty monarchs in it, who commanded on the several rivers; and that the most potent frequently subdu'd his weaker neighbours, and held them in subjection during his life, after which every principality usually return'd to the original proprietor; but I shall be more particular on this head in the chapter assign'd for the history of this country.

Virginia is at present divided into twenty-five counties, (viz.) 1. James county. 2. Henrico county. 3. Prince George. 4. Charles county. 5. Surrey. 6. Isle of Wight. 7. Nanfamd. 8. Norfolk. 9. Princess Anne. 10. York county. 11. Warwick. 12. Elizabeth. 13. New Kent. 14. King William. 15. King and Queen. 16. Gloucester. 17. Middlesex. 18. Essex. 19. Richmond. 20. Stafford. 21. Westmorland. 22. Lancaster. 23. Northumberland. 24. Accomack; and 25. Northampton.

1. James county lies on both sides of James river, and is bounded by New-Kent on the north, by York county on the east, by Surrey on the south, and Henrico county on the west, and contains five parishes (viz.) 1. James town. 2. Williamsburg. 3. Wallingford, all which lie on the North side of James river. 4. Merchants Hundred; and 5. Bruton, on the south side of the river.

1. James Town, the capital of this county and of the whole province, is situated in a peninsula on the north side of James river, about forty miles from the mouth of it, the river being at this place about a mile broad. There are not above three or fourscore houses at present in it, and those

CHAP.
II.CHAP.
III.

Provinces and chief towns.

James county.

James town.

CHAP.
III.

those most of them publick houses, kept for the entertainment of sea-faring people who resort hither; for it is not agreeable to the humour or business of the Virginian planters to live in Towns. Every man of substance almost chuses to reside upon his estate, and have his farms and plantations under his eye; and when they have amassed as much wealth as satisfies them, they either remain in the place they acquir'd it, or return to England; but seldom reside in the little towns of Virginia. Another reason which makes James town now so inconsiderable is, the removing the courts of justice and the seat of the government to Williamsburgh: And lastly, James town suffer'd very much in the rebellion during the reign of King Charles II. when it was almost entirely burnt down to the ground. Before that misfortune happen'd, 'tis said, there were several spacious streets and handsome buildings in James town, and the government seem'd to be set upon peopling and improving it, by obliging all shipping to unload their merchandize at this place, but that order was never obey'd. Few towns are capable of being made stronger than James town, as it is situated on a peninsula, which, at high water, is a perfect Island, and there is no approaching it but on one side, which might easily be render'd inaccessible; but the fortifications I perceive are mean.

Williams-
burgh.

2. Williamsburgh, heretofore call'd Middle Plantation, is situated about seven miles from James town, further within land; and this, tho' the seat of the government, and the place where their parliament or general assembly meets, is but a very small place, consisting only of thirty or forty houses that are not contiguous. Governor Nicholson did all that lay in his power to increase the buildings and enlarge the town, in the year 1689; particularly he built a town-house, to which he gave the name of the Capitol. A fine college also was erected here, and a good revenue settled upon it; but this was unfortunately burnt down. There are some redoubts and batteries of guns erected for the defence of the place, but of no great consequence; what the late orders for the repairing and strengthening our fortifications in America may produce, we shall see in a little time. This county contains 108,362 acres of land.

I shall not pretend to give the boundaries of the rest of the counties, only observe in what part of the province they lie, with the parishes and the number of acres contain'd in them.

Henrico
county.

2. Henrico county is situated the most westerly of all those that lie on the south of James river, and contains the two parishes of Henrico and Bristol, in which are 148,787 acres of land.

Prince
George,
and
Charles
counties.

3. and 4. Prince George and Charles counties are situated over-against Henrico county, on the north side of James river, in which are the three parishes of Martin Brandon, Wyanoke, and Westover, containing 161,239 acres of land; and twenty miles higher, above the falls of James river, is the Monacan town, where the French refugees are settled.

Surrey
county.

5. Surrey county is situated over-against James county, on the south side of James river, containing the two parishes of Southwark and Lyons creek, in which are 111,050 acres of land.

Isle of
Wight
county.

6. Isle of Wight county, is situated south east of Surrey county, on the south side of James river, containing the two parishes of Warwick-Squeak and New-port, in which are 142,796 acres of land.

VOL. III.

CHAP.
III.Nansa-
mund
county.

7. Nansamund county, which lies south of the Isle of Wight county, containing the three parishes of Upper-Parish, Lower-Parish, and Chukkatuck, in which are 131,172 acres of land. In this county rises the river of Nansamund, which running to the north-east falls into James river, near Benner's creek.

Norfolk
county.

8. Norfolk county lies south-east of Nansamund county, extending to the borders of Carolina, and contains only the parish of Elizabeth, in which are 112,019 acres of land. In this county rises the river Elizabeth, which running due north falls into James river, between the east and West Bay.

Prince's
Anne
county.

9. Prince's Anne county lies north-east of Norfolk, having the bay of Chesepeak on the north, and the ocean on the east, and contains only the parish of Lynhaven, in which are 98,305 acres of land. Cape Henry is a promontory on the north east part of this county.

York
county.

10. York county, situate between York and James rivers on the east of James county, in which are the three parishes of York, Hampton, and New-Pokofon, and contains 60,767 acres of land.

Warwick
county.

11. Warwick county lies contiguous to York county, and south east of it between the same rivers, in which are the two parishes of Denby and Mulberry Island, containing 38,444 acres of land. In this county rises the river of Pokofon, which running to the eastward discharges itself into the mouth of York river.

Elizabeth
county.

12. Elizabeth county lies contiguous to Warwick county, and to the eastward of it, having the bay of Chesepeak on the north, and the Mouth of James river on the south. It hath but one parish, call'd Elizabeth, in which was a city of the same name, but it is of late years dwindled to a village. This county contains 29,000 acres of land.

New-
Kent.

13. New-Kent lies north of James county on the southern branch of York river, and contains the two parishes of Blisland and St. Peters, in which are 171,314 acres of land, being one of the largest and most populous counties in Virginia. In the west part of this county are some hills of glittering sand, which the first adventurers mistook for gold, and loaded home a ship with it, and to their great mortification it prov'd but common earth.

King Wil-
liam coun-
ty.

14. King William county is contiguous to New-Kent, and lies to the westward of it, the river Pamunky (being the southern branch of York river) running through it. It contains only the parish of St. John's, in which are 84,324 acres of land.

King and
Queen
county.

15. King and Queen county lies on the south of King William county, and is contiguous to it, and contains the two parishes of Stratton Major and St. Stephen's, in which are 131,716 acres of land. In this county rises the river Chicohomony, and running eastward falls into James river, near Bromfield's plantation.

Gloucester
county.

16. Gloucester county is situated between the mouth of York river and Prankitank river, having the bay of Chesepeak on the east, and contains the four parishes of Perfo, Abington, Ware, and Kingston, in which are 142,450 acres of land.

Middlesex
county.

17. Middlesex county lies north of Gloucester, having the river Raphanock on the north, and the river Prankitank on the south, containing only the parish of Christ-Church, in which are 49,500 acres of land.

CHAP.

III.

Essex
county.Dragons
Swamp.Rich-
mond and
Stafford
counties.Westmor-
land coun-
ty.Lancaster
county.Northum-
berland
county.Acomac
county.North-
ampton
county.Numbers
of people.Indian vil-
lages and
buildings.

18. The county of Essex lies on the river Raphanock, north-west of Middlesex, containing the three parishes of South-Farnham, Sittingburn, and St. Mary's, in which are 140,920 acres of land. Upon the confines of this county and that of Middlesex there is a great swamp or bog almost sixty miles in length, call'd Dragons Swamp, cover'd with bushes and flags, in which harbour wild beasts and game in abundance.

19. and 20. Richmond and Stafford counties lie north-west of Essex, upon the same river Raphanock, and contain the three parishes of North-Farnham, St. Paul's, and Overworton.

21. Westmorland county lies eastward of the last, between the two rivers of Raphanock and Patowmack.

22. Lancaster county lies on the north shore of the river Raphanock, near the mouth, being divided into two parts by the river Cartomain, and contains the two parishes of Christ-Church and St. Mary White-Chapel.

23. Northumberland county is bounded by the mouth of Patowmack river on the north, and by the bay of Chesepeak on the east, containing the two parishes of Fairfield-Bawtry, and Wicomoco.

24. Acomac county lies in the peninsula on the opposite side of the bay of Chesepeak, having part of Maryland on the north, the Atlantic Ocean on the east and south, and the bay of Chesepeak on the west, in which is the parish of Acomac only; but contains, however, 200,923 acres of land, being the largest county of Virginia, but not so well peopled as those on the west-side of the bay.

25. Northampton county lies south of that of Acomac, and forms the south part of the peninsula on which the promontory call'd cape Charles is situated. This is a long narrow county lying between the ocean and the bay of Chesepeak, in which is but one parish, call'd Hungers, containing 99,384 acres of land.

In all which counties, it is computed there may be at this day about an hundred thousand souls, besides servants and slaves, which are above three times that number.

As to the towns of the Indians, I don't find they had any thing that deserved the name of a town even in their greatest prosperity, before the English came among them. They liv'd dispers'd in small villages of ten or twelve huts a-piece (scarce any of them exceeding thirty such houses) either in the woods or on the banks of rivers, where they had little plantations of Indian corn and roots, scarce sufficient to supply their respective families half the year, subsisting the remainder of it by hunting, fishing, and fowling, and the fruits of the earth, which grow spontaneously in great plenty there.

The materials of their houses were poles cover'd with bark or matts; the poles being let into the ground in a circular form were bent inward, and made the hutt of the shape of a bee-hive: The hearth or fire-place was in the middle of it, about which they lay upon matts, or the skins of beasts. The palaces of their greatest men were no better than ordinary barns, in which were several partitions made by matts, and might therefore be call'd so many rooms, in the furthest of which was placed their favourite idol, and sometimes two or more, which they carry'd with them on every enterprize, and whenever they removed. The length of these barns (or palaces, as some call them) were from twelve to twenty-four yards

in length, and usually half as broad as they were long. Their furniture consisted of their skins and furs, some earthen pots and pans; gourds and calabashes cut afunder serv'd them for tubs, pails, cups, and dishes.

The country was then very thinly inhabited, these small villages being usually several miles asunder, as appears by the concurrent relations of the first adventurers, collected by HACKLUIT and PURCHASE.

Captain SMITH, one of the first adventurers, says, the land is not populous within sixty miles of James town. There are about seven thousand people, but of men fit for war scarce two thousand: seven or eight hundred are the most that have been seen together: so that there is little reason to charge the English with destroying such numbers, as some have done either ignorantly or maliciously. The middle of America, between the tropicks, where the Spaniards fix'd themselves, indeed was very populous, but towards the north and south there were few inhabitants. Even at this day those parts of Florida which have never been under the subjection of any Europeans, and consequently have not been destroy'd by them, live in the like little villages, and are very thinly peopled.

CHAP. IV.

Of the persons and habits of the Virginians, their genius and temper, arts, manufactures, food, exercises, and diversions, diseases, and remedies.

AS to the persons of the Virginians, their stature is much the same with the people of Europe. In some provinces there are huge lusty fellows like the Germans, whom some people are pleas'd to call a gigantick race, and there are others as little as the French, but all in general well made, strong and active. They are born tolerably white, but take a great deal of pains to darken their complexion by anointing themselves with grease, and lying in the sun. They also paint their faces, breasts, and shoulders of various colours, but generally red. Their hair and eyes are black, the men cutting theirs in several forms; and persons of condition have always a long lock behind. The women wear their hair long, sometimes loose and flowing, and at others twisted and adorn'd with beads, shells, and feathers. The men suffer no hair on their chins, or any part of their bodies. Their features are good, especially those of the women, their limbs clean and strait, and scarce ever any crooked or deform'd persons among them. Their noblemen and chiefs wear a coronet adorn'd with feathers, and sometimes a whole fowl stuff'd and dry'd on their heads, their ornaments being ear-rings of copper, chains of shells, feathers, and beads about their necks, and bracelets of the same about their arms.

Their cloathing is only a piece of a skin about their waist that reaches down to their knees; and those of condition have the skin of a deer or some other beast for a mantle, and another piece of skin serves them for shoes or buskins.

Their characters are given us variously by different travellers; which, I presume, proceeds from the various circumstances the Indians or our people were in. When they were friends with our people and entertain'd them hospitably; then they were all that was good, and when in a state

CHAP.
III.CHAP.
IV.Persons of
the Virgi-
nians.

Habits.

Genius
and Tem-
per.

CHAP. IV. of hostility, no character was thought bad enough for them; but I think they all agree, that the Virginians did not want wit or natural parts.

Mr. WHITAKER, chaplain to the colony of Virginia, observes, that the Indians are neither so ignorant or so innocent as some suppose them, but are a very understanding generation, quick of apprehension, sudden in dispatch, subtle in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and industrious in their labour: That the world has not better marksmen with bow and arrow than the natives, who kill birds flying, fishes swimming, and wild beasts running, and shoot their arrows with such prodigious force, that one of them shot an Englishman quite through, and nail'd both his arms to his body with the same arrow. And he saw a boy of twelve or thirteen years of age kill a bird with an arrow.

In the character captain SMITH gives of them, he says, they are strong, nimble, and hardy; and when they are at war, or engaged in an enterprize, they will lie all night abroad in the hardest winters under a tree, making fires about them.

That they are inconstant, crafty, quick of apprehension, and very ingenious, some bold, some timorous, but all of them cautious, circumspect, and savage: That they are soon mov'd to anger, and so malicious that they seldom forget an injury.

However, the same captain SMITH acknowledges the English were hospitably entertain'd when they landed first in Virginia, before the natives had any apprehension the English came to invade their country, and usurp the dominion of it: And the reason he gives them an ill character in other places seems to be, because they would not tamely suffer the yoke to be put about their necks by foreigners. But if we would judge rightly of these people, I think we ought to observe how they treated ours before any injury was offer'd them. And it appears that in the first voyage that was made thither by captain PHILIP AMIDAS, and captain ARTHUR BARLOW, in the year 1584, they were here feasted and caress'd beyond their expectations. The politest and most hospitable people of Europe could not have used them better. They relate, that on their coming to an anchor near Cape Hateras, an Indian came on board, to whom they gave some wine and a dish of meat; and that thereupon the Indian returning to his boat, caught them as many fish as it would hold, and brought them.

That the next day, the brother of one of their kings came to the sea-side with forty or fifty attendants, and setting himself down over-against the ship, Mr. AMIDAS and several more of the English went on shore with their arms. Whereupon this Prince, without being terrify'd at their warlike appearance, invited them to set down on the matt his servants had provided, and made a great many signs to express his joy at their arrival: After which they traffick'd with the natives for their deer skins, furs, and other peltry, giving them dishes, kettles, hatchets, knives, and other implements in return for them.

That afterwards, the Prince brought his wife and several other women on board the ship, where the English entertain'd them in the best manner they could; and the lady, in return, invited them on shore, and gave them venison roast and boil'd, fish, melons, and other fruits; and the captain, who was one of the company that was thus feasted by the natives, and wrote this relation, says, they found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treachery.

As to arts and sciences they understood but little. CHAP. IV. They knew no more of letters than the rest of the Americans, but appear'd very tractable and capable of learning any thing. There were no companies or societies of mechanicks or artificers amongst them, but every family did their own business. They all understood how to build their huts, make their cloaths, sow and plant their grounds; and the greatest of them busied themselves in these works; their Princes were not exempted. King POWHATON, according to captain SMITH, made his own robes, shoes, bows, arrows, pots, and pans, as well as the meanest of his subjects.

They did not know the use of iron, and the copper they had only served them for ornaments. Their edg'd tools were sharp stones, or shells, set in wood. They burnt down the timber they used, hollow'd the trunks of their great trees with fire, of which they made their canoes, or country boats, all of a piece, scraping them smooth with stones or shells, and some of these boats were thirty foot in length.

They were infinitely surpris'd at the effects of the loadstone; the compass, and mathematical instruments, the burning-glass, the perspective-guns, clocks and fire-works amazed these people; they looked upon them to be the works of the gods rather than men, or at least that the men that made them must be taught by the gods; which gave them an uncommon veneration for the English when they arriv'd upon their coasts, and made them ready to listen to whatever was propos'd.

The Virginians reckon'd their years by winters, and their months by the moon, and some say they reckon'd every spring and autumn a new year, beginning it at either equinox, which was the occasion that so many of their people were reckon'd upwards of an hundred when the English came amongst them. They kept their accounts with a notch'd stick, and reckon'd from one to ten, and so to an hundred, as we do; but large sums confounded them.

Their usual food was hommony, which is Indian corn boiled to a pulp, and comes the nearest buttered wheat of any thing I can compare it to: They eat also venison, fish, and fowl, great part of their time being employ'd in hunting and taking them; for they had no tame cattle or fowls. They both broil and stew their meat, and their fish dress with the scales on, and without gutting them. They eat also peas and beans, and several other kinds of pulse and roots, and among the rest the cassavi root, of which they make bread, as in other parts of America; 'tis said they eat snakes also and other vermin, with as great a gust as any other flesh.

On rejoicing days they sing and dance in a ring, taking hands, as other Americans do, and are much delighted with masquerades; one of which captain SMITH gives a particular relation of, being performed for his diversion when he was in the court of King POWHATON.

They carried him into a field by a woodside, and having seated him and his company on matts by a fire, thirty young women issued out of the woods perfectly naked, only some leaves to hide what all the world conceal, their bodies painted red, white, and black, and all manner of colours, and on their heads every one a pair of stags horns, having bows and arrows in their hands and quivers at their backs. Thus accoutred, these ladies took hands, danced and sung about the fires and the strangers, and having continued this exercise for an hour, they retired

Diversions

CHAP. IV. retired into the woods, where they invited the captain and his friends to as elegant a feast of fish, flesh, fowl, and fruits, as Indians were capable of making, some of the nymphs singing and dancing, while others attended them; and if we may credit this traveller, making love to him with so much fondness, that he was perfectly surfeited with it.

The natives are generally healthful and long-lived, subject to but few diseases, and those chiefly proceeding from colds, which they endeavour to get off by sweating; but they are sometimes swept away by epidemical distempers, occasioned by unkindly seasons; and the small-pox proves as fatal to them as the plague. As to the Europeans that live amongst them, fevers and agues, the gripes, and fluxes are the most common distempers here, as in the rest of the British plantations, the occasion whereof, and the methods of cure, sir HANS SLOAN, who resided some time in Jamaica, has given very particular accounts of, and from him I shall take the liberty to communicate them to my readers when I come to the description of that island, and only observe here, that the bark is an infallible remedy for their fevers and agues.

CHAP. V.

Of the Virginian animals.

CHAP. V. THE description Mr. CLAYTON has given us of these is so full that little can be added to it, and therefore I shall give it the reader in his own words, viz.

Animals. There were neither horses, cows, sheep, or swine in all the country before the coming of the English; but now there is good store of horses, though they are very negligent and careless about the breed. It is true, there is a law, that no horse shall be kept stoned under a certain size, but it is not put in execution. Such as they are there is good store, and as cheap or cheaper than in England, worth about five pounds a-piece. They never shoe them, or stable them in general; some few gentlemen may be something more curious, but it is very rare; yet they ride pretty sharply, a planter's pace is a proverb, which is a good hand-gallop. The Indians have not yet learned to ride, only the King of Pamunkie had got three or four horses for his own saddle, and an attendant, which I think should in no wife be indulged; for I look on the allowing them horses much more dangerous than even guns and powder.

Kine. Wild bulls and cows there are now in the uninhabited parts, but such only as have been bred from some that have strayed and become wild, and have propagated their kind, and are difficult to be shot, having a great acuteness of smelling. The common rate of a cow or calf is fifty shillings un-fight un-seen; be she big or little, they are never very curious to examine that point.

Sheep. Their sheep are of a midling size, pretty fine fleec'd in general, and most persons begin to keep flocks, which hitherto has not been much regarded because of the wolves that destroy them; so that a piece of mutton is a finer treat than either venison, wild-geese, duck, widgeon, or teal.

Elks. Elks: I have heard of them beyond the inhabitants, and that there was one presented to sir WILLIAM BERKLY, which he kept some time; but they are not common.

Deer. There are abundance of brave red deer; so that a good woodfman, as they call them, will keep his house with venison. The Indians make artifi-

cial sorts of heads of boughs of trees, which they CHAP. V. consecrate to their gods, and these they put on to deceive the deer when they go a shooting or hunting as they call it, and by mimicking the feeding of the deer, they by degrees get within shot.

Swine they have now in great abundance. Shoats, Hogs, or porkrels, are their general food, and I believe as good as any Westphalia; certainly far exceeding our English.

Raccoon: I take it to be a species of a monkey, Raccoons, something less than a fox, grey hair'd, its feet formed like a hand, and the face too has likewise the resemblance of a monkey's, besides, being kept tame, are very apish. They are very prejudicial to their poultry, as I remember.

An opossum: As big, and something shaped like Opossum, our badgers, but of a lighter dun colour, with a long tail something like a rat, but as thick as a man's thumb. The skin of the female's belly is very large, and folded so as to meet like a purse; wherein they secure their young whilst little and tender, which will as naturally run thither as chickens to a hen; and in these false bellies they will carry their young. These also feed on and devour corn.

Hares: Many will have them to be a Hedge-Hares, rabbit, but I know not what they mean thereby. I take them to be a perfect species of Hares, because I have seen Leverets there with the white spot in the head, which the old ones have not; so it is in England, and the down is perfectly of the colour of our hares; they sit as our hares do, and make no holes and burrows in the earth: True, they are but about the bigness of an English rabbit, and run no faster: They generally take into some hollow tree within a little space; which then the people catch by gathering the withered leaves, and setting them on fire within the hollow of the tree, and smothering them so till they fall down. Sometimes they take long briars and twist them in the down and skin, and so pull them forth.

Their Squirrels are of three sorts, the first is the great Fox-squirrel, much larger than the English, and are grey almost as a common rabbit. These are very common. I have eaten of them at the best gentlemen's tables, and they are as good as a rabbit. The second is the Flying-squirrel, of a lighter dun colour, and much less than the English squirrel. The skin on either side of the belly extended is very large betwixt the fore-leg and hind-leg, which helps them much in their skipping from one bough to another, that they will leap farther than the Fox-squirrel, tho' much less; yet this is rather skipping than flying, tho' the distinction be well enough. The third is the Ground-squirrel. I never saw any of this sort; only I have been told of them, and have had them described to me to be little bigger than a mouse, finely spotted like a young fawn; by which I further apprehend, they are an absolute sort of dor-mouse, only different in colour.

Musk-rats: In all things shaped like our water-rats, only something larger, and are an absolute species of water-rats, only having a curious musky scent. I kept one for a certain time in a wooden chest: Two days before it died it was extraordinary odoriferous, and scented the room very much, but the day that it died, and a day after the scent was very small; yet afterwards the skin was very fragrant; the stones also smelt very well. They build houses as beavers do in the marshes and swamps (as they call them) by the water-sides, with two or three ways into them, and they are finely

CHAP. V. finely daub'd within. I pull'd one in pieces purposely to see the contrivance; there were three different lodging rooms, very neat, one higher than another, as I conceive purposely made for retirement when the water rises higher than ordinary: They are considerably large, having much trash and lumber to make their houses withal. I suppose they live mostly on fish.

Batts. Batts: As I remember, at least two sorts, one a large sort with long ears, and particularly long stragling hairs: The other much like the English, something larger I think; very common.

Lions. I had never heard of any lions; they told me of a creature killed whilst I was there in Gloucester county, which I conceived to be a sort of pard, or tyger.

Tygers. Bears: There are but few in the inhabited part of Virginia. Towards Carolina there are many more. There was a small bear killed within three miles of James city, the year that I left the country; but it was supposed to have strayed and swam over James river. They are not very fierce. Their flesh is commended for a very rich sort of pork; but the lying side of the bear, as I remember, is but half the value of the other, weight for weight.

Wild cats. There are several sorts of wild-cats, and poll-cats.

Beavers. Beavers build their houses in like manner as the musk-rats do, only much larger, and with pieces of timber make dams over rivers, as I suppose, either to preserve their furs dry in their passage over the rivers, or else to catch fish by standing to watch them thereon, and jumping upon them on a sudden. They are very subtle creatures, and if half the stories be true that I have been told, they have a very orderly government among them. In their works each knows his proper work and station, and the overseers beat those young ones that loiter in their business; and will make them cry and work stoutly. These will be further described in New England.

Wolves. Of wolves there are great store; you may hear a company hunting in an evening, and yelping like a pack of beagles; but they are very cowardly, and dare scarce venture on any thing that faces them; yet if hungry, will pull down a good large sheep that flies from them. I never heard that any of them adventured to set on man or child.

Foxes. Foxes: They are very much like ours, only their furr is much more grised or grey; neither do I remember ever to have seen any fox-holes; but of this I am not positive.

Dogs. Every house keeps three or four mungrel dogs to destroy vermin, such as wolves, foxes, raccoons, opossums, &c. But they never hunt with hounds; I suppose because there are so many branches of rivers that they cannot follow them. Neither do they keep grey-hounds, because they say, that they are subject to break their necks by running against trees, and any cur will serve to run their hares into a hollow tree, where after the aforesaid manner, they catch them.

Tortoises. They have great store both of land and water-tortoises, but they are very small, I think. I never saw any in that country to exceed a foot in length. There is also another sort of land-tortoise, different from the common sort, with a higher-ridged back, and speckled with red sort of spots.

Frogs. Frogs they have of several sorts; one of a prodigious largeness, eight or ten times as big as any in England; and it makes a strange noise, something like the bellowing of a bull, or betwixt that and

the hollow sounding noise that the English bitter makes.

CHAP. V. Another very common sort which they call toads, because black; but I think differs nothing from our black frog. They have toads also, like ours in England, and another small sort of frog, which makes a noise like pack-horse bells all the spring long. Another little green frog that will leap prodigiously, which they therefore call the flying-frog. There is still heard in the woods a shrill sort of noise, much like that which our shrew-mouse makes, but much sharper. I could never learn the certainty what it was that made this noise. It is generally in a tree, and some have asserted to me that it was made by the green frog, yet I scarcely believe it. Mr. BANISTER assured me that it was made by a sort of Scarabæus-beetle, that is, I think, full as big as the humming-bird; but neither do I believe that, and for this reason, because I never saw that beetle so low as the salts, but always as high up in the country as the freshest, and that noise is frequent all over the country.

Lizards are grey and very common here; the snakes feed much on them, for I have taken several of them out of the bellies of snakes.

Snakes. Snakes: About seven several sorts. The rattle-snake, so called from certain rattles at the end of the tail. These rattles seem like so many perished joints, being a dry husk over certain joints; and the common opinion is, that there are as many rattles or joints as the snake is years old. I killed four or five, and they had eleven, twelve, or thirteen joints each; and the young ones have no rattles of a year or two old, but they may be known notwithstanding, being very regularly diced or chequered black and grey on the backs. The old ones shake and shiver these rattles with wonderful nimbleness when they are in any ways disturbed. Their bite is very deadly, yet not always of the same force, but more or less mortal according as the snake is in force or vigour; and therefore in June or July much worse, and more mortal than in March and April. This snake is a very majestic sort of creature, and will scarce meddle with any thing unless provoked; but if any thing offend it, it makes directly at them. I was told a pleasant story of an old gentleman, Colonel CLEYBORN, as I remember, was his name, the same that sent the rattle-snakes to the Royal-society some years since: He had an odd fancy of keeping some of the snakes always in barrels in the house; and one time an Indian pretending to charm them so as to take them by the neck in his hand without biting of him, the old gentleman caused a rattle-snake to be brought forth; the Indian began his charm with a little wand, whisking it round and round the rattle-snakes head, bringing it by degrees nigher and nigher, and at length flung the switch away, and whisked his hand about in like manner, bringing his hand still nigher and nigher by taking leis circles, when the old gentleman immediately hit the snake with his crutch, and the snake snap'd the Indian by the hand, and bit him very sharply betwixt the fingers, which put his charm to an end, and he roared out, but stretched his arm out as high as he could, calling for a string, wherewith he bound his arm as hard as possibly he could, and clapp'd a hot burning coal thereon and singed it stoutly, whereby he was cured, but look'd pale a long while after. And I believe this truly one of the best ways in the world of curing the bite either of a viper or mad dog. I was with the honourable 'squire BOYLE, when he made certain experiments

CHAP.
V.

These opinions are the greatest support of a common notion, that several chronicl waiting diseases, and such disorders of the nerves as are not easily accounted for, not only in men but in cattle, are believed to be the effects of an evil eye, of old malicious women, &c. thought to be witches and forcerers, or assisted by the devil.

In particular, as to Rattle-snakes, they all agree in their relations, that those snakes keeping their eyes fix'd on any small animal, as a squirrel, bird, or such like, tho' sitting upon the branch of a tree of a considerable height, shall, by such steadfast or earnest looking, make or cause it to fall dead into their mouths. This is a thing so well attested, that they think there is no reason to question their belief of it.

Mr. READ, an eminent merchant in the city of London, had a rattle-snake sent him alive in a box with some gravel from Virginia, which he did me the favour to give me. It had liv'd three months before without any sustenance, and had in that time parted with its outer coat, or Exuvie, which was found amongst the gravel. Mr. RANBY, a very ingenious surgeon and anatomist, undertook the lodging it; and captain HALL, a very understanding and observant person, who had liv'd many years in that country in great repute, ventured to take the snake out of the box, notwithstanding that the poison from the bite thereof is almost present death; for he gave us an instance of a person bitten, who was found dead at the return of a messenger going to the next house to fetch a remedy or antidote, though he was not gone above half an hour. Nay, so certain are the mortal effects of this poison, that sometimes the waiting till an iron can be heated in order to burn the wound, is said to have proved fatal. This gentleman told me, he thought the securest way was immediately to cut out the part where the wound was made; for he had seen several who had carry'd these hollow scars about them, as marks of the narrow escape they had had, and never felt any inconvenience afterwards.

Though providence hath produc'd a creature so terrible to other animals, yet it seems to have provided it with the rattle at its tail, that the noise thereof might give warning to them to get out of its way.

I desired an experiment should be try'd before several physicians, which was accordingly done in the garden belonging to their college in London. The captain, by keeping the head fast with a forked stick, and making a noose, which he put about the tail of the snake ty'd it fast to the end of another stick, wherewith he took him out of the box and laid him upon the grass-plot; then a dog being made to tread upon him, he bit the dog, who thereupon howled very bitterly, and went away some few yards distant from the snake, but in about one minute of time he grew paralytick in the hinder legs, after the manner of dogs who have the Aorta Descendens ty'd. He died in less than three minutes time, as is related by Mr. RANBY in an account of this experiment in *Philos. Trans.* N^o. 401. p. 377. and by captain HALL, N^o. 399. p. 309.

In my opinion, the whole mystery of their enchanting or charming any creature is chiefly this, that when such animals as are their proper prey, namely, small quadrupedes, or birds, &c. are surpris'd by them, they bite them, and the poison allows them time to run a small way, as our dog did, or perhaps a bird to fly up into the next tree, where

the snakes watch them with great earnestness till they fall down, or are perfectly dead, when having lick'd them over with their spawl or spittle, they swallow them down, as the following accounts relate.

Some people in England (says colonel BEVERLEY, in his history of Virginia, edit. 2. p. 260. Lond. 1722, 8vo.) are startled at the very name of the rattle-snake, and fancy every corner of that province so much pester'd with them that a man goes in constant danger of his life that walks abroad in the woods; but this is as gross a mistake as most of the other ill reports of this country; for in the first place, this snake is very rarely seen, and when that happens it never does the least mischief unless you offer to disturb it, and thereby provoke it to bite in its own defence: But it never fails to give you fair warning by making a noise with its rattle, which may be heard at a convenient distance. For my own part, I have travelled the country as much as any man in it of my age, by night and by day, above the inhabitants as well as among them, and yet before the first impression of this book I had never seen a rattle-snake alive and at liberty in all my life. I had seen them indeed after they had been kill'd or pent up in boxes to be sent to England. The bite of this viper, without some immediate application, is certainly death; but remedies are so well known that none of their servants are ignorant of them. I never knew any kill'd by these or any other of their snakes, although I had a general knowledge all over the country, and had been in every part of it. They have several other snakes which are seen more frequently, and have very little or no hurt in them, viz. such as they call black-snakes, water-snakes, and corn-snakes. The black-viper-snake, and the copper-belly'd-snake, are said to be as venomous as the rattle-snake, but they are seldom seen. These three poisonous snakes bring forth their young alive, whereas the other three forts lay eggs, which are hatch'd afterwards, and that is the distinction they make, esteeming only those to be venomous which are viviparous. They have likewise the horn-snake, so called from a sharp horn it carries in its tail, with which it assaults any thing that offends it with that force, that, as it is said, it will strike its tail into the butt end of a musket, from whence it is not able to disengage itself.

All sorts of snakes will charm both birds and squirrels; and the Indians pretend to charm them, (the snakes.) Several persons have seen squirrels run down a tree directly into a snake's mouth. They have likewise seen birds fluttering up and down, and chattering at these snakes, till at last they have dropped down just before them.

In the end of May, 1715, stopping at an orchard by the road-side to get some cherries, being three of us in company, we were entertained with the whole process of a charm between a rattle-snake and a hare, the hare being better than half grown. It happened thus: One of the company, in his search for the best cherries, espied the hare sitting, and although he went close by her, she did not move, till he (not suspecting the occasion of her gentleness) gave her a lash with his whip; this made her run about ten foot, and there sit down again. The gentleman not finding the cherries ripe, immediately returned the same way, and near the place where he struck the hare, he espied a rattle-snake. Still, not suspecting the charm, he goes back about twenty yards

CHAP.
V.Colonel
Beverley's
account of
the rattle-
snake.

CHAP.
V.

yards to a hedge to get a stick to kill the snake, and at his return found the snake removed, and coiled in the same place from whence he had moved the hare. This put him into immediate thoughts of looking for the hare again, and soon espied her about ten foot off the snake, in the same place to which she had started when he whipped her. She was now lying down, but would sometimes raise herself on her fore-feet, struggling as it were for life, or to get away; but could never raise her hinder parts from the ground, and then would fall flat on her side again, panting vehemently. In this condition the hare and snake were when he called me, and tho' we were all three come up within fifteen foot of the snake, to have a full view of the whole, he took no notice at all of us, nor so much as gave a glance towards us. There we stood at least half an hour, the snake not altering a jot, but the hare often struggling, and falling on its side again, till at last the hare lay still, as dead, for some time; then the snake moved out of his coil, and slid gently and smoothly towards the hare, his colours at that instant being ten times more glorious and shining than at other times: As the snake moved along, the hare happened to fetch another struggle, upon which the snake made a stop, lying at his length till the hare lay quiet again for a short space, and then he advanced again till he came up to the hinder parts of the hare, which in all this operation had been towards the snake; there he made a survey all over the hare, raising part of his body above it, then turned off, and went to the head and nose of the hare; after that to the ears, took the ears in his mouth, one after the other, working each apart in his mouth, as a man does a wafer to moisten it; then returned to the nose again, and took the face into his mouth, straining and gathering his lips sometimes by one side of his mouth, sometimes by the other. At the shoulders he was a long time puzzled, often hauling and stretching the hare out at length, and straining forward first one side of his mouth, then the other, till at last he got the whole body into his throat; then we went to him, and taking the twist-band off from my hat, I made a noose, and put it about his neck: this made him at length very furious, but we having secured him, put him into one end of a wallet, and carried him on horseback five miles to Mr. JOHN BAYLOR's house, where we lodged that night, with a design to have sent him to Dr. COCK at Williamsburgh; but Mr. BAYLOR was so careful of his slaves, that he would not let him be put into his boat, for fear he should get loose and mischief them; therefore the next morning we killed him, and took the hare out of his belly. The head of the hare began to be digested, and the hair falling off, having lain about eighteen hours in the Snake's belly.

I thought this account of such a curiosity would be acceptable, and the rather because, tho' I live in a country where such things are said frequently to happen, yet I never could have any satisfactory account of a charm, tho' I have met with several persons who have pretended to have seen them. Some also pretend that those sort of snakes influence children, and even men and women by their charms. But this that I have related of my own view, I aver (for the satisfaction of the Learned) to be punctually true, without enlarging or wavering in any respect, upon the faith of a Christian.

CHAP.
V.

In my youth I was a bear-hunting in the woods above the inhabitants, and having straggled from my companions, I was entertained at my return with the relation of a pleasant rencounter between a dog and a rattle-snake about a squirrel. The snake had got the head and shoulders of the squirrel into his mouth, which being something too large for his throat, it took him up some time to moisten the furr of the squirrel with his spawl to make it slip down. The dog took this advantage, seized the hinder parts of the squirrel, and tugged with all his might. The snake on the other-side would not let go his hold for a long time, till at last fearing he might be bruised by the dog's running away with him, he gave up his prey to the dog. The dog eat the squirrel, and felt no harm.

Another curiosity concerning this viper, which I never met with in print, I will also relate from my own observation.

Some time after my observation of the charm, my waiting-boy being sent abroad on an errand, also took upon himself to bring home a rattle-snake in a noose. I cut off the head of this Snake, leaving about an inch of the neck with it. This I laid upon the head of a tobacco hogs-head (one STEPHEN LANKFORD, a carpenter, now alive, being with me.) Now you must note, that these snakes have but two teeth, by which they convey their poison, and they are placed in the upper jaw, pretty forward in the mouth, one on each side. These teeth are hollow and crooked, like a cock's spur; they are also loose or springing in the mouth, and not fastened in the jaw bone, as all the other teeth are; the hollow has a vent also through, by a small hole, a little below the point of the teeth. These two teeth are kept lying down along the jaw, or shut like a spring-knife, and don't shrink up, as the talons of a cat or panther. They have also over them a loose thin film or skin of a flesh-colour, which rises over them when they are raised; which I take to be only at the will of the snake to do injury. This skin does not break by the rising of the tooth only, but keeps whole till the bite is given, and then is pierced by the tooth, by which the poison is let out. The head being laid upon the hogshead, I took two little twigs, or splinters of sticks, and having turned the head upon its crown, opened the mouth, and lifted up the fang or springing tooth on one side several times; in doing of which I at last broke the skin: the head gave a sudden champ with its mouth breaking from my sticks, in which I observed that the poison ran down in a lump like oil round the root of the tooth; then I turned the other side of the head, and resolved to be more careful to keep the mouth open on the like occasion, and observe more narrowly the consequence; for it is to be observed, that tho' the heads of snakes, terrapins (a sort of tortoise) and such like vermine be cut off, yet the body will not die in a long time after; the general saying is, till the sun sets. After opening the mouth on the other side, and lifting up that fang also several times, he endeavoured to give another bite or champ, but I kept his mouth open, and the tooth pierced the film, and emitted a stream like one full of blood in blood-letting, and cast some drops upon the sleeve of the carpenter's shirt, who had no waistcoat on. I advised him to put off his shirt, but he would not, and received no harm; and tho' nothing could then be seen of

CHAP. V. of it upon the shirt, yet in washing there appeared five green specks, which every washing appeared plainer and plainer, and lasted as long as the shirt did, which the carpenter told me was about three years after. The head we threw afterwards down upon the ground, and a sow came and eat it before our faces, and received no harm. Now I believe had this poison lighted upon any place of the carpenter's skin that was scratched or hurt, it might have poisoned him. I take the poison to rest in a small bag or receptacle in the hollow at the root of these teeth; but I never had the opportunity afterwards to make a further discovery of that.

I will likewise give you a story of the violent effects of this sort of poison, because I depend on the truth of it, having it from an acquaintance of mine of good credit, one Colonel JAMES TAYLOR of Metapony, still alive. He being with others in the woods a surveying, just as they were standing to light their pipes, they found a rattle-snake, and cut off his head and about three inches of the body; then with a green stick which he had in his hand, about a foot and an half long, the bark being newly peeled off, urged and provoked the head, till it bit the stick in fury several times. Upon this the Colonel observed small green streaks to rise up along the stick towards his hand; he threw the stick upon the ground, and in a quarter of an hour the stick of its own accord split into several pieces, and fell asunder from end to end. This account I had from him again at the writing hereof. BEVERLEY's history of Virginia, p. 260 to 267.

Father LABAT likewise tells us (in his *Nouveau voyage aux îles de l'Amerique*, tom. IV. p. 96 and 106, edit. Paris, 1722, in 8vo.) that Serpents when they bite their prey, retire to avoid being hurt by them, and when dead, cover them with their spittle, extend their feet along their sides and tails, if quadrupedes, and then swallow them.

A certain viper-catcher who suffered himself to be bitten before forty gentlemen of the university of Cambridge last month (July, 1737) for the slender reward of twelvecence he received of every one of the spectators, having provoked a viper to fasten upon his wrist, said he felt at that instant a most exquisite pain as high as his elbow, and was in no small consternation, tho' he had been bitten a great many times before, both accidentally in catching vipers, and designedly for a reward, and particularly before some gentlemen of the Royal-society.

He kept stroking down his arm to the wrist from the time he was wounded, but applied nothing to it except common fallad-oil, and did not do this till half an hour after he was bitten, and his arm was pretty much swelled, and the next day he appeared perfectly well.

Give me leave to add, in relation to the horn-snake, that I saw a letter lately which Mr. WILKINSON, fellow of Emmanuel-college, received from his brother, then at Virginia, who assured him that trees had been killed by this snake's striking his horn into them; which does not seem more improbable than the splitting of a stick that has been penetrated by the tooth of a rattle-snake; but as to the business of charming, I have very little faith in it, unless, as I have hinted in treating of the East-India serpents, that birds may be delighted with the sparkling eyes of snakes, as they are with the fowler's glass, or as a moth is

with the flame of a candle, and be taken in flying to the snake to satisfy their curiosity. CHAP. V.

As to the feathered race, says Mr. CLAYTON, already cited, there are three sorts of eagles; the largest I take to be that they call the grey eagle, being much of the colour of our kite or glead. Fowls and Birds. Eagles.

The second is the bald eagle, for the body and part of the neck being of a dark brown, the upper part of the neck or head is covered with a white sort of down; whereby it looks very bald, whence it is so named.

The third is the black-eagle, resembling most the English-eagle. They build their nests generally at the top of some old tree, naked of boughs, and nigh the river-side, and the people fell the tree generally when they take the young. They are most frequently sitting on some tall tree by the river-side, whence they may have a prospect up and down the river, as I suppose to observe the fishing-hawks; for when they see the fishing-hawk has struck a fish, immediately they take wing, and it is sometimes very pleasant to behold the flight; for when the fishing-hawk perceives herself pursued, she will scream and make a terrible noise, till at length she lets fall the fish to make her own escape, which the eagle frequently catches before it reach the earth or water. These eagles kill young lambs, pigs, &c.

The fishing-hawk is an absolute species of a king's-fisher, but full as large or larger than our jay, much of the colour and shape of a king's-fisher, tho' not altogether so curiously feathered. It has a large crop as I remember. There is a little king's-fisher, much the same in every respect with ours.

If I much mistake not, I have seen both goshawk, and falcon; besides, there are several sorts of the lesser kind of stannels.

There is likewise the kite and the ring-tale.

I never heard the cuckoo there to my remembrance.

There is both a brown owl and white owl, much about as large as a goose; which often kills their hens and poultry in the night. The white owl is a very delicate feathered bird; all the feathers upon her breast and back being snow-white and tipped with a punctal of jet-black; besides, there is a barn-owl, much like ours, and a little sort of screech-owl. Owls.

There is both the raven and the carrion-crow. I do not remember I saw any rooks there. Ravens.

The night-raven, which some call the Virginian batt, is about the bigness of a cuckoo, feathered like them, but very short legs, not discernible when it flies, which is only in the evening, scudding like our night-raven.

There is a great sort of ravenous bird that feeds upon carrion, as big very nigh as an eagle, which they call a turkey-bustard; its feathers are of a dusky black; it has red gills, resembling those of a turkey, whence it has its name. It is nothing of the same sort of bird with our English turkey-bustard, but is rather a species of the kites, for it will hover on the wing something like them, and is carnivorous. The fat thereof, dissolved into an oil, is recommended mightily against old aches and Sciatica pains. Bustard.

I think there are no jackdaws, nor any magpies. They there prize a magpy as much as we do their red-bird.

CHAP. V. The Pica Glandaria, or Jay, is much less than our English Jay, and of another colour; for it is all blue where ours is brown, the wings marbled as curiously as ours are; it has both the same cry and sudden jetting motion.

Wood-peckers. There are great variety and curiosity in the Wood-peckers. There is one as big as our Mag-pye, with blackish brown feathers, and a large scarlet tuft on the top of the head. There are four or five sorts of Wood-peckers more variegated with green, yellow, and red heads, others spotted black and white, most lovely to behold.

Turkies. There are wild Turkies extreme large: they talk of Turkies that have been killed which have weighed betwixt fifty and sixty weight. The largest that ever I saw weighed something better than thirty-eight pound. They have very long legs, and will run prodigiously fast. I remember not that ever I saw any of them on the wing except it were once. Their feathers are of a blackish shining colour, that look in the sun-shine like a Dove's neck.

Poultry without rumps. Hens and Cocks are for the most part without tails and rumps; and as some have assured me, our English Hens, after some time being kept there, have their rumps rot off; which I am the apter to believe, being all their Hens are certainly of an English breed. I am sorry I made no anatomical observations thereof, and remarks about the use of the rumps in birds, which at present I take to be a couple of Glands, containing a sort of juice for the varnishing the feathers, having observed all birds have much recourse with their bills to the rumps when they dress their plumes, whereby they scud through the air more nimbly in their flight.

Partridges. Partridges there are much smaller than ours, and resort in covies as ours do. Their flesh is very white, and much excels ours in my mind; sed de gustibus non est disputandum.

Doves. Their Turtle-doves are of a dusky blue colour, much less than our common Pigeon; the whole train is longer much than the tails of our Pigeons, the middle feather being the longest. There is the strangest story of a vast number of these Pigeons that came in a flock, a few years before I came thither; they say they came through New-England, New-York, and Virginia, and were so prodigious in number as to darken the sky for several hours in the place over which they flew, and brake massive boughs there they light, and many like things which I have had asserted to me by many eye-witnesses of credit, that to me it was without doubt, the relations being very sober persons, and all agreeing in a story. Nothing of the like ever happened since, nor did I ever see past ten in a flock together, that I remember. I am not fond of such stories, and had suppressed the relating of it, but that I have heard the same from very many.

Thrush. The Thrush and Fieldfare are much like ours, and are only seen in winter there, according as they are here.

Mocking-birds. Their Mocking-birds may be compared to our Singing-thrushes, being much of the same bigness. There are two sorts, the grey and the red; the grey has feathers much of the colour of our grey Plovers, with white in the wings like a Mag-pye. This has the much softer note, and will imitate in its singing the notes of all birds that it hears, and is accounted much the finest singing bird in the world. This Mocking-bird, having

CHAP. V. its name from mimicking all other birds in singing, is a wonderful mettled bird, bold and brisk, and yet seems to be of a very tender constitution, neither singing in winter, nor in the midst of summer; and with much difficulty are any of them brought to live in England.

The red Mocking-bird is of a dusky red, or rather brown; it sings very well; but has not so soft a note as the grey Mocking-bird.

Of the Virginia Nightingale, or Red-bird, there are two sorts; the cocks of both sorts are of a pure scarlet, the hens of a dusky red. I distinguish them into two sorts; for the one has a tufted cops on the head, the other is smooth feathered. The boys catch them, and sell them to the merchants for about six-pence a piece, by whom they are brought to England. They are something less than a Thrush.

There is a bird very injurious to corn they call a Blackbird. I look on it as a sort of Starling, for they cry something like them; but do not sing, are much about the same bigness, have flesh blackish like theirs. They resort in great flocks together. They are as black as a Crow all over to their bills, only some of them have scarlet feathers in the pinions of their wings. Query, whether a distinct species.

They have a Lark nothing differing from our common Lark. They have another bird which they call a Lark, that is much larger, as big as a Starling; it has a soft note, feeds on the ground, and, as I remember, has the specifical character of a long heel. It is more inclined to yellow, and has a large half moon on its breast of yellow. If it have not a long heel, query, whether a species of the Yellow-hammer.

They have a Martin, very like, only larger than ours, that builds after the same manner. The honourable Colonel Bacon has remarked for several years, that they constantly come thither upon the 10th of March; one or two of them appearing before, being seen hovering in the air for a day or two, then go away, and, as he supposed, returned with the great flock. The Colonel delighted much in this bird, and made holes like Pigeon holes at the end of his house with boards purposely for them.

Their Swallow differs but little from ours. They have a bird called a Blue-bird, of a curious azure colour, about the bigness of a Finch.

There are other sorts of Finches, variegated with orange and yellow feathers, very beautiful.

Sparrows, not much different from the English Sparrows, but build not in the eaves of houses, that ever I saw.

The Snow-bird, which I take to be much the same with our Hedge-sparrow. This is so called because it seldom appears about houses, but against snow or very cold weather.

The Humming-bird, which feeds upon the honey of flowers. I have been told by some persons that have kept of these Humming-birds alive, and fed them with water and sugar; they are much the smallest of all birds, have long bills and curiously coloured feathers, but differ much in colour.

Herons, three or four several sorts, one larger than the English, feathered much like a Spanish Goose.

Another sort that only comes in summer, milk white, with red legs, very lovely to behold.

The

CHAP. V. The Bittern is there less than in England, and does not make that sounding noise, that ever I heard.

Bittern. Curlews, something less than our English, tho' bigger than a Wimbrel.

Sand-piper. The Sand-piper, much resembling the English.

Snipe. The Snipes, two sorts; one resembling ours, the other much less.

Tewits. The Tewits are smaller than the English, and have no long toppins, but just like a young one that begins to fly.

Wild Swans, Geese, and Ducks, &c. There are great number of wild Swans, wild Geese, and Brent-geese all winter in mighty flocks, wild Ducks innumerable, Teal, Widgeon, Sheldrakes, Virginia Dippers, the black Diver, &c.

Cormorants, Gulls. There are in Virginia a great many Cormorants, several sorts of Gulls, and in and about the bay many Bannets.

Fish. There is no place abounds with sea and river fish more than Virginia. In February, March,

Herrings. April, and May, there are shoals of Herrings come up into their very brooks, some of the size of ours, but for the most part much larger. There

Cod-fish, Stingrass, &c. are also plenty of Cod-fish, and the Stingrass is said to be peculiar to this country, being so called from having a sting in its tail. It is esteemed good food. In their rivers there are the Old-wife,

Trout, Sturgeons, Carp, Perch, &c. Oysters, Whales. the Sheeps-head, an excellent fish, Trouts, Green-fish, Sturgeons in great plenty, Place, Flounders, Whittings, Carp, Pikes, Mulletts, and Perch: And for Shell-fish they have Oysters, Crabs, Cockles, and Shrimps: Of those that are not eaten they have in their seas Whale, Dog-fish, Sharks, Porpus's, Gar-fish, and Sword-fish.

Toad-fish. There is also a fish they call the Toad-fish, from his swelling monstrously when he is taken out of the water; and the Rock-fish, some species whereof are poisonous, and have been fatal to those that have eaten them; tho' others, which are not easy to be distinguished from the former, are very wholesome food.

Skip-jack. The Skip-jack, so named from his skipping out of the water, is tolerably good food. And the Tobacco-pipe-fish, so called from its being long and slender like a Tobacco-pipe.

Colonel BEVERLEY, also, who has furnished us with the above-said Description of the Rattle-snake, gives us the following account of some of the rest of the Virginian animals, and their management of them, (viz.)

Cattle. When I come to speak of their cattle (says that gentleman) I cannot forbear charging my countrymen with exceeding ill husbandry in not providing sufficiently for them all winter, by which means they starve all their young cattle, or at least stint their growth; so that they seldom or never grow so large as they would do if they were well managed; for the humour is there, if people can but save the lives of their cattle, tho' they suffer them to be never so poor, in the winter, yet they will presently grow fat again in the spring, which they esteem sufficient for their purpose. And this is the occasion that their Beef and Mutton are seldom or never so large or so fat as in England; and yet with the least feeding imaginable they are put into as good case as can be expected; and it is the same with their Hogs.

Fish. Their fish is in vast plenty and variety, and extraordinary good in their kind. Beef and Pork are commonly sold there from one penny to two-pence the pound, or more, according to the time of year; their fattest and largest Pullets at six-pence a-piece, the Capons at eight pence or nine pence

CHAP. V. a-piece, their Chickens at three or four shillings the dozen, their Ducks at eight-pence or nine-pence a-piece, their Geese at ten-pence or a shilling, their Turkey-hens at fifteen or eighteen-pence, and their Turkey-cocks at two shillings or half-a-crown; but Oysters and wild-fowl are not so dear as the things I have reckoned before, being in their season the cheapest victuals they have. Their Deer are commonly sold from five to ten shillings, according to the scarcity and goodness.

All the troublesome vermine that ever I heard any body complain of are either Frogs, Snakes, Musquito's, Chitches, Seed-ticks, or Red-worms, by some called Potatoo-lice; of all which I shall give an account in their order.

Some people have been so ill informed as to say, that Virginia is full of Toads; tho' there never yet was seen one Toad in it. The marshes, fens, and watry grounds are indeed full of harmless Frogs, which do no hurt, except by the noise of their croaking notes; but in the upper part of the country, where the land is high and dry, they are very scarce. In their swamps and running streams they have Frogs of an incredible bigness, which are called Bull-frogs, from the roaring they make. Last year I found one of these near a stream of fresh water of so prodigious a magnitude, that when I extended its legs I found the distance betwixt them to be seventeen inches and a half. If any are good to eat, these must be the kind.

Musquito's are long-tailed Gnats, such as are in all fens and low grounds in England, and I think have no other difference from them than the name. Neither are they in Virginia troubled with them any where but in their low grounds and marshes. These insects, I believe, are stronger and continue longer there (by reason of the warm sun) than in England. Whoever is persecuted with them in his house, may get rid of them by this easy remedy: Let him but set open his windows at sunset and shut them again before the twilight be quite shut in, all the Musquito's in the room will go out at the windows.

Chitches are a sort of flat Bug, which lurks in the bedsteads and bedding, and disturbs people's rest a-nights. Every neat house-wife contrives there by several devices to keep her beds clear of them. But the best way I ever heard effectually to destroy them is, by a narrow search among the bedding early in the spring, before these vermin begin to knit and run about; for they lie snug all the winter, and are in the spring large and full of the winter's growth, having all their seed within them, and so they become a fair mark to find, and may with their whole breed be destroyed. They are the same as they have in London near the shipping.

Seed-ticks and Red-worms are small insects that annoy the people by day as Musquito's and Chitches do by night; but both these keep out of your way if you keep out of theirs; for Seed-ticks are no where to be met with but in the track of cattle, upon which the great Ticks fasten and fill their skins so full of blood that they drop off, and wherever they happen to fall they produce a kind of Egg, which lies about a fortnight before the Seedlings are hatched. These Seedlings run in swarms upon the next blade of grass that lies in their way, and then the first thing that brushes that blade of grass gathers off most of these vermine, which stick like burs upon any thing that touches them. They void their eggs at their mouth.

Red-

CHAP.

V.
Red-
worms.

Red-worms lie only in old dead trees and rotten logs, and without sitting down upon such, a man never meets with them, nor at any other season but only in the midst of summer. A little warm water immediately brings off both Seed-ticks and Red-worms, tho' they lie ever so thick upon any part of the body. But without such remedy they will be troublesome; for they are so small that nothing will lay hold of them but the point of a pen-knife, needle, or such like; but if nothing be done to remove them, the itching they occasion goes away after two days.

Sheep.

Their Sheep increase well and bear good fleeces, but they generally are suffered to be torn off their backs by briars and bushes instead of being shorn, or else are left rotting upon the dung-hill with their skins.

Bees.

Bees thrive there abundantly, and will very easily yield to the careful house-wife a full hive of honey, and besides lay up a winter store sufficient to preserve their stocks.

Cattle and
pasture.

The Beeves, when any care is taken of them in the winter, come to good perfection. They have noble marshes there, which, with the charge of draining only, would make as fine pastures as any in the world; and yet there is hardly an hundred acres of marsh drained throughout the whole country.

Hogs.

Hogs swarm like vermine upon earth, and are often accounted such, inasmuch that when an inventory of any considerable man's estate is taken by the executors the Hogs are left out, and not listed in the appraisement. The Hogs run where they list, and find their own support in the woods without any care of the owner, and in many plantations it is well if the proprietor can find and catch the Pigs or any part of a farrow when they are young to mark them; for if there be any marked in a gang of Hogs they determine the property of the rest, because they seldom miss their gangs, but as they are bred in company so they continue to the end, except sometimes the Boars ramble.

Ship-
worms.

In the month of June annually there rise up in the salt vast beds of Seedling-worms, which enter the ships, sloops, or boats where-ever they find the coat of pitch, tarr, or lime worn off the timber; and by degrees eat the plank into cells like those of an honey-comb. These Worms continue thus upon the surface of the water from their rise in June until the first great rains after the middle of July, but after that do no fresh damage 'till the next summer season, and never penetrate farther than the plank or timber they first fix upon.

The damage occasioned by these Worms may be four several ways avoided.

1. By keeping the coat (of pitch, lime, and tallow, or whatever else it is) whole upon the bottom of the ship or vessel; for these worms never fasten nor enter but where the timber is naked.

2. By anchoring the large vessels in the strength of the tide during the worm-season, and hailing the smaller a-shore, for in the current of a strong tide the Worms cannot fasten.

3. By burning and cleaning immediately after the worm-season is over, for then they are but just stuck into the plank, and have not buried themselves in it; so that the least fire in the world destroys them entirely, and prevents all damage that would otherwise ensue from them.

4. By running up into the freshes with the ship or vessel during the five or six weeks that the Worm is thus above water; for they never enter

or do any damage in fresh water, or where it is not very salt.

CHAP.

VI.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Virginian soil and vegetables, viz. of their forest and fruit-trees, plants, corn, herbage, roots, and husbandry; and of their stones, earth, and minerals.

THIS country, upon the first discovery of it was found to consist, like many others, either of forests or bogs. The forests contain'd abundance of noble timber of various kinds, which grew to an unusual height and bulk, much beyond any thing we see in Europe; the trees standing at such a distance from each other that a coach and six might drive through them with pleasure. The chief of them were Oaks, Cedars, Firs, Cypress, Elm, Ash, and Walnut, which had no boughs to a very great height; the Oaks being so large as to measure two foot square, and sixty foot high. There was no underwood or bushes among the timber; but a great deal of this in their bogs and morasses, mix'd with long Grass, Flags and Sedge. They had also Beech, Poplar, Hazel, Eldern, and Willow, with trees which yield gums, and several sorts of sweet wood, and woods used in dying, with Sassafras, Saraparilla, &c.

CHAP.

VI.

Soil and
Vegeta-
bles.
Forest-
trees.

Among their fruits they had Grapes that grew wild, and the European Grape comes to great perfection here, and yet they have never made any quantities of wine; the reason usually given for which, is, that it will not keep.

Cherries are very plentiful, being of three sorts, one of which grows in bunches like Grapes, another sort is black, and a third is called the Indian Cherry.

Fruits.
Grapes.

They have several sorts of Plumbs of their own growth from the bigness of a Damson to that of a Pear, the largest much resembling the taste of an Apricot; and they have a wild Plumb like our white Plumb; but English Plumbs do not ripen kindly here.

Peaches are very large, and so plentiful, that they are given to the Hogs in some places: And there is no place were Apples and Pears abound more. They have also the Chinquamine, a fruit that resembles a Chestnut; the Macoquex, not unlike an Apple; the Mattaquesumach, or Fig; the Mattacocks, a sort of Strawberry; and the common Figs grow very well here, tho' the soil is not favourable to Oranges and Lemons. There are a sort of Acorns that yield a sweet oil, and Quinces are so plentiful that they make a great deal of Liquor, as well as Marmalade of them.

Cherries.

Plumbs.

Peaches.

Apples.

Indian
Fruits.

Figs.

Oranges.

Quinces.

Their Grass is long coarse stuff, of which they scarce ever make hay; but their cattle brouse upon it both winter and summer, having very little fodder besides, except the leaves of the Indian Corn, which are given them very sparingly. Silk-grass grows here spontaneously, and the soil is extremely proper for Hemp and Flax; and yet they have no manufacture of Silk or Linnen.

As to their bread Corn it is of two sorts, 1. English Wheat; and 2. Maiz, or Indian Corn. The English Wheat, Mr. CLAYTON observes, generally yields between fifteen and thirty fold increase, the ground being only once ploughed, and that without any dung or manure; whereas it is esteemed a good crop that yields eight fold increase in England, so much more fruitful is the Virginian soil than ours.

The

CHAP.

VI.

Indian
corn.

The Indian corn is not unlike our peas in taste, but grows in a great ear or head as big as the handle of a large horse-whip, having from three hundred to seven hundred grains in one ear, and sometimes one grain produces two or three such ears or heads. It is of various colours, red, white, yellow, blue, green, and black, and some speckled and striped; but the white and yellow are most common. The stalk is as thick as an ordinary walking cane, and grows six or eight foot high in joints, having a sweet juice in it, of which a syrup is sometimes made, and from every joint there grow long leaves

Husbandry of the shape of sedge leaves. The manner of planting it is in holes or trenches about five or six feet distant from each other; the earth is opened with a hough (and of late years with a plough) four inches deep, and four or five grains thrown into each hole or trench, about a span distant from each other, and then cover'd with earth; they keep it weeding from time to time, and as the stalk grows high they keep the mould about it like the hillocks in a hop ground. They begin to plant in April, but the chief plantation is in May, and they continue to plant till the middle of June. What is planted in April is reap'd in August, what is planted in May is reap'd in September, and the last in October. They make both bread and strong liquor of it, and several sorts of dishes, of which hommony, already mention'd, is the chief.

Soil.

Mr. CLAYTON observ'd, that they had only cultivated their highest and barrenest lands when he was there, leaving the richest vales untouched, because they understood not any thing of draining; so that the richest meadow lands, which are one third of the country, are boggy morasses and swamps, whereof they make little advantage, but lose in them abundance of their cattle, especially at the first of the spring, when the cattle are weak and venture too far after young grass. Whereas a vast improvement might be made of these morasses. The generality of Virginia is a sandy land, with a shallow soil; so that after they have cleared a fresh piece of ground out of the woods it will not bear tobacco past two or three years, unless cow-penned; for they manure their ground by keeping their cattle, as in the south you do your sheep every night, confining them in hurdles, which they remove when they have sufficiently dunged one spot of ground, but they cannot improve much thus: Besides, it produces a strong sort of tobacco, in which the smokers say they can plainly taste the fulsome of the dung; therefore every three or four years they must be for clearing a new piece of ground out of the woods, which requires much labour and toil, it being so thick grown all over with massy timber.

Plantations too
large, and
ill managed.

Thus their plantations run over vast tracts of ground, each being ambitious to engross as much as he can, that he may be sure to have enough to plant, and for their stocks and herds of cattle to range and feed in. Plantations of a thousand, two thousand, or three thousand acres are common, whereby the country is thinly inhabited, their living solitary and unfociable, trading confused and dispersed, besides other inconveniencies. Whereas they might improve two hundred, or three hundred acres to more advantage, and would make the country much more healthy; for those that have three thousand acres have scarce cleared six hundred acres thereof, which is peculiarly termed the plantation, being surrounded with the two thousand four hundred acres of woods; so that there can be no free or even motions of the air, but the air is kept either stagnant, or the lofty sulphurous particles of the air, that are higher than the tops of the

VOL. III.

trees, which are above as high again as the generality of the woods in England, descending when they pass over the cleared spots of ground, must needs, in the violent heat of summer, raise a preternatural ferment, and produce bad effects. Nor is it any advantage to their stocks or crops; for did they but drain their swamps and low lands, they have a very deep soil, that would endure planting twenty or thirty years, and some would scarce ever be worn out; for they might lay them all winter, or when they pleased, in water; and the product of their labour would be double or treble, whether corn or tobacco, though (when I have discoursed the same to several, and in part shewn them how their particular grounds might be drained at a very easy rate) they have either been so conceited of their old way, and so sottish as not to apprehend, or so negligent as not to apply themselves thereto. But on the plantation where I lived, I drained a good large swamp, which fully answered expectation. The gentlewoman where I lived was a very ingenious lady, who one day discoursing the overseer of her servants about pitching the ensuing year's crop, the overseer was naming one place where he designed to plant thirty thousand plants, another place for fifteen thousand, another for ten thousand, and so forth; the whole crop designed to be about an hundred thousand plants: Having observed the year before he had done the like, and scatter'd his crop up and down the plantation, at places a mile and a half asunder, which was very inconvenient, and whereby they lost much time; I interposed, and asked why they did not plant all their crop together? The fellow smiled as it were at my ignorance, and said, there was very good reason for it. I replied, that was it I enquired after; he returned, the plantation had been an old planted plantation, and being but a small plat of ground was almost worn out, so that they had not ground all together that would bring forth tobacco. I told him then, that they had better ground than ever yet they had planted, and more than their hands could manage. He smiled again, and asked me where? I then named such a swamp. He then said scornfully, he thought what a planter I was; that I understood better how to make a sermon than manage tobacco. I reply'd, with some warmth, tho' I hoped so, that was impertinence, and no answer. He then said, that the tobacco there would drown, and the roots rot. I reply'd, that the whole country would drown if the rivers were stopp'd, but it might be laid as dry as any land in the plantation. In short, we discoursed it very warmly, until he told me he understood his own business well enough, and did not desire to learn of me. But the gentlewoman attended somewhat better to my reasoning, and got me one day to go and shew her how I projected the draining of the swamp, and thought it so feasible, that she was resolv'd to have it done, and therefore desired me I would again discourse her overseer; which I did several times, but he would by no means hearken thereto, and was so positive, that she was forced to turn him away, and to have her servants set about the work: And with three men in thirteen days I drained the whole swamp, it being sandy land, soaks and drains admirably well, and what I little expected, laid a well dry at a considerable distance. Now to teach her how she might make her tobacco that grew in the swamp less, for it produced so very large that it was suspected to be of the Aranoko kind, I told her tho' the complaint was rare, yet there was an excellent remedy for that in letting every plant bear eight or nine leaves instead of four or five, and she would have more

CHAP.

VI.

CHAP.
VI.

tobacco and less leaves. Now you must know they top their tobacco, that is, take away the little top bud when the plant has put forth as many leaves as they think the richness of the ground will bring to a substance; but generally when it has shot forth four or six leaves, and when the top bud is gone, it puts forth no more leaves, but side branches, which they call suckers, which they are careful ever to take away that they may not impoverish the leaves. I have been more tedious in the particulars, the fuller to evince how resolute they are, and conceitedly bent to follow their own practice and custom rather than to receive directions from others, though plain, easy, and advantageous. There are many other places as easy to drain as this, tho' of larger extent, and richer soil, for some of which I have given directions, and have only had the return perhaps of a flour afterwards. Even in James town island, which is much of an oval figure, there is a swamp runs diagonal-wise over the island, whereby are lost at least one hundred and fifty acres of land, which would be meadow, and turn to as good account as if it were in England: Besides, it is the great annoyance of the town, and no doubt but it makes it much more unhealthy. If therefore they only scour'd the channel, made a pretty ordinary trench all along the middle of the swamp, and placed a sluice at the mouth where it opens into the back creek, for the mouth of the channel there is narrow, has a good hard bottom, and is not past two yards deep when the flood is out, as if nature had designed it before hand; they might thus drain all the swamp absolutely dry, or lay it under water at their pleasure.

But now to turn to the reflections of improving and manuring of land in Virginia. Hitherto, as I have said, they have used none but that of cow-penning, yet I suppose they might find very good marle in many places. I have seen both the red and blue marle at some breaks of hills. This would be the properest manure for their sandy land, if they spread it not too thick, theirs being, as I have said, a shallow sandy soil, which was the reason I never advised any to use lime, tho' they have very good lime of oyster-shells; but that's the properest manure for cold clay land, and not for a sandy soil. But as most lands have one swamp or another bordering on them, they may certainly get admirable slitch wherewith to manure all their up-lands: But this, say they, will not improve ground, but clods and grows hard. 'Tis true, it will do so for some time, a year or two at the first; but did they cast it in heaps, and let it lie for two or three years, after a frost or two had seiz'd it, and it had been well pierced therewith, I doubt not but it would turn to good account.

Dairies.

They neither house nor milk any of their cows in winter, having a notion that it would kill them; yet I persuaded the aforementioned lady where I liv'd, to milk four cows the last winter that I staid in the country, whereof she found so good effect, that she assur'd me she would keep to my advice for the future; and also, as I had further urged, house them too, for which they have mighty conveniences, their tobacco-houses being empty ever at that time of the year, and may easily be fitted in two or three days time, without any prejudice, whereby their cattle would be much shelter'd from those pinching sharp frosts that some nights on a sudden become very severe. I had another project (for the preservation of their cattle prov'd very successful) I urged the lady to sow her wheat as early as possible she could, so that before winter it might be well rooted, to be early and flourishing at the first of the spring; so that she might turn thereon her weak cattle, and such as should at any time be swamp'd, whereby

they might be recruited and sav'd; and it would do the wheat good also. I advised her likewise to save and carefully gather her Indian corn tops and blades, and all her straw, and whatever else could be made fodder for her cattle; for they get no hay, tho' I was urging that too, and to sow saint-foin; for being a sandy soil, I am confident it would turn to a very good account. They have little or no grass in winter, so that their cattle are pin'd and starved, and many that are brought low and weak when the spring begins venture too far into the swamps after the fresh grass, where they perish; so that some persons lose ten, twenty, or thirty head of cattle in a year.

But as it is the excellence of the Virginian tobacco which distinguishes this from all countries, it is fit I should give some farther account of their management in the husbandry and curing of this plant, which they have brought to that perfection.

The tobacco seeds are first sown in beds, where having remain'd a month, the plants are transplanted into little hillocks, like those in our hop grounds, the first rainy weather: And being grown a foot high there, within the space of another month they top them and prune off all the bottom leaves, leaving only seven or eight on the stalks, that they may be the better fed, 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 brownish, and to spot and thicken, which is a sign of its ripening. As fast as the plants ripen they cut them down, and leave them in the field for half a day, then heap them up and let them lie and sweat a night, and the next day carry them to the tobacco-house, where every plant is hang'd up at a convenient distance from each other, 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 it will crumble to dust: after which they are laid upon sticks, and cover'd up close in the tobacco-house for a week or a fortnight to sweat; and then opening the bulk in a wet day the servants strip them and sort them, the top leaves being the best, and the bottom the worst tobacco. The last work is to pack it in hogheads, or bundle it up, which is also done in a wet season; for in curing of tobacco, wet seasons are as necessary as dry to make the leaf pliant.

To this account of the Virginian soil and vegetables, I shall here add Colonel BEVERLEY's observations on the same subject.

The soil (says this gentleman) is of such variety, according to the difference of situation, that one part or other of it seems fitted to every sort of plant that is requisite either for the benefit or pleasure of mankind. And were it not for the high mountains on the north-west, which are supposed to retain vast magazines of snow, and by that means cause the wind from that quarter to descend a little too cold upon them, 'tis believed that many of those delicious summer fruits, growing in the hotter climates, might be kept there green all the winter without the charge of housing, or any other care than what is due to the natural plants of the country when transplanted into a garden; but as that would be no considerable charge, any man that is curious might, with all the ease imaginable, preserve as many of them as would gratify a moderate luxury; and the summer affords genial heat enough to ripen them to perfection.

CHAP.
VI.Husbandry
of tobacco.Colonel
Beverley's
account of
the soil
and vegetables.

CHAP.
VI.
Various
soils.

There are three different kinds of land, according to the difference of situation, either in the lower parts of the country, the middle, or that on the heads of the rivers.

Trees.

1. The lands towards the mouths of the river are generally of a low, moist, and fat mould, such as the heavier sort of grain delights in, as rice, hemp, Indian corn, &c. This also is varied here and there with veins of a cold, hungry, sandy soil of the same moisture, and very often lying under water. But this also has its advantages, for on such land generally grow the huckle-berries, cran-berries, chinkapins, &c. These low lands are for the most part well stor'd with oaks, poplars, pines, cedars, cypress, and sweet-gums, the trunks of which are often thirty, forty, fifty, some sixty or seventy foot high, without a branch or limb. They likewise produce a great variety of ever-greens, unknown to me by name, besides the beautiful holly, sweet-myrtle, cedar, and the live-oak, which for three quarters of a year is continually dropping its acorns, and at the same time budding and bearing others in their stead.

Springs,
&c.

The land higher up the rivers throughout the whole country is generally a level ground, with shallow vallies full of streams and pleasant springs of clear water, having interspersed here and there among the large levels some small hills and extensive vales. The mold, in some places, is black, fat, and thick laid, in others looser, lighter and thin. The foundation of the mold is also various, sometimes clayey, then gravel and rocky stone, and sometimes marle. The middle of the necks or ridges between the rivers is generally poor, being either a light sand, or a white or red clay with a thin mold; yet even these places are stor'd with chestnuts, chinkapins, acorns of the shrub-oak, and a reedy-grass in summer, very good for cattle. The rich lands lie next the rivers and branches, and are stor'd with large oaks, walnuts, hickories, ash, beech, poplar, and many other sorts of timber of surprising bigness.

The upper
lands.

The heads of the rivers afford a mixture of hills, vallies, and plains, and some richer than other, whereof the fruits and timber trees are also various. In some places lie great plats of low and very rich ground, in other large spots of meadows and savanna's, wherein are hundreds of acres without any tree at all, but yield reeds and grass of incredible height: And in the swamps and sunken grounds grow trees as vastly big as I believe the world affords, and stand so close together, that the branches or boughs of many of them lock into one another; but what lessens their value is that the greatest bulk of them are at some distance from water-carriage. The land of these upper parts affords greater variety of soil than any other, and as great variety in the foundations of the soil or mold, of which good judgment may be made by the plants and herbs that grow upon it. The rivers and creeks do in many places form very fine large marshes, which are convenient supports for their flocks and herds.

Flowers.

Of spontaneous flowers they have an unknown variety; the finest crown-imperial in the world; the cardinal flower, so much extoll'd for its scarlet colour; is almost in every branch; the moccasin flower, and a thousand others not yet known to English herbalists. Almost all the year round the levels and vales are beautify'd with flowers of one kind or other, which make their woods as fragrant as a garden.

There is also found the fine tulip-bearing laurel-tree, which has the pleasantest smell in the world, and keeps blossoming and feeding several months together; it delights much in gravelly branches of crystal streams, and perfumes the very woods with

its odour. So also do the large tulip-tree, which we call a poplar; the locust, which resembles much the jessamine, and the perfuming crab-tree, during their season.

CHAP.
VI.

A kitchen garden don't thrive better or faster in any part of the universe than there. They have all the culinary plants that grow in England, and in greater perfection than in England. Besides these they have several roots, herbs, vine-fruits, and salad-flowers, peculiar to themselves; most of which will neither increase nor grow to perfection in England: These they distil up various ways, and find them very delicious sauce to their meats both roast and boil'd, fresh and salt; such are the Indian cresses, red-buds, salisfras-flowers, cymnels, melons, and potatoes.

Kitchen-
gardens.

You may raise apples from the seed, which never degenerate into crabs there, but produce as good, or perhaps better fruit than the mother tree (which is not so in England) and are wonderfully improved by grafting and managing; yet there are very few planters that graft at all, and much fewer that take any care to get choice fruits.

Apples.

The fruit-trees are wonderfully quick of growth, so that in six or seven years time from the planting a man may bring an orchard to bear in great plenty, from which he may make store of good cyder, or distil great quantities of brandy, for the cyder is very strong and yields abundance of spirit; yet they have very few that take any care at all for an orchard; nay, many that have good orchards are so negligent of them as to let them go to ruin, and expose the trees to be torn and bark'd by the cattle.

Cyder.

Peaches, nectarines, and apricots, as well as plumbs and cherries, grow there upon standard trees. They commonly bear in three years from the stone, and thrive so exceedingly that they seem to have no need of grafting or inoculating; if any body would be so good a husband. And truly I never heard of any that did graft either plumb, nectarine, peach, or apricot, in that country, till very lately.

Peaches,
&c.

Peaches and nectarines I believe to be spontaneous somewhere or other on that continent, for the Indians have and ever had greater variety and finer sorts of them than the English. The best sort of these cling to the stone, and will not come off clear, which they call plumb-nectarines and plumb-peaches, or cling-stones. Some of these are twelve or thirteen inches in the girt. These sorts of fruits are raised so easily there that some good husbands plant great orchards of them purposely for their hogs, and others make a drink of them, which they call mobby, and either drink it as cyder, or distil it off for brandy. This makes the best spirit next to grapes.

Mobby.

Grape vines of the English stock, as well as those of their own production, bear most abundantly if they are suffer'd to run near the ground, and increase very kindly by slipping, yet very few have them at all in their gardens, much less endeavour to improve them by cutting and laying. But lately some vineyards have been attempted, and one is brought to perfection, yielding seven hundred and fifty gallons a year. The wine drinks at present greenish, but the owner doubts not of good wine in a year or two more, and takes great delight that way.

Grapes,

When a single tree happens in clearing the ground to be left standing with a vine upon it, open to the sun and air, that vine generally produces as much as four or five others that remain in the woods. I have seen in this case more grapes upon one single vine than would load a London cart. And for all this the people, till of late, never removed any of them into their gardens, but

con-

CHAP. VI. contented themselves, throughout the whole country, with the grapes they found thus wild.

Flowers. A garden is no where sooner made than there, either for fruits or flowers. Tulips from the seed flower the second year. All sort of herbs have there a perfection in their flavour beyond what I ever tasted in a more northern climate: And yet they have not many gardens in that country fit to bear the name of gardens.

Corn. All sorts of English grain thrive and increase there as well as in any other part of the world; as for example, wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, rape, &c. And yet they don't make a trade of any of them. Their peas indeed are troubled with wivels, which eat a hole in them; but this hole does neither damage the seed nor make the peas unfit for boiling: And such as are sow'd late, and gather'd after August, are clear of that inconvenience.

Rice. Rice has been try'd there, and is found to grow as well as in Carolina; but it labours under the same inconvenience, the want of a community to husk and clean it, and after all to take it off the planters hands.

Flax. Flax, hemp, cotton, and silk-worms have thriven there formerly, when encouragement was given for making linen, silk, &c. But now all encouragement of such things is taken away, or entirely dropp'd by the assemblies; and such manufactures are always neglected when tobacco bears any thing of a price.

Silk-grass. Silk-grass is there spontaneous in many places. I need not mention what advantage may be made of so useful a plant, whose fibres are as fine as flax, and much stronger than hemp.

Gums. The woods produce great variety of incense and sweet gums, which distill from several trees; as also trees bearing honey and sugar; but there is no use made of any of them, either for profit or refreshment.

Naval stores. All sorts of naval stores may be produced there, as pitch, tarr, rosin, turpentine, plank-timber, and all sorts of masts and yards, besides sails, cordage, and iron; and all these may be transported by an easy water-carriage.

CHAP. VII.

The history of Virginia.

CHAP. VII. THE north-east part of the continent of America was first discover'd, as has been observ'd already, by SEBASTIAN CABOT, a native of Bristol. He was the son of JOHN CABOT, a Genoese or Venetian pilot, who resided in that city, and had made a great many voyages in the service of the court of England, or of English merchants, and gain'd a mighty reputation for his skill in maritime affairs, which induc'd King HENRY VII. to employ him, in the year 1497, to find out a north-west passage to China; which tho' CABOT was not so fortunate to accomplish, yet he discover'd all the north-east coast of America, from cape Florida in 25 degrees north latitude to 67 and an half, from whence England claim'd a right to that country prior to the Spaniards or any other European power: And the reason no attempt was made to plant or send colonies to North-America for a considerable time, CABOT himself informs us, was the wars that happen'd immediately after.

It seems strange, however, that neither in the reign of HENRY VII, or in that of his son HENRY VIII, or in the reign of EDWARD VI, or QUEEN MARY, nor till the latter end of the reign of QUEEN ELIZABETH, which was near an hundred years after this discovery of CABOT's, the English should en-

deavour to make any settlements in this country; but I presume we were diverted from it for some time by our wars with Scotland or France, as CABOT intimates, and afterwards by the various changes that were made in religion, which engag'd our whole attention at home, till the Protestant religion was establish'd here by QUEEN ELIZABETH. And when this was effected, she was engag'd in supporting the Protestants of France, the Low-countries, and Scotland, against the Popish powers; so that it was late in her reign before she was at leisure to cast her eyes upon North-America.

In the mean time the Spaniards from Mexico invaded Florida, and made themselves masters of that part of it which lies upon the gulph of Mexico, as far as the Atlantic ocean. The French also made some attempts to settle themselves near cape Florida, but were driven from thence by the Spaniards, who notwithstanding abandon'd this country themselves for many years, except the south-west part of it, which they retain'd on account of it's silver mines, giving it the name of New-Mexico: For the Spaniards seem'd to slight every country in America how fruitful soever, that did not produce gold or silver; and this I presume was the reason that it remain'd in a manner deserted for so many years, and might have remain'd so much longer, if QUEEN ELIZABETH had not at length observ'd, that the most effectual way to distress the Spaniards was to interrupt their trade with America, and intercept the galleons that annually brought their plate from thence.

This induced her to fit out several squadrons of men of war under the command of DRAKE, HAWKINS, RALEGH, and other brave sea commanders, to cruise on the coast of North-America, and surprise their ports and shipping there; in which expeditions the English became well acquainted with this fruitful and beautiful country of Florida: And Mr. RALEGH being inform'd there were gold mines in it, obtain'd a patent or grant from QUEEN ELIZABETH, in the year 1584, of all such parts of it as he should discover and plant from 33 to 40 degrees north latitude: And because this was the first patent that ever was granted to any Englishman, authorizing him to send colonies to the continent of America, and will furnish us with abundant matter for our reflections as to the justice and expedience of possessing ourselves of that country, I shall here give an abstract of it.

"ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye, that of our special grace and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to our trusty and well-beloved WALTER RALEGH, Esq; and to his heirs and assigns for ever, free liberty at all times, for ever hereafter, to discover and view such remote heathen and barbarous lands and territories not actually possess'd of any Christian prince, or inhabited by Christian people, as to him or them shall seem good: And the same to have, hold, occupy and enjoy to him, his heirs and assigns, for ever, with all prerogatives, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, and franchises thereunto belonging by sea or land: And the said WALTER RALEGH, his heirs and assigns, are hereby empower'd to build and fortify on such lands, &c. at their discretion, any statute against the departing or remaining out of the realm, or any other statutes to the contrary notwithstanding.

"And

CHAP. VII. No colonies sent thither till 100 years afterwards.

Mr. RALEGH first attempted to fix colonies there.

Mr. RALEGH's patent to send colonies to America.

The dominion of all heathen countries granted him, not possess'd by Christians.

Virginia discover'd by CABOT.

History.

CHAP.
VII.

" And we do likewise empower the said WALTER RALEGH, his heirs and assigns, to take and lead in the said voyage, or to inhabit there as many of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him or them, with sufficient shipping and necessaries for their transportation. So that they be not restrain'd by us, or our successors.

Rendering a fifth of the gold in lieu of all services to the crown.

" And further, the said WALTER RALEGH, his heirs and assigns, shall hold, occupy, and enjoy all such lands and countries so to be discover'd and possess'd, and the cities, towns, castles, and villages in the same, with the royalties, franchises, and jurisdictions thereof, with full power to dispose of them in fee simple, or otherwise, to any of our subjects, reserving to us, our heirs and successors, the fifth part of all the gold and silver ore that shall be acquired or gotten in such countries: And the same shall be holden of us, our heirs and successors by homage, and the payment of the said fifth part in lieu of all services.

" And moreover we do by these presents grant, that the said WALTER RALEGH, his heirs and assigns, may encounter, expulse, and resist all such persons as shall, without his or their license, attempt to inhabit in the said countries, or within two hundred leagues of the places where they shall abide or fix themselves, within the space of six years next ensuing; or who shall attempt to annoy him or them by sea or land, empowering the said WALTER RALEGH, his heirs and assigns, to take and surprise all such persons, with their ships, vessels, goods, and furniture, as without their license shall be found trafficking in any harbour, within the limits aforesaid, and to detain and possess them as lawful prize.

" And we do further grant to the said WALTER RALEGH, his heirs and assigns, full power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, and govern, as well in cases capital as criminal and civil, all such of our subjects as shall adventure themselves in the said voyages or inhabit such lands or countries, according to such laws and statutes as shall be established by him and them for the better government of the said people, so as such laws be as agreeable to the laws of England as may be, and be not contrary to the Christian faith professed in the church of England, and so as the said people remain subject to the crown of England.

" Witness ourself at Westminster, 25 March in the twenty-sixth year of the Queen, anno 1584."

Two ships sent to Virginia.

While this commission was preparing, Mr. RALEGH formed a society among his friends and acquaintance, who contributed large sums, and provided two ships to go upon this discovery, with all manner of necessaries for such an enterprize: The command of which being given to Captain PHILIP AMIDAS and Captain ARTHUR BARLOW, they set sail from the west of England on the 27th of April, 1584, and the 10th of May arrived at the Canaries, from whence they bent their course to the Caribbee Islands; which they made on the 10th of June, keeping a more southerly course than they needed to have done, as they themselves observed afterwards, apprehending that the current ran so strong to the northward on the coast of Florida or Virginia, that there was no stemming it; and that mistake made them go two or three thousand miles out of their way: However, they arrived at the island of Wokokon, near the coast of Virginia, or rather of North-Carolina (of which this country is now reckoned a part) and took

They arrive at the island of Wokokon.

possession thereof in the name of Queen ELIZABETH, whom they proclaimed rightful Queen and Sovereign of the same, to the use of Mr. RALEGH, according to her Majesty's grant. But they soon discovered it to be but an island of twenty miles in length, and six in breadth, and lying in 34 degrees odd minutes north latitude; the land producing cedars, cypresses, pines, and vast quantities of grapes; nor was there any want of deer, hare, rabbits and wild fowl.

After they had continued here three days, an Indian came on board them, and was entertained in the ship, after which he caught some fish and presented to the English; and the next day GRANGANIMO, the brother of WINGINA, King of Wingandacoa (as the neighbouring continent was called) came down with forty or fifty of his people to the sea-side. Whereupon several English officers went over to him, and were invited to sit down with him on the mats that were spread for that purpose, the Prince striking his head and his breast, and making a great many signs to signify they were heartily welcome, as they apprehended. Whereupon they made him some small presents, as they did to four of his people, who sat on the lower end of the same mat; but the Prince took away the things from his men, intimating that they were his servants, and that all presents were to be made to him: And having taken leave of the English, he returned with more of his people two days after, bringing deer-skins, buff, and other peltry to trade with them. Whereupon they shewed GRANGANIMO all their merchandize, of which nothing pleased him so much as a bright pewter-dish: He took it up, clapped it upon his breast, and having made a hole in the brim, hung it about his neck, intimating it would be a good shield against his enemies arrows. This pewter-dish they exchanged for twenty skins, worth twenty nobles, and a copper-kettle for fifty skins, worth as many crowns. They offered also a very advantageous exchange for their axes, hatchets, and knives, and would have given any thing for their swords, but the English would not part with them.

They traffick with the Indians.

Two or three days after, the King's brother came on board their ships, and eat and drank with them, and seemed to relish their wine and food very well, and some few days after he brought his wife and daughter, and several more of his children with him. His wife had good features, but was not tall; she appeared exceeding modest, and had a cloak or mantle of a skin with the furr next her body, and another piece of a skin before her. About her head she had a coronet of white coral, and in her ears pendants of pearls about as big as peas, hanging down to her middle, and she had bracelets on her arms. Her husband also wore a coronet or band of white coral about his head sometimes, but usually a coronet of copper, or some other shining metal, which at first our adventurers imagined to be gold, but were mistaken. His hair was cut short, but his wife's was long.

Mutual civilities.

The rest of his habit was like his wife's. The other women of the better sort, and the Prince's children, had several pendants of shining copper in their ears. The complexion of the people in general being tawny and their hair black. The Prince's wife was usually attended by forty or fifty women to the sea-side; but when she came on board (as she did often) she left them on shore, and brought only two or three with her.

The King's brother, they observed, was very just to his engagements; for they frequently delivered

him

CHAP.
VII.

him merchandize upon his word, and he ever came within the day and delivered what he had promised for them. He sent them also every day as a present, a brace of bucks, with hares, rabbits, and fish, the best in the world; together with several sorts of fruits, such as melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourds, peas, and several kinds of roots, as also Maiz, or Indian corn.

The Virginians an inoffensive hospitable people.

Afterwards seven or eight of the English officers went in their boat up the river Occam, twenty miles to the northward, and came to an island called Roanoak, where they were hospitably entertained by GRANGOANIMO's wife in his absence. She pressed them to stay on shore all night, and when they refused she was much concerned they should be apprehensive of any danger, and sent the provision on board their boat which she had provided for their supper, with mats for them to lie upon: And the captain who wrote the relation it seems, was of opinion they might safely have continued on shore; for a more kind and loving people he thought there could not be in the world, as he expressed himself.

These Indians having never seen any Europeans before, were mightily taken with the whiteness of their skins, and took it as a great favour if any Englishman would permit any of them to touch his breast. They were amazed also at the magnitude and structure of their ships, and at the firing of a musket they trembled, having never seen any fire-arms before.

The English return home.

The English continued to trade with the Indians till they had disposed of all the goods they had brought, and loaded their ships with skins, saffras and cedar. They procur'd also some pearls from them, and a little tobacco, which they found the Indians very fond of. After which they parted with this people in a very friendly manner, and return'd home to England, taking with them MANTO and WANCHESE, two Indians, who appear'd desirous to embark for England with them; and having made a very profitable voyage, they gave Mr. RALEGH and the rest of their employers such a glorious account of the country as made them impatient till they had provided ships for another voyage. The tobacco the Captains AMIDAS and BARLOW brought home with them in this voyage was the first that had been seen in England, and was soon cry'd up as a most valuable plant, and a sovereign remedy for almost every malady. But to proceed.

A second voyage by Sir Edward Greenville.

They arrived at Wokokon.

Make discoveries on the continent.

Burn an Indian town.

Mr. RALEGH and his friends having fitted out a fleet consisting of seven ships, and given the command of it to Sir EDWARD GREENVILLE, they set sail from Plymouth, on the 9th of April 1585, and made the Canary Islands on the 14th of the same month, from whence they steer'd to the Antilles, which they made the 7th of May, and on the 12th came to an anchor at the island of Porto Rico, where they put their men on shore and took in fresh water and provisions; and setting sail again on the 29th of May they arrived at the island of Wokokon on the 26th of June, where the Admiral's ship was cast away going into the harbour, but himself and the crew saved.

The Admiral with several of his officers, attended with a good guard, went over to the continent on the 11th of July, and came to the town of Secotan, where they were hospitably entertain'd by the natives; but some pilfering Indian having stolen a silver cup from the English, which the natives promis'd to restore, and neglecting to do it, the Admiral, in his return plunder'd one of their towns and burnt it with all the corn growing in their

fields; at which the country being incens'd the Admiral set sail from the island of Wokokon on the 21st of July, and arriv'd at Cape Hatteras, where GRANGOANIMO, brother to King WINGINA, came on board the fleet, and had a friendly conference with the Admiral; after which the English landed on the island of Roanoak, in the mouth of Albermarle river. Here the fleet remained about six weeks, during which time Sir EDWARD GREENVILLE took a view of the neighbouring continent again, and made experiments of the goodness of the soil by several sorts of grain he sow'd, which came up very kindly during his stay there: And on the 25th of August he set sail for England, leaving one hundred and eight men upon the island of Roanoak, under the command of Captain RALPH LANE, with directions to make further discoveries, promising them such supplies and reinforcements as might enable them to subdue the neighbouring continent.

CHAP.
VII.

Sail to the island of Roanoak.

A colony of an hundred and eight men left there.

Sir Edward Greenville returns to England. The English make discoveries to the northward.

Propose the doing the same to the westward, which alarms the Indians.

A conspiracy form'd against the colony.

Sir EDWARD GREENVILLE was no sooner sail'd for England, but Mr. LANE made preparations with his boats (for I don't perceive one ship was left him) to discover the continent on the north and west; and to the north he view'd the coast from the island of Roanoak almost to cape Henry, at the entrance of the bay of Chesapeake, being about an hundred and forty miles, in which he met with no opposition from the natives; but afterwards communicating his design of making a discovery as far to the westward up the river Morotock, or Albermarle, to his friend King WINGINA, the sovereign of the opposite continent, that Prince was alarmed and gave notice to the neighbouring Princes, his allies, to be upon their guard; for the English intended nothing less, as he conceived, than to make an entire conquest of their country, and to extirpate the inhabitants, or to make them slaves; and orders were immediately dispatch'd through the whole country to carry off or destroy all their corn and provisions, and to retire from the banks of the river Morotock with their wives and families, that the English might find no subsistence.

However, King WINGINA, or PAMISPAN, as he is sometimes call'd, still pretended great friendship for the English, and promis'd Mr. LANE to furnish him with guides in this expedition; and to incite him to undertake it, told him, there were great quantities of gold to be found towards the head of the river Morotock, about thirty or forty days journey to the westward, and that some few days march beyond the head of that river, they would arrive at a great ocean; for as the English had made WINGINA acquainted with their intended expedition, weakly imagining they should be supported in the enterprize by his advice and assistance; the penetrating Indian discerning that the principal views of the English were to rob them of their treasures, to make a conquest of the country, and find a passage to some ocean they apprehended lay west of Virginia, encourag'd Captain LANE to believe that their expectations would not be disappointed, but that they would find some gold or mineral like it in their mountains, and arrive at the ocean they mentioned within the space of forty days, where they would meet with pearls of an uncommon size; for he propos'd by such representations to draw the English far up the river into the inland country, where they would run a great hazard of being famish'd before they could get back to Roanoak; their fire-arms being such a terror to the Indian Princes, that they despair'd of overcoming these invaders but by some such stratagem.

Mr.

CHAP.
VII.

Mr. LANE not imagining King WINGINA, his Indian friend, had sagacity enough to discover the bottom of his designs, but still had the same friendship for the English he had hitherto professed, enter'd upon the expedition to the westward with the guides WINGINA had lent him; and not doubting but he should be able to purchase corn and flesh of the natives who inhabited the banks of the river Morotock, he took little provision with him; but to his great surprize he found the whole country abandoned, and that there was no food to be met with: And as he advanced he observed the natives made fires to give notice of his approach, and fled with all their effects. So that our adventurers, after they had rowed four days up the river, were reduced to great straits, having nothing left to subsist on but the flesh of two mastiff-dogs they killed. Whereupon they hastened to the mouth of the river again, to which they were by good fortune carried down in much less time than they went up, and arrived at the island of Roanoak on Easter-day, 1586; where they found WINGINA and his Indians, who still made great professions of friendship for the English, but immediately entered into another conspiracy with their allies to destroy them: And the first step WINGINA took towards it was to prohibit the natives to furnish the English with provisions; for want of which he was sensible they must divide themselves into several parties to procure food by hunting and fishing. Then he appointed a general rendezvous of the Indians near the coast, ordering them on the 10th of June, in the night-time, to embark in their canoes and make a descent on the island of Roanoak; at which instant he promised them to set fire to the huts of the English, and as they would be reduced to a small number by their sending detachments to the neighbouring islands in search of food, he did not doubt but the natives would be able to knock those on the head who remain'd at Roanoak, when they should run out of their houses naked and unarm'd to avoid the flames. But this conspiracy being discover'd to captain LANE by SKYCO, the son of MENATONON, an Indian Prince, with whom captain LANE had contracted an intimate friendship, the captain resolv'd to be before-hand with WINGINA, and on the last of May surprized him with several more of the Indian Chiefs, and cut them in pieces. And on the 8th of June following, Sir FRANCIS DRAKE arrived on the coast with a fleet of men of war under his command; which had been employed in attacking and plundering the Spanish towns and harbours in North-America.

The country destroyed and abandoned by the natives.
The party sent on the discovery in danger of being starved.
A second conspiracy against them.
Admiral Drake arrives at Roanoak.

Takes up the colony and carries them home.

The Admiral being directed to give the colony at Roanoak all the assistance he could, agreed to leave with them a ship and some men and provisions, to enable them to make further discoveries on the continent; but understanding on what ill terms they were with the natives, and that it would be impossible to establish a colony there without a much greater force now the Indians were become their enemies, he ordered them to return to England the following August, which was no sooner agreed on than there arose a storm, in which the whole fleet was in danger of shipwreck, and the ship and provisions the Admiral had given them was driven out to sea and lost. Whereupon he thought fit to take Mr. LANE and his company to England with him; and thus ended the first attempt of Mr. RALEGH to settle a colony on the American coast.

It was but a few days after Sir FRANCIS DRAKE had carry'd away Captain LANE and

his company from the island of Roanoak, before a ship arrived with men, ammunition, and provisions for the colony; but not finding any European there or in the adjacent islands or continent, they concluded the colony had been destroyed, and returned to England.

About a fortnight after the last ship had left the island of Roanoak, Sir EDWARD GREENVILLE arrived there with three ships, and a much more ample supply of ammunition and provisions, and made all the enquiry he was able after the colony, but could hear nothing of them; however, he left fifteen men, with ammunition and provision for two years, and returned to England.

In the beginning of the year 1587, Sir WALTER RALEGH fitted out three ships more, on board of which he put one hundred and fifty men, besides mariners, giving the command of them to Captain JOHN WHITE, whom he appointed governor, but added twelve assistants, incorporating them by the name of the Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia. This little squadron set sail from Portsmouth on the 28th of April, 1587, and the 19th of June following made the Caribbee islands, landing the planters at the island of Santa Cruz to refresh them and take in fresh water: And re-imbarking their people three days after, they set sail again and arriv'd at Cape Fear (in Carolina) on the 16th of July, where they were in great danger of being cast away; for they did not see the cape till they were within a cable's length of it. From Cape Fear they stood to the northward, and arrived at Cape Hatteras, near the island of Roanoak, on the 22d of July; whereupon they sent a party of men to search the island of Roanoak for the fifteen men Sir RICHARD GREENVILLE had left there the year before, but could find none of them, nor any signs of their having been there, unless the bones of one man they supposed had been killed. But at the north end of the island they found the fort which had been erected by Captain LANE, and the first colony with several of their houses undemolished; the lower rooms however were over-run with melons, and deer feeding on them.

Sir WALTER RALEGH had ordered Captain WHITE and the colony not to fix themselves at Roanoak, but to sail northward as far as the bay of Chesepeak, and erect a town there; but this was opposed by FERDINANDO the Spanish pilot, to whose care the fleet was committed, under pretence that it was too late in the year to look out for another port. Whereupon Governor WHITE and the rest of the planters determined to stay at Roanoak, and to repair the fort and houses they found there. They had not been on shore a week before Mr. GEORGE HOW, one of the court of assistants, stragling a mile or two from the fort, was desperately wounded with sixteen arrows by a party of Indians, who had concealed themselves in the reeds and flags by the sea side, and seeing him disabled, they beat out his brains with their wooden swords and clubs.

On the 30th of July, twenty men, under the command of Captain STAFFORD, were detach'd to the island of Croatan, with MENTEO the Indian, whose mother and relations dwelt in that island, to enquire after the fifteen men, and to renew their ancient friendship with the people of that island. The natives seemed at first prepared to oppose Captain STAFFORD's landing; but upon his marching towards them with his musketeers they fled. Whereupon MANTEO call'd to his countrymen, telling them the English came as friends; and

CHAP.
VII.

A ship with provisions arrives.

Sir Edward Greenville arrives with three ships. Leaves fifteen men at Roanoak.

Another colony of 150 men sent to Roanoak under Cap. White.

None of the fifteen men to be found.

An Englishman surpris'd and killed by the Indians.

A detachment sent to Croatan.

CHAP.
VII.

and the Indians knowing his voice returned, and throwing away their bows and arrows, bid the Captain welcome, and afterwards conducted him to their town, entertaining him and his people in the best manner they could; but they desir'd the English would give them some badge or mark whereby they might be distinguished from their Indian enemies when they met with them out of the island, for want of which several of their friends had been hurt and wounded the year before by Captain LANE and his people. This Captain STAFFORD agreed to, and afterwards directed the Croatans to go over to the continent and acquaint the inhabitants of Secotan, Pomeiok, &c. that if they would accept of the friendship of the English, and enter into an alliance with them, all past injuries should be forgot, which the chiefs of the Croatans promised to do, and to return within seven days with the answer of the Weroances, or heads of those tribes (to which our adventurers were pleas'd to give the titles of Kings).

Some account of the fifteen English that were lost.

They understood also from the inhabitants of Croatan, that the fifteen men Sir EDWARD GREENVILLE had left at Roanoak the year before, had been surpris'd by the people of Secotan and some other Indian powers, who coming over to the island as friends, took an opportunity to set fire to their houses, and murdered some of them as they run out unarm'd to avoid the flames: However, eight or nine of the English escaped to the water-side, and went over in their boat to a little island on the right-hand of Cape Hatteras; that the English some time after removed from the said island, but whither they went, or what became of them they could not tell.

An expedition against Secotan.

Captain STAFFORD afterwards returned, and acquainting governor WHITE with what he had done, it was resolv'd to wait seven days for the answer of the Weroances of Secotan, &c. before they entered upon further action. But the seven days being expired, and none of the Weroances of Secotan, &c. appearing, nor any answer to their message being brought by the men of Croatan, as they had promised, the Governor took four and twenty men with him, well arm'd, and went over to the continent on the 8th of August, in the evening, determining to be revenged on the people of Secotan and their allies for driving the fifteen English from Roanoak, and murdering Mr. How: And having been informed where one of their principal towns was, he attacked it in the night-time, with an intent to destroy all the men in it; but instead of his enemies he found his friends of Croatan possess'd of the place, and hurt and wounded several of them before he discover'd his mistake; for the people of Secotan, after they had murder'd How, expecting this visit, had retir'd to the in-land country with precipitation, and left their corn, tobacco, and fruits behind them, which the people of Croatan had been gathering in: And this was the reason they did not return within the seven days, as they had promised. They readily acknowledged therefore that the mischief they had received was by mistake, and that they themselves were the occasion of it by not keeping their words.

The Indians on the sea coast run away.

Manteo baptized, and made Governor of Croatan.

Governor WHITE being returned to Roanoak on the 13th of August, MANTEO the Indian was baptized, and constituted Lord of the island of Roanoak, and of the opposite continent of Desamongapeak, as Sir WALTER RALEGH had order'd; and on the 18th of the same month, Mrs. ELEANOR DARE, wife of Mr. ANANIAS DARE, one of the court of assistants, and daughter of Governor WHITE, was delivered of a daughter,

afterwards baptized by the name of VIRGINIA. And now all the planters stores and provisions being landed, and the ships ready to sail, the colony determined to send back two of the court of assistants to England to solicit for further reinforcements and supplies, those they had with them not being thought sufficient to establish a colony on the continent, as the Indians were most of them their profess'd enemies. But at length it was thought most proper to depute Governor WHITE himself, who had the greatest interest at the court of England, and on whose diligence and application they could most rely: And with great reluctance he was prevail'd on to undertake this office, apprehending his reputation might suffer if he had left the colony and return'd to England before he had effected any thing.

CHAP.
VII.

Mrs. Dare deliver'd of her daughter Virginia.

Governor White sent to England for supplies.

Captain WHITE setting sail for England, arriv'd there at a time when the nation was alarm'd with the rumour of the intended Spanish invasion, which was attempted the following summer, 1588, to oppose which the Queen and the whole kingdom were employ'd, especially DRAKE, RALEGH, and the rest of the sea commanders. And as the state seem'd to be in imminent danger, all lesser enterprizes were neglected or postpon'd, and consequently Governor WHITE's application in behalf of the unhappy colony he had left in America was very little attended to, insomuch that he was not able to obtain leave for any ships to be sent thither till the beginning of the year 1590: And then all that he could procure was an order that three small men of war, which were going to cruize against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, should take some re-inforcements and provisions on board for the colony at Roanoak; which order they were far from obeying as they ought to have done, for they only took Governor WHITE on board, refusing to carry either planters or provisions thither. Sir WALTER RALEGH either had not interest enough at this time to cause his orders to be obey'd, or was employ'd in enterprizes wherein he expected to acquire more wealth or glory than in supporting his Virginian colony, which occasioned his neglecting those unfortunate people who had been induc'd to hazard their lives and all that was dear to them in his service.

White arrives in England a little before the Spanish invasion in 1588.

Above two years before he could get any ships sent to Roanoak.

Mr. WHITE relates, that the commanders of the men of war with whom he went to America, having spent most of the summer in cruising among the Spanish islands, did not arrive at Roanoak till the middle of August, 1590; and that searching the island of Roanoak they found, by some inscriptions cut on the trees and beams of the houses, that the colony was removed to the island of Croatan. But before they removed they had buried their chests, and great part of their effects, which the Indians afterwards dug up and spoiled. Governor WHITE, with much importunity, procur'd the consent of the Captains of the men of war to follow the colony to Croatan: But the weather growing tempestuous they were in great danger of shipwreck, and lost most of their anchors and cables. Whereupon they failed directly to England, and left the colony to shift for themselves; and whether they were famish'd, or cut in pieces by the Indians, or perished in attempting to get home by sea, I could never learn, for they have never been heard of from that day to this. This must render people exceeding cautious how they engage in such enterprizes on the faith and promises of courtiers to support them. The safety of the state, a project of more importance, or the prospect of gaining greater treasures another way,

The colony removed to Croatan.

Where they perished, being abandoned by Sir Walter Ralegh.

CHAP.
VII.

way, are too often thought sufficient reasons for abandoning our distressed friends: And indeed, during the year 1588, when the whole kingdom was at stake, there might be some colour for Sir WALTER's not sending re-inforcements to his colony; but when that was over, and an invasion no longer feared, he might, one would have thought, have cast an eye towards a company of men who had run the greatest hazard, relying upon his word and honour to sustain them. He might, surely, have re-inforced his colony, or brought them back, considering the figure he then made in the court of England and royal navy: But I doubt, the capture of the galleons, the plunder of Cadex, and the gold-mines of Guiana, which he went in search of soon after, put the Virginian colony too much out of his head, after he found himself disappointed in his principal view of possessing mountains of gold in Virginia.

Sir Walter charged with levity as well as avarice.

Goes in search of other gold mines at Guiana.

Sir WALTER also seems chargeable with levity as well as avarice, since after he had obtained the property of Virginia by letters patents from Queen ELIZABETH, and had sent several colonies thither, he became in a short time so regardless of that country, or the fate of those who had embarked in that enterprize in confidence of being supported by him, that he went in search of other gold-mines in Guiana, the magazine of all rich metals (as he terms it) and made some voyages in person thither, in which he was however miserably disappointed, and discovered great weakness and credulity in the accounts he had left behind him of that country; for he was made to believe there was more gold and precious stones in Guiana than in Mexico and Peru; though it appears there is less of either there than in any part of Spanish America. He was made to believe also that one of the nations of Guiana were a headless people, and that their mouths were in the middle of their breasts, and their eyes in their shoulders; of which he tells us, there was no doubt to be made, he having been assured of it from a cloud of witnesses. Whatever prudence and conduct Sir WALTER may have discovered on other occasions, the prospect of gold-mines and mountains of precious stones he expected to find in Guiana seem to have disordered his brain to a very great degree; for after repeated disappointments, he never desisted his search, until at length it prov'd fatal to him.

PURCHASE indeed relates, that while he was endeavouring in person to discover the gold-mines of Guiana, he did order some vessels to enquire after his colony at Roanoak, but was deceived by those he employed, who never went the voyage, except one MACE, who undertook it in the year 1602, and was killed by the natives on his going on shore with several of his crew, the rest escaping with difficulty.

Thus it appears but too evident, that Sir WALTER RALEGH's expectations of discovering immense treasures in Guiana were in a great measure the ruin of our first attempts to settle colonies in Virginia.

He seems in raptures when he first visited those shores, which he endeavours to make his friends believe were all gold and precious stones.

I am assured, says Sir WALTER, by such Spaniards as have seen Manoa, the imperial city of Guiana, and which they (the Spaniards) call El Dorado, or the Golden-city, that for the greatness, the riches, and excellent situation, it exceeds all the world. All the vessels and utensils of the Emperor's house are of gold and silver, with statues of gold resembling giants. There are also

VOL. III. NUMB. CXXX.

the figures of all animals, beasts, birds, and fishes, as big as the life. There is not any vegetable but they have the figure of it in gold; and golden-billets lie piled up on heaps, in imitation of fire-wood. And in another place he relates, that there were mountains of diamonds in Guiana; which it is evident he believed himself, though in fact there was never any such city as Manoa, or such an Emperor as he mentions, and very little gold to be met with in Guiana, as the French and Dutch will inform us, who have settlements in that very country, which he places between the equator and five degrees of north latitude, or between the rivers Oronoque and Amazon. However, his expectations of finding it what he describes was no doubt the reason of his neglecting those colonies which he had sent to Virginia: That he was conscious of the distress they must be reduced to appears by his telling the Spaniards, in one of the voyages he made to Guiana, that he was bound for Virginia, to relieve the people he left there: And he informs us, that he had an intention to have visited them in his return from Guiana, if the winds had favoured him.

And it is not the most improbable conjecture, that the reason Queen ELIZABETH did not assist him with her ships and forces to subdue this golden country, as he had represented it to be, was, that he had deceived her once before, by representing Virginia as such which he now neglected. She had found his weak side. She discerned his avarice and credulity, and did not think fit to hazard her ships or subjects until she had better proofs of the reality of those treasures. These are some of the reasons that this Princess made no further attempts to settle colonies in America in her reign, though she lived a dozen years or more after WHITE's last expedition to Virginia. She was too wise a Princess to be deceived twice by one person in the same case, and no private adventurers would undertake to send colonies thither after they saw such a body of men abandoned by their employers.

As Sir WALTER himself observes, it was the hopes of gold that was the principal and almost only motive to these undertakings. Our people had observed the success of the Spaniards, and imagined that gold and silver-mines were as common in America as Lead-mines are in Europe. The first adventurers, whether English or Spanish, had no view or thought of finding any thing else in that new world but gold and silver, that would answer the expence and hazard of such voyages. They did not dream at that time, that the Virginian tobacco would be as profitable as a gold-mine, as we found it afterwards to be, when we purchased with it most of the merchandize of Europe as with ready money. Nor did they foresee that extensive and profitable traffick that is now carried on between Europe and the plantations; which is, in reality, a greater advantage to some powers than the mines of Peru and Mexico are to the Spaniards.

I have been the more particular in this part of the history relating to the first attempts of the English to settle colonies on the coast of Virginia, because I find Colonel BEVERLEY and Mr. OLDMIXON, who have written the history of it, have omitted many material facts, and do not seem to have entered into the real motives of deserting that enterprize in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

Mr. OLDMIXON also has committed some mistakes in the short relation he gives us; for first he tells us, that several of the colony left at Roanoak, under ry.

CHAP.
VII.

Some errors in Mr. Oldmixon's history.

CHAP. VII. under the command of Captain LANE, were cut off by the natives, whereas there was not one of Captain LANE's men killed by them. He adds also, that they remained at Roanoak until August, 1586, when it appears Sir FRANCIS DRAKE took them on board in June 1586, and carried them to England.

He makes Captain WHITE to constitute a government, consisting of a Governor and twelve Counsellors, whereas WHITE himself was appointed Governor by Sir WALTER RALEGH, and twelve Assistants given him before he left England, who were incorporated by the name of the Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia.

He relates, that Mrs. DARE, who was delivered of the first child on the coast of Virginia, was the daughter of Mr. ANANIAS DARE; but it seems she was the daughter of Governor WHITE, and wife of Mr. DARE, one of the court of Assistants.

The colony is likewise represented to be in great distress before Governor WHITE returned to England, whereas he did not remain at Roanoak above two or three months at most, returning to England the latter end of the year 1587, in which time the provisions they carried with them could not be spent; and it appears to have been Autumn, when the corn and fruits were ripe, of which they received large supplies from the continent while Governor WHITE was there; and had then plenty of fish upon the coast. The reason of sending Governor WHITE to England was to procure a reinforcement of troops, and supplies of ammunition and provisions, without which it was foreseen they could not establish themselves on the continent, as they were then in a state of hostility with the Indians, who would neither treat or traffick with them after they found the English intended to usurp the dominion of their country, and had taken upon them to put to death some of their Weroances or great men.

Mr. OLDMIXON relates also, that after two years, Governor WHITE procured three ships to be fitted out with men and provisions for the colony of Roanoak; whereas, according to Mr. WHITE's own account of that matter, all that he could procure of the government was, to permit three men of war, which were going to cruize in the Spanish West-Indies, to call at Roanoak, and complains that they refused to take either men or provisions on board, and would not so much as let him carry a servant with him.

Mr. OLDMIXON adds, that the misfortunes of this colony were the occasion that no further attempts were made to plant Virginia in this reign; whereas it is agreed on all hands, that no body knew what their fate was until a great while afterwards. Sir WALTER did not suppose the Virginian colony was lost in the year 1594, for in that very year he tells us, he had some thoughts of calling on them in his return from Guiana; and PURCHASE observes he sent a bark to enquire after them so late as the year 1602.

An enquiry by what right Christian Princes invade Pagan countries. Give me leave, before I proceed further in this history, to make some reflections on that authority Christian Princes and States have heretofore assumed and exercised (and which some still claim) of invading and usurping the dominion of all infidel nations, and treating the natives as their slaves and vassals, and to consider the right they pretend to of excluding both Christians and Pagans from all countries whither they have sent any colonies.

CHAP. VII. The Pope seems first to have assumed an authority of disposing of such countries as were in the possession of Infidels or Hereticks by virtue of the powers he pretends to derive from JESUS CHRIST: And in this all Christian Princes appear to have acquiesced when he granted the east to the Portuguese and the west to the Spaniards. No European power pretended to disturb either of those crowns in the enjoyment of what they possessed themselves of in the heathen world for many years. But the Pope's power of transferring infidel kingdoms to whom he pleased was no sooner called in question than every sovereign Prince in Europe assumed the like authority, and in all their patents for discovery granted their subjects the dominion and property of every Pagan country they should invade; being induced to it, I presume, by the Turkish maxim, that dominion is founded in grace, or in other words, that unbelievers could have no right to this world any more than the next. This seems to have been the universal opinion of both Protestants and Papists when Queen ELIZABETH granted Sir WALTER RALEGH a patent to subdue and govern those Pagan countries he should discover; the tenour of that patent implying as much: though, at this day, we are generally agreed, that Christian Princes have nothing to do to invade or enslave Heathen nations, but that Pagan Princes and States have as good a right to their countries, their liberties and possessions as the best and most powerful Christian Monarchs have to their dominions in this part of the world; and consequently all the invasions and usurpations that have been made upon the Heathen world by Christians were unjust, and the conquest of them upon such unjust grounds could give none of them a right to the territories of those Pagan powers, or to the properties of their subjects, so long as there were any heirs remaining to claim their respective rights; which the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Dutch, seem to have been so conscious of, that they in a manner extirpated the nations they conquered to defeat all prior claims, and thus by excess of villainy have, as they imagine, derived a right to themselves by way of occupancy: The possessor being deemed by some to have the best right where none can shew a better, especially after a long and uninterrupted possession. But this can never be sound doctrine surely in regard to kingdoms, inasmuch as it encourages wicked usurpers to be still greater villains in order to establish themselves. One would rather be inclined to believe that any neighbouring nation had a right to such ruined and abdicated kingdoms, and that it was incumbent on all other powers to unite in driving the usurper from a country he had thus barbarously invaded and destroyed.

On the other hand it is said, that America was but thinly inhabited in comparison of this part of the world, and there was room enough both for them and us: That no Prince or private man can have a right to exclude all others from a country too large for the present possessors to enjoy or cultivate: And that by teaching the natives husbandry and other arts, we shewed them the way to live elegantly, and to make five hundred acres of land of more value than twenty thousand, which were before nothing but bogs or forests, and inhabited by wild beasts more than men. It could never be the design of the creation that the earth should remain the property of a few huntsmen, unimproved and uncultivated, as America must have done if the Europeans had been excluded from sending colonies thither.

CHAP.
VII.

To this it is reply'd, that we ought not however to have intruded ourselves by force to the prejudice of the original inhabitants, but to have proceeded in the method some of the ancients did. We ought to have insinuated ourselves into their good opinion, to have shewn them the beauty and the excellence of the Christian religion, and the benevolent principles it taught: We ought to have convinced them how beneficial the European arts and sciences would be to them and their country, and then we should not have failed of being received with kindness, and even veneration, as CERES and BACCHUS anciently were: We should have been looked upon as good angels, or at least as the great benefactors of mankind; and admitted and even invited to share their country with them for the sake of the improvements we might make in it. But admitting we had a right to fix ourselves in any vacant parts of America, we certainly could have none to drive the natives from the rest, and insult and tyrannize over them: And I have not observ'd any instance from our first attempts to settle colonies there to this day, where we have treated the natives with humanity and benevolence, but they have been ready to resign to us as much of their respective countries as we could plant and cultivate, upon very moderate considerations.

And as for that other piece of tyranny so generally practis'd by the Spaniards, Dutch, and Portuguese, namely, the excluding the natives from conversing or trafficking with any other people but their own, and the debarring all other nations from entering their ports, I cannot see the justice of it. Every free people in this part of the world have certainly the liberty of trading with those of another without asking leave of the Spaniards or the Dutch, notwithstanding those powers may have colonies in some part of the said continent or islands. How their possessing a town or two upon the Indian coast can give them a right of excluding all other European nations from resorting thither and trafficking with the natives, or what right any European powers can have to lie with their ships before the Indian harbours, and to oppose and even murder the natives for attempting to sell the produce of their country to foreigners, as the Dutch do in the East-Indies, and the Spaniards in America, is not easy to conceive.

Such reflections as these are not only natural but unavoidable upon enquiring into the original of our American colonies.

I proceed now to the remaining part of the Virginian history; and though I cannot approve the conduct of our nation in all places, yet it will appear that we have used less violence and oppression in the settlements we have made than any other nation, and in many places have fairly contracted with the inhabitants for what we have obtained, and given them what they esteem'd a valuable consideration for the lands they transferred to us.

In the year 1602, on the 26th of March, Captain GILBERT also set sail from Plymouth with thirty-two mariners and landmen; the landmen being commanded by Captain GOSNOLD, and designed for a colony. They arrived in that part of Virginia now called New-England, being in 42 degrees north latitude, on the 14th of May following; where there came on board them several of the natives in an European boat, some of them also being clothed like Europeans, the boat and cloaths having been given them by some fishermen who frequented Newfoundland; but

most of them had mantles of Deer-skins. They afterwards sailed to the southward, and came to a promontory call'd Cape Cod, from the shoals of Cod-fish they met with there, and that name it retains to this day. Here Captain GOSNOLD went on shore, and found Peas, Strawberries, and other fruits growing, and saw a great deal of good timber. They sailed from this point to the southward, and arrived at another promontory, which they call'd Gilbert's Point, the name of the captain of the ship, the shores appearing full of people. Some of them came on board, and tho' they were peaceable enough, they were observed to be thievish. The English afterwards bending their course to the south-west, they came to an uninhabited island in 41 degrees, to which they gave the name of Martha's Vineyard; and to another island, a little further to the southward, they gave the name of Elizabeth Island, and these islands are still call'd by those names.

Upon Elizabeth Island, lying about four miles from the continent, Captain GOSNOLD propos'd to settle with his little colony, and to that end went on shore there on the 28th of May. He found the island cover'd with timber and underwood, among which were oak, ash, beech, walnut, hazel, cedars, cypres, and sassafras. And as to fruits, here were cherries, vines, goofberries, strawberries, raspberries, ground-nuts, and Peas; and also variety of roots and salad-herbs. Here, in the middle of a fresh water lake, which surrounded a little rocky island, containing an acre of ground, they began to erect a house and fort capable of receiving twenty men.

While this was doing, Captain GOSNOLD sail'd over to the continent, where he found a great many people, and was treated very courteously by them, every one making a present of what he had about him, such as skins, furs, tobacco, chains and necklaces of copper, shells, and the like for which the English gave them some toys, and returned to their fort.

Two or three days afterwards, one of the Indian Chiefs, with fifty stout men armed with bows and arrows, came over from the continent to the island in their country boats, and there being then but eight Englishmen on shore, they stood upon their guard until the natives gave them to understand they came in a friendly manner to visit them. Whereupon they were invited to eat and drink, and sat down to dinner with the English on their heels, expressing a great deal of good humour. The Indians made them another visit two or three days after, when they behaved themselves very peaceably also; but one of the natives having stolen a shield, was made to return it, and they seem'd apprehensive the English would revenge it; but finding them still easy and sociable, they were merry together, and parted again in a friendly manner. But as two of the English were straggling by the sea-side two days after, to get Crabs, four Indians attacked them, and wounded one of the English with an arrow; whereupon the other Englishman disarm'd the aggressor, and the rest run away. This seems to have been the only quarrel there was between the English and the Indians in this voyage; however, the colony which was design'd to be left there, who were twenty in number, being apprehensive it would be difficult for them to subsist till supplies and re-inforcements came from England, if the natives should prove their enemies, especially as their provisions, upon examination, appear'd much shorter than was expected; it was resolv'd to abandon their little fort

CHAP.
VII.

A fort erected by the English

The Virginian history continued.

CHAP. VII. in the island, and return (all of them) to England. Having therefore taken on board some Cedar and Sassafras, Beaver-skins, Deer-skins, black Fox-skins, and other peltry they had receiv'd of the natives for the goods they carry'd thither; they set sail from the island of Elizabeth on the 18th of June, arriving at Exmouth in Devon, on the 23d of July following, without having lost one man; but they made no attempt to find their unhappy countrymen, who had been left at Roanoak, in the year 1587.

Mr. Hackluyt and others licensed to trade to Virginia by Sir Walter Raleigh.

The next year (1603) the reverend Mr. HACKLUIT, Prebendary of the Cathedral of Bristol, a gentleman of an enterprising genius, who compiled the first collection of voyages that ever was published in English, having convers'd with some of the last adventurers, propos'd to the merchants of Bristol the sending some ships on the same voyage; which they consented to, and he agreed to become an adventurer with them: But as Sir WALTER RALEGH had a patent for the planting Virginia, it was thought proper to send Mr. HACKLUIT and some others to him to obtain his leave for making the voyage; which he readily granted under his hand and seal, together with all the profits they should make by it, having no longer any thoughts of planting that country himself.

Captain Pringe's voyage.

Being thus authoris'd to traffick to Virginia, our adventurers fitted out a small Vessel, called the Speedwell, burthen fifty ton, and man'd with thirty hands, of which MARTIN PRINGE, an expert mariner, was appointed commander. They also sent another small bark with him of twenty-six ton, and carrying fourteen hands; both which vessels being victual'd for eight months, they put on board a cargo consisting of cloathing both Linen and woollen, hats, shoes, stockings, carpenters tools, implements of husbandry and gardening, looking-glasses, pins, needles, thread, and other haberdashers wares; knives, scissars, fish-hooks, bells, beads, and other glittering toys, which they apprehended most acceptable to the Indians; with which they set sail from King's-Road, near Bristol, on the 20th of March, 1603-4; but being put back by contrary winds, they run into Millford-Haven, where they lay till the 10th of April (in which interval they heard of the death of Queen ELIZABETH, that happen'd on the 24th of March 1603-4) when setting sail again, they arriv'd on the coast of Virginia (now New-England) in 43 degrees north latitude; from whence they bent their course south-west till they came into 41 degrees, and going on shore there, cut a good quantity of Sassafras and carried it on board; but lest they should be surpris'd in the woods by the natives while they were at work, they erected a little fort or redoubt, wherein they left their effects and four or five men to guard them while the rest were at work. The natives came and traffick'd with the English, forty or fifty in a company, and sometimes upwards of an hundred, who eat and drank and were very merry with our adventurers, especially when they observ'd a lad in their company playing upon a Guittar. They would get round about him, and taking hands, dance twenty or thirty in a ring, after the American manner. Our adventurers observ'd, that the natives were more afraid of two mastiff Dogs they carried with them than of twenty men; and when they design'd to get rid of their company they let loose one of these Mastiffs; whereupon the natives would shriek out and run away to the woods; but 'tis probable this usage, and the erecting a fortification in their country, made the Indians at length look upon the English as their enemies;

Queen Elizabeth dies.

for our adventurers inform us, that a party of Indians came and surrounded their fort a few days after, when most of them were absent, and would probably have surpris'd it, if the Captain of the ship had not fir'd two Guns and alarm'd the workmen in the woods, who thereupon return'd to the relief of the fort. The Indians pretended indeed they had no hostile intentions; but our people never cared to trust them afterwards. And the day before the English embark'd, the natives came down again in great numbers and set fire to the woods where they had cut the Sassafras; which 'tis probable, was designed to let the English know, they would preserve nothing in their country which should invite such guests to visit them again; for no doubt the great guns and fire-arms had rendered the English very terrible to them as well as their dogs.

As to the produce of the soil, Captain PRINGE made the same observations as Captain GOSNOLD had done in the former voyage, adding, that the natives wore their hair tied up and adorned with a great many feathers, flowers, and glittering toys; and that the men had nothing before their nudities but a piece of skin of a hand-breadth, which was fastened to their girdles before and behind, and brought between their legs; and to these girdles, which were made of Snake-skins, they also hung their Tobacco-pouches. They saw but two of their women, who wore aprons made of skins that reach'd down to their knees, and had mantles of bear-skins, which they hung on one shoulder. Their boats were made of the bark of the birch-tree, much of the form of ours, but larger, and sewed together with Osier-twigs, the seams being covered with a kind of rosin or turpentine of a very fragrant smell: And these vessels were so exceeding light, that one of them, which would carry nine men, did not weigh sixty pounds.

The latter end of July, our adventurers loaded their least bark with sassafras, and sent her home to England; and on the 9th of August they set sail with their other ship, having gotten a cargo of skins and furs, for which they truck'd away the cloathing and hard ware they carried thither. They arriv'd at the soundings, in the chaps of the chanel, within five weeks after they left the coast of Virginia, where they met with contrary winds, so that they did not come to King's-Road till the 2d of October, 1604; the Speedwell, the biggest ship, having been out six months in this voyage, and the least ship, called the Discoverer, five months and a half.

Pringe returns to England.

In the year 1605, two enterprising noblemen (viz.) HENRY Earl of Southampton, and THOMAS Lord Arundel, equip'd a ship called the Archange, and gave the command of it to Captain GEORGE WEYMOUTH, who set sail from the Downs on the 31st of March, and came upon the coast of Virginia, or rather New-England, on the 14th of May following, being then, as he found by observation, in 43 degrees of north latitude. From whence he stood to the southward, and arriv'd at a good harbour, not far from the mouth of HUDSON's river, in 41 degrees odd minutes; and because they discovered this harbour on Whitsunday they gave it the name of Pentecost Harbour.

The Lords Southampton and Arundel send a ship to Virginia. Captain Weymouth's voyage.

Here they traded with the natives to great advantage, getting forty Beaver-skins for the value of five shillings in knives and other cutlers wares. Several of the Indians came on board and were entertained, and some of the English went on shore, and lay in the Indian houses all night; but always took that caution to keep some of the natives

CHAP.
VII.

Some of the Indians surprised and brought away by the English.

tives on board as hostages; and these people not using the like caution, when the English had finished their business they surprised three or four of the natives and detained them on board, resolving to carry them to England; of which their friends being apprized, used various stratagems to make reprisals by taking some of the English, but had no opportunity; for our adventurers never went on shore afterwards, but in a body and well armed, nor would they venture far into the country, having discovered an ambuscade of several hundred Indians that lay ready to intercept their retreat; whereupon our adventurers cry out mightily of the treacherous disposition of the Indians; whereas they themselves were much more guilty of treachery in surprising and running away with several of the natives. It was natural to expect the Indians would revenge this piece of violence if they could have met with an opportunity, either upon themselves or the next Europeans that visited their coast, and whenever they have upon the like provocations endeavoured to do themselves justice, our people never fail to exclaim against the treachery and barbarity of the Indians, who have much more reason to complain of the Europeans for their invasions and treachery than we have to exclaim against them for retaliating such injuries.

Captain Weymouth returns to England.

There happened nothing more worth mentioning in this voyage, but that our adventurers having made a very good market, set sail for England on Sunday the 16th of June, and made the islands of Scilly, near the land's end of England, on the 16th of July following.

The enterprising and mercantile part of the nation being by this time sufficiently apprized that a very advantageous commerce might be carried on with North-America, tho' they should not meet with gold and silver, as the Spaniards had done in that part of the world, and Sir WALTER RALEGH's patent being forfeited by his attainder in the first year of this reign, several gentlemen and merchants petitioned his majesty King JAMES I. for a patent to enable them to raise a joint stock, in order to settle colonies in Virginia, observing that this could never be done effectually but by a company or corporation.

King James's patent for planting Virginia.

Whereupon King JAMES, by his letters patents, dated the 10th of April, 1606, reciting, that Sir THOMAS GATES and Sir GEORGE SUMMERS, Knights; RICHARD HACLUIT Clerk, Prebendary of Westminster, EDWARD-MARIA WINGFIELD, THOMAS HANHAM, and RALEGH GILBERT, Esquires; WILLIAM PARKER and GEORGE POPHAM, Gentlemen, and divers others, his loving subjects, had petitioned him for leave to send colonies to Virginia, and such other parts of America, as either appertained to this crown, or which were not actually possessed by any other Christian Prince or people, and lying between 34 and 45 degrees of northern latitude, and within an hundred miles of the sea-coast; and for the speedy accomplishment of the said plantation, intended to divide themselves into two several companies, the one consisting of the adventurers of the city of London, who were desirous to fix themselves between the 34th and 41st degrees of north latitude; and the other, consisting of the adventurers of the cities of Bristol and Exeter, and the town of Plymouth, who were desirous to settle between 38 and 45 degrees on the coast of Virginia in America. His Majesty, in order to promote so noble a work, which might tend to the glory of God by propagating the Christian Religion among the Infidels and Sava-

VOL. III.

CHAP.
VII.

ges, and bring them to humanity and civility, did graciously accept their petition: And for himself, his heirs and successors, did grant and agree, that the said Sir THOMAS GATES, Sir GEORGE SUMMERS, RICHARD HACLUIT, and EDWARD-MARIA WINGFIELD, adventurers of the city of London, and all others that should associate with them, should be called the first colony, and might begin their first plantation at any place upon the said coast of Virginia or America, where they should think fit, between 34 and 41 degrees of latitude; and should have all the lands, woods, rivers, ports, fishings and hereditaments whatsoever to the same belonging or appertaining, from the first seat of their plantation for fifty miles either way along the coast north and south, and an hundred miles to the westward within land, with all the islands over-against the said coast, for the space of an hundred miles at sea, with all the lands, ports, rivers, harbours, fishings and mines thereto belonging or appertaining; and liberty to build, plant, and fertility thereon: And that no other subjects of this crown should be permitted to settle themselves on the lands to the westward of this colony without their leave. And his Majesty did grant to the aforesaid THOMAS HANHAM, RALEGH GILBERT, WILLIAM PARKER, and GEORGE POPHAM, of the cities of Bristol and Exeter, and town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, and all others that should associate with them, that they should be called the second colony, and might begin their first plantation upon the said coast of Virginia or America, where they should think fit, between 38 and 45 degrees of latitude, and enjoy all the lands, ports, rivers, fishings, and hereditaments thereto belonging, with the like extent of land and sea from the seat of their plantation, as was granted to the first colony.

And it was provided, that the respective colonies should not plant within the space of one hundred miles of each other.

That each company should have a council consisting of thirteen persons, in whom the government should be lodged; but limited by certain articles under the privy-seal.

They were impowered also to dig mines in and beyond their respective limits to the westward, paying the crown a fifth of all gold, and a fifteenth of all copper-ore they should get. They were also impowered to seize all ships that should trade within their respective limits, to coin money, raise forces for their defence, &c.

The London adventurers, or the first company, were no sooner authorized to send colonies to Virginia by this patent but they fitted out three vessels, (viz.) one of an hundred tons, another of forty, and a pinnace of twenty tons, in which were sent an hundred and ten land-men, with arms, ammunition, tools and implements for building, fortification and tillage, cloathing, toys, and other merchandize, to traffick with the Indians, and every thing proper for a colony: The command of this little Squadron being committed to Captain CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, an excellent seaman, and one who was used to West-India voyages; but the orders for the government of the colony, and the names of the members of the council, who were to have the administration of affairs when they arrived in Virginia, were sealed up, and directed not to be opened until they went on shore.

They set sail from London on the 20th of December, 1606, but the wind not being favourable, they made it the 5th of January before they

23 S

reached

Three ships sent out by the London adventurers.

CHAP.
VII.

reached the Downs, and were detained here and upon the coast of England several weeks more. After which they bent their course to the Canary Islands, where they took in fresh water, and then failed to the Caribbee Islands, where they arrived on the 23d of February. They set their men on shore on several of these islands, and remained amongst them a month and upwards, but chiefly on the island of Nevis, where their men lived upon the provisions they found in the island.

On the 3d of April they set sail from Nevis, and on the 29th of the same month discovered the land of Virginia, and the same day were so fortunate as to enter the bay of Chesapeake, between the two Capes; the southernmost of which they named Cape Henry, and the northernmost Cape Charles, in compliment to the two Princes, the King's sons; which Capes are about seven leagues (not nine leagues, as I said by mistake in describing their situation) asunder.

They could not possibly have found a better place for their purpose (tho' they were driven thither by a storm, and hit upon it by accident) there being more commodious rivers and harbours in this bay than in any part of North America; the want whereof, in a great measure, defeated Sir WALTER RALEIGH's attempts of settling colonies on this coast.

They land
at Cape
Henry, in
37 degrees
north lati-
tude.

A skirmish
with the
natives.

They landed first on the south side, near Cape Henry, which lies in 37 degrees north latitude, and found it a very fruitful and delightful country; which while some of the gentlemen were taking a view of with uncommon pleasure after the fatigue of a tedious and tempestuous voyage, they fell into an ambuscade of Indians, who shot a shower of arrows from the woods and desperately wounded two of the English; but upon the firing a volley of small shot they took to their heels and fled, giving notice by fires from place to place of the arrival of our adventurers.

Point
Comfort.
Possession
taken of
the coun-
try.

The water, upon founding the south side of the entrance of the bay, being found so shallow that their ships could not come near the shore, it was resolved to try the opposite coast, where they found the chanel close to the land to be eight or ten fathom deep. Whereupon they named that point of land Point Comfort, and brought their ships thither, having the day before erected a cross at Cape Henry, and formally taken possession of the country in the name of King James I.

The Eng-
lish enter-
tain'd by
the na-
tives.

At their landing on Cape Comfort, five of the natives appear'd at a distance, and seem'd very much afraid of the English, till Captain NEWPORT made signs of peace and friendship, when they laid down their bows and arrows, and came forwards with a great deal of courage, inviting the English to their town, which they pointed to, and call'd by the name of Keccughtan; and a party of our adventurers going thither with them were entertain'd very hospitably. They brought them also pipes and tobacco to smoke, and danced and sung after the manner of their country, to divert their new guests; of whom, however, they seem'd to have some apprehensions, for when the English first came to the town, they set up a lamentable howling, and laying their faces on the ground tore it up with their nails; which the English then look'd upon as some religious ceremony, but I am apt to think, by their howling and gestures, they rather express'd their fears that those foreigners would one day subdue their country, being acquainted with the execution they had done with their fire-arms in the first encounter they had with their countrymen on the other side the bay. The entertainment being ended, Captain

NEWPORT made the natives some presents of beads and other toys, and then return'd to his ship.

CHAP.
VII.

As to the colony, the first business they enter'd upon after they landed was to open their orders, where they found the following gentlemen appointed of the council (viz.) BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD, EDWARD WINGFIELD, CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, JOHN SMITH, JOHN RATCLIFFE, JOHN MARTIN, and GEORGE KENDALL, of whom WINGFIELD was chosen President, but they thought fit to leave Captain SMITH out of the council; for it seems the rest of the gentlemen were so set against him that they had confined him prisoner ever since their leaving England; which PURCHASE insinuates was occasioned by their envy at his superior talents, and because the company in England seem'd to rely more on his skill and experience than on any of the rest: And it appears, that the planters themselves were so convinced of his abilities afterwards, that they were obliged not only to admit him into their council, but in a manner to resign the administration into his hands, after they had by their perpetual jars and weak management almost ruined the company's affairs. To proceed.

On the 4th of May, Captain NEWPORT had an interview with one of their Weroances, or Kings, as the English call them, named PASPAHE, and the day following with RAPAHANNA, the Weroance or Chief of another tribe, who invited the English to his town, and treated them handsomely. The next three or four days they sailed up the river Powhatan, to which they gave the name of James river, in search of a proper place to settle the colony; and having pitched upon one between forty and fifty miles from the mouth of the river, they landed all the men there that were intended to be left in the country, and began to erect a slight fort, which they barricadoed with trees, and built some few huts, to which they gave the name of James town.

The place they chose was a peninsula, two thirds thereof being encompassed by the river Powhatan, and the other third by a small narrow river, capable however of receiving vessels of an hundred tons almost as far as the main river, and at spring tides it over-flows and runs into the river Powhatan, making the place a perfect island, containing about two thousand acres of firm land, besides, a great deal of marshy ground; which situation was looked upon as a great security against the attacks of the Indians.

The colo-
ny fix'd
at James
Town.

The very first night the English landed, the natives surrounded the island with their canoes; but finding our adventurers upon their guard and ready to receive them, they fled. On the 18th of May, the Weroance PASPAHE, in whose country they were settled, came to their quarters, attended by an hundred armed Indians; and observing the English stand to their arms, would have had them laid them down; but the colony apprehending he had some hostile intentions, refused, and one of his company stealing a hatchet, the person from whom he took it struck the savage, and took it from him; whereupon his countrymen were preparing to revenge the affront, and the English to defend their companion, when the Weroance suddenly rose up and departed in a great rage: However, he sent a buck to the fort as a present soon after, and pretended to be their friend, offering them as much of his country as they desired for a plantation; but I find the colony remained jealous of this Weroance, suspecting he only waited for an opportunity to surprise them.

CHAP.
VII.Captain
Newport
returns to
England.The colony
reduced to
great distress.Captain
Smith
goes in
search of
provisions.
Takes it
by force
from the
natives on
their refusal
to sell him any.A design
formed to
abandon
the fort.Smith taken
by the
King of
Powhatan.

On the 15th of June, 1607, their fort was finished, being of a triangular figure, with three bastions and four or five pieces of artillery mounted on each. And now they thought themselves strong enough to resist all the power of the natives. They planted also two pieces of ground on the peninsula with Indian corn to serve them the succeeding winter; and Captain NEWPORT, on the 22d of June, 1607, returned to England, leaving in the colony one hundred and four effective men, who soon began to find the want of the ships, from which they had hitherto purchased bread, flour, and strong liquors, and remained in pretty good health: But the fruits of the country being now the principal part of their food, and very little good liquor stirring, many of the colony fell sick of fluxes and fevers, and several died, among whom were Captain GOSNOLD, one of the council, and some other gentlemen of quality; and others were cut off by the natives in the woods, as they wandered in search of fruits or game, and the rest were in a manner shut up and besieged in their fort, where, with continual watching, bad diet, and want of good lodging, they were reduced to a very miserable condition, and by the month of September had buried fifty of the colony: The rest also had perished if the natives had continued their attacks; but it seems they were now become more pacifick, and consented to traffick with the English again, giving them venison, wild-fowl, corn, and other provisions for their merchandize. But every man endeavouring to under-sell his neighbour, and the Indians imagining they had been cheated and imposed upon therefore in their former bargains, broke off all commerce and intercourse with the colony again, and they were a second time reduced to a starving condition. Whereupon every one turned his eyes upon Captain SMITH as the only man that could extricate them out of these difficulties; and having deposed their president, they made choice of another, who committed the conduct of their affairs entirely to the Captain. This gentleman having made some addition to their fortifications, to secure the colony against the attacks of the Indians, and made their houses and lodgings more commodious, he took seven armed men with him in his boat, and went down the river in order to purchase corn of the more distant tribes of Indians, who refusing also to sell him any, he went to their houses and took their corn away by force. Whereupon three or fourscore of the savages assembled, and marching with their idol carried before them, charged the English with their bows and arrows. The Captain returned their compliment with a volley of his muskets, loaden with pistol shot. Whereupon they run away leaving their idol behind them; and this brought them to a capitulation, wherein they agreed, that upon restoring their God they would furnish them with as much corn as they wanted: And having loaded his boat, he returned in triumph to the fort, where he found the president and some others had formed a design to abandon the plantation, and return in the pinnace to England: But having now plenty of corn, and abundance of wild-fowl in the rivers, as the winter came on, these thoughts were laid aside for the present; and Captain SMITH proceeded on another expedition to make discoveries and bring in more corn for the colony, in which he had several successful encounters with the forces of the Weroance of Powhatan; but going on shore in a certain creek with only two of his men, he fell into an ambuscade of his enemies, the two men were killed, and himself falling into a bog was taken prisoner by APACONCANOUGH, POWHATON'S

general, and being brought before that Prince, CHAP. he ordered his brains to be beaten out with clubs, VII. an usual execution among the savages: However, his life was saved by the intercession of PACAHUNTA, POWHATON'S daughter, who was so enamoured with the Captain that she took him in her arms, and vowed she would die with him if he suffered, and at length prevailed upon her father not only to give him his life but his liberty, and furnish him with whatever he wanted; and the Captain returning to the fort was frequently visited by this lady, who revealed to him the stratagems of his enemies, and defeated the designs of the Indians against the fort, tho' 'tis said she was not more than fourteen or fifteen years of age when she transacted these affairs.

In the mean time the colony had laid another plot to abandon the plantation, which the Captain returned just time enough to prevent; but upon his arrival, POWHATON'S people bringing to the fort great plenty of corn, venison, wild-fowl, and all manner of provisions, all of them altered their minds, and determined to wait till they received fresh supplies from Europe: Nor was it long after Captain SMITH'S return to the fort before Captain NEWPORT came from England with supplies of men and provisions; but the Phoenix, commanded by Captain NELSON, which came in company with him till they made the land of Virginia, was driven back as far as the Caribbee Islands by stormy weather, and did not arrive at James Town till some time afterwards.

Captain NEWPORT had received directions from the company in England to endeavour to cultivate a friendship with the Indian Princes, and particularly with POWHATON, who is stiled Emperor by our adventurers, the rest paying him some kind of homage, tho' all of them seem to have been sovereigns in their respective territories.

To POWHATON, therefore, the company sent a crown of gilded copper, a bed, and chair of state, with robes and other ensigns of majesty, ordering the colony to see him solemnly crowned, upon condition that he would acknowledge the King of Great-Britain his sovereign, without resigning however any part of his dominions to him or his subjects, except what they should purchase of him or his vassals for a valuable consideration; which POWHATON agreeing to, Captain NEWPORT, and Captain SMITH marched with three or fourscore more of the colony to POWHATON'S capital, where they crowned and enthroned the Indian Monarch in the best manner their circumstances would admit of; and the other Princes, who attended his coronation, had presents made them, and promised also to acknowledge the King of Great-Britain their sovereign, several of them accepting of copper and other merchandize for such parts of their respective territories as they yielded to the English; but great complaints were made by some against Captain NEWPORT'S conduct in paying too great a submission towards POWHATON, and suffering him to take all manner of English merchandize at his own price, whereby the value of English goods was sunk; and would purchase nothing to any advantage: And POWHATON and his vassal Princes became exceeding insolent in their demands. The Captain is also censured for embezzling the provisions he brought for the use of the colony, and selling those very provisions the company sent them at extravagant prices, making a perfect tavern of his ship for three or four months he remained in the country, and eating up part of those stores with his

Powhatan
crowned.

seamen

CHAP.
VII.

seamen which were designed for the supply of the colony, whereby they were reduced to great straits as soon as he was gone, and must have perished if Captain SMITH had not taken some extraordinary measures for their preservation; for the colony relying on the late treaty of alliance concluded with the Indians, imagined they should be supplied with corn and flesh from the country by way of barter or truck for their goods, and had neglected to plant corn, or lay up any provisions against a time of need; from which they were chiefly diverted by an affair which they apprehended would make all their fortunes at once, namely, the gathering the gilded sand they found in a neighbouring rivulet, which they took to be gold, and were so confident of it that they loaded Captain NEWPORT'S ship home with it, tho' it proved to their great disappointment common dust. But they sent home also certain specimens of pitch, tar, glass, and soap-ashes, which had been made by some Poles and Germans the company hired to go to Virginia to promote these manufactures; and these might have turned to good account if the colony had not been diverted from proceeding in them by other pursuits.

The colony send home common sand for gold-dust. Pitch, tar, and glass made in Virginia. The English take corn by force from the natives.

Captain Smith makes further discoveries.

Defeats several Indian Princes.

In the mean time Captain SMITH observing to what low circumstances the colony was reduced again, and that the Indians refused to sell them provisions unless at extravagant prices, he made several incursions into their country, and compelled the natives to bring him in both corn and flesh at the former prices, representing to the council that the Indians were not to be dealt with in any other manner; they must either resolve to abandon the country or exert their authority, and shew the Indians they were in a condition to force provisions from them, if they refused. This he looked upon as the only way to preserve the colony from starving, and to plant the country to advantage: And the council not being able to find out any other expedients for their preservation, thought fit to concur in the Captain's measures. He afterwards proceeded to rebuild James Town, which had been destroyed by a fire while he and Captain NEWPORT were attending on POWHATON. He also caused a sufficient quantity of Indian corn to be planted, to serve them the following year: And the ship Phoenix arriving soon after with provisions from Europe, the colony was now in no want of any thing. Whereupon Captain SMITH left the council to take care of the fort, and went with a party upon further discoveries up the several bays and rivers; at which all the Indian nations were greatly alarmed, no longer doubting but that the design of the English was to make an entire conquest of their country, and therefore opposed him wherever they thought themselves strong enough, and laid ambuscades in the woods and bogs, to cut off his retreat; but he was so fortunate as to escape all their stratagems, defeated several bodies of Indians, and made PASPAHE and several more of their Chiefs prisoners. In these excursions he discovered the country of the Monacans, that of the Acomacks on the eastern side of the bay of Chesapeake; the nations of Wicomico and Patowmack, and even the Sasquehannah Indians at the head of the bay of Chesapeake; and so harassed the territories of the Emperor POWHATON that he and his vassal Princes were glad to make their submission, and to accept of such a peace as SMITH was pleased to grant them.

I shall not go about to justify this conduct of SMITH any further than it was necessary; but if we would lay the saddle upon the right horse, the original cause of these outrages must be ascribed either to the company in England, who made so little

provision for the colony that they had no way to subsist but by rapine, or upon some of those they employed, who took no care to plant corn, or lay in provisions at the proper seasons, whereby they were reduced to the wretched circumstances already mentioned: And the roguery of the Captains and Agents employed to carry over supplies to the colony was still another occasion of their distress; for it seems they frequently applied such stores to their own use, and what was worse, sold them to the colony at extravagant rates; and under all these wants and mismanagements it was no wonder there were divisions among them, which was another reason they had no better success, and were forced to plunder the country instead of planting it.

Captain SMITH observes, that two thirds of the adventurers came over with a view of finding every thing provided to their hands without any care or labour of their own, and were subsisted by the labours of the other industrious third, until he compelled them all to take share in the work, and then he soon planted ground enough to subsist the colony in plenty: And by moderate exercise and good food saw them not only restored to their healths, but in a very flourishing condition; and as there was now no longer any necessity of procuring food from the Indians by violence, they lived and trafficked very amicably together; and the Weroances suffered him to make several other settlements in their country. When their affairs were in this prosperous situation, there arrived six or seven ships from England, with between three and four hundred planters, and such ample supplies of ammunition and provision as would have enabled the colony to have made an entire conquest of Virginia, or at least to have procured what terms they saw fit of the Indians, if they had been under any command; but as things were managed, this supply only brought the affairs of the colony into confusion. For the company in England imagining that the divisions among the council in Virginia, in whom the government there was lodged, were the occasion of most of the mismanagements that had happened, procured a new patent from King JAMES, whereby they were empowered to appoint a Governor, with a more ample authority than they had by the preceding patent, and prevailed on the Lord DE LA WAR to accept of the government of their new colony, who thereupon made Sir THOMAS GATES, Sir GEORGE SUMMERS, and Captain NEWPORT his deputies until his arrival: And these gentlemen set sail from England with nine ships and five hundred men in the month of May, 1609. All the three deputy governors being embarked in one ship, were unfortunately cast away on the islands of Bermudas, being then uninhabited, but they and all the people escaped to the shore, where finding plenty of provisions they took possession of these islands for the crown of England; and from Sir GEORGE SUMMERS they have been ever since called the Summer-Islands.

Lord De la War appointed governor.

Sir George Summers and the two other deputies cast away on the islands of Bermudas.

In the mean time the rest of their fleet arrived safe in the bay of Chesapeake, with the re-inforcement abovementioned, where they found Captain SMITH president; but gave out they were not obliged to obey him, since there was another commission granted, which had superseded his, and they expected the arrival of the Deputy-governors every day.

Part of their fleet arrive in Virginia.

However Captain SMITH kept them in tolerable good order while he remained amongst them; and made some new settlements, particularly at Nansamund, and the falls of James River; but being unfortunately blown up with gun-powder, as he

was

CHAP.
VII.

was out upon discovery, he was so mangled and wounded that he was forced to return to England; after which there happened such divisions among the English again that every thing was neglected which tended either to their defence or subsistence; and they were reduced by the sword, sickness or famine, from five hundred to three or fourscore, when Sir THOMAS GATES and Sir GEORGE SUMMERS arrived from Bermudas to their relief; having built two vessels with such materials as they found upon that island, to transport them and their people to Virginia; where meeting with nothing but complaints from the colony, and seeing little likelihood of succeeding in the plantation, as they wanted provisions and all other necessaries, they agreed to return to England with the colony; and were actually sailing out of the bay when the Lord DE LA WAR arrived from England, and obliged them all to go back to James Town.

The Lord DE LA WAR, upon his arrival, reprimanded the planters for their divisions, idleness, and ill conduct, which had occasioned their misfortunes; advising them to reform, or he should be compelled to draw the sword of justice and cut off the delinquents: Declaring, however, he had much rather draw his sword in their defence and protection; and telling them, for their encouragement, that he had brought them such plenty of provisions that they would be in no danger of wanting for the future, if they were not wanting to themselves in providing such things as the country produced. Then he proceeded to constitute a council, consisting of Sir THOMAS GATES, his Lieutenant-General; Sir GEORGE SUMMERS, his Admiral; the honourable GEORGE PERCY, one of his Captains; Sir FERDINANDO WEINMAN, his Master of the Ordnance, and CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, his Vice-Admiral. These and the rest of his officers having taken the oaths to the government, and entered on their several employments, his next care was to furnish his people with flesh; for notwithstanding there were not less than five or six hundred hogs in the plantation when Captain SMITH went to England, there was not one left alive at this time: They had been either eaten by the colony, or killed by the Indians, who, to distress them, had also driven all the deer and other game out of the country; and the English were so ill provided with nets, that though there was plenty of fish in their rivers, they knew not how to take them.

The company had sent over a supply of cloathing, biscuit, flour, beer, and other liquors; but taking it for granted that they had hogs, venison, fowl and fish enough in the country, had made no provision of flesh. Whereupon Sir GEORGE SUMMERS, the Admiral, was dispatched to Bermudas to bring over live hogs from thence; for there Sir GEORGE found plenty of in that island when he was cast away there, though there were no people upon it. The Governor also set some to fishing within the bay, and others without, where there were shoals of Cod-fish; but their nets and tackle were so defective that they could not catch any; whereupon he endeavoured to settle a correspondence with POWHATON and other Indian Princes, that he might purchase flesh of them for other English goods; and in some of these negotiations he succeeded, particularly with the King of Patowmack, one of the most potent of the Indian Princes. But notwithstanding he represented to POWHATON that he had already promised to acknowledge the King of England for his sovereign, accepted of a crown and sceptre, and other

ensigns of royalty from him, with presents of great value; this Prince would give him no other answer, but that he expected the English should depart his country, or confine themselves within the limits of James Town Island, and not range through every part of the country, as they continued to do, only with a view of subduing it, as he apprehended; threatening to issue his orders to cut them off and destroy them, if ever they were found without the limits he prescribed them; and commanded the messengers his lordship sent to him not to see his face again unless they brought him a coach and six horses; for in these he had been informed by some Indians, who had been in England, their great Weroances were drawn in.

The Lord DE LA WAR finding he was to expect no friendship from POWHATON, determined he should fear him: Having taken an Indian prisoner, therefore, he cut off his right-hand, and sent him to his master POWHATON, letting him know that he would serve all his subjects in that manner, and burn all the corn in his country (which was ripe at this time) if he did not forbear all acts of hostility for the future; which had so good an effect that the colony lived in peace and plenty for some time, every day making fresh discoveries, and forming new alliances with some Indian Princes. And thus the company's affairs being happily established again by the conduct of the Lord DE LA WAR, Sir THOMAS GATES was sent to England to give an account of the state of the colony, the ships being freighted home with cedar, black walnut, and iron ore; which returns appeared so inconsiderable, that the company were in suspense whether they should not send for the Lord DE LA WAR and the colony home: However, they first desired Sir THOMAS GATES's opinion upon it; who told them, that these were not the only returns they were to expect; that if they would send over men who understood how to make pitch, and tar, and plant hemp and flax, they might furnish England with all manner of naval stores; and that it would be very easy also to set up a manufacture of silk, the country abounding in mulberry-trees as well as silk-grafs; that the soil was exceeding fruitful, producing corn, grafs, grapes, and other fruits in abundance; that European cattle and poultry multiplied prodigiously; and there was great plenty of venison, fish and fowl, which they could never want when they should be provided with boats, nets, and engines to take them: The company need then be at very little charge to support the colony. On the contrary, they would in a short time meet with returns answerable to their expectations. Whereupon the company resolved to proceed with alacrity to improve their Virginian plantation; in which resolution they were confirmed by the Lord DE LA WAR, who returned to England about this time (Anno 1610.) for the recovery of his health.

He acquainted the company, that he had no intention to abandon their service; but as soon as his health was restored he would return to his government again. In the mean time he had left Mr. GEORGE PERCY his Deputy-governor, a man of great honour and resolution, in whose conduct they might confide, till Sir THOMAS GATES should return thither: That Captain ARGOLL had settled a trade with several of the Indian Chiefs; and for the defence of the colony he had erected three forts more than he found there, viz. two near Point Comfort; and a third at the falls of James River, adjoining to which were large fields

CHAP.
VII.

Powhatan threatens the English.

Lord De la War brings him to terms.

Naval stores to be had in Virginia. And silk.

Lord De la War returns to England.

CHAP.
VII.

he had ordered to be planted with Indian vines, and roots; so that there was no danger of the colony's being in any distress for the future, if they were not wanting to themselves.

Dale carries over a supply.
On the 10th of May, 1611, Sir THOMAS DALE arrived at Virginia with three ships and supplies of men, cattle, and provisions, and immediately set his people to work to plant corn (which the colony had neglected, tho' it was late in the spring) and had a tolerable good crop.

Gates's
admini-
stration.

Sir THOMAS GATES arrived in August following with six ships, three hundred and fifty planters, and a proportionable supply of cattle, ammunition and provisions, taking the government upon him as Deputy to the Lord DE LA WAR, who still remained sick in England. This gentleman planted and fortified Henrico County, to the westward of James Town, and made lines, defended with palisades, to preserve their cattle from the Indians; for still King POWHATON refused the alliance of the English, and harassed and plundered their plantations which lay exposed. Whereupon Captain ARGOLL took an opportunity of surprising his celebrated daughter, the Princess PACAHUNTA, in the year 1612, and carried her to James Town, where she was treated however according to her quality, and the eminent services she had done the English: And still continuing her good offices, the King her father was, after two years, reconciled to the colony, and consented to her marrying Mr. JOHN ROLF, an English gentleman. And had more of our people inter-married with the Indians, I am inclined to think it would have been the most effectual way of establishing the colony in peace; for POWHATON is said to look upon this match as a sincere mark of the friendship of the English. But our adventurers appear'd unaccountably squeamish in this particular. They seemed to despise and abhor such alliances, which rendered the natives averse to us afterwards. Whereas, if the English had continued to inter-marry with them, they would in time have become one nation, and those massacres and other calamities that ensued had infallibly been avoided. The natives probably would have embraced the Christian religion voluntarily, as this Princess did. But to proceed.

A peace between the English and King Powhatan.
A peace being concluded with King POWHATON upon this marriage, in the year 1613, the English and his subjects lived in a good understanding, and trafficked together for some time: And the Chickahomny Indians, another tribe, by their example also concluded a peace with the colony which now appeared in a very flourishing condition: And in the year 1616, Sir THOMAS DALE leaving the administration of the government to Captain YARDLY, returned to England, carrying Mr. ROLF and the Princess his wife with him, where King JAMES's Queen and court paid her the same honours that were due to a European lady of the same quality, after they were informed by Captain SMITH what services she had done the English nation, and particularly how she had saved the Captain's life when his head was upon the block. But it seems before this Princess married Mr. ROLF, she had been given to understand, that Captain SMITH was dead; for he was the first man that she had set her affections upon, and I make no doubt he had promised to marry her when he was in her father's court; for when he came to wait upon her, on her arrival in England, she appeared surprised, turned away from him with the utmost scorn and resentment, and it was some hours before she would be prevailed with to speak to

The Prin-
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hunta
comes to
England.

him. She could not believe any man would have deceived her for whom she had done so much, and run so many hazards; and when she did vouchsafe to hear his excuses, she still reproached him with ingratitude. In all her behaviour, 'tis said, she behaved herself with great decency and suitable to her quality, and mighty expectations there were of the future services she would have done the English upon her return to her own country; but she was taken ill at Gravesend, as she was about to embark for Virginia, and died in that town a very devout Christian, 'tis said, leaving one only son, named THOMAS ROLF, whose posterity now flourish in Virginia, and enjoy lands descended to them as heirs of the Princess PACAHUNTA. But to return.

CHAP. VII.
Captain YARDLY, during his administration, first promoted the planting of tobacco, finding there began to be a great demand for it in Europe, which brought an immediate gain to the company; but 'tis said he did not so much regard the buildings and fortifications, and planting of corn, as he ought to have done. On the contrary, he entered into the greatest intimacy with the Indians, employed them in hunting and fishing for the colony, and they lived together very sociable in his time. Captain ARGOLL, who succeeded him, did not approve of this familiarity and confidence in the natives, but repaired the forts that were running to decay, and affected to render himself more formidable to the Indians than his predecessor. Both these gentlemen seem to have been but deputies to the Lord DE LA WAR; for in the year 1618, that nobleman embarked again for his government of Virginia with a reinforcement of two hundred men, and supplies for the colony; but meeting with contrary winds, which rendered the passage more tedious than usual, the ship's company became sickly, and his Lordship died in the voyage, with thirty or forty planters more that embarked with him. Whereupon Mr. ARGOLL was continued some time longer in the government, which he spent in making discoveries on the coast of New-England and New-Scotland, or Acadia; and finding the French had made some settlements there he expelled them from thence, the crown of England claiming those countries as parts of Virginia. This year (1618) also died the famous POWHATON, being succeeded in his empire by his brother ITOPATIN; but he being a weak Prince, OPPACONCANOUGH, King of Chickahomny, afterwards usurp'd the empire, reducing several more of the neighbouring Weroances under his dominion; however, both OPPACONCANOUGH and ITOPATIN renewed the peace with the English on the death of POWHATON.

Argoll governor.
Governor ARGOLL, being recalled from Virginia soon after his expedition to the northward, left the administration in the hands of Captain POWEL, to whom Captain YARDLY succeeded, having been knighted by King JAMES. He carried over with him a reinforcement of twelve hundred men, and proportionable supplies of cattle and provisions. I presume the company were by this time sensible of the advantage of planting tobacco; and as Sir GEORGE YARDLY first put them upon it, thought him the properest person to encourage that plantation.

Sir GEORGE, upon his arrival, applied himself to render the government as like that of England as possible. He increased the number of the council, intending they should supply the place of a house of lords, and summoned an assembly of burgesses from every settlement in the country.

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CHAP. VII. country. The first assembly or parliament set at James Town in Virginia, in May, 1620, and then composed but one house, though they afterwards separated, and sat as the parliament do in England in two houses; and Mr. BEVERLEY insinuates that the views of the upper and lower house have been different ever since.

Negroes first imported. Negroes were first brought over to Virginia this year in a Dutch ship; and proving extremely serviceable in planting tobacco, more were imported annually from Guinea: And now Sir GEORGE proceeded to parcel out the lands, allotting to the company a certain proportion in several districts for the support of the government; other portions were allotted for the use of a college and schools intended to be erected. Glebes were assigned in every parish for the support of the ministers, and the planters had their respective shares allotted them; whereupon, 'tis said, they became exceeding industrious, and began to vie with each other in planting, building, and other improvements; and encouragements were offered to all such as should come and settle in Virginia, and increase the colony. Whereupon fresh supplies of men and cattle continually arrived, and new settlements were daily made in all parts of the country. Salt-works were set up at Cape Charles, on the eastern shore, and an iron-work at Falling-Creek in James River, where they found the iron-ore good, and had near brought that work to perfection. At this time, says my

The colony flourishes. author, (Mr. BEVERLEY) the same of the riches and plenty in which the English lived at Virginia was exceeding great, and ascribes their happiness in a great measure to the prudent conduct of Sir GEORGE YARDLY, but condemns him however for neglecting the fortifications; and indeed if he took upon him to parcel out the lands of the Indians among the English without their leave, and gave them no valuable consideration for them, it could not be expected the natives should long remain their friends; however, during this government, I meet with no complaint or misunderstanding on either side, which makes me of opinion these allotments were made with the consent of the Indians; and if the succeeding governor had behaved himself in the like friendly manner towards the natives, possibly none of those heart-burnings or massacres which followed had ever happened.

Wyat's government. Sir GEORGE YARDLY's government of three years expiring in the year 1621, he was succeeded by Sir FRANCIS WYAT, a young gentleman, who arrived in James town in the month of October, with twelve hundred planters; and the same year fifty men more were carried thither by Captain NEWPORT, whom he planted in a part of the country to which he gave his own name. But there was, it seems, such quantities of tobacco exported from Virginia at this time, that orders were sent from England, that no planters should be permitted to send over more than an hundred weight of tobacco in one year. They were advised to apply themselves to the making of pot-ash and other manufactures; to plant more corn, and improve their stocks of cattle instead of running too much upon tobacco.

Courts of justice instituted. In the year 1622, according to Colonel BEVERLEY, inferior courts were first instituted by the general assembly under the name of country courts, for the trial of civil and criminal causes, reserving an appeal to the Governor and Council, which remained still the supreme court of judicature. The Colonel proceeds to give us an account

CHAP. VII. of the massacre, which happened the same year, wherein he observes, that the great increase of the planters, and the long quiet the English had enjoyed among the Indians since the marriage of the Princess PACAHUNTA with Mr. ROLF, had lulled all men into a fatal security. The English became every where familiar with the Indians, eating, drinking, and sleeping amongst them; by which means they were perfectly acquainted with all our English strength and the use of our arms, knowing at all times when and where to find our people, whether at home or in the woods, in bodies or dispersed, in condition of defence or indefensible. This exposing of their weakness gave them occasion to think more contemptibly of the English than otherwise perhaps they would have done; for which reason they became more hardy to attempt any thing against them.

Thus, upon the loss of one of their leading men (a War-captain as they call him) who was supposed to be justly put to death, however their King OPPACONCANOUGH appeared enraged, and in revenge laid the plot of a general massacre of the English, to be executed on the 22d of March, 1622, a little before noon, at a time when our men were all at work abroad in their plantations, dispersed and unarmed. This conspiracy was to have taken effect upon all the several settlements at one and the same instant, except on the eastern shore, whither this plot did not reach. The Indians had been made so familiar with the English as to borrow their boats and canoes to cross the river when they went to consult with their neighbouring Indians upon this execrable conspiracy; and to colour their design the better, they brought presents of deer, turkeys, fish, and fruits to the English the evening before. The very morning of the massacre they came freely and unarmed among them, eating with them, and behaving themselves with the same freedom and friendship as formerly, till the very minute they were to put their plot in execution; then they fell to work all at once, every where surprising and knocking the English on the head, some with their hatchets, which they call tomamahawks, others with the hoes and axes of the English themselves, shooting at those who escaped the reach of their hands; sparing neither age nor sex, but destroying man, woman, and child, according to their cruel way of leaving none behind to resent the outrage. But whatever was not done by surprise that day was left undone, and many that made early resistance escaped.

By the account taken of the Christians murdered that morning, they were found to be three hundred and forty-seven, most of them falling by their own instruments and working-tools.

The massacre had been much more general had not this plot been providentially discovered to the English some hours before the execution. It happened thus:

Two Indians, that used to be employed by the English to hunt for them, happened to lie together the night before the massacre in an Englishman's house where one of them was employed. The Indian that was the guest fell to persuading the other to rise and kill his master, telling him that he would do the same by his own the next day: Whereupon he discovered the whole plot that was designed to be executed on the morrow. But the other, instead of entering into the plot and murdering his master, got up (under pretence of going to execute his comrade's advice) went into his

Oppaconcanough's plot to massacre the English.

Three hundred and forty-seven murdered.

The conspiracy discovered by an Indian.

CHAP.
VII.

his master's chamber, and revealed to him the whole story that he had been told. The master hereupon arose, secured his own house, and before day got to James Town, which together with such plantations as could receive notice time enough, were saved by this means; the rest also who happened to be watchful in their defence escaped. Captain CROSHAW in his vessel at Patowmack had notice given him by a young Indian, by which means he came off untouched.

The occasion of this massacre.

The occasion of OFFACONCANOUGH's furious resentment was this: The War-captain mentioned before to have been killed was called NEMATTANOW. He was an active Indian, a great warrior, and in much esteem amongst them; inasmuch, that they believed him to be invulnerable and immortal, because he had been in many conflicts and escaped untouched from them all. He was also a very cunning fellow, and took great pride in preferring and increasing this their superstition concerning him; affecting every thing that was odd and prodigious to work upon their admiration; for which purpose, he would often dress himself up with feathers after a fantastick manner, and by much use of that ornament obtained among the English the nick-name of Jack of the Feather.

Nemattanow's character.

This NEMATTANOW coming to a private settlement of one MORGAN, who had several toys, he had a mind to persuade him to go to Pamunky to dispose of them. He gave him hopes what mighty bargains he might meet with there, and kindly offered him his assistance. At last MORGAN yielded to his persuasion, but was no more heard of; and it is believed that NEMATTANOW killed him by the way, and took away his treasure; for within a few days this NEMATTANOW returned to the same house with MORGAN's cap upon his head, where he found two sturdy boys, who asked for their master, and would have had him before a justice of peace, but he refused to go, and very insolently abused them; whereupon they shot him down, and as they were carrying him to the Governor he died.

As he was dying he earnestly pressed the boys to promise him two things; 1st, that they would not tell how he was killed; and 2dly, that they would bury him among the English. So great was the pride of this vain infidel, that he had no other views but the being esteemed after his death (as he had endeavoured to be while he was alive) invulnerable and immortal; though his increasing faintness sufficiently convinced him of the falsity of both. He imagined, that being buried among the English perhaps might conceal his death from his own nation, who might think him translated to some happier country. Thus he pleased himself to the last gasp with the boys promises to carry on the delusion. The killing this Indian champion was all the provocation given to that haughty and revengeful man OFFACONCANOUGH to act this bloody tragedy, and to take such indefatigable pains to engage in such horrid villany all the Kings and nations bordering upon the English settlement on the western shore of Chesapeake.

This massacre (adds Mr. BEVERLEY) gave the English a fair pretence of endeavouring the total extirpation of the Indians, but more especially of OFFACONCANOUGH and his nation: Accordingly they set themselves about it, making use of the Roman maxim (faith is not to be kept with hereticks) to obtain their ends; for after some months fruitless pursuit of them who could but too dextrously hide themselves in the woods,

the English feigned a desire of peace, giving them all manner of fair words and promises of oblivion, designing thereby (as their own letters now on record, and their own actions thereupon prove) to draw the Indians home, and entice them to plant their corn near their habitations adjoining to those of the English; and then to cut it up when the summer should be too far spent, and so to leave them no hopes of another crop that year; by which means they proposed to bring them to want necessities and starve. And the English did accordingly bring the Indians to plant their corn at their usual habitations, whereby they gained an opportunity of repaying them some part of the debt in their own coin; for they fell suddenly upon them, cut to pieces such of them as could not make their escape, and afterwards totally destroyed their corn.

CHAP.
VII.

The English act a treacherous part.

And mis-
sacre the
Indians in
their turn.

Another effect of the massacre of the English was the reducing all the settlements again to six or seven in number for their better defence. Besides, it was such a disheartening to some good projects then just advancing, that to this day, they have never been put in execution; namely, the glass-houses in James Town, and the iron-work at Falling-Creek, which has been already mentioned. The massacre fell so hard upon this last place, that none escaped but a boy and a girl, who with great difficulty hid themselves.

The glass-manufacture and iron-work ruined.

The superintendent of this iron-work had also discovered a vein of lead-ore, which he kept private, and made use of to furnish all the neighbours with bullets and shot: But he being cut off with the rest, and the secret not having been communicated, this lead-mine could never after be found, till Colonel BRID some years ago prevailed with an Indian, under pretence of hunting, to give him a sign, by dropping his Tommahawk at the place (he not daring publicly to discover it for fear of being murdered.) The sign was accordingly given, and the company at that time found several pieces of good lead-ore upon the surface of the ground, and marked the trees thereabouts; notwithstanding which, I know not by what witchcraft it happens, but no mortal to this day could ever find that place again, tho' it be upon part of the Colonel's own possessions; and so it rests till time and thicker settlements discover it.

A lead-mine discovered.

Thus the company of adventurers having, by frequent acts of mismanagement, met with vast losses and misfortunes, many grew sick of it, and parted with their shares, and others came into their places, and promoted the sending in fresh recruits of men and goods; but the chief design of all parties concerned was to fetch away merchandize from thence, aiming more at sudden gain than to form any regular colony, or establish a settlement in such a manner as to make it a lasting happiness to the country.

Several gentlemen went over upon their particular stocks, separate from that of the company, with their own servants and goods, each designing to obtain land from the government as Captain NEWPORT had done, or at least to obtain patents according to the regulation for granting lands to adventurers; others sought their grants of the company in London, and obtained authorities and jurisdictions, as well as land, distinct from the authority of the government; which was the foundation of great disorder, and the occasion of their following misfortunes. Among others, one Captain MARTIN having made very considerable preparations towards a settlement, obtained

Grants to particular persons independent of the company.

Occasions confusion.

CHAP.
VII.

Another
massacre.

The com-
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solved.
The
crown ap-
points a
Governor,
&c.

tained a suitable grant of land, and was made one of the council there; but he grasping still at more, and aiming at dominion as well as boundless possessions, caused so many differences, that at last he put all things into distraction; and the Indians still seeking revenge, took advantage of the dissensions, and fell foul again on the English, gratifying their vengeance with new blood-shed.

The fatal consequences of the company's misadministration cried so loud, that King CHARLES I. coming to the crown of England, expressed a tender concern for the poor people that had been betrayed thither and lost; upon which consideration he dissolved the company in the year 1626, reducing the country and government under his own immediate direction, appointing the Governor and Council himself, and ordering all patents and process to issue in his own name, reserving to himself a quit-rent of two shillings for every hundred acres of land, and so pro rata.

The country being thus taken into the King's hands, his Majesty was pleased to re-establish the constitution by a Governor, Council, and Assembly, and to confirm the former methods and jurisdictions of the several courts, as they had been appointed in the year 1620, and placed the last resort in the assembly. He likewise confirmed the rules and orders made by the first assembly for apportioning the land and granting patents to particular adventurers.

This was a constitution according to their hearts desire, and things seemed now to go on in a happy course for encouragement of the colony: People flocked over thither apace, every one took up land by patent to his liking, and, not minding any thing but to be masters of great tracts of land, they planted themselves separately on their several plantations; nor did they fear the Indians, but kept them at a greater distance than formerly; and they, for their parts, seeing the English so sensibly increase in number, were glad to keep their distance and be peaceable.

This liberty of taking up land, and the ambition each man had of being lord of a vast, tho' unimproved territory, together with the advantage of the many rivers which afford a commodious road for shipping at every man's door, has made the country fall into such an unhappy settlement and course of trade, that to this day they have not any one place of cohabitation among them that may reasonably bear the name of a town.

The constitution being thus firmly established, and continuing its course regularly for some time, people began to lay aside all fears of any future misfortune. Several gentlemen of condition went over with their whole family, some for bettering their estates, others for religion, and other reasons best known to themselves; among these the noble CECILIUS CALVERT, Lord Baltimore, a Roman-catholic, thought, for the more quiet exercise of his religion, to retire with his family into that new world; for this purpose, he went to Virginia, to try how he liked the place; but the people there looked upon him with an evil eye, on account of his religion, for which alone he sought this retreat, and by their ill treatment discouraged him from settling in that country.

Upon that provocation his Lordship resolved upon a farther adventure, and finding land enough up the bay of Chesapeake, which was likewise blessed with many brave rivers, and as yet altogether uninhabited by the English, he began to think of making a new plantation of his own; and for his

more certain direction in obtaining a grant of it, he undertook a journey northward, to discover the land up the bay, and observe what might most conveniently square with his intent.

His lordship finding all things in this discovery according to his wish returned to England; and because the Virginia settlements at that time reached no farther than the south side of Patowmack river, his Lordship got a grant of the propriety of Maryland, bounding it to the south by Patowmack river, on the western shore, and by a line from Point Look-out on the eastern shore; but died himself before he could embark for the promised land.

Maryland had the honour to receive its name from Queen MARY, royal consort of King CHARLES I.

The old Lord Baltimore being thus taken off, and leaving his designs unfinished, his son and heir, in the year 1633, obtained a grant or patent, and went over in person to plant this new colony.

By this unhappy accident a country which nature had so well contrived for one became two separate governments. This produced a most unhappy inconvenience to both; for these two being the only countries under the dominion of England that plant tobacco in any quantity, the ill consequence to both is, that when one colony goes about to prohibit the traff or mend the staple of that commodity, to help the market, then the other, to take the advantage of that market, pours into England all they can make, both good and bad, without distinction. This is very injurious to the other colony, which had voluntarily suffered so great a diminution in the quantity, to mend the quality; and this is notoriously manifested from that incomparable Virginia law appointing sworn agents to examine their tobacco.

Neither was this all the mischief that happened to Virginia upon this grant, for the example of it had dreadful consequences, and was in the end one of the occasions of another massacre of the Indians; for this precedent of my Lord Baltimore's grant which intrenched upon the charters and bounds of Virginia, was hint enough for other courtiers (who never intended a settlement as my Lord did) to find out something of the like kind to make money of. This was the occasion of several very large defalcations from Virginia, within a few years afterwards, which were forwarded and assisted by the contrivance of the Governor Sir JOHN HARVEY; inasmuch, that not only the land itself, quit-rents and all, but the authorities and jurisdictions that belonged to the colony, were given away; nay, sometimes in those grants he included the very settlements that had been before made.

As this gentleman was irregular in this, so he was very unjust and arbitrary in his other methods of government: He exacted with rigour the fines and penalties which the unwary assemblies of those times had given chiefly to himself, and was so haughty and furious to the council and the best gentlemen of the country, that his tyranny grew at last insupportable; so that in the year 1639, the council sent him prisoner to London, and with him two of their number to maintain the articles against him. This news being brought to King CHARLES I. his Majesty was very much displeased, and without hearing any thing caused him to return Governor again; but by the next shipping he was graciously pleased to change him; and so made amends for this man's male administration, by sending the good and just Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY to succeed him.

CHAP.
VIII.

Lord Baltimore obtains a grant of Maryland.

Lord Baltimore obtains a grant of Maryland.

Other parts of Virginia separated from it.

CHAP.
VII.

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A third
massacre.

While these things were transacting there was so general a dissatisfaction, occasioned by the oppressions of Sir JOHN HARVEY, and the difficulties in getting him out, that the whole colony was in confusion. The subtle Indians, who took all advantages, resented the incroachments upon them by his grants: They saw the English uneasy and disunited among themselves, and by the direction of OPPACONCANOUGH their King, laid the groundwork of another massacre, wherein by surprize they cut off near five hundred Christians more. But this execution did not take so general effect as formerly, because the Indians were not so frequently suffered to come among the inner habitations of the English; and therefore the massacre fell severest on the south-side of James river, and on the heads of the other rivers, but chiefly of York river, where this OPPACONCANOUGH kept the seat of his government.

OPPACONCANOUGH was a man of large stature, noble presence, and extraordinary parts; tho' he had no advantage of literature (that being no where to be found among the American Indians;) yet he was perfectly skilled in the art of governing his rude countrymen. He caused all the Indians, far and near, to dread his name, and had them all entirely in subjection.

This King, in SMITH's history, is called brother to POWHATON, but by the Indians he was not so esteemed: For they say he was a Prince of a foreign nation, and came to them a great way from the south-west. And by their accounts we suppose him to have come from the Spanish-Indians, somewhere near Mexico, or the mines of St. Barbe. But be that matter how it will, from that time till his captivity, there never was the least truce between the Indians and the English.

Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY, upon his arrival shewed such an opposition to the unjust grants made by Sir JOHN HARVEY, that very few of them took effect, and such as did were subjected to the settled conditions of the other parts of the government, and made liable to the payment of the full quit-rents. He encouraged the country in several essays of pot-ash, soap, salt, flax, hemp, silk, and cotton. But the Indian war ensuing upon this last massacre, was a great obstruction to these good designs, by requiring all the spare men to be employed in defence of the country.

OPPACONCANOUGH, by his great age and the fatigues of war (in which Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY followed him close) was now grown so decrepid that he was not able to walk alone, but was carried about by his men wherever he had a mind to move. His flesh was all macerated, his sinews slackened, and his eye-lids became so heavy that he could not see, but as they were lifted up by his servants. In this low condition he was when Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY hearing that he was at some distance from his usual habitation, resolved at all adventures to seize his person, which he happily effected; for with a party of horse he made a speedy march, surprized him in his quarters, and brought him prisoner to James Town; where by the Governor's command he was treated with all the respect and tenderness imaginable. Sir WILLIAM had a mind to send him to England, hoping to get reputation by presenting his Majesty with a royal captive, who at his pleasure could call into the field ten times more Indians than Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY had English in his whole government. Besides, he thought this ancient Prince would be an instance of the healthiness and long life of the natives in that country. However,

Oppacon-
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he could not preserve his life above a fortnight; for one of the soldiers resenting the calamities the colony had suffered by this Prince's means, basely shot him through the back after he was made prisoner, of which wound he died.

CHAP.
VII.

Killed.

He continued brave to the last moment of his life, and shewed not the least dejection at his captivity. He heard one day a great noise of the treading of people about him, upon which he caused his eye-lids to be lifted up, and finding that a croud of people were let in to see him, he called in high indignation for the Governor, who being come, OPPACONCANOUGH scornfully told him, that had it been his fortune to take Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY prisoner, he should not meanly have exposed him as a shew to the people.

After this Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY made a new peace with the Indians, which continued for a long time unviolated, insomuch that all thoughts of future injuries from them were laid aside; but he himself did not long enjoy the benefit of this profound peace, for the unhappy troubles of King CHARLES the first increasing in England, proved a great disturbance to him and all his people. They, to prevent the infection from reaching that country, made severe laws against the Puritans, tho' there were as yet none among them. But all correspondence with England was interrupted, the supplies lessened, and trade obstructed. In a word, all people were impatient to know what would be the event of so much confusion.

A peace
with the
Indians.

The grand
rebellion
in Eng-
land.

At last the King was traiterously beheaded in England, and OLIVER installed Protector. However, his authority was not acknowledged in Virginia for several years after, till they were forced to it by the last necessity. For in the year 1651, by CROMWELL's command, Captain DENNIS, with a squadron of men of war, arrived there from the Caribbe-Islands, where they had been subduing Barbadoes. The country at first held out vigorously against him; and Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY, by the assistance of such Dutch vessels as were then there, made a brave resistance. But at last DENNIS contrived a stratagem which betrayed the country. He had got a considerable parcel of goods aboard which belonged to two of the council, and found a method of informing them of it. By this means they were reduced to the dilemma either of submitting or losing their goods. This occasioned factions among them, so that at last, after the surrender of all the other English plantations, Sir WILLIAM was forced to yield to the Usurper on the terms of a general pardon. However, it ought to be remembered to his praise, and to the immortal honour of that colony, that it was the last of all the King's dominions that submitted to the usurpation, and afterwards the first cast it off; and Sir WILLIAM never took any post or office under the Usurper.

Virginia
the last of
the King's
dominions
that sub-
mitted to
the Usur-
per.

OLIVER had no sooner subdued the plantations but he began to contrive how to keep them under, that so they might never be able for the time to come to give him further trouble. To this end he thought it necessary to break off their correspondence with all other nations, thereby to prevent their being furnished with arms, ammunition, and other warlike provisions. According to this design he contrived a severe act of parliament, whereby he prohibited the plantations from receiving or exporting any European commodities but what should be carried to them by Englishmen, and in English-built ships. They were absolutely forbid corresponding with any nation or colony not subject to the crown of England; nei-

The ordi-
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ther

CHAP. VII. ther was any alien suffered to manage a trade or factory; in all which things the plantations had been till then indulged for their encouragement.

Notwithstanding this act of navigation, the Protector never thought the plantations enough secured, but frequently changed the Governors to prevent their intriguing with the people; so that during the time of the usurpation they had no less than three Governors there, namely, DIGGS, BENNET, and MATTHEWS.

The strange arbitrary curbs he put upon the plantations exceedingly afflicted the people. He had the inhumanity to forbid them all manner of trade and correspondence with other nations at a time when England itself was in distraction, and could neither take off their commodities, nor supply them sufficiently with its own. Neither had they been ever used to supply them with half the commodities they expended, or to take off above half the tobacco they made. Such violent proceedings made the people desperate, and inspired them with a desire to use the last remedy to relieve themselves from the lawless usurpation. In a short time afterwards a fair opportunity happened; for Governor MATTHEWS died, and no person was substituted to succeed him in the government. Whereupon the people applied themselves to Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY, (who had continued at this time upon his own plantation in a private capacity) and unanimously re-chose him their Governor.

The Virginians first throw off the usurper's yoke.

Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY had all along retained an unshaken loyalty for the Royal Family, and therefore generously told the people, that he could not approve of the Protector's rule, and was resolved never to serve any body but the lawful heir to the crown; and that if he accepted the government it should be upon their solemn promise, after his example, to venture their lives and fortunes for the King, who was then in France.

This was no great obstacle to them, and therefore with an unanimous voice they told him, that they were ready to hazard all for the King. Now this was actually before the King's return to England, and proceeded from a brave principle of loyalty, for which they had no example. Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY embraced their choice, and forthwith proclaimed CHARLES the second, King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, and Virginia, and caused all process to be issued in his name. Thus his Majesty was actually King in Virginia, before he was so in England. But it pleased God to restore him soon after to the throne of his ancestors; and so that country escaped being chastised for throwing off the usurpation.

Upon the King's restoration he sent Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY a new commission with leave to return to England, and a power to appoint a deputy in his absence; for his majesty in his exile had received intelligence of this gentleman's loyalty, and during that time had renewed his commission.

Upon this Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY appointed Colonel FRANCIS MORRISON Deputy-Governor, and went for England to wait on his Majesty, by whom he was kindly received. At his return he carried his Majesty's pressing instructions for encouraging the people in husbandry and manufactures, but more especially to promote silk and vineyards. There is a tradition that the King, in complement to that colony, wore at his coronation a robe made of the silk that was sent from thence. But this was all the reward the country had for their loyalty; for the parliament was pleased to renew the act contrived by the Usurper for discouraging

the plantations, with severer restraints and prohibitions by bonds, securities, &c.

During the time of Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY's absence, Colonel MORRISON had, according to his directions, revised the laws, and compiled them into one body, ready to be confirmed by the assembly at his return. By these laws the church of England was confirmed in the established religion, the charge of the government sustained, trade and manufactures were encouraged, a town projected, and all the Indian affairs settled.

The parishes were likewise regulated, competent allowances were made to the ministers to the value of about fourscore pounds a year, besides glebes and perquisites; and the method of their preferment was settled. Convenient churches and glebes were provided, and all necessary parish officers instituted. Some steps were made also towards a free-school and college, and the poor were effectually provided for.

For support of the government, the duty of two shillings per hoghead on all tobacco's, and that of one shilling per ton port-duty on shipping, were made perpetual; and the collectors were obliged to account for the same to the general assembly.

For encouragement of manufactures, prizes were appointed for the makers of the best pieces of linen cloth, and a reward of fifty lb. of tobacco was given for each lb. of silk. All persons were enjoined to plant mulberry-trees for the food of the silk-worm, according to the number of acres of land they held. Tan-houses were set up in each county at the county charge, and publick encouragement was given to a salt-work on the eastern shore. A reward was appointed in proportion to the tonnage of all sea vessels built there, and an exemption allowed from all fees and duties payable by such shipping.

The King had commanded that all ships trading to Virginia should go to James Town, and there enter before they broke bulk; but the assembly, from the impracticableness of that command, excused all except the James River ships from that order, and left the others, in the rivers they were bound to, to ride dispersed as the commanders pleased; by whose example the James River ships were no sooner entered with the officer in James Town, but they all dispersed themselves to unload and trade all over the river. By this means the design of towns was totally baulked, and this order proved only an ease to the officer of James River, and a means of creating a good place to him.

Peace and commerce with the Indians was settled by a law, and their boundaries prescribed. Several other acts were made suiting the necessity of the government, so that nothing then seemed to remain but the improvement of the country and encouragement of those manufactures the King had been pleased to recommend, together with such others as should be beneficial.

Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY, at his return gave a sanction to this body of laws, and being then again in full possession of his government, and at perfect peace with the Indians, set all hands industriously to work in making country improvements. He passed a new act for encouragement in James Town, whereby several houses were built therein at the charge of several counties. However, the main ingredient for the advancement of towns was still wanting, namely, the confinement of all shipping and trade to them only; by defect of which all the other expedients availed nothing; for most of the buildings were soon converted into houses of entertainment.

CHAP. VII.

Several beneficial laws confirmed after the restoration.

In July A. 1674 the assembly passed an act for the encouragement of manufactures.

Silk and linen manufactures encouraged.

Leather.

Ship-building.

The limits between the English and the Indians settled.

July 1677

The only way to promote the building of towns.

July 1677

CHAP.
VII.Laws a-
gainst the
sectaries.

Anno 1663, divers sectaries in religion beginning to spread themselves there, great restraints were laid upon them under severe penalties to prevent their increase.

This made many of them fly to other colonies, and prevented abundance of others from going over to seat themselves among them. And as the former ill treatment of my Lord Baltimore kept many people away, and drove others to Maryland, so the present severities towards the Nonconformists kept off many more who went to the neighbouring colonies.

A plot of
the Re-
publicans
against the
govern-
ment.

The rigorous circumspection of their trade, the prosecution of the sectaries, and the little demand of tobacco, had like to have had very fatal consequences: For the poor people becoming thereby very uneasy, their murmurings were watched and fed by several mutinous and rebellious Oliverian soldiers that were sent thither as servants. These depending upon the discontented people of all sorts, formed a villainous plot to destroy their masters and afterwards to set up for themselves.

This plot was brought so near to perfection that it was the very night before the designed execution e'er it was discovered; and then it came out by the relenting of one of their accomplices, whose name was BIRKENHEAD. This man was servant to Mr. SMITH of Purton in Gloucester County, near which place, (viz.) Poplar-Spring, the miscreants were to meet the night following, and put in execution their horrid conspiracy.

Discovered.

Upon this discovery by BIRKENHEAD, notice was immediately sent to the Governor at Green-Spring; and the method he took to prevent it was by private orders that some of the militia should meet before the time at the place where the conspirators were to rendezvous, and seize them as they came singly up to it; which orders being happily executed their devilish plot was defeated. However, there were but a few taken, because several of them making their escape turned back such of their fellows as they met on the road, and prevented most of them from coming up or being discovered.

Four of these rogues were hanged, but BIRKENHEAD was gratified with his freedom and a reward of two hundred pounds sterling.

For the discovery and happy disappointment of this plot an anniversary thanksgiving was appointed on the 13th of September, the day it was to be put in execution: And it is great pity some other days are not commemorated as well as that.

The news of this plot being transmitted to King CHARLES the second, his Majesty sent his royal commands to build a fort at James Town, for the security of the Governor, and to be a curb upon all such traitorous attempts for the future; but the country thinking the danger over, only raised a battery of some small pieces of cannon.

The plan-
tations to
receive
their mer-
chandise
and provi-
sions only
from Eng-
land.

Another misfortune happened to the plantations this year, which was a new act of parliament in England, laying a severer restraint upon their supplies than formerly. By this act they could have no foreign goods which were not first landed in England, and carried directly from thence to the plantations; the former restraint of importing them only by Englishmen in English built shipping not being thought sufficient.

This was a misfortune which cut with a double edge; for 1st, it reduced their staple tobacco to a very low price; and 2dly, it raised the value of European goods to what the merchants pleased to put upon them.

For this their assembly could think of no remedy but to be even with the merchants, and

The Vir-
ginians
prohibit
the plant-
ing tobac-
co.

make their tobacco scarce by prohibiting the planting of it for one year; and during that idle year to invite the people to enter upon manufacturing flax and hemp. But Maryland not concurring in this project, they were obliged in their own defence to repeal the act of assembly again, and return to their old drudgery of planting tobacco without profiting by it.

The country thus missed of their remedy in the stint of tobacco, which on the contrary multiplied exceedingly by the great increase of servants. This, together with the abovementioned curbs on trade, exasperated the people, because now they found themselves under a necessity of exchanging their commodities with the merchants of England on their own terms. The assembly therefore again attempted the stint of tobacco, and passed another act against planting it for one year; and Carolina and Maryland both agreed to it. But some accident hindering the agent of Carolina from giving notice thereof to Maryland by the day appointed, the Governor of that province proclaimed the act void, altho' every body there knew that Carolina had fully agreed to all things required of them. But he took advantage of this nice punctilio because of the loss such a diminution would have been to his annual income; and so all people relaps'd again into the disease of planting tobacco.

Virginia was more nettled at this ill usage from Maryland than at her former absolute denial; but was forced to take all patiently, and by fair means get relief if she could. They therefore appointed agents to re-assume the treaty, and submitted so low as to send them to St. Marys, then the residence of the Governor of Maryland, and the place where the assemblies met. Yet all this condescension could not hold them to their bargain. The Governor said, he had observed his part of the agreement, and would not call an assembly any more upon that subject.

In this manner two whole years were spent, and nothing could be accomplished for their relief. In the mean while England was studious to prevent their receiving supplies from any other country. To do that more effectually, it was thought expedient to confine the trade of that colony to one place. But that being not found practicable because of the many great rivers that divide their habitations, and the extraordinary conveniencies of each, his Majesty sent directions to build forts in the several rivers, and enjoined all the ships to ride under those forts: And farther ordered, that those places should only be the ports of trade.

This instruction was punctually observed for a year, and preparations were made for forts by casting up breast-works in such places as the assembly appointed, and the shipping did for that time ride at those places. But the great fire and plague happening in London immediately upon it made their supplies that year very uncertain; and the terror the people were in lest the plague should be brought over with the ships from London, prevented them from residing at those ports, for fear of being all swept away at once; and so every body was left at liberty again.

Still no favour could be obtained for the tobacco trade, and the English merchants afforded but a bare support of cloathing for their crops. The assembly was full enough of resentment, but overlooked their right way of redress. All they could do was to cause looms and workhouses to be set up in the several counties at the county charge. They renewed the rewards of silk, and put

CHAP.
VII.Fort ordered on
several ri-
vers for
ships to
ride un-
der. Which
took place
for one
year only.

CHAP.
VII.

put great penalties upon every neglect of making flax and hemp. About this time they sustained some damage by the Dutch war, for which reason they ordered the forts to be re-built with brick. But having yet no true notion of the advantage of towns they did not oblige the ships to ride under them; which thing alone, well executed, would have answered all their desires.

Further
discoveries
attempt-
ed.

Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY, who was always contriving and industrious for the good of the country, was not contented to set a useful example at home by the essays he made of pot-ash, flax, hemp, silk, &c. but was also resolved to make new discoveries abroad amongst the Indians.

The Apa-
lathian
moun-
tains.

For this end he employed a small company of about fourteen English and as many Indians, under the command of Captain HENRY BATT, to go upon such an adventure. They set out together from Appamattox, and in seven days march reached the foot of the mountains. The mountains they first arrived at were not extraordinary high or steep, but after they had passed the first ridge they encountered others that seemed to reach the clouds, and were so perpendicular and full of precipices, that sometimes in a whole day's march they could not travel three miles in a direct line. In other places they found large level plains and fine savanna's three or four miles wide, in which were an infinite quantity of turkeys, deer, elks, and buffaloes, so gentle and undisturbed that they had no fear at the appearance of the men, but would suffer them to come almost within reach of their hands. There they also found grapes so prodigiously large that they seemed more like bullace than grapes. When they traversed these mountains they came to a fine level country again, and discovered a rivulet that descended backwards. Down that stream they travelled several days till they came to old fields and cabbins where the Indians had lately been, but were supposed to have fled at the approach of BATT and his company. However, the Captain followed the old rule of leaving some toys in their cabbins for them to find at their return, by which they might know they were friends. Near to these cabbins were great marshes, where the Indians which Captain BATT had with him made a halt, and would positively proceed no farther. They said, that not far from that place lived a nation of Indians that made salt and sold it to their neighbours; that this was a great and powerful people which never suffered any strangers to return that had once discovered their towns. Captain BATT used all the arguments he could to get them forward, but in vain; and so to please those timorous Indians the hopes of this discovery were frustrated, and the detachment was forced to return. In this journey it is supposed that BATT never crossed the great ridge of mountains, and kept up under it to the southward; but of late years the Indian traders have discovered on this side the mountains, about five hundred miles to the southward, a river they called Oukfulky, full of broad sunken grounds and marshes, but falling into the bay or great gulph between Cape Florida and the mouth of the Mississippi; which I suppose to be the river where BATT saw the Indian cabbins and marshes, but is gone to from Virginia without ever piercing the high mountains, and only encountering the point of an elbow, which they make a little to the southward of Virginia.

Discove-
ries as far
as the
gulph of
Mexico.

Upon Captain BATT's report to Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY he resolved to make a journey himself, that so there might be no hindrance for want of sufficient authority, as had been in the aforesaid expedi-

tion. To this end he concerted matters for it, and had pitched upon his Deputy-Governor. The assembly also made an act to encourage it. But all these preparations came to nothing by the confusion that happened there soon after by BACON's rebellion: And since that, there has never been any such discovery attempted from Virginia, unless when Governor SPOTSWOOD found a passage over the great ridge of mountains and went over them himself.

Bacon's
rebellion.

The occasion of this rebellion is not easy to be discovered; but 'tis certain there were many things that concurred towards it; for it cannot be imagined that upon the instigation of two or three traders only, who aimed at a monopoly of the Indian trade, as some pretend to say, the whole country would have fallen into so much distraction, in which people did not only hazard their necks by rebellion, but endeavoured to ruin a Governor whom they all entirely loved, and had unanimously chosen; a gentleman who had devoted his whole life and estate to the service of the country, and against whom, in thirty-five years experience, there had never been one single complaint. Neither can it be supposed that upon so slight grounds they would make choice of a leader they hardly knew, to oppose a gentleman that had been so long and so deservedly the darling of the people. So that in all probability there was something else in the wind, without which the body of the country had never been engaged in that insurrection.

Four things may be reckoned to have been the main ingredients towards this intestine commotion (viz.) First, The extreme low price of tobacco, and the ill usage of the planters in the exchange of goods for it, which the country, with all their earnest endeavours, could not remedy. Secondly, The splitting the colony into properties, contrary to the original charters, and the extravagant taxes they were forced to undergo to relieve themselves from those grants. Thirdly, The heavy restraints and burdens laid upon their trade by act of parliament in England. Fourthly, The disturbance given by the Indians; of all which in their order.

The grie-
vances
which oc-
casioned

First, Of the low price of tobacco, and the disappointment of all sort of remedy, I have spoken sufficiently before.

Secondly, Of splitting the country into properties.

King CHARLES the Second, to gratify some nobles about him, made two great grants out of that country. These grants were not of the uncultivated wood-land only, but also of plantations, which for many years had been seated and improved under the encouragement of several charters granted by his royal ancestors to that colony. Those grants were distinguished by the names of the northern and southern grants of Virginia, and the same men were concerned in both. They were kept dormant some years after they were made, and in the year 1674 begun to be put in execution. As soon as ever the country came to know this, they remonstrated against them, and the assembly drew up an humble address to his Majesty, complaining of the said grants as derogatory to the previous charters and privileges granted to that colony by his Majesty and his royal progenitors. They sent to England Mr. Secretary LUDWELL and Colonel PARK as their Agents, to address the King to vacate these grants: And the better to defray that charge, they laid a tax of fifty pounds of tobacco per poll for two years together, over and above all other taxes, which

CHAP.
VII.

was an excessive burden. They likewise laid amercements of seventy, fifty, or thirty pounds of tobacco, as the cause was, on every law case tried throughout the country. Besides all this, they applied the ballance remaining due upon account of the two shillings per hoghead and fort duties to this use; which taxes and amercements fell heaviest on the poor people, the effect of whose labour would not cloath their wives and children. This made them desperately uneasy, especially when after a whole years patience under all these pressures they had no encouragement from their Agents in England to hope for remedy, nor any certainty when they should be eased of those heavy impositions.

Thirdly. Upon the back of all these misfortunes came out the act of 25 Car. II. for better securing the plantation trade. By this act several duties were laid on the trade from one plantation to another. This was a new hardship, and the rather because the revenue arising by this act was not applied to the use of the plantation wherein it was raised, but given clear away; nay, in that country it seemed to be of no other use but to burden the trade, or create a good income to the officers; for the collector had half, the comptroller a quarter, and the remaining quarter was subdivided into salaries till it was lost.

By the same act also very great duties were laid on the fisheries of the plantations, if manufactured by the English inhabitants there, while the people of England were absolutely free from all customs: Nay, tho' the oil, blubber, and whalebone, which were made by the inhabitants of the plantations, were carried to England by English and in English-built ships, yet it was held to a considerable duty more than the inhabitants of England paid.

These were the afflictions that country laboured under when the fourth accident happened, viz. the disturbance offered by the Indians to the frontiers.

This was occasioned: First, by the Indians on the head of the bay. Secondly, by the Indians on their own frontiers.

First. The Indians at the head of the bay drove a constant trade with the Dutch in Monadas, now called New York; and to carry on this they used to come every year by the frontiers of Virginia to hunt and purchase skins and furs of the Indians to the southward. This trade was carried on peaceably while the Dutch held Monadas, and the Indians used to call on the English in Virginia on their return, to whom they would sell part of their Furs, and with the rest go on to Monadas. But after the English came to possess that place, and understood the advantages the Virginians made by the trade of their Indians, they inspired them with such a hatred to the inhabitants of Virginia, that instead of coming peaceably to trade with them, as they had done for several years before, they afterwards never came but only to commit robberies and murders among them.

Secondly. The Indians upon their own frontiers were likewise inspired with ill thoughts of them; for their Indian Merchants had lost a considerable branch of their trade they knew not how, and apprehended the consequences of Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY's intended discoveries (espoused by the assembly) might take away the remaining part of their profit. This made them very troublesome to the neighbouring Indians, who, on their part, observing an unusual uneasiness in the English, and being terrified by their rough usage, immediately suspected some wicked design

against their lives, and so fled to their remoter habitations. This confirmed the English in their belief that they had been the murderers, till at last they provoked them to be so in earnest.

This addition of mischief to minds already full of discontent, made people ready to vent all their resentment against the poor Indians. There was nothing to be got by tobacco, neither could they turn any other manufacture to advantage; so that most of the poorer sort were willing to quit their unprofitable employments and go volunteers against the Indians.

At first they flocked tumultuously, running in troops from one plantation to another without a head, till at last the seditious humour of Colonel NATHANIEL BACON led him to be of the party. This gentleman had been brought up at one of the Inns of court in England, and had a moderate fortune. He was young, bold, active, of an inviting aspect, and powerful elocution. In a word, he was every way qualified to head a giddy and unthinking multitude. Before he had been three years in the country he was, for his extraordinary qualifications, made one of the council, and in great honour and esteem among the people. For this reason he no sooner gave countenance to this riotous mob, but they all presently fixed their eyes upon him for their General, and accordingly made their addresses to him. As soon as he found this, he harangued them publicly: He aggravated the Indian mischiefs, complaining that they were occasioned for want of a due regulation of their trade: He recounted particularly the other grievances and pressures they lay under, and pretended that he accepted of the command with no other intention but to do them and the country service, in which he was willing to encounter the greatest difficulties and dangers. He farther assured them he would never lay down his arms till he had revenged their sufferings upon the Indians, and redressed all their other grievances.

By these insinuations he wrought his men into so perfect an unanimity that they were one and all at his devotion. He took care to exasperate them to the utmost, by representing all their misfortunes. After he had begun to muster them he dispatched a messenger to the Governor, to whom he aggravated the mischiefs done by the Indians, and desired a commission of General to go out against them. This gentleman was in so great esteem at that time with the council, that the Governor did not think fit to give him a flat refusal; but sent him word he would consult the council and return him a farther answer.

In the mean time BACON was expeditious in his preparations, and having all things in readiness began his march, depending on the authority the people had given him. He would not lose so much time as to stay for his commission, but dispatched several messengers to the Governor to hasten it.

On the other hand, the Governor, instead of a commission, sent positive orders to him to disperse his men and come in person to him on pain of being declared a rebel.

This unexpected order was a great surprize to BACON, and not a little trouble to his men; however, he was resolved to prosecute his first intentions, depending upon his strength and interest with the people; nevertheless he intended to wait upon the Governor, but not altogether defenseless. Pursuant to this resolution he took about forty of his men down with him in a sloop to James town, where the Governor was with his council.

Matters

CHAP.
VII.

CHAP.
VII.

Matters did not succeed there to Mr. BACON's satisfaction; wherefore he expressed himself a little too freely, for which being suspended from the council, he went away in a huff with his sloop and followers. The Governor filled a long boat with men, and pursued the sloop so close, that Colonel BACON removed into his boat to make more haste. But the Governor had sent up by land to the ships at Sandy Point where he was stopped and sent down again. Upon his return he was kindly received by the Governor, who knowing he had gone a step beyond his instructions in having suspended him, was glad to admit him again of the council; after which he hoped all things might be pacified.

Notwithstanding, Colonel BACON still insisted upon a commission to be General of the volunteers, and to go out against the Indians, from which the Governor endeavoured to dissuade him but to no purpose; because he had some secret project in view. He had the luck to be countenanced in his importunities by the news of fresh murders and robberies committed by the Indians. However, not being able to accomplish his ends by fair means, he stole privately out of town, and having put himself at the head of six hundred volunteers, marched directly to James town, where the assembly was then sitting. He presented himself before the assembly, and drew up his men in battalia before the house wherein they sat. He urged to them his preparations, and alledged, that if the commission had not been delayed so long, the war against the Indians might have been finished.

The Governor relenting this insolent usage worst of all, and now absolutely refused to grant him any thing, offering his naked breast against the arms of his followers. But the assembly fearing the fatal consequence of provoking a discontented multitude ready armed, who had the Governor, council, and assembly entirely in their power, addressed the Governor to grant BACON his request. They prepared themselves the commission, constituting him General of the forces of Virginia, and brought it to the Governor to be signed.

The Governor compelled to sign BACON's commission of General.

With much reluctance the Governor signed it, and thereby put the power of war and peace into BACON's hands. Upon this he marched away immediately, having gained his end, which was in effect a power to secure a monopoly of the Indian trade to himself and his friends.

But proclaims him a rebel afterwards.

As soon as General BACON had marched to such a convenient distance from James town, that the assembly thought they might deliberate with safety, the Governor, by their advice, issued a proclamation of rebellion against him, commanding his followers to surrender him and forthwith disperse themselves, giving orders at the same time for raising the militia of the country against him.

The people being much exasperated, and General BACON by his address and eloquence having gained an absolute dominion over their hearts, they unanimously resolved, that not a hair of his head should be touched, much less to surrender him as a rebel. Therefore they kept to their arms, and instead of proceeding against the Indians they marched back to James town, directing their fury against such of their friends and countrymen as should dare to oppose them.

The Governor forced to fly from James Town which the rebels burnt.

The Governor seeing this fled over the bay to Accomack, whither he hoped the infection of BACON's conspiracy had not reached: But there, instead of that people's receiving him with open arms in remembrance of the former services he had done them, they began to make terms with him

for redress of their grievances, and for the ease and liberty of trade against the acts of parliament abovementioned. Thus Sir WILLIAM, who had been almost the idol of the people, was, by reason of their calamity and jealousy, abandoned by all except some few who went over to him from the western shore in sloops and boats, among which Major ROBERT BEVERLY was the most active and successful commander; so that it was some time before he could make head against BACON; but left him to range through the country at discretion.

General BACON at first held a convention of such of the chief gentlemen of the country as would come to him, especially of those about Middle Plantation, who were near at hand. At this convention they made a declaration to justify his unlawful proceedings, and obliged people to take an oath of obedience to him as their General. Then by their advice, on pretence of the Governor's abdication, he called an assembly by writs signed by himself and four others of the council.

CHAP.
VII.

Bacon takes an oath of his followers and summons an assembly.

By this time the Governor had got together a small party to side with him. These he furnished with sloops, arms and ammunition, under command of Major ROBERT BEVERLY, in order to cross the bay and oppose the malecontents. By this means there happened some skirmishes, in which several were killed and others taken prisoners. Thus they were going on by a civil war to destroy one another, and lay waste their infant country, when it pleased God, after some months confusion, to put an end to their misfortunes as well as to BACON's designs by his natural death.

He died at Dr. GREEN's in Gloucester county, but where he was buried was never yet discovered; tho' afterwards there was great enquiry made with design to expose his bones to publick infamy.

Bacon dies, which puts an end to the rebellion.

In the mean while those disorders occasioned a general neglect of husbandry, and a great destruction of the stocks of cattle; so that people had a dreadful prospect of want and famine. But the malecontents being thus disunited by the loss of their General, in whom they all confided, they began to squabble among themselves, and every man's business was how to make the best terms he could for himself.

Lieutenant General INGRAM (whose true name was JOHNSON) and Major General WALKLATE surrendered on condition of pardon for themselves and their followers; tho' they were both forced to submit to an incapacity of bearing office in that country for the future.

Peace being thus restored, Sir WILLIAM BECKLEY returned to his former seat of government and every man to his several habitation.

While this intestine war was fomenting there, the Agents of the country in England could not succeed in their remonstrance against the propriety grants, tho' they were told that those grants should be revoked; but the news of their civil war reaching England about the same time, the King would then proceed no farther in that matter; so the Agents thought it their best way to compound with the proprietors. Accordingly, they agreed with them for four hundred pounds a man, which was paid, and so all the clamour against those grants ended, neither was any more heard of them until above a dozen years afterwards.

But all those Agents could obtain after their composition with the Lords was merely the name of a new charter, granting only so much of their former constitution as mentioned a residence of the

CHAP.
VII.A regi-
ment ar-
rives in
Virginia
from Eng-
land.

the Governor and Deputy, a granting of escheat lands for two pounds of tobacco per acre composition; and that the lands should be held of the crown in the same tenure as East-Greenwich, that is free and in common socage, and have their immediate dependance on the crown.

When this storm, occasioned by BACON, was blown over, and all things quiet again, Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY called an assembly for settling affairs in the country, and for making reparation to such as had been oppressed. After which a regiment of soldiers arrived from England, which were sent to suppress the insurrection; but they coming after the business was over, had no occasion to exercise their courage. However, they were kept on foot there about three years after, and in the Lord COLEPEPPER's time paid off and disbanded.

The confusion occasioned by the civil war, and the advantage the Indians made of it in butchering the English upon all their frontiers, caused such a desolation and put the country so far back that to the year 1704 they had seated very little beyond the boundaries that were then inhabited. At that time James Town was burnt down to the ground by RICHARD LAURENCE, one of BACON's Captains, who, when his own men, that abhorred such barbarity, refused to obey his command, he himself became the executioner and fired the houses with his own hands.

This unhappy town did never after arrive to the splendour it then had; and now it is almost deserted, by removing, in Governor NICHOLSON's time, the assembly and general court from thence to Williamsburgh, an inland place about seven miles from it.

With the regiment above-mentioned arrived commissioners, to enquire into the occasion and authors of this rebellion; and Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY came to England, where from the time of his arrival his sickness obliged him to keep his chamber till he died; so that he had no opportunity of kissing the King's hand. But his Majesty declared himself well satisfied with his conduct in Virginia, and was very kind to him during his sickness, often enquiring after his health, and commanding him not to hazard it by too early an endeavour to come to court.

Upon Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY's voyage to England, HERBERT JEFFREYS, Esq; was appointed Governor. He made formal articles of peace with the Indians, and held an assembly at Middle Plantation, wherein they settled and allowed a free trade with the Indians, but restrained it to certain marts to which the Indians should bring their commodities; and this also to be under such certain rules as were by that assembly directed. But this method was not agreeable to the Indians, who had never before been under any regulation. They thought that if all former usages were not restored the peace was not perfect; and therefore did not so much rely upon it, which made those new restrictions useless.

Governor JEFFREYS's time was very short there; he being taken off by death the year following.

Chicheley
Governor.

After him Sir HENRY CHICHELEY was made Deputy-governor in the latter end of the year 1678. In his time the assembly, for the greater terror of the Indians, built magazines at the heads of the four great rivers, and furnished them with arms, ammunition, and men in constant service.

This assembly also prohibited the importation of tobacco, which Carolina and sometimes Mary-

land were wont to send thither in order for its being shipped off for England. But in that I think Virginia mistook her interest; for had they permitted this custom to become habitual, and thus ingrossed the shipping, as would soon have happened, they could easily have regulated the trade of tobacco at any time, without the concurrence of those other colonies, and without submitting to their perverse humours as formerly.

The spring following, THOMAS LORD COLEPEPPER arrived there Governor, and carried with him some laws which had been drawn up in England to be enacted in their assembly: And coming with the advantage of restoring peace to a troubled nation, it was not difficult for him to obtain whatever he pleased from the people. His influence too was the greater by the power he had of pardoning those who had a hand in the disorders committed in the late rebellion.

In his first assembly he passed several acts very obliging to the country, (viz.) First, an act of naturalization, whereby the power of naturalizing foreigners was placed in the Governor. Secondly, an act for cohabitation and encouragement to trade and manufactures, whereby a certain place in each country was appointed for a town, in which all goods imported and exported were to be landed and shipped off, bought and sold; which act was kindly brought to nothing by the opposition of the tobacco merchants of England. Thirdly, an act of general pardon and oblivion, whereby all the transgressions and outrages committed in the time of the late rebellion were entirely remitted, and reparation allowed to people that should be evil spoken of on that account.

By passing some laws that obliged the country, the Lord COLEPEPPER carried on that which was very pleasing to himself, (viz.) the act for raising a publick revenue for the better support of the government. By this he got the duties contained therein to be made perpetual, and that the money which before used to be accounted for to the assembly, should from thenceforth be disposed of by his Majesty's sole direction, for the support of the government. When this was done, he obtained of the King, out of the said duties, a salary of two thousand pounds per annum, instead of one thousand which was formerly allowed. Also one hundred and sixty pounds per annum for house-rent, besides all the usual perquisites.

In those submissive times his Lordship reduced the greatest perquisite of his place to a certainty, which before that was only gratuitous; that is, instead of the masters of ships making presents of liquors or provisions towards the Governor's house-keeping, as they were wont to do, he demanded a certain sum of money, remitting that custom. This rate has ever since been demanded of all commanders as a duty, and is twenty shillings for each ship or vessel under an hundred tons, and thirty shillings for each ship upwards of that burden, to be paid every voyage or port-clearing.

This noble Lord seemed to lament the unhappy state of the country in relation to their coin. He was tenderly concerned that all their cash should be drained away by the neighbouring colonies, which had set so low an estimate upon it as Virginia; and therefore he proposed the raising of it.

This was what the country had formerly desired, and the assembly was about making a law for it; but his Lordship stopp'd them, alledging it was the King's prerogative, by virtue of which he

CHAP.
VII.The Vir-
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Coin.

CHAP. VII. he would do it by proclamation. This they did not approve of, well knowing if that were the case, his Lordship and every other Governor would at any time have the same prerogative of altering it, and so people should never be at any certainty, as they quickly after found from his own practice; for his drift was only to make advantage of paying the soldiers. Money for that purpose

being put into his Lordship's hands, he provided light pieces of eight, which he with this view had bought at a cheap rate. When this contrivance was ripe for execution he extended the royal prerogative, and issued forth a proclamation for raising the value of pieces of eight from five to six shillings, and as soon as they were admitted current at that value, he produced an order for paying and disbanding the soldiers. Then those poor fellows, and such as had maintained them, were forced to take their pay in those light pieces of eight at six shillings. But his Lordship soon after himself found the inconvenience of that proclamation, for people began to pay their duties and their ship-money in coin of that high estimate; which was like to cut short his Lordship's perquisites, and so he was forced to make use of the same prerogative to reduce the money again to its former standard.

An artifice of the Governor to defraud the people
Which affects their salaries.

In less than a year the Lord COLEPEPPER returned to England, leaving Sir HENRY CHICHELEY Deputy-governor.

The country being then settled again, made too much tobacco, or too much traff tobacco for the market; and the merchants would hardly allow the planter any thing for it.

This occasioned much uneasiness again, and the people from former experience despairing of succeeding in any agreement with the neighbouring governments, resolved a total destruction of the tobacco in that country, especially of the sweet-scented; because that was planted no where else. In pursuance of which design they contrived that all the plants should be destroyed while they were yet in the beds, and after it was too late to sow more.

Accordingly the ring-leaders in this project began with their own first, and then went to cut up the plants of such of their neighbours as were not willing to do it themselves. However, they had not resolution enough to go through with their work.

The Virginians destroy their tobacco.

This was judged sedition and felony. Several people were committed upon it, and some condemned to be hanged: And afterwards the assembly passed a law to make such proceedings felony for the future (whatever it was before) provided the company kept together after warning by a Justice.

After this accident of plant-cutting, the Lord COLEPEPPER returned and held his second assembly, in which he contrived to gain another great advantage over the country. His Lordship, in his first voyage thither, perceiving how easily he could twist and manage the people, conceived new hopes of retrieving the propriety of the Northern-neck, as being so small a part of the colony. He conceived that while the remainder escaped free, which was far the greater part, they would not engage in the interest of the lesser number, especially considering the discouragements they had met with before in their former solicitation; though all this while, and many years afterwards, his Lordship did not pretend to lay publick claim to any part of the propriety.

It did not square with this project that appeals

should be made to the general-assembly, as till then had been the custom. He feared the burgeses would be too much in the interest of their countrymen, and adjudge the inhabitants of the Northern-Neck to have an equal liberty and privilege in their estates with the rest of Virginia, as being settled upon the same foot. In order therefore to make a better pennyworth of those poor people, he studied to overturn this odious method of appealing to the assembly, and to fix the last resort in another court.

CHAP. VII.

To bring this point about, his Lordship contrived to blow up a difference in the assembly between the council and the burgeses, privately encouraged the burgeses to insist upon the privilege of determining all appeals by themselves exclusive of the council; because they having given their opinions before in the general-court, were for that reason unfit judges in appeals from themselves to the assembly. This succeeded according to his wish, and the burgeses bit at the bait under the notion of privilege, never dreaming of the snake that lay in the grass, nor considering the danger of altering an old constitution so abruptly. Thus my Lord gained his end, for he represented that quarrel with so many aggravations, that he got an instruction from the King to take away all appeals from the general-court to the assembly and cause them to be made to him in council, if the thing in demand was of three hundred pounds value, otherwise no appeal from the general-court.

Lord Colepepper promotes divisions among the Virginians.

Deprives the assembly of the privilege of hearing appeals.

Of this his Lordship made sufficient advantage; for in the confusion that happened in the end of King JAMES the second's reign, viz. in October, 1688, he having got an assignment from the other patentees, gained a favourable report from the King's council at law upon his patent for the Northern-Neck.

When he had succeeded in this, his Lordship's next step was to engage some noted inhabitant of the place to be on his side. Accordingly he made use of his cousin, Secretary SPENCER, who lived in the same Neck, and was esteemed as wife and great a man as any of the council. This gentleman did but little in his Lordship's service, and only gained some few strays that used to be claim'd by the Coroner in behalf of the King.

Upon the death of Mr. Secretary SPENCER, he engaged another noted gentleman, an old stander in that country, though not of the Northern-Neck, Colonel PHILLIP LUDWELL, who was then in England. He went over with this grant in the year 1690, and set up an office in the Neck, claiming some escheats; but he likewise could make nothing of it. After him Colonel GEORGE BRENT and Colonel WILLIAM FITZ-HUGH, that were noted lawyers and inhabitants of the said Neck, were employed in that affair, but succeeded no better than their predecessors. The people in the mean while complained frequently to their assemblies, who at last made another address to the King, but there being no agent in England to prosecute it, that likewise miscarried. At last Colonel RICHARD LEE, one of the council, a man of note, an inhabitant of the Northern-Neck, privately made a composition with the proprietor for his own land. This broke the ice, and several were induced to follow so great an example; so that by degrees they were generally brought to pay their quit-rents into the hands of the proprietor's agents. And at last it was managed for them by Colonel ROBERT CARTER, another of the council, and the greatest freeholder in that propriety.

Lord Colepepper gains the propriety of the Northern Neck by artifice.

CHAP.
VII.Shortens
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To return to my Lord COLEPEPPER's government. I cannot omit an useful thing which his Lordship was pleas'd to do with relation to their courts of justice. It seems nicety of pleading, with all the juggle of Westminster-hall was creeping into their courts. The clerks began in some cases to enter the reasons with the judgments, pretending to fet precedents of inviolable form to be observed in all future proceedings. This my Lord found fault with, and retrench'd all dilatory pleas as prejudicial to justice, keeping the courts close to the merits of the cause, in order to bring it to a speedy determination, according to the innocence of former times, and caus'd the judgments to be entered up short, without the reason, alledging, that their courts were not of so great experience as to be able to make precedents to posterity, who ought to be left at liberty to determine according to the equity of the controversy before them.

In his time also were dismantled the forts built by Sir HENRY CHICHELEY at the heads of the rivers, and the forces there were disbanded, as being too great a charge. The assembly appointed small parties of light horse in their stead, to range by turns upon the frontiers; these being chosen out of the neighbouring inhabitants might afford to serve at easier rates, and yet do the business more effectually. They were rais'd under the title or name of Rangers.

After this the Lord COLEPEPPER return'd again for England, his second stay not being much longer than the first; and Sir HENRY CHICHELEY being dead, he proclaimed his kinsman Mr. Secretary SPENCER, President, though he was not the eldest member in the council.

The next year, being 1684, upon the Lord COLEPEPPER's refusing to return to Virginia, FRANCIS Lord HOWARD of Effingham was sent over Governor. In order to increase his perquisites, he impos'd the charge of an annual under seal of twenty shillings each for school-masters, five pounds for lawyers at the general-court, and fifty shillings each lawyer at the county-courts. He also extorted an excessive fee for putting the seal to all probates and wills and letters of administration, even where the estates of the deceased were of the meanest value. Neither could any be favour'd with such administration or probate without paying that extortion. If any body presumed to remonstrate against it, his Lordship's behaviour towards that man was very severe. He kept several persons in prison and under confinement from court to court, without bringing them to trial; which proceedings and many others were so oppressive, that complaints were made thereof to the King, and Colonel PHILLIP LUDWELL was appointed agent to appear against him in England; whereupon the seal-money was taken off.

During the first session of assembly in this noble Lord's time, the duty on liquors imported from the other English plantations was first impos'd. It was then laid on pretence of lessening the levy by the poll for payment of publick taxes, but more especially for re-building the State-house, which had not been re-built since LAURENCE burnt it in BACON's time.

This duty was at first laid on wine and rum only at the rate of three-pence per gallon, with an exemption of all such as should be imported in the ships of Virginia owners; but the like duty has since been laid on other liquors also, and is rais'd to

four-pence per gallon on wine and rum, and one penny per gallon on beer, cyder, lime-juice, &c. and the privilege of Virginia owners taken away, to the great discouragement of their shipping and home trade.

This Lord, though he pretended to no great skill in legal proceedings, yet he made great innovations in their courts, pretending to follow the English forms. Thus he created a new court of chancery distinct from the general-court, which had ever before claim'd that jurisdiction. He erected himself into a Lord-chancellor, taking the gentlemen of the council to sit with him as mere associates and advisers, not having any vote in the causes before them. And that it might have more the air of a new court, he would not so much as sit in the state-house where all the other publick business was dispatch'd, but took the dining-room of a large house for that use. He likewise made arbitrary tables of fees peculiar to this high court. However, his Lordship not beginning this project very long before he left the country, all these innovations came to an end upon his removal, and the jurisdiction return'd to the general-court again in the time of Colonel NATHANIEL BACON, whom he left President.

During that gentleman's presidency, which began in 1689, the project of a college was first agreed upon. The contrivers drew up their scheme and presented it to the President and Council. This was by them approved and referred to the next assembly; but Colonel BACON's administration being very short, and no assembly call'd all the while, this pious design could proceed no further.

Anno 1690, FRANCIS NICHOLSON, Esq; being appointed Lieutenant-governor under the Lord Effingham, arriv'd there. This gentleman discours'd freely of country improvements, instituted publick exercises, and gave prizes to all those that should excel in the exercises of riding, running, shooting, wrestling, and cudgel-playing. When the design of a college was communicated to him, he promis'd it all imaginable encouragement. The first thing desired of him in its behalf, was the calling of an assembly; but this he could by no means agree to, being under obligations to the Lord Effingham to stave off assemblies as long as he could, for fear there might be farther representations sent over against his Lordship; who was conscious to himself how uneasy the country had been under his despotick administration.

When that could not be obtained, then they propos'd that a subscription might pass through the colony, to try the humour of the people in general, and see what voluntary contributions they could get towards it. This he granted, and he himself, together with the council, set a generous example to the other gentlemen of the country; so the subscriptions at last mounted to about two thousand five hundred pounds, in which sum is included the generous benevolences of several merchants of London.

Anno 1691, an assembly being call'd, this design was mov'd to them, and they espous'd it heartily; and soon after made an address to King WILLIAM and Queen MARY in its behalf, and sent the reverend Mr. JAMES BLAIR, their agent, to England, to solicit their Majesties charter for it.

It was propos'd that three things should be taught in this college, viz. languages, divinity, and natural philosophy.

The

CHAP.
VII.Nicholson
Governor.

CHAP. VII. The assembly was so fond of Governor Nicholson at that time, that they presented him the sum of three hundred pound as a testimony of their good disposition towards him. But he having an instruction to receive no present from the country, they drew up an address to their Majesties, praying that he might have leave to accept it, which was granted; and he gave one half thereof to the college.

A college erected. Their Majesties were well pleased with that pious design of the plantation, and granted a charter according to the desire of Mr. BLAIR their agent.

Their Majesties were graciously pleased to give near two thousand pound sterling, the balance then due upon the account of quit-rents, towards the founding the college; and towards the endowing of it they allowed twenty thousand acres of choice land, together with the revenue arising by the penny per pound on tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland to the other plantations.

It was a great satisfaction to the archbishops and bishops to see such a nursery of religion founded in that new world; especially for that it was begun in an episcopal way, and carried on wholly by zealous conformists to the church of England.

In this first assembly, Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson passed acts for encouragement of the linen-manufacture, tanning, currying, and shoemaking. He also in that session passed a law for cohabitation and improvement of trade.

Before the next assembly he tackled about, and was quite the reverse of what he was in the first, as to cohabitation. Instead of encouraging ports and towns, he spread abroad his dislike of them, and went among the people finding fault with those things which he and the assembly had unanimously agreed upon the preceding session: Such a violent change there was in him that it proceeded from some other cause than barely the inconstancy of his temper. He had received directions from those English merchants, who well knew that cohabitation would lessen their consigned trade.

The building towns in Virginia discouraged again. In February 1692, Sir EDMUND ANDROS arrived governor. He began his government with an assembly which over-threw the good designs of ports and towns: But the groundwork of this proceeding was laid before Sir EDMUND's arrival. However, this assembly proceeded no farther than to suspend the law till their Majesties pleasure should be known. But it seems the merchants in London were dissatisfied and made publick complaints against it, which their Majesties were pleased to hear, and afterwards referred the matter back to the assembly again, to consider if it were suitable to the circumstances of the country, and to regulate it accordingly. But the assembly did not then proceed any farther in it, the people themselves being infected by the merchants letters.

At this session Mr. NEAL's project for a post-office, and his patent of post-master general in those parts of America were presented. The assembly made an act to promote that design, but by reason of the inconvenient distance of their habitations and want of towns this project fell to nothing.

With Sir EDWARD ANDROS was sent over the college charter, and the subsequent assembly declared that the subscriptions which had been made to the college were due and immediately demandable. They likewise gave a duty on the exportation of skins and furs for its more plentiful

CHAP. VII. endowment, and the foundation of the college was laid.

The subscription money did not come in with the same readiness with which it had been underwritten. However, there was enough given by their Majesties and gathered from the people to keep all hands at work, and carry on the building, the foundation whereof they then laid; and the rest upon suit had judgment given against them.

Sir EDMUND ANDROS was a great encourager of manufactures. In his time fulling-mills were set up by act of assembly. He also gave particular marks of his favour towards the propagating of cotton, which since his time has been much neglected. He was likewise a great lover of method and dispatch in all sorts of business, which made him find fault with the management of the secretary's office; and indeed with very good reason, for from the time of BACON's rebellion till then there was never any office in the world more negligently kept: Several patents of land were entered blank upon the record, many original patents, records, and deeds, with other matters of great consequence, were thrown loose about the office, and suffered to be dirtied, torn, and eaten by the moths and other insects. But upon this gentleman's accession to the government he immediately gave directions to reform all these irregularities; he caused the loose and torn records of value to be transcribed into new books, and ordered conveniences to be built within the office for preserving the records from being lost and confounded as before. He prescribed methods to keep the papers dry and clean, and to reduce them into such order as that any thing might be turned to immediately. But all these conveniences were burnt soon after they were finished in October 1698, together with the office itself and the whole state-house: But his diligence was so great in that affair, that tho' his stay afterwards in the country was very short, yet he caused all the records and papers which had been saved from the fire to be sorted again, and registered in better order than ever they had been before. In this condition he left them at his quitting the government.

He made several orders to rebuild the State-house in the same place; and had his government continued six months longer, 'tis probable he would have effected it after such a manner as might have been least burthenome to the people, designing the greatest part at his own cost.

Sir EDMUND ANDROS being upon a progress one summer, called at a poor man's house in Stafford county for water; there came out to him an ancient woman, and with her a lively brisk lad about twelve years old. The lad was so ruddy and fair that his complexion gave the governor a curiosity to ask some questions concerning him; and to his great surprise was told that he was the son of that woman at seventy-six years of age. His excellency smiling at this improbability, enquired what sort of man had been his father. To this the good woman made no reply, but instantly ran and led her husband to the door, who was then above an hundred years old. He confirmed all that the woman had said about the lad, and notwithstanding his great age was strong in his limbs and voice, but had lost his sight. The woman, for her part, was without complaint, and seemed to retain a vigour very uncommon at her years. Sir EDMUND was so well pleased with this extraordinary account, that after having made himself known to them, he offered to take care of the

Sir Edmund Andros a good Governor.

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VII.Nicholson
Governor
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house na-
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Capitol.

the lad; but they would by no means be persuaded to part with him: However, he gave them twenty pounds.

In November 1698, FRANCIS NICHOLSON, Esq; was removed from Maryland to be governor of Virginia; but he went not then with that smoothness on his brow he had carried with him when he was appointed lieutenant-governor. He talked then no more of improving manufactures, towns, and trade; but instead of encouraging the manufactures, he sent over inhuman memorials against them, opposite to all reason. In one of these he remonstrates, that the tobacco of that country often bears so low a price that it would not yield cloaths to the people that make it; and yet presently after, in the same memorial, he recommends it to the parliament to pass an act forbidding the plantations to make their own cloathing, which in other words is desiring a charitable law that the planters shall go naked. In a late memorial concerted between him and his creature Colonel QUARRY, 'tis most humbly proposed, That all the English colonies on the continent of North America be reduced under one government and under one Vice-roy, and that a standing army be there kept on foot to subdue the Queen's enemies, surmising that they were intending to set up for themselves.

He began his government with a shew of zeal for the church. In the latter end of his time one half of the intended building, that is, two sides of the square, were carried up and finished; in which were allotted the publick hall, the apartments and conveniencies for several masters and scholars, and the publick offices for the domesticks: The masters and scholars were also settled in it; and it had its regular visitations from the visitors and governors thereof.

Soon after this accession to the government, he procured the assembly and courts of judicature to be removed from James Town, where there were good accommodations for people, to Middle-Plantation where there were none. There he flattered himself with the fond imagination of being the founder of a new city. He marked out the streets in many places so as that they might represent the figure of a W, in memory of his late Majesty King WILLIAM, after whose name the town was called Williamsburgh. There he procured a stately fabrick to be erected, which he placed opposite to the college, and graced it with the magnificent name of The Capitol.

In the second year of this gentleman's government there happened an adventure very fortunate for him, which gave him much credit, and that was the taking of a pyrate within the capes of that country.

It fell out that several merchant-ships were got ready and fallen down to Lynhaven Bay, near the mouth of James River, in order for sailing. A pyrate being informed of this, and hearing that there was no man of war there except a sixth rate, ventured within the capes, and took several of the merchant-ships. But a small vessel happened to come down the bay, and seeing an engagement between the pyrate and a merchant-man, made a shift to get into the mouth of James River where the Shoreham, a fifth-rate man of war, was newly arrived. The sixth-rate, commanded by Captain JOHN ALDRIDGE, was then on the career in Elizabeth River, in order for her return to England.

The Governor happened to be at that time at Kiquotan sealing up his letters, and Captain PAS-

SENGER, commander of the Shoreham, was a-shore CHAR VII. to pay his respects to him. In the mean while news was brought that a pyrate was within the capes; upon which the Captain was in haste to go aboard his ship, but the Governor stayed him a little, promising to go along with him. The Captain soon after asked his excuse, and went off, leaving him another boat if he pleased to follow. It was about one o'clock in the afternoon when the news was brought, but it was night before his Excellency went on board, staying all that while a-shore upon some weighty occasions. At last he followed, and by break of day the man of war was fairly out between the capes and the pyrate, where, after ten hours sharp engagement, the pyrate was obliged to strike and surrender upon the terms of being left to the King's mercy.

Now it happened that three men of this pyrate's gang were not on board their own ship at the time of the surrender, and so were not included in the articles of capitulation, but were tried in that country. In summing up the evidence against them (the Governor being present) the Attorney-General extolled his Excellency's mighty courage and conduct, as if the honour of taking the pyrate had been due to him. Upon this Captain PASSENGER took the freedom to interrupt Mr. Attorney in open court, and said he was commander of the Shoreham, that the pyrates were his prisoners, and that no body had pretended to command in that engagement but himself. He farther desired, that the Governor, who was then present, would do him the justice to declare whether he had given the least word of command all that day, or directed any one thing during the whole fight. This his Excellency acknowledged was true, and fairly yielded the honour of that exploit to the Captain.

This Governor likewise gained some reputation by another instance of his management, whereby he let the world know the violent passion he had to publish his own fame.

To get honour in New-York, he had zealously recommended to the court of England the necessity that Virginia should contribute a certain quota of men, or else a sum of money towards the building and maintaining a fort at New York. The reason he gave for this was, because New-York was their barrier, and as such it was but justice they should help to defend it. This was by order of his late Majesty King WILLIAM proposed to the assembly; but upon the most solid reasons they humbly remonstrated, 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 northern Indians might invade that colony and not come within an hundred miles of any such fort. The truth of these objections are obvious to any one that ever looked on the maps of that part of the world: But the secret of the whole business in plain terms was this: Those forts were necessary for New-York, to enable that province to engross the trade of the neighbouring Indians, which Virginia had sometimes shared in when the Indians rambled to the southward.

Now the glory of Colonel NICHOLSON got in that affair was this: After he had represented Virginia as republican and rebellious for not complying with his proposal, he said publicly, that New-York should not want the nine hundred pounds tho' he paid it out of his own pocket, and soon after took a journey to that province.

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CHAP.
VII.A ga-co-
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Governor
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son's.

When he arrived there he blamed Virginia very much; but pretending earnest desires to serve New-York, gave his own bills of exchange for nine hundred pounds to the aforesaid use, but prudently took a defeasance from the gentleman to whom they were given; specifying, That till her Majesty should be graciously pleased to remit him the money out of the quit-rents of Virginia, those bills should never be made use of. This was an admirable piece of sham generosity, and worthy of the great pains he took to proclaim it. I my self have frequently heard him boast that he gave this money out of his own pocket, and only depended on the Queen's bounty to repay him; tho' the money is not paid by him to this day.

Neither was he contented to spread abroad this untruth there, but he also foisted it into a memorial of Colonel QUARRY's to the council of trade, in which are these words: 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 nine hundred pounds to answer the quota of Virginia, wholly depending on her Majesty's favour to reimburse him out of the revenues of that province.

Certainly his Excellency and Colonel QUARRY, by whose joint wisdom and sincerity this memorial was composed, must believe that the council of trade have very imperfect intelligence how matters pass in that part of the world, or else they would not presume to impose such a banter upon them.

He misre-
presents
the Virgi-
nians and
the rest of
the plan-
tations at
court.

But this is nothing if compared to some other passages of that unjust representation, wherein they took upon them to describe the people of Virginia to be both numerous and rich, of republican notions and principles, such as ought to be corrected and lowered in time; and that then or never was the time to maintain the Queen's prerogative, and put a stop to those wrong pernicious notions which were improving daily, not only in Virginia but in all her Majesty's other governments. A frown now from her Majesty will do more than an army hereafter, &c.

With these inhuman false imputations did those gentlemen afterwards introduce the necessity of a standing-army.

Governor
Nott.

Thus did Governor NICHOLSON continue to rule till August 1705, when EDWARD NOTT, Esq; arrived Governor and gave ease to the country by a mild rule. His commission was to be Governor-General, but part of his salary was paid my Lord Orkney as chief. Governor NOTT had the general commission given him because it was suggested that that method, viz. the supreme title would give the greater awe, and the better put the country to rights.

Governor NOTT called an assembly the fall after his arrival, who past the general revival of the laws which had been too long in hand: But that part of it which related to the church and clergy Mr. Commissary could not be pleased in; wherefore that bill was dropt, and so it lies at this day.

This assembly also passed a new law for ports and towns, grounding it only upon encouragements, according to her Majesty's letter to that purpose; but it seems this also could not please the Virginia Merchants in England, for they complained against it to the crown, and so it was also suspended.

VOL. III.

This assembly also passed the law making slaves a real estate; which made a great alteration in the nature of their estates, and becomes a very good security for orphans, whose parents happen to die intestate.

CHAP.
VII.
Slaves
made a
real estate.

This assembly also voted a house to be built for the Governor's residence, and laid duties to raise the money for it; but his Excellency lived not to see much effected therein, being taken off by death in August 1706. In the first year of his government the college was burnt down to the ground.

After this Governor's death, there being no other nominated by her Majesty to succeed him, the government fell into the hands of EDMUND JENINGS, Esq; the President, and the council, who held no assembly during his time, neither did any thing of note happen here, only we heard that Brigadier ROBERT HUNTER received commission to be Lieutenant-Governor under GEORGE, Earl of Orkney the Chief, and set out for Virginia, but was taken prisoner into France.

Earl of
Orkney
Governor.

During Brigadier HUNTER's confinement in France, a new commission issued to Colonel ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD to be Lieutenant-Governor, who arrived in Virginia anno 1710, and improved the colony beyond imagination. His conduct, according to Colonel BEVERLEY, produced wonders. And it was the happiness of Virginia that this gentleman's administration was of a longer duration than usual, whereby he had an opportunity of putting in practice the prudent schemes he had laid; in which he was supported and encouraged by the Earl of Orkney, who died Governor of Virginia in the year 1737.

Spotf-
wood De-
puty Go-
vernor.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the civil government of Virginia, both Indian and English.

BEFORE I proceed to describe their civil government, give me leave to observe, that the boundaries of the several counties in Virginia have been much altered since they were first laid out, and some others added to them, as Colonel BEVERLEY informs us. The description therefore already given of them, which was taken from Mr. OLDMIXON's history of this country, must of necessity be corrected by the Colonel's Present State of Virginia; who relates, that in the new modelling of the subdivisions of this province they contrived it so that each county might be situated on some single river for the benefit of trade and shipping.

CHAP.
VIII.
The bound-
aries of the
counties
corrected
by Bever-
ley.

That in the northern neck of land, which lies between the rivers Patowmack and Rappahannock, which is the property of the Lord COLLEPEPPER's family, are contained six counties.

1. Lancaster, in which are two parishes, namely Christ-Church and St. Mary White-Chapel.
2. Northumberland, two parishes, viz. Fairfield-Bourtracy and Wiccocomoco.
3. Westmoreland, two parishes, viz. Copely and Washington.
4. Stafford, two parishes, viz. St. Paul and Over-worton.
5. Richmond, one parish, viz. North-Farnham, and part of another, viz. Sittenburn.
6. King George County, one parish, named Han-over, the other part of Sittenburn.

In the neck between Rappahannock and York Rivers are contained six other counties, viz. 1. Gloucester, in which are four parishes, viz. Pef-so, Abingdon, Ware, and Kingston. 2. Mid-dlesex,

CHAP.
VIII.

Essex, only one parish, viz. Christ-Church. 3. King and Queen, two parishes, viz. Stratton-Major and St. Stephen's. 4. King William, two parishes, viz. St. John's and St. Margaret's. 5. Essex, three parishes, viz. South-Farnham, St. Anne, and St. Mary's. 6. Spotsylvania, one parish, viz. St. George.

In the neck between York and James Rivers there are seven counties and part of an eighth; the seven entire counties are, 1. Elizabeth City, in which is only one parish, named also Elizabeth City Parish. 2. The county of Warwick, in which are two parishes, viz. Denby, and Mulberry-Island. 3. York, in which are two parishes, viz. Charles and York-Hampton, and part of a third called Bruton. 4. James-City, in which are three parishes, and part of two others, viz. James City, part of Wilmington, Merchants Hundred, and the other half of Bruton. 5. New Kent, two parishes, viz. Blisland and St. Peter's. 6. Charles City, two parishes, viz. Westover and part of Wilmington. 7. Hanover, one parish, viz. St. Paul's; and 8. Part of Henrico county on the north side of James River, by which river the parishes are also divided, there being two parishes in the whole county, viz. Henrico and St. James's, and part of a third called Bristol.

On the south side of James River are seven counties, and the other part of Henrico; the seven counties beginning at the bay, as I have done in all the rest, are, 1. Princess Anne, in which is but one parish, namely, Lynhaven. 2. Norfolk, also one parish, called Elizabeth River. 3. Nan-samund, in which are three parishes, viz. Lower Parish, Upper-Parish, and Chickaluck. 4. Isle of Wight, in which are two parishes, viz. Warwick Squeeke Bay and New Port. 5. Surrey, two parishes, viz. Lyon's-Creek and Southwark. 6. Prince George, in which is one parish, viz. Martin-Brandon, and the other part of Bristol Parish in Henrico. 7. Brunswick, a new county, constituted towards the southern pass of the mountains, on purpose that by extraordinary encouragements the settlements may send up that way first, as is given also to Spotsylvania County for the northern pass. It is made one parish by the name of St. Andrew.

On the eastern shore, that is, on the east side of the great Bay of Chesapeake, the place where Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY retired to in the rebellion, without withdrawing from his government (as Mr. OLDMIXON declares he did) are two countries. 1. Northampton, having one parish, named Hungers. 2. Accomack, having one parish, named also Accomack.

In all, there are at present twenty-nine counties and fifty-four parishes.

Other mistakes of Mr. Oldmixon corrected by Colonel Beverley.

The Colonel also in his present state of Virginia, points out some other mistakes Mr. OLDMIXON has made in the geography of Virginia; observing that Prince George County, which lies on the south side of James River, Mr. OLDMIXON places on the north; and that he places some part of James City County on the south side of James River; whereas not an inch of it has been placed on that side of the river these three score years.

That the same gentleman makes Elizabeth and Warwick Counties lie upon York River, whereas both of them lie upon James River, and neither of them comes near York River: That he placed King William County on both sides of Pamunky River, whereas it lies all on

the north side of Pamunky River; and tho' he placed King and Queen County upon the south of New Kent, at the head of Chickahomony River, that county lies north of New Kent, and there are two large rivers and two entire counties between the head of Chickahomony River and King and Queen county: And whereas he says that York and Rapahanock Rivers issue out of low marshes, it is very certain those rivers have their sources in the highest ridge of mountains, as he (Colonel BEVERLEY) avers upon his own view of them.

Some of these mistakes of Mr. OLDMIXON's I was so unfortunate to follow in describing the Virginian Counties; but since I have added Colonel BEVERLEY's corrections I hope I shall be forgiven. I should not have followed this gentleman of all men in his essays on religion or politics, or in his history of the STUARTS; but as there was nothing of party in describing the situation or subdivisions of an American province, I thought I might have given some credit to him, especially when he assures us, p. 278 of his history, that he was well acquainted with the modern surveys of that country. If I was cautious how I took his word before, I shall be much more so after he has led me into these errors, which I committed before I could get the last edition of Colonel BEVERLEY's present state, or I had laid Mr. OLDMIXON's history of Virginia entirely aside; for what he has valuable relating to that country I perceive he was obliged to the Colonel for.

I proceed now to enquire into the Virginian Government; and first that of the Indians, which according to Colonel BEVERLEY, is monarchical, but the crown descends to the next brother, and not to the son of the preceding monarch: And if there are no sons, to the sisters successively and their respective issue, according to their seniority. The Prince is restrained by no laws, but acts arbitrarily; and the usual punishment for capital offences is the knocking out the offenders brains with clubs. But tho' the civil power is lodged in the King, there is another Weroance, or great man, who is their General, and has the conduct of all military affairs: And neither the one nor the other of these transacts any thing of consequence without consulting their Priests and Prophets (or Conjurers) as our people call the latter: But the same person, I perceive is sometimes Priest, Prophet and Physician; and some parts of Florida the Priest is their General also.

But to qualify any man for a post, either in the state or army, he is obliged to undergo very severe discipline, which is called Huskanawing. The sons of some of the best families at sixteen or eighteen years of age are carried by their Priests into some solitary wood, and there shut up for several months in a kind of cage of a conick form; not suffered to converse with any man but their Tutors, or to eat any thing more than will just keep them alive; but they are obliged to drink a certain intoxicating liquor, which makes them rave like madmen, and forget every thing that ever happened, if we may believe them. But whatever effect the liquor may have, or how great soever the change may be that is wrought in their Pupils, the end of all this is, as the Indians themselves relate, to extinguish all childish impressions, and that partiality to persons and things which is so natural to all men; and to eradicate such prepossessions and unreasonable prejudices as they may have

CHAP.
VIII.

Government of the Virginians.

Huskawing a necessary qualification for an officer in the state or army.

CHAP.
VIII.

have imbibed, alledging, that until this is done they are by no means fit for ministers or magistrates. These gentlemen, thus disciplined are called Cockrouses, and of them the King's council is always composed, and no others are ever advanced to any post in the government civil or military.

Properties.

As to their goods or personal estate, every man claims a right to what he possesses as well as to the fruits of his labour and his cloathing: His plantation and the buildings he erects on it are esteemed his property also so long as he remains in that part of the country, but no longer; for the whole territory belonging to one King or Tribe is really no more than one great common, no man claiming a distinct property in any part any longer than while he actually uses it. When he removes, another is at liberty to settle on the same spot of ground: But every Prince or Tribe has their respective territories bounded by some wood, river, or other natural fence, and will not suffer their neighbours to encroach upon them; tho' I can't perceive they made any other use of their lands before the arrival of the English than to hunt and take the wild beasts, game and fowl they found upon them; unless it were that every man had a little garden or spot of ground wherein he planted just corn and roots enough for the use of his own family. They had no sort of tame cattle to graze in their field until the English arrived.

The Government of the English in Virginia.

As to the Government of the English in Virginia, this is formed upon the same model as that of England, and has a very near resemblance to it. The legislative authority is lodged in the Governor, the Council, and the house of Representatives: And the Governor has a negative as the King has here, but their acts must be ratified afterwards by his Majesty in England: However, they are of force in Virginia immediately upon receiving the Governor's assent, until his Majesty's pleasure is known.

The Governor.

The Governor is appointed by his Majesty during pleasure, and is obliged to act according to his instructions. He calls assemblies by the advice of the council, but prorogues and dissolves them by his own authority: He presides in all councils of state, where he also has a negative.

He appoints Commissioners or Justices to administer justice in the County-courts by the consent of the council: He grants commissions to all the officers of the militia, and is himself vested with the title and office of Lieutenant-General, having the sole command of that body.

He tests all proclamations, disposes of all unpatented lands agreeably to his instructions and the laws of the country; and the seal of the colony for this and all other matters of state is in his keeping.

He is also constituted Vice-Admiral by a commission from the Admiralty of England: The issues of the publick revenue must bear his test; and his salary is two thousand Pound per annum, besides perquisites, computed to amount to near one thousand pound more.

On the death of the Governor, the administration devolves on the President and Council. The members of the council are appointed by letters or instructions from his Majesty, which only directs them to be sworn of that body: Their usual number is twelve, and if there happens to be under nine resident in the country, the Governor is empowered to swear such gentlemen as he thinks fit to make up that number.

All bills which come from the assembly must have their assent; but I do not find any bills brought in by the council and sent down to the lower house, as is practised in the English house of Lords frequently. There is an annual sum of three hundred and fifty pound distributed among the members of the council, in proportion to the trouble they are at in attending general courts and assemblies.

CHAP.
VIII.

The free-holders of every country elect two Burgesses to present them in the general assembly.

James city elects one, and the college one, so that there are in all sixty Burgesses. They are summoned by writs issued from the Secretary's office under the seal of the colony, and tested by the Governor, being directed to the respective Sheriffs, and bearing date forty days before their return: The writs and notice of the intended election being published in every church and chapel of each county two Sundays successively; and controverted elections are determined by the house as in England.

A Speaker is also chosen, and freedom of speech and other privileges allowed the assembly on the Speaker's application to the Governor, as in the British parliament to the King: And a speech is made, acquainting them with the occasion of their meeting; which is usually once a year, or oftner if the Governor sees fit.

Having treated of their assembly or high court of parliament, I come naturally to enquire into the constitution of their other courts; which are chiefly two, viz. the General-court and their respective County-courts.

The General-court consists of the Governor and Council, or any five of them, who are the judges of it and take cognizance of all causes, whether civil, criminal or ecclesiastical; from whence there is no appeal, unless the matter in dispute exceed the value of three hundred pounds sterling; and then there lies an appeal to the King and Council, and is there determined by a committee of the Privy Council, called the Lords of appeals. But in criminal cases there is no appeal from this court, only the Governor is empowered to pardon all crimes save treason and murder; and even in these instances may reprieve the criminal from time to time until the King's pleasure is known.

The General-court is held annually on the 15th of April and the 15th of October, each term or session continuing eighteen days, exclusive of Sundays; and these were formerly the only times of goal-delivery; but at this day the Governor appoints Commissioners for the trial of criminal causes.

In the General-court civil causes are not tried by a jury of the county where the parties live, but by gentlemen summoned from all parts to attend the General-court; but in criminal cases the Sheriff is ordered to summon six of the nearest neighbours to the prisoner, who may be supposed to be best acquainted with his life and conversation; to which six, are added six more of the gentlemen summoned to attend the court; and the prisoner is allowed his challenge, as in England.

Civil causes are usually brought to a trial and determined in the third term or session; so that a year and half puts an end to suits in the General-court, and three or four months in the County-court, the latter being held monthly: And where any one appeals from the County-court to the General-court, the appeals are tried and determined at the next General-court.

Every

CHAP.
VIII.

Every one is allowed to plead his own cause by himself or his friends, or by his attorney or council, at his option; and though the suitor may appeal from the county-court to the general-court, the general-court does not take cognizance of any cause originally, where the matter in dispute is not of the value of ten pounds sterling, or two thousand pounds of tobacco.

Judges of
the county-
courts.

The Judges or Commissioners of the county-courts receive their commissions from the Governor, and are Justices of Peace in their respective counties, being eight or more in number. They are authorized to determine all civil causes in law or equity, and such criminal causes as do not affect life or member; and in the case of hog-stealing they are empowered to condemn the offender to lose his ears for the second offence; their proceedings resembling those of the general-court, except that here every cause is tried by a jury of the same county where the parties live, or the facts are committed.

Orphans.

This monthly court hath also the care of orphans, and of their estates and effects, and put out apprentices, and provide for such orphans as are in low circumstances: And in September annually audit the accounts of orphans, and enquire into their education and maintenance, putting some to school and others to trades, as they see proper: and where they find children neglected or hardly used, they remove them to other masters; and when poor orphans have served the time they were bound for, their masters are obliged to furnish them with a stock of cattle, tools, &c. to enable them to begin the world with to a certain value; the boys being bound till twenty-one, and the girls till eighteen years of age, when the maids, if they behave well, usually get good husbands, and live plentifully.

Public
officers.

Of the publick officers, there are three besides the Governor, which have their commissions immediately from his Majesty, viz. the Auditor of the revenue, the Receiver-general, and the Secretary of state.

Auditor.

1st. The Auditor audits all the publick accounts, and transmits the state of them to England; his salary being 6 per cent. of the publick money.

Receiver-
general.

2dly. The Receiver-general sells the publick tobacco, and issues the money or the produce of it by the King's order; his salary also being 6 per cent.

Secretary.

3dly. The Secretary, who keeps the publick records, viz. all judgments of the general-court, and deeds and other writings proved therein; issues all writs relating thereto; makes out and records all patents of lands, and takes the returns of all inquests of escheat. In his office also is kept a register of all commissions of administration and probates of wills, of marriages, births, and burials; of all persons who leave the country, and of all houses of entertainment, &c. From this office issues the writs for electing Burgesses, and here are kept authentick copies of all proclamations. His revenue arises from fees for business done in his office, and amounts one year with another to seventy thousand pounds of tobacco, out of which he pays twelve hundred and fifty to Clerks.

The Bi-
shop's
Commis-
sary.

There are two other publick officers, viz. the Ecclesiastical Commissary, who visits the several churches of the province, and receives his authority from the Bishop of London, Ordinary of all the plantations: And, 2. The Treasurer of the

Treasurer
of the pro-
vince.

province, who is appointed by the general assembly to receive such sums as are raised by their acts.

CHAP.
VIII.

There is also a Judge of the admiralty; but he is appointed from time to time, as business happens, and is not a standing officer.

The rest of the publick officers are Escheators, Sheriffs of counties, Coroners, Collectors, Surveyors of lands, Clerks of courts, and others of less moment.

The constant publick revenues are of five sorts. 1st. A rent reserved by the crown out of all lands granted by patent, which is called his Majesty's quit-rent, being two shillings for every hundred acres so granted, and two pence an acre for all lands escheated to the crown (which is paid by all except the inhabitants of the Northern-Neck, who hold of my Lord COLEPEPPER's family, the proprietors of that district) which quit-rents amount to about 1500 l. sterling per annum, and are left in bank there against any sudden emergency; except it be sent for to England.

Revenues
of Virgi-
nia.

2dly. A revenue granted by an act of assembly for the support of the government arising first by two shillings per hoghead for every hoghead exported. 2dly, By a rate of fifteen pence per ton for every voyage a ship makes. 3dly, By a duty of six pence per head for every passenger brought into the country. 4thly. By fines and forfeitures imposed by several acts of assembly; by waifs and strays, compositions for escheated lands and goods, &c. which revenue amounts to three thousand pounds per annum and upwards, and is disposed of by the Governor and Council for defraying the expences of the government; which accounts may be inspected by the general assembly.

A duty of
two shil-
lings per
hoghead.
Fifteen
pence per
ton.
Six pence
per passen-
ger.
Fines,
waifs, and
strays, and
composi-
tions.

3dly. Revenues arising by act of assembly reserved to their own disposal, viz. a duty on liquors importing from the neighbouring plantations, and upon all slaves and servants imported. The duty on liquors four pence per gallon for rum, brandy or wine; and one penny for beer, cyder, and other liquors. The duty on servants and slaves, twenty shillings for each servant not a native of England, and five pounds for each slave or negroe.

A duty on
foreign li-
quors. On
slaves and
servants.

4thly. The revenue granted to the college by a duty on skins and furs exported; raising about an hundred pounds per annum.

A duty for
the col-
lege on
skins and
furs.

5thly. The revenue raised by British acts of parliament on the trade there, being a duty of one penny per lb. on all tobacco exported to the One penny per lb. on tobacco for the college, which was given by an act of W. & M. to the college, but does not raise two hundred pounds per annum.

But these are trifles compared to the duties laid upon tobacco imported into England by act of parliament, which do not amount to less than two hundred thousand pounds sterling one year with another; which is all applied to the support of the crown and government of England, its mother country; which, no doubt, will have a suitable regard for a daughter that makes such noble and grateful returns.

Duties laid
upon tobacco
in Eng-
land.

The most usual way of raising money in Virginia next to those already mentioned (of laying duties upon trade and shipping) is by a poll-tax, assessing a certain rate or portion of tobacco on the head of every taxable or titheable person, as they call them.

Poll-tax in
Virginia
on all
titheable
persons.

CHAP.
VIII.

Titheable persons are all negroes male and female, above sixteen years of age, and white men of that age; but white women and white children under sixteen are not deemed titheable or subject to a poll-tax, either for the support of the government, or towards any county or parish-rates.

And that it may be known what titheable persons there are in each county, every master of a family is obliged, under a severe penalty, to bring a true list of every titheable person in his family to the Justices of the peace at their respective sessions. These poll-taxes and levies are of three kinds. 1st. Such as are enacted by the general assembly for the support and defence of the government. 2dly. Such as are ordered to be raised by the Justices of peace of each county at their respective sessions for building and repairing their court-houses, prisons, &c. And, 3dly. Parish levies, which are assessed by the vestries of the respective parishes, for the building and adorning churches and chapels, building parsonage-houses, buying glebes, and raising a revenue for the Minister, Reader, Clerk, and Sexton.

Tenures
of lands.

The next head proper to be treated of in this place is that of tenures. And it appears that their lands are holden by free and common soccage, according to the custom of East-Greenwich, and are granted by letters patents under the seal of the colony tested by the Governor. And these grants are obtained by petition: 1st, upon a survey of lands that have never been granted to any one before: 2dly, on a lapse: And 3dly, where lands are escheated to the crown.

How a
right of
land is ob-
tained.

Lands are said to be lapsed when any man who has obtained a patent or grant of them does not plant them within three years, as his patent requires. But if within three years after the date of his patent, or before another prefers a petition for them, he plant the lands, they cannot afterwards be forfeited unless by attainder, when they return to the crown, and the Governor and council grant them to whom they please, reserving only a rent of two pounds of tobacco per acre to the crown for such escheated lands.

Every man has a right to a grant of fifty acres of land in consideration of his personal transportation to Virginia; and if he carries his family with him, he is entitled to the like number of acres for his wife and every one of his children: But where there is nothing of this nature stipulated with the person who transports himself, a right to fifty acres of land may be purchased for five shillings when he comes there.

It is the business of the Surveyor to lay out and mark the boundaries of every man's plantation who has obtained a right; a copy whereof, with the Surveyor's certificate, being brought to the Secretary (if there be no objection to it) a patent is made out of course, which gives the patentee an estate in fee-simple, subject to a quit-rent of twelve pence for every fifty acres, provided he plant three acres of every fifty within three years, and build a house, and keep a stock of black cattle, sheep or goats thereon; which conditions if he does not perform, the land lapses, and the Governor grants it to whom he sees fit upon a petition preferred.

Naturali-
zation.

Foreigners are naturalized, and have all the privileges of Englishmen allowed them in Virginia on taking the oaths to the government there.

Laws.

The laws of England are generally in force in

VOL. III.

Virginia; and not only the acts of parliament of Great-Britain, but even orders of council have the force of laws in most of the plantations.

Some of the laws enacted by their general assembly, and peculiar to Virginia, are these that follow.

When a person is sued for a debt he may dis-
count whatever appears due to him from the
plaintiff, and shall be obliged to pay no more than
the balance of the account.

Upon suspicion of any person's intention to remove out of the country, in order to conceal or withdraw himself from his creditors, any Justice of peace, upon complaint, may issue out an attachment against so much of his estate as amounts to the value of the debt claimed by the creditor, he giving security to pay the defendant such damages as shall be awarded in case he (the creditor) be cast.

None shall practise as an attorney unless li-
censed by the Governor; and no licensed attor-
ney shall demand or receive for bringing any
cause to judgment in the general-court more
than five hundred pounds of tobacco, and in
the county-court one hundred and fifty; and
if any attorney refuse to plead for the said fees
he shall forfeit as much as his fees should have
been.

No man shall be debarred by this act from plead-
ing and managing his own cause.

Every person refusing to have his child baptized
by a lawful Minister, forfeits two thousand pounds
of tobacco.

The baptizing slaves or their children shall
not alter their condition as to bondage or free-
dom.

No county shall send above two Burgesses
to the general-assembly, provided that James City,
being the capital, may elect one; and every coun-
ty that will lay out an hundred acres of land, and
people it with an hundred titheable persons, shall
have the like privilege.

A Burgess not appearing in the assembly on the
day of the return forfeits three hundred pounds of
tobacco. No Burgess is to be arrested during a
session, or within ten days after a dissolution or ad-
journment.

None but free-holders and house-keepers to have
voices in elections.

Every county not sending two Burgesses for-
feits ten thousand pounds of tobacco.

The allowance to every Burgess is one hundred
and twenty pounds of tobacco per diem, and for
travelling charges, ten pounds of tobacco per di-
em for every horse, or the charges of a water-
passage.

No horse or mare to be imported from any other
plantation on pain of forfeiture.

Surgeons and Physicians are obliged to declare
upon oath what drugs have been taken by the pa-
tient, and then the court will allow 50 per cent.
above the value of the drugs, and as much
for cure and attendance as the court sees fit: And
if any one neglects his patient he shall be fined at
discretion.

For laws relating to the church, see the chapter
of religion.

The Governor, and one or two of the coun-
cil, commissioned by him, shall go the circuit
annually in August, and visit the county-courts,
hearing and determining the causes depending in
them.

CHAP.
VIII.Manuf.
tures.

Debt.

Convey-
ances.

Corn.

General
court.County-
court.

By-laws.

Hog-steal-
ing.

Fences.

Servants.

Fornica-
tion.Convey-
ances.

Indians.

Encouragements were enacted, anno 1682, for the planting and manufacturing hemp and flax, and for those that should make hats and stockings; but they still receive these and almost every other kind of manufacture from England.

A debt acknowledged before two Commissioners (quorum unus) to be of the nature of a judgment.

Conveyances of lands in Virginia made in England to be sent over thither by the first shipping, and recorded there, or otherwise to be deemed fraudulent.

Every man, for each titheable person in his family, shall plant two acres of corn or pulse on pain of five hundred pounds of tobacco for every acre neglected; provided that the sowing one acre of English wheat shall excuse the planting two acres of Indian corn or pulse as aforesaid.

The court held by the Governor and council, and called the general-court, to be held three times a year: The first on the 20th of March, and to continue eighteen days besides Sundays; the second on the 20th of September, and to continue twelve days; and the third on the 20th of November, and to sit twelve days.

Four gentlemen at least to be commissioned by the Governor to act as Justices of the peace in every county: And the courts of the said Justices to be called County-courts; which shall not take cognizance of any cause under the value of two hundred pounds of tobacco, or twenty shillings sterling; but matters under that value shall be determined by a single Justice of peace.

Two men shall be chosen in every parish, who being returned by the church-wardens shall sit in the several county-courts, and have equal voices with the Justices for making of by-laws.

Any person who shall steal or unlawfully kill a hog that is not his own shall forfeit a thousand pounds of tobacco to the owner, and as much to the informer; and he that brings home a hog without his ears shall be adjudged a hog-stealer, and the receiver shall be punished as the thief.

The second offence of hog-stealing to be punished with loss of ears, after two hours standing in the pillory; and the third is made felony.

Every planter shall make a sufficient fence about his ground, at least four foot and an half high.

Where a freeman is punishable by a fine, a servant shall receive corporal punishment, viz. for every five hundred pounds of tobacco twenty lashes, unless his master will pay the penalty.

A man or woman committing fornication shall pay each of them five hundred pounds of tobacco; and if either of them be a servant, the master to pay the five hundred pounds of tobacco, and the servant to serve half a year beyond his time; and if the master refuse to pay it, the servant is to be whipped. If a bastard be born of a woman servant, he shall serve her master two years beyond her time, or pay him two thousand pounds of tobacco, and the father shall give security to keep the child.

Conveyances of lands, cattle, or goods, shall be registered in the general-court or county-court within six months after alienation, or be deemed fraudulent.

Hides, wool, and iron, are prohibited to be exported.

No Englishman shall purchase land of an In-

dian; and whoever shall defraud or injure them shall make them satisfaction.

No person shall buy or receive any commodity of an Indian without the Governor's license.

No person of what quality soever, shall presume to imprison an Indian King, without a special warrant from the Governor and two of the council: And no encroachments shall be made on the Indians lands.

No Indian shall come into the English bounds without a badge in their company to shew what King they belong to; and if any injury be done by them, his King or Chief shall be answerable for it.

When a tributary Indian King has notice of the march of any strange Indians near the English colonies, he shall acquaint the next Officer of the militia with it; and if the friendly Indians desire assistance, a party shall be immediately sent to support them by the Colonel of the militia.

No Indian servant shall be sold for a slave; and no Indian shall be entertained by any one without the leave of the Governor.

No man shall sell arms, powder or shot to the Indians, on pain of forfeiting ten thousand pounds of tobacco.

Where an Englishman is murdered by Indians, the next Indian town shall be answerable for it with their lives and liberties.

The Weroance, or General of the Indians, shall not be chosen by them, but the English Governor shall appoint such persons as he can confide in to be commander in chief of the Indian towns; and in case any town disobey such commands, they shall be treated as rebels.

No Indian or Negroe, baptized and enfranchised, shall be capable of purchasing a Christian servant.

Proof by Indians shall be good to convict other Indians of hog-stealing; and the Indians who keep hogs shall put such a mark on them as shall be appointed by the adjacent counties.

No marriage shall be reputed valid which is not solemnized by a lawful Minister, according to the book of Common-prayer; and none shall marry without a license from the Governor or his Deputy, or banns thrice published. The children of other marriages deemed illegitimate, and their parents to be punished as for fornication. Servants who procure themselves to be married without the consent of their masters, shall each of them serve their respective masters a year beyond their time: And if a freeman marries a servant without the master's leave, he shall forfeit fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco to the master, or one year's service.

Forty titheables obliged to set out one man and horse in the militia.

Ministers, see religion.

Children begotten by an Englishman on a Negroe woman to be slaves, or free, according to the condition of the mother: And if a christian commits fornication with a Negroe the offender shall pay double the fine imposed on fornication.

Negroe women, though enfranchised, liable to pay taxes.

No Negroe may carry any weapon or club, or go off his master's ground without a certificate from his master or overseer.

A Negroe or slave lifting up his hand against any christian, to receive thirty lashes.

CHAP.
VIII.

Militia.

Slaves.

CHAP. VIII. If a Negroe or slave hide himself from his master's service, and resist those that are authorized to apprehend him, it shall be lawful to kill him.

Notice to be given when any one leaves the country. No master of a ship shall transport any person out of the country without a pass from the Secretary, on pain of paying all his debts and a thousand pounds of tobacco to the Secretary: And all persons, before they can obtain passes, must set up their names at the monthly-court ten days before their departure, or have their names published two Sundays in every parish of the county, or give security for the payment of their debts.

Possession. Five years peaceable possession shall be deemed a good bar to any claim of lands, except as to orphans, feme-coverts, and persons out of the country, or non sane.

Scolds. Scolds are ordered to be ducked by an act of assembly.

Servants. Servants, coming into the country without indenture, shall serve five years if upwards of sixteen, and all under that age till they are twenty-four.

Servants absenting themselves from their masters service shall make satisfaction by serving after their times expired double the time of the service so neglected, or longer if the court so determine.

If an English servant run away in company with Negroes, who cannot make satisfaction by an addition of time, the English, after their own time is expired, shall serve the masters of the said Negroes as long as the Negroes should have done; if they had not been slaves.

Servants receiving immoderate correction, or not being provided with competent cloathing, diet, or lodging, may complain to a Commissioner of the county, who is empowered to redress the grievance.

A servant laying violent hands on his master, to serve a year beyond his time.

None may traffick with a servant without his master's leave under severe penalties.

Servants bringing goods with them, or having goods assigned to them in the country, shall have the property thereof and liberty to dispose of them to their own use.

A woman servant got with child to serve two years after her time is expired.

No master shall make any bargain with his servant, but before a Justice of peace.

Religion. Servants and sacraments, see religion.

Sheriffs. None but a Commissioner shall be Sheriff of a county; and such Commissioners shall execute the office successively.

Commissioners of every county shall be answerable for all publick levies and taxes laid on the county, and for the Sheriff's due performance of his office; and are empowered therefore to take security of him on his admission.

Any one of the council of state may sit in any court in Virginia, and have a voice as the Justices have.

No person to have any post till he has been resident three years. No person not born in this country shall have an office here till he has been resident three years, unless by the King's immediate commission.

Convicts disabled. No person convicted of felony in England or elsewhere shall be capable of bearing any office civil or military.

Whoever shall build a vessel, and fit her out for the sea in this country, shall receive of the

publick a premium of fifty pounds of tobacco per ton.

Masters of ships shall provide four months victuals for their passengers in setting out from England, and take care that poor servants do not want bedding during the voyage.

For the better taking alarms on the approach of an enemy, the firing guns at merry meetings are prohibited.

In the year 1662 the planters were enjoined to plant a certain number of mulberry-trees in order to set up a silk manufacture, and encouragements were given for the making of silk; but they have long since laid aside all attempts of this nature.

If a slave resist his master, or those who correct him by his master's orders, and he, by the extremity of the correction, chance to die, the persons correcting him shall be indemnified.

All servants imported by shipping, who are not Christians, shall be slaves for life; and such as come by land shall serve twelve years; and if boys and girls till they are thirty.

All ministers officiating in any publick cure, and fix of their respective families, shall be exempted from publick taxes.

None shall buy or sell but by English weights and measures.

The widow may make choice of any third part of the real estate, where her husband dies intestate, and shall have a third of the personal estate, where there are not more than two children; but where there are more the personal estate shall be divided equally between the mother and the children.

CHAP. IX.

Of the religion both of the Indians and English; and of their marriages, women, children, slaves, and funeral rites.

THE first account we meet with of the religion of the Virginians is that given us by Mr. HARRIOT, an officer of Sir WALTER RALEGH's, whom he employed in the discovery of that country.

Mr. HARRIOT relates, that the Indians believed there were many gods of various orders and degrees, though but one only supreme God, who had existed from all eternity, and by whom every thing in the universe was produced into a being: That he first made gods of a superior order to be his ministers and instruments in the succeeding creation and government of the world: That he afterwards created the sun, moon, and stars, which are gods of an inferior class, who were to be ministers and agents of those of the higher order: That then the waters were created, out of which the gods formed all other creatures, visible and invisible; but last of all, a woman, who being impregnated by one of the gods, had children, from whom all the rest of mankind proceeded; but how long it was since the creation they do not pretend to know.

They believed that all their gods were of human form, and therefore represented them as such in the images they made, and placed in their temples; in some of which he had seen one, and in others two or three; and that the Indians worshipped, prayed, sung, and made offerings to them.

They

CHAP.

IX.

A state of
rewards
and pu-
nishments.

They believe, that as soon as the soul is departed from the body (according to its behaviour in this world) it is either carried to heaven, the habitation of the gods, to enjoy perpetual happiness, or else to a great pit or gulph; which as well as their paradise they take to be in the most western part of the world, there to burn and be tormented for ever, which place of torment they call Popogoffo; and for the confirmation of their opinion, they related, that a few years before the arrival of the English the grave of a certain wicked man, who had been buried the day before, being seen to move, he was taken up alive, and declared that his soul had been carried to the very entrance of Popogoffo; but that he was saved by one of the gods, who ordered him to return and tell his friends what they should do to avoid that place of torment: That another, who was buried the same year the English came thither, being taken in like manner out of his grave, declared that his soul, immediately after death, was conducted along a spacious road, planted on each side with beautiful groves and the most delicious fruits, such as he had never seen before, or was able to describe. This road led him to magnificent buildings, near which he met his father, who commanded him to return to his friends, and instruct them what they should do to obtain the pleasures of that place.

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That this he learned from their Priests (with some of whom he was very intimate) and this he took to be the sum of their religion: That upon his acquainting them with the principles of the Christians, they gave that religion the preference to their own; nay, the Weroances and great men, when they were sick, would desire the English, whom they looked upon as a kind of inferior deities, to mediate with heaven, that their lives might be spared, or that after death they might enjoy eternal bliss: Such was the opinion they at first entertained of the English; and had it not been for the unhappy conduct of some of our first adventurers, it had been then the easiest matter in the world to have brought the Indians to have embraced our religion and submitted to our government, without using any manner of force. Our ships and artillery, our fire-arms, our clocks and other pieces of mechanism were so amazing, so much beyond any thing they were acquainted with, that they looked upon them as more than human productions; esteeming them either the works of gods, or of men exceedingly favoured and instructed by the gods.

Worship
of the sun.

Mr. WHITE, who was Governor of one of the first colonies, sent to Virginia by Sir WALTER RALEGH, relates, that they worshipped the sun with great solemnity: That at break of day, before they eat or drank, men, women, and children upwards of ten years of age, went to the water and bathed until the sun arose, and then offered tobacco to this planet; and that they did the like at sun-set.

The next gentleman who gives us an account of the religion of the Virginians is Captain SMITH, who was very instrumental in establishing the first colony at James Town, and had the government of it a considerable time.

But as Colonel BEVERLEY has included great part of Mr. SMITH's narrative in the relation he gives of the religious rites and ceremonies of the Virginians, I shall in the first place present the reader with what the Colonel has given us on this head.

I do not pretend (says Colonel BEVERLEY) to have dived into all the mysteries of the Indian religion, nor have I had such opportunities of learning them as Father HENNEPIN and Baron LAHONTAN had by living much among the Indians in their towns; and because my rule is to say nothing but what I know to be truth, I shall be very brief upon this head.

In the writings of these two gentlemen I cannot but observe direct contradictions, altho' they travelled the same country, and the accounts they pretend to give, are of the same Indians. One makes them have very refined notions of a Deity; and the other does not allow them so much as the name of a God: For which reason I think myself obliged sincerely to deliver what I can warrant to be true upon my own knowledge, it being neither my interest nor any part of my vanity to impose upon the world.

I have been at several of the Indian Towns, and conversed with some of the most sensible of them in Virginia; but I could learn little from them, it being reckoned sacrilege to divulge the principles of their religion; however, the following adventure discovered something of it: As I was ranging the woods with some other friends, we fell upon their Quiccofan (which is their house of religious worship) at a time when the whole town was gathered together in another place, to consult about the bounds of the lands given them by the English.

Thus finding ourselves masters of so fair an opportunity (because we knew the Indians were engaged) we resolved to make use of it and to examine their Quiccofan, the inside of which they never suffer any Englishman to see; and having removed about fourteen logs from the door with which it was barricado'd, we went in, and at first found nothing but naked walls and a fire-place in the middle: This house was about eighteen foot wide and thirty foot long, built after the manner of their other cabbins, but larger, with a hole in the middle of the roof to vent the smoke, the door being at one end. Round about the house at some distance from it were set up posts, with faces carved on them and painted. We did not observe any window or passage for the light, except the door and the vent of the chimney. At last we observed that at the farther end about ten foot of the room was cut off by a partition of very close matts, and it was dismal dark behind that partition. We were at first scrupulous to enter this obscure place; but at last we ventured, and groping about we felt some posts in the middle; then reaching our hands up these posts we found large shelves, and upon these shelves three matts, each of which was rolled up and sewed fast: These we handed down to the light, and to save time in unlacing the seams we made use of a knife, and ripped them without doing any damage to the matts. In one of these we found some vast bones, which we judged to be the bones of men; particularly we measured one thigh-bone, and found it two foot and nine inches long. In another matt we found some Indian Tomahawks finely grained and painted. These resembled the wooden faulchion used by Prize-fighters in England, except that they have no guard to save the fingers. They were made of a rough heavy wood, and among these Tomahawks was the largest that ever I saw. There was fastened to it a wild turkey's beard, painted red, and two of the longest feathers of his wings hung dangling at it by a string

CHAP.

IX.

Colonel
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CHAP. IX. string of about six inches long, tied to the head of a Tomahawk.

In the third matt there was something which we took to be their idol, tho' of an underling sort, and wanted putting together. The pieces were these, first, a board three foot and a half long, with one indenture at the upper end like a fork, to fasten the head upon; from thence half way down were half hoops nailed to the edges of the board, at about four inches distance, which were bowed out to represent the breast and belly: On the lower half was another board, of half the length of the other, fastened to it by joints or pieces of wood, which being set on each side stood out about fourteen inches from the body, and half as high. We supposed the use of those to be for the bowing out of the knees when the image was set up. There were pack'd up with these things red and blue pieces of cotton cloth, rolls made up for arms, thighs, and legs bent too at the knees. It would be difficult to see one of these images at this day, because the Indians are extremely shy of exposing them. We put the cloaths upon the hoops for the body, and fastened on the arms and legs, to have a view of the representation; but the head and rich bracelets which it is usually adorned with were not there, or at least we did not find them. We had not leisure to make a very narrow search, for having spent about an hour in this enquiry, we feared the business of the Indians might be near over, and that if we staid longer we might be caught offering an affront to their superstition; for this reason we wrapt up those holy materials in their several matts again, and laid them on the shelf where we found them. This image, when dressed up, might look very venerable in that dark place where it is not possible to see it but by the glimmering light that is let in by lifting up a piece of the matting, which we observed to be conveniently hung for that purpose; for when the light of the door and chimney glance in several directions upon the image through that little passage, it must needs make a strange representation, which these poor people are taught to worship with a devout ignorance. There are other things that contribute towards carrying on this imposture. First, the chief Conjuror enters within the partition in the dark, and may, undiscerned, move the image as he pleases. Secondly, A Priest of authority stands in the room with the people to keep them from being too inquisitive, under the penalty of the Deity's displeasure and his own censure.

Their idol bears a several name in every nation, as OKEE, QUICCO, KIWASA. They do not look upon it as one single being, but reckon there are many of the same nature. They likewise believe that there are titular Deities in every town.

There are still some things in Captain SMITH's relation that Colonel BEVERLEY hath not mentioned, as I remember, or at least in the manner the Captain expresses himself, particularly, that the Virginians do not only worship the DEVIL, whom they call OKEE, but converse familiarly with him.

That they adore every thing they fear, as fire, water, thunder, great guns, fire-arms, and horses; and some of them seeing an English boar, according to SMITH, appeared ready to adore him.

He makes also the head-dress and ornaments of their Priests to be the same with those Mr. BE-

VERLEY assigns to their Conjurors, and says their devotions are generally sung; that they assemble about a great fire singing and dancing, shouting, and making a most hideous noise with their rattles for some hours; after which they sit down and spend the rest of the day in feasting, having made an offering of the first piece to the fire, as it is said the better sort do at every meal. Some relate, that they do not so much as take a pipe of tobacco but they offer the first fumes of it to the sun, or to the fire, as incense.

From these several accounts of the religion of the Virginians, it may be observed, that there are some things in which all travellers agree, tho' they differ in many, and there is scarce any one writer consistent with himself throughout.

They all agree, that the Indians acknowledge one God, the creator of all things, who is infinitely happy in himself, but has little or no regard to the trifling concerns of men, having committed the government of the world to certain inferior Deities or Demons, to whom therefore they pay their devotions; and these our travellers have denominated DEVILS: But if the Indians pray to these Demons, and depend on them for health, victory, and fruitful seasons, which they dispense to mankind, in their opinion, as well as afflictions and calamities, why we may not call these imaginary Deities Gods as well as those the Greeks and Romans paid their devotions to, I cannot conceive; tho' we admit both the one and the other to be false Gods, or rather no Gods.

Again; their Priests are frequently called Conjurors, and some make the Priest and the Conjuror distinct officers; but it is admitted that both of them perform the same religious rites sometimes; both pretend to foretel future events, to command the elements, and do abundance of supernatural things, and both of them are Physicians: So that I am apt to think they are of the same tribe and order, and only receive different denominations according as they apply themselves to this or that part of their office; tho' it seems probable from these relations, that before a Priest is admitted to be a Prophet or Pawawer, he is obliged to undergo a very severe discipline: And for ought I perceive, he is neither allowed to act as a Priest or Prophet until he is advanced in years. Those writers seem to be under a mistake who relate, that their Priests are elected out of the best families; for it is very evident the priesthood is hereditary amongst them. Those young noblemen that undergo the discipline of Huskanawing, it appears, are designed for Cock-rouses, or Ministers of State, and Generals, and not for the priesthood.

Nor is the Indian creed in all particulars consistent with itself; for if they apprehend God to be unconcerned at their behaviour in this life, how comes it to pass that they believe he consigns the good to Paradise and the wicked to an eternity of torments? If he does this he must inspect their actions and have a regard to their everlasting welfare, tho' it should be admitted he has committed the conduct of their affairs in this life to his Angels, or, in the language of the vulgar to Devils.

As to the state of the Christian religion in Virginia, Colonel BEVERLEY has given us the following account of it.

There is in each parish a convenient church built either of timber, brick, or stone, and decently adorned with every thing necessary for the celebration of divine service.

CHAP. IX.

They usually dance with rattles in their hands.

Remarks on their several relations.

How does our author know this?

Captain Smith's account of their religion.

The state of the Christian religion in Virginia.

CHAP.
IX.

If a parish be of greater extent than ordinary, it hath generally a chapel of ease, and some of the parishes have two such chapels, besides the church, for the greater convenience of the parishioners. In these chapels the Minister preaches alternately, always leaving a reader to read prayers when he can't attend himself.

The people are generally of the Church of England, which is the religion established by law in that country, from which there are very few dissenters; yet liberty of conscience is given to all other congregations pretending to christianity, on condition they submit to all parish duties. They have but one set conventicle amongst them, namely, a meeting of quakers in Nanfamund County; others that have lately been being now extinct: And 'tis observed by letting them alone they decrease daily.

The maintenance for a Minister there is appointed by law at sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco per annum (be the parish great or small) as also a dwelling-house and glebe, together with certain perquisites for marriages and funeral-sermons. That which makes the difference in the benefices of the clergy is the value of the tobacco, according to the distinct species of it, or according to the place of its growth. Besides, in large and rich parishes, more marriages will probably happen, and more funeral-sermons.

The fee, by law, for a funeral-sermon is forty shillings, or four hundred pounds of tobacco; for a marriage by license twenty shillings, or two hundred pounds of tobacco; and where the banns are proclaimed only five shillings, or fifty pounds of tobacco.

When these salaries were granted, the assembly valued tobacco at ten shillings per hundred, at which rate the sixteen thousand pounds comes to fourscore pounds sterling; but in all parishes where the sweet scented grows, since the law for appointing Agents to view the tobacco was made, it has generally been sold for double that value, and never under.

In some parishes likewise there are, by donation, stocks of cattle and Negroes on the glebes, which are also allowed the Minister for his use and encouragement, he only being accountable for the surrender of the same value when he leaves the parish.

For the well governing of these and all other parochial affairs, a vestry is appointed in each parish. These vestries consist of twelve gentlemen of the parish, and were first chosen by the vote of the parishioners; but upon the death of any have been continued by the survivor's electing another in his place. These in the name of the parish make presentation of Ministers, and have the sole power of all parish assessments. They are qualified for this employment by subscribing to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. If there be a Minister incumbent, he always presides in the vestry.

For the ease of the vestry in general, and for discharging the business of the parish, they chuse two from among themselves to be Church-wardens, which must be annually changed, that the burthen may lie equally upon all. The business of these Church-wardens is to see the orders and agreements of the vestry performed to collect all the parish tobacco, and distribute it to the several claimers; to make up the accounts of the parish, and to present all profaneness and immorality to the County-courts, and there prosecute it.

By these the tobacco of the Minister is collected, and brought him in hogheads convenient for shipping, so that he is at no farther trouble but to receive it in that condition. This was ordained by the law of the country for the ease of the Ministers, that so they being delivered from the trouble of gathering in their dues, may have the more time to apply themselves to the exercises of their holy function, and live in a decency suitable to their order. It may here be observed, that the labour of a dozen Negroes does but answer this salary, and seldom yields a greater crop of sweet-scented tobacco, than is allowed to each of their Ministers.

Probates of wills and administrations are, according to their law, petitioned for in the County-courts, and by them security taken and certified to the Governor, which, if he approves the commission, is then signed by them without fee. Marriage-licenses are issued by the Clerks of these courts, and signed by the Justice in commission, or by any person deputed by the Governor, for which a fee of twenty shillings must be paid to the Governor. The power of induction upon presentation of Ministers is also in the Governor.

In the year 1642, when the sectaries began to spread themselves so much in England, the assembly made a law against them, to prevent their preaching and propagating their doctrines in that colony. They admitted none to preach in their churches but Ministers ordained by some reverend Bishop of the Church of England; and the Governor for the time being, as the most suitable publick person among them, was left sole judge of the certificates of such ordination, and so he has continued ever since.

The only thing I have heard the clergy complain of there, is what they call precariousness in their livings; that is, they have not inductions generally, and therefore are not intitled to a freehold; but are liable, without trial or crime alledged, to be put out by the vestry: And tho' some have prevailed with their vestries to present them for induction, the great number of their Ministers have no induction, yet they are very rarely turned out without some great provocation; and then, if they have not been abominably scandalous, they immediately get other parishes: For there is no benefice whatsoever in that country that remains without a Minister if they can get one, and no qualified Minister ever yet returned from that country for want of preferment. They have frequently several vacant parishes.

The college, as has been hinted, was founded by their late Majesties King WILLIAM and Queen MARY in the year 1692, towards the founding of which they gave one thousand nine hundred eighty-five pounds, fourteen shillings and ten pence. They gave more towards the endowment of it twenty thousand acres of land, the revenue of one penny per pound on tobacco exported to the plantations from Virginia and Maryland, and the Surveyor-General's place of that colony then void, and appointed them a Burgess to represent them in the assemblies. The land hitherto has yielded little or no profit, the duty of one penny per pound brings in about two hundred pounds a year, and the Surveyor-General's place about fifty pounds a year; to which the assembly have added a duty on skins and furs exported, worth about one hundred pounds a year.

By the same charter likewise their Majesties granted a power to certain gentlemen, and the survivors of them as Trustees, to build and establish

The clergy's condition precarious here.

The college endowed.

CHAP.
IX.

blish the college by the name of William and Mary College; to consist of a President, and six Masters or Professors, and an hundred Scholars, more or less, graduates or non-graduates, enabling the said Trustees as a body-corporate to enjoy annuities spiritual and temporal of the value of two thousand Pounds sterling per ann. with a proviso to convert it to the building and adorning the college, and then to make over the remainder to the President and Masters, and their successors; who are now become a corporation; and by the said patent enabled to purchase and hold to the value of two thousand pounds a year, and no more.

The Visitors of the college.

The persons named in the charter for Trustees are made Governors and Visitors of the college, and to have a perpetual succession by the name of Governors and Visitors, with power to fill up their own vacancies happening by the death or removal of any of them. Their complete number may be eighteen, but not to exceed twenty, of which one is to be Rector, and annually chosen by themselves on the first Monday after the 25th of March.

These have the nomination of the President and Masters of the college, and all other Officers belonging to it; and the power of making statutes and ordinances for the better rule and government thereof. The building is to consist of a quadrangle, two sides of which are not yet carried up. In this part are contained all conveniences of cooking, brewing, baking, &c. and convenient rooms for the reception of the President and Masters, with many more Scholars than are as yet come to it; in this part are also the hall and school-room.

The college burnt.

The college was intended to be an entire square when finished; two sides of this was finished at the latter end of Governor NICHOLSON's time; and the Masters and Scholars, with the necessary house-keepers and servants were settled in it, and so continued till the first year of Governor NOTT's time, in which it happened to be burnt (no-body knows how) down to the ground, and very little saved that was in it; the fire breaking out about ten o'clock at night in a publick time.

The Governor and all the gentlemen that were in town came up to the lamentable spectacle, many getting out of their beds; but the fire had got such power before it was discovered, and was so fierce, that there was no hopes of putting a stop to it; and therefore no attempts made to that end.

Rebuilt.

In this condition it lay till the arrival of Colonel SPOTSWOOD, in whose time it was raised again to the same bigness as before, and settled.

There had been a donation of large sums of money by the honourable ROBERT BOYLE, Esq; to this college, for the education of Indian children therein. In order to make use of this, they had formerly bought half a dozen captive Indian children slaves, and put them to the college; this method did not satisfy this Governor, as not answering the intent of the donor; so to work he goes among the tributary and other neighbouring Indians, and in a short time brought them to send their children to be educated, and brought new nations, some of which lived four hundred miles off, taking their children for hostages and education equally, at the same time setting up a school in the frontiers convenient to the Indians, that they might often see their children under the first management, where they learned to read, paying fifty Pounds per annum out of his own pocket to the School-master there; after which many were brought to the college, where they

Schools erected for the natives.

CHAP.
IX.
were taught until they grew big enough for their hunting and other exercises, at which time they were returned home, and smaller taken in their stead.

There are large tracts of land, houses, and other things granted to free-schools for the education of children in many parts of the country; and some of these are so large that of themselves they are a handsome maintenance to a master: But the additional allowance which gentlemen give with their sons renders them a comfortable subsistence. These schools have been founded by the legacies of well-inclined gentlemen, and the management of them hath commonly been left to the direction of the County-court, or to the vestry of the respective parishes. In all other places where such endowments have not been already made, the people join and build schools for their children, where they may learn upon very easy terms. As to the condition of the poor in this country, they live in so happy a climate, and have so fertile a soil, that no body is poor enough to beg or want food; tho' they have abundance of people that are lazy enough to deserve it. I remember the time when five pounds were left by a charitable testator to the poor of the parish he lived in, and it lay nine years before the executors could find one poor enough to accept of this legacy; but at last it was given to an old woman. So that this may in truth be termed the best poor man's country in the world. But as they have no body that is poor to beggary, so they have few that are rich, their estates being regulated by the Merchants in England; who, it seems, know best what is profit enough for them in the sale of their Tobacco and other trade.

The condition of the poor in Virginia.

When it happens that by accident or sickness any person is disabled from working, and so is forced to depend on the alms of the parish, he is then very well provided for, not at the common rate of some countries (I presume he means England) that give but just sufficient to preserve the poor from perishing; but the unhappy creature is received into some charitable planter's house, where he is at the publick charge boarded plentifully.

Many when they are crippled, or by long sickness become poor, will sometimes ask to be free from levies and taxes; but very few others do ever ask for the parish alms, or indeed so much as stand in need of them.

Mr. BEVERLEY, in speaking of the Virginian women, says, that their dress is but little different from that of the men, except in the tying of their hair: But the ornaments of women of distinction are deep necklaces, pendants, and bracelets made of small cylinders of conch-shell, which they call Peak: That they keep their skins clean and shining with Oil, whereas the men are usually daubed all over with paint or grease.

Of their women.

That the women are remarkable for their small round breasts, which scarce ever hang down, even when they come to be old: And as they commonly go naked from the navel upwards, and from the middle of the thigh downwards, they have the advantage of discovering their fine limbs and shape.

The Indians solemnize their marriages publicly, and esteem their vows made at that time sacred and inviolable, as Mr. BEVERLEY informs us; but he does not give us any account of the manner of solemnizing them. He adds, that either man or woman may obtain a divorce where they cannot agree: But so great is the scandal of a divorce,

Marriages.

Divorce.

CHAP. IX. voice, that married people very seldom let their quarrels proceed to a separation. However, when this does happen, they esteem all the ties of matrimony dissolved, and either party is at liberty to marry elsewhere; but while the contract continues disloyalty is esteemed the most unpardonable crime in either party.

Upon a divorce the children go with the one or the other, according to the affections of the parents for them; for children are not reckoned a burthen here, but rather a part of their treasure; and if they happen to disagree about dividing their children, they part them as equally as may be, allowing the man his choice.

And whereas it is reported that young Indian females may prostitute themselves for peak, beads, or almost any toy, he looks upon this to be a calumny; for if a single woman have a child, it is such a disgrace that she can never get her a husband afterwards. But the Colonel seems to except some cases, for page 159, he says, where an Indian of quality visits a neighbour, after he has been entertained with feasting and dancing, a brace of young beautiful virgins are chosen to wait upon him at night, who undress the happy man, and as soon as he is in bed gently lay themselves down by him; and they esteem it a breach of hospitality not to submit to every thing he desires. But he adds, that this kind ceremony is only used to men of great distinction: And the young women are so far from suffering in their reputations by this piece of civility, that they are envied by their companions, as having had the greatest honour in the world done them when they were singled out for that purpose.

Children. When a child is born, instead of keeping it warm, and swaddling it up in a great many cloaths, as European nurses do, they plunge it over head and ears in cold water, and then bind it naked to a board with a hole for evacuation; but the board is lined with cotton, wool, furs, or other soft covering to make the child's lodging the easier; for it remains thus fastened to the board several months, being only taken off every day to be washed and cleaned. While the child is thus fastened to the board, they either lay it flat on its back, or set the board leaning against something, or else they hang it up by a string on the bough of a tree, or against a wall: And when it is let loose from the board they suffer it to crawl about on all fours, till it is able to go alone, except when the woman goes abroad; and then she takes her child at her back, naked, if it be in summer, having one of the legs under her arm, and the opposite hand of the child in hers, over her shoulder, the child hanging about the neck with the other hand; but in the winter she carries her child in her mantle or watchcoat, as the beggars do theirs in blankets, leaving only the head exposed to the air.

English women. As to the English women, Mr. BEVERLEY observes, that the colony was at first put to hard shifts, very few going over with the adventurers, who seemed to have an aversion to the Indian women, either on account of their paganism or their complexions; and some, perhaps, were apprehensive such wives would conspire with their relations and countrymen to destroy the colony. But so soon as the colony was settled, and the planters were in good circumstances, a great many girls went over thither from England, in expectation of making their fortunes, carrying certificates with them of their chaste behaviour on this

side the water; for without such certificates, the Colonel insinuates, the cautious planters, though in never so much distress for wives, would not admit them to their beds. If they were but moderately qualified in other respects in those days they might depend upon being well married. The Planters were so far from expecting money with a woman, that it was a common thing to buy a deserving wife, who came over thither a servant, at the price of an hundred Pounds, if she carried good testimonials with her. But afterwards, when the fruitfulness of Virginia was better known, and the dangers incident to an infant settlement were over, people in good circumstances went over thither with their families, either to improve their estates, or to avoid persecution at home: And particularly in the time of the grand rebellion several good Cavalier families retired thither, as those of the other side did upon the restoration of King CHARLES the second: Yet Virginia had but few of the latter, having distinguished herself by her loyalty in adhering to the royal family after all other people had submitted to the usurpation. The round-heads, for the most part therefore went to New-England.

The distinction usually made between servants and slaves is, that the first are but temporary servants and usually Christians; whereas the latter with their posterity are perpetually slaves, unless they happen to be enfranchised.

CHAP. IX. servants and slaves, the difference between them.

The custom, in relation to temporary servants, where they have no indentures that limit the time of their service is, that if such servants be under nineteen years of age, they must be brought into court to have their ages adjudged; and from the ages they are judged to be of they must serve until twenty-four, but if they be adjudged upwards of nineteen, they are then only to be servants for five years.

Male servants and slaves of both sexes are employed together in tilling and manuring the ground, in sowing and planting tobacco, corn, &c. Some distinction is made between them in their cloaths and food, but the work of both is no other than what the overseers, the freemen, and the planters themselves do.

Sufficient distinction is also made between the female servants and slaves; for a white woman is rarely or never put to work in the ground if she be good for any thing else: And to discourage all planters from using any woman so, their law makes female servants working in the ground titheable, while it suffers all other white women to be absolutely exempted; whereas on the other hand it is a common thing to work a woman slave out of doors; nor does the law make any distinction in her taxes, whether her work be abroad or at home.

Because I have heard (adds the Colonel) how strangely cruel and severe the service of this country is represented in some parts of England, I cannot forbear affirming that the work of their servants and slaves is no other than what every common freeman does: Neither is any servant required to do more a day than his overseer. And I can assure you, with great truth, that generally their slaves are not worked near so hard nor so many hours in a day as the husbandmen and day-labourers in England. An overseer is a man that hath served his time, and acquired the skill and character of an experienced planter; and is therefore entrusted with the direction of the servants and slaves.

But

CHAP. IX. But to complete this account of servants, I shall give you a short relation of the care their laws take that they may be used as tenderly as possible.

By the laws of their country.

1. All servants whatsoever have their complaints heard without fee or reward; but if the master be found faulty the charge of the complaint is cast upon him; otherwise the business is done ex officio.

2. Any Justice of peace may receive the complaint of a servant, and order every thing relating thereto until the next county-court; where it will be finally determined.

3. All masters are under the correction and censure of the county-courts, to provide for their servants good and wholesome diet, cloathing, and lodging.

4. They are always to appear upon the first notice given of the complaint of their servants; otherwise to forfeit the service of them until they do appear.

5. All servants complaints are to be received at any time in court without process, and shall not be delayed for want of form; but the merits of the complaint must be immediately enquired into by the Justices; and if the master cause any delay therein, the court may remove such servants if they see cause until the master will come to trial.

6. If a master shall at any time disobey an order of court made upon any complaint of a servant, the court is empowered to remove such servant forthwith to another master, who will be kinder; giving to the former master the produce only (after fees deducted) of what such servant shall be sold for by publick out-cry.

7. If a master should be so cruel as to use his servant ill that is fallen sick or lame in his service, and thereby rendered unfit for labour, he must be removed by the Church-wardens out of the way of such cruelty, and boarded in some good planter's house, until the time of his freedom, (the charge of which must be laid before the next county-court, which has power to levy the same from time to time upon the goods and chattels of the master;) after which the charge of such boarding is to come upon the parish in general.

8. All hired servants are entitled to these privileges.

9. No master of a servant can make a new bargain for service or other matter without the privity and consent of the county-court, to prevent the master's over-reaching or terrifying such servant into an unreasonable compliance.

10. The property of all money and goods sent over thither to servants, or carried in with them, is reserved to themselves, and remains entirely at their disposal.

11. Each servant, at his freedom, receives of his master ten bushels of corn (which is sufficient almost for a year,) two new suits of cloaths, both linen and woolen, and a gun of twenty shillings value; and then becomes as free in all respects, and as much intitled to the liberties and privileges of the country as any other of the inhabitants or natives are, if such servants are not aliens.

12. Each servant has then also a right to take up fifty acres of land where he can find any unpatented.

This is what the laws prescribe in favour of servants; by which you may find that the cruelties and severities imputed to that country are an unjust reflection; for no people more abhor the

VOL. III.

thoughts of such usage than the Virginians, nor take more precaution to prevent it now, whatever it was in former days.

As to convicted malefactors, who are transported to the plantations to serve a certain number of years, Mr. BEVERLEY observes, that the greedy planter is always ready to buy them; but he is of opinion they will in the end prove very destructive to that country, there having been a great many robberies and murders committed there of late years; which he looks upon as the effect of that law.

CHAP. X.

Of their fortifications, wars, and forces; and of their shipping, foreign trade, and coin; as also of their roads and way of travelling; and of their stones, earthen, and minerals.

THE fortifications of the Indians consist only of a wooden palisadæ or stockade, about ten or twelve foot high, and when they would make themselves very safe (says Colonel BEVERLEY) they have a triple palisadæ, with which they sometimes encompass their whole town; but for the most part only their King's houses, and as many more as they judge sufficient to harbour all their people upon the approach of an enemy: And within these fortresses they never fail to secure their idols and sacred relics, with the embalmed bodies of their deceased Princes. In choosing the ground for their fort, they always take care to have water enough, and a spacious parade to draw up their troops; in which they make a fire every evening and dance round it, either in devotion or for their diversion, or both; for I find travellers are not agreed about it.

The same writer informs us, that when the Indians are about to enter upon a war or any other important enterprize, the King summons a convention of his great men to assist at a grand council, which, in their language, is called a Matchacomoco. At these assemblies it is the custom, especially when a war is expected, for the young men to paint themselves irregularly with black, red, white, and other motly colours, making one half of their face red (for instance,) and the other half black or white, with great circles of a different hue round their eyes, with monstrous mustaches, and a thousand fantastical figures all over the rest of their body; and to make themselves appear yet more ugly and frightful, they strew feathers, down, or the hair of beasts upon the paint while it is still moist and capable of making those light substances stick fast on. When they are thus formidably equipped, they rush into the Matchacomoco, and instantly begin some very grotesque dance, holding their arrows or tomahawks in their hands, and all the while singing the ancient glories of their nation, and especially of their own families, threatening and making signs with their tomahawks what a dreadful havoc they intend to make amongst their enemies.

Notwithstanding these terrible airs they give themselves, they are very timorous when they come to action, and rarely perform any open or bold feats; but the execution they do is chiefly by surprise and ambush.

As in the beginning of a war they have assemblies for consultation, so Colonel BEVERLEY observes, upon any victory or other great success,

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CHAP.
X.Treaties
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they have publick meetings again for processions and triumphs; which are accompanied with all the marks of a wild and extravagant joy.

They use formal embassies for treating, and are very ceremonious in concluding of peace, burying a tomahawk, raising an heap of stones, or planting a tree on the place, in token that all enmity is buried with the tomahawk, that all the desolations of war are at an end, and that friendship shall flourish among them like a tree.

They have a peculiar way of receiving strangers, and distinguishing whether they come as friends or enemies, tho' they do not understand each others language: And that is by a singular method of smoaking tobacco, in which these things are always observed.

1. They take a pipe much larger and bigger than the common tobacco-pipe, expressly made for that purpose, with which all towns are plentifully provided; they call them the pipes of peace.

2. This pipe they always fill with tobacco before the face of the strangers and light it.

3. The chief man of the Indians, to whom the strangers come, takes two or three whiffs, and then hands it to the chief of the strangers.

4. If the stranger refuses to smook it is a sign of war.

5. If it be peace, the chief of the strangers takes a whiff or two in the pipe, and presents it to the next great man of the town they come to visit. He, after taking two or three whiffs, gives it back to the next of the strangers, and so on alternately until they have passed all the persons of note on each side, and then the ceremony is ended.

After a little discourse, they march together in a friendly manner into the town, and then proceed to explain the business upon which they come. This method is as general a rule among all the Indians of those parts of America, as the flag of truce is among the Europeans. And tho' the fashion of the pipe differ as well as the ornaments of it, according to the humour of the several nations, yet it is a general rule to make those pipes remarkably bigger than those for common use, and to adorn them with beautiful wings and feathers of Birds, as likewise with peak, beads, or other toys.

Such a pipe is a pass and safe conduct among the allies of the nation which has given it: And in all embassies the Ambassador carries that calumet or pipe, as the symbol of peace, which is always respected; for the savages are generally persuaded that some great misfortune would befall them if they violated the publick faith of the calumet.

I come in the next place to treat of the forts and forces of the English in Virginia: And I find they formerly had forts at the heads of the rivers in the up-land country, to defend them against the incursions of the Indians, and others at the mouths of the rivers, and at the entrance of the bay of Chesapeake, for the security of their shipping against pyrates and enemies; but these have been suffered to decay, and they at this day depend altogether on the militia at land, and the men of war that are sent thither from England, to defend them against any attacks from the seaward. Having nothing therefore to observe in regard to their fortifications, give me leave, before I enquire into their militia, to take notice of some elegant buildings they have erected of late years at Williamsburgh; which may now very well be deemed the capital of Virginia, as it is the seat of the Governor.

There are, according to Mr. BEVERLEY,

three fine publick buildings lately erected, which, according to his opinion, are the most magnificent of any in English America, viz. 1. The college, which has been already described. 2. The capitol, or state-house, where the general assembly sits: And, 3. The Governor's house.

In the capitol the council and general-courts are held, and here are apartments for the great officers and others; and not far from it stands the publick prison for criminals, having a large open yard contrived for the health of the prisoners; and at the end of it is another prison for debtors. The Governor's house is not the largest of these buildings, but by far the most beautiful. This was enacted to be built by the general assembly in Governor NOTT's time; but was finished and elegantly adorned, in the manner we see it at present, by Governor SPOTSWOOD. In his time also was built a new brick church and magazine of arms; he also altered the plan of the town, which had been laid out in the whimsical form of a W and M, giving it quite another face.

All these buildings are of brick, covered with shingle, except the debtors prison, which is flat-roofed: Their private buildings also were much improved in the time of Governor SPOTSWOOD, several gentlemen building themselves large brick houses, many rooms on a floor; for they do not affect to have them high as they have room enough to build upon, and are in this way of building less exposed to the high winds which rage on this coast at some seasons of the year: But though they have not many stories in their houses they delight in spacious rooms, and of late have made them much loftier than formerly; their windows are large and fashed with crown glass, and their apartments adorned with rich furniture; their dairies, kitchens, and other offices stand at a distance from the dwelling-house.

Their tobacco-houses are built all of wood as open and airy as possible; which sort of building is the most convenient for curing their tobacco. These houses are covered with clap-board, as the others are with shingle; that is, oblong squares of cypress or pine-wood; tho' they have slate enough in some parts of the country, and good clay for making tiles; they have very few slate or tiled houses.

The militia are the only forces in Virginia. They are happy (according to Colonel BEVERLEY) in the enjoyment of an everlasting peace; which their poverty and want of towns secure to them. They have the Indians round about in subjection, and have no sort of apprehension from them: And for a foreign enemy it can never be worth their while to carry troops sufficient to conquer the country; and the scattering method of their settlements will not answer the charge of an expedition to plunder them; so that they feel none but the distant effects of war, which, however, keep them so poor that they can boast of nothing but the security of their persons and habitations.

The Governor is Lieutenant-General by his commission, and in each county does appoint the Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major, who have under them Captains, and other commissioned subaltern officers.

Every freeman (by which denomination they call all but indented or bought servants) from sixteen to sixty years of age is listed in the militia, which by a law is to be mustered in a general muster for each county once a year, and in single troops

CHAP.
X.Some pub-
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CHAP. X. troops and companies four times more at least. Most people there are skilful in the use of fire-arms, being all their lives accustomed to shoot in the woods. This, together with a little exercising, would soon make the militia useful.

The exact number of the militia is not now known, there not being any account of the number taken of late years; but I guess them at this time (1722,) to be about 18,000 effective men in all.

And whereas by the practice of former times upon the militia law, several people were obliged to travel sometimes thirty or forty miles to a private muster of a troop or company, which was very burdensome to some more than others to answer only the same duty; this Governor (SPOTSWOOD) just and regular in all his conduct, and sufficiently experienced to put his designs in execution, so contrived it, that by dividing the counties into several cantons or military districts, forming the troops and companies belonging to each canton, and by appointing the muster-fields in the centre of each, none are now obliged to travel above ten miles to a private muster, and yet the law is duly executed.

Instead of the soldiers they formerly kept constantly in forts, and of the others after them by the name of Rangers, to scour the frontiers clear of the Indian enemy, they have by law appointed the militia to march out upon such occasions under the command of the chief officer of the county, on receiving advice of any incursion or invasion: And if they upon such expedition remain in arms three days and upwards, they are then entitled to the pay for the whole time; but if it prove a false alarm, and they have no occasion to continue out so long, they can demand nothing.

The number of soldiers in each troop of light-horse are from thirty to sixty, as the convenience of the canton will admit, and in a company of foot about fifty or sixty. A troop or company may be got together at a day's warning.

As to their forces by sea, they are not suffered in any of our plantations to build men of war. But small guard-ships are sent from England from time to time, which just serve to defend them against pyrates, and hardly that; for ships have been carried away by pyrates within the capes of Virginia: Nor do the Virginians apply themselves to build merchant-ships themselves, though several are built by others in their country. Their only foreign trade worth mentioning is that to England; and that indeed is very great and very profitable to England, but not so to themselves; the merchants beating down the price of their tobacco to little or nothing.

Foreign trade and shipping.

They had also a trade to the Leeward-islands, whither they sent lumber, corn, and flesh; for which they took rum, sugar, and molasses in return; but New-England, New-York, and Carolina have in a manner beaten them out of that branch of business.

All sorts of naval stores are produced here; but these and a thousand other advantages which this country naturally affords, says the Colonel, the inhabitants make no use of; they see their naval stores daily enrich the English, who send hither to build ships, while they, instead of promoting such undertakings among themselves, discourage them: They see also what advantages the neighbouring plantations make of their grain and provisions, while they, who can produce them infinitely better, not only neglect the making a trade

thereof, but even a necessary provision against an accidental scarcity, contenting themselves with a supply of food from hand to mouth; so that if it should please God to send them an unseasonable year, there would not be found in the country provision sufficient to support the people for three months extraordinary.

CHAP. X.

By reason of the unfortunate method of the settlement and want of cohabitation, they cannot make a beneficial use of their flax, hemp, silk, silk-grass and wool; which might otherwise supply their necessities, and leave the produce of tobacco to enrich them when a gainful market can be found for it.

Manufactures.

Thus they depend altogether upon the liberality of nature without endeavouring to improve its gifts by art or industry; they sponge upon the blessings of a warm sun and a fruitful soil, and almost grudge the pains of gathering in the bounties of the earth. I should be ashamed to publish this slothful indolence of my countrymen (says Colonel BEVERLEY) but that I hope it will some time or other rouse them out of their lethargy, and excite them to make the most of all those happy advantages which nature has given them; and if it does this, I am sure they will have the goodness to forgive me.

Instead of silver and gold coin the Indians made use of shells before the English arrived; of which they had two sorts (viz.) peak and roenoke, and these served them for ornaments as well as money.

Coin.

Their peak is of two sorts, or rather two colours, for both are made of one shell, though of different colours; one is a dark purple cylinder and the other white. They are both made in size and figure alike, and commonly resemble the English bugles, but are not so transparent nor so brittle. They are wrought as smooth as glass, being one third of an inch long, and about a quarter diameter, strung by a hole drilled through the centre. The dark colour is the dearest, and distinguished by the name of wampom-peak. The Englishmen that are called Indian traders value the wampom-peak at eighteen pence per yard, and the white-peak at nine pence. The Indians also make pipes of this two or three inches long, and thicker than ordinary, which are much more valuable. They also make runtees of the small shells, and grind them as smooth as peak. These are either large like an oval bead, and drilled the length of the oval, or else they are circular, and flat almost an inch over, and one third of an inch thick, and drilled edge-ways. Of this shell they also make round tablets of about four inches diameter, which they polish as smooth as the other, and sometimes they etch or grave thereon circles, stars, a half-moon, or any other figure suitable to their fancy. These they wear instead of medals before or behind their neck, and use the peak, runtees, and pipes for coronets, bracelets, belts, or long strings hanging down before the breast; or else they lace their garments with them and adorn their tomahawks and every thing else they value with them.

Peak and roenoke described.

The roenoke also is current among them as money, but of far less value than the former. This is made of the cockle-shell broken into small bits with rough edges, drilled through in the same manner as beads, and this they use also as peak for ornament.

As to the money that passes among the English, Mr. BEVERLEY informs us, it is either gold of the stamp of Arabia, or silver and gold of the stamp of

English money.

CHAP.
X.

of France, Portugal, or the Spanish America. Spanish, French, and Portuguese-coined silver is settled by law at three pence three farthings the penny-weight. Gold of the same coin, and of Arabia, at five shillings the penny-weight. English guineas at twenty-six shillings each; and the silver, two pence in every shilling advance. English old coin goes by weight as the other gold and silver.

Weights
and mea-
sures.Earths,
stones, and
minerals.Coal and
stone.Quick
growth of
wood.Iron and
other mi-
nerals.Bristol
stones.

Pearl.

Their weights and measures are enacted to be of the same standard as in England by their general assembly.

And here I shall take an opportunity of giving a further description of their earths, stones, and minerals, from Mr. BEVERLEY. This gentleman informs us, that there are found in this country a great variety of earths for physick, cleansing, scouring, and making all sorts of potter's ware; such as antimony, talk, yellow and red oker, Fuller's-earth, pipe-clay, and other fat and fine clays, marle, &c.

They have besides in these upper parts coal for firing, slate for covering, and stones for building and flat paving in vast quantities, as likewise pebble-stones; nevertheless it has been confidently affirmed, by many who have been in Virginia, that there is not a stone in all the country. If such travellers (says Colonel BEVERLEY) knew no better than they said, my judgment of them is, that either they were people of extreme short memories, or else of very narrow observation: For though generally the lower parts are flat, and so free from stones that people seldom shoe their horses; yet in many places, and particularly near the falls of the rivers, are found vast quantities of stones fit for all kinds of uses. However, as yet there is seldom any use made of them, because commonly wood is to be had at much less trouble. And as for coals, it is not likely they should ever be used there in any thing but forges and great towns, if ever they happen to have any; for in their country plantations the wood grows at every man's door so fast that after it has been cut down it will in seven years time grow up again from seed to substantial firewood; and in eighteen or twenty years it will come to be very good board-timber.

For mineral earths it is believed they have great plenty and variety, that country being in a good latitude, and having great appearances of them. It has been proved too that they have both iron and lead, as appears by what was said before concerning the iron work set up at Falling-creek in James-river, where the iron proved reasonably good: But before they got into the body of the mine the people were cut off in that fatal massacre, and the project has never been set on foot since until of late; but it has not had its full trial.

The gold mine, of which there was once so much noise, may perhaps, be found hereafter to be some good metal when it comes to be fully examined. But be that as it will, the stones that are found near it in great plenty are valuable, their lustre approaching nearer to that of the diamond than those of Bristol or Kerry. There is no other fault in them but their softness, which the weather hardens when they have been some time exposed to it, they being found under the surface of the earth. This place has now plantations on it.

The Indians have some pearl amongst them, and formerly had many more; but how they came by them is uncertain: BEVERLEY is of opinion they found them in the oyster-banks which abound in this country.

CHAP.
X.Their way
of travel-
ling.

The Indians perform all their journeys on foot, the fatigue of which they endure to admiration. They make no other provision for their journey but their gun or bow, to supply them with food many hundred miles together. If they carry any flesh in their marches they barbacue it, or rather dry it by degrees at some distance over the clear coals of a wood-fire, just as the Charibees are said to preserve the bodies of their great men from corruption. Their sauce to this dry meat (if they have any besides a good stomach) is only a little bears oil, or oil of acorns, which last they force out by boiling the acorns in a strong lye. Sometimes also in their travels each man takes a pint or quart of rockahomony, that is, the finest Indian corn parched and beaten to powder. When they find their stomach empty (and cannot stay for the tedious cookery of other things) they put about a spoonful of this into their mouths and drink a draught of water upon it, which stays their stomachs, and enables them to pursue their journey without delay. But their main dependance is upon the game they kill by the way, and the natural fruits of the earth. They take no care about lodging in these journeys, but content themselves with the shade of a tree, or a little high grass.

When they fear being discovered or followed by an enemy in their marches, they every morning, having first agreed where they shall rendezvous at night, disperse themselves into the woods, and each takes a different way, that so the grass or leaves being but singly pressed may rise again and not betray them: For the Indians are very artful in following a track, even where the impressions are not visible to other people, especially if they have any advantage from the looseness of the earth, from the stiffness of the grass, or the stirring of the leaves, which in the winter season lie very thick upon the ground, and likewise afterwards if they do not happen to be burned.

When in their travels they meet with any waters which are not fordable, they make canoes of birch-bark, by slipping it whole off the tree in this manner: 1. They gash the bark quite round the tree at the length they would have the canoe of, then slit down the length from end to end; when that is done, they with their tomahawks easily open the bark, and strip it whole off. Then they force it open with sticks in the middle, slope the under side of the ends, and sew them up, which helps to keep the belly open; or if the birch-trees happen to be small, they sew the bark of two together. The seams they daub with clay or mud, and then pass over in these canoes by two or three or more at a time, according as they are in bigness. By reason of the lightness of these boats they can easily carry them over land if they foresee they are like to meet with any more waters that may impede their march; or else they leave them at the water-side, making no farther account of them, except it be to repass the same waters in their return.

The Indians, when they travel ever so small a way, being much embroiled in war one with another, use several marks painted upon their shoulders to distinguish themselves by, and shew what nation they are of. The usual mark is one, two, or three arrows. One nation paints these arrows upwards, another downwards, a third side-ways; and others again use other distinctions, from whence it came to pass that the Virginia assembly took up the humour of making badges of silver,

CHAP. X. silver, copper or brass, of which they gave a sufficient number to each nation in amity with the English, and then made a law that the Indians should not travel among the English plantations without one of these badges in their company, to shew that they are friends.

Hospitality of the natives supplies the place of inns. The English inhabitants are very courteous to travellers, who need no other recommendation but the being human creatures. A stranger has no more to do but to enquire upon the road where any gentleman or good house-keeper lives, and there he may depend upon his being received with hospitality. This good-nature is so general among their people, that the gentry, when they go abroad, order their principal servant to entertain all visitors with every thing the plantation affords. And the poor planters, who have but one bed, will very often sit up or lie upon a form or couch all night to make room for a weary traveller to repose himself after his journey.

CHAP. X. If there happen to be a churl that either out of covetousness or ill-nature won't comply with this general custom, he has a mark of infamy set upon him, and is abhorred by all.

As to the roads, there are no where better, the country being for the most part level, and scarce any rugged or deep ways; infomuch that it is a common thing to ride forty or fifty miles in an afternoon, and sometimes an hundred in a summer's day.

As the Indians travel on foot, so the English generally ride on horseback, or go by water from one part of the country to the other, their numerous rivers and creeks affording them water carriage to every plantation almost; which renders stage-coaches and waggons perfectly useless in most places: And I don't find they have any other way of carrying their merchandize or baggage by land than on the backs of porters or Pack-horses.

MARYLAND.

CHAP. I.

VOL. III.

24 D

THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

MARYLAND.

CHAP. I.

Of the name, situation, and extent of Maryland; and of the face of the country, its mountains, forests, seas, bays, rivers and springs.

CHAP.
I.

Name.

Situation.

KING CHARLES I. was pleased to give this province the name of Maryland, in honour to his Queen HENRIETTA-MARIA, daughter of HENRY IV. of France, when he granted it by patent to GEORGE CALVERT, Lord Baltimore, anno 1631.

Maryland is situated between the 38th and 40th degrees of northern latitude, and between the 74th and 78th degrees of western longitude, as is generally computed; but it must be confessed the western boundaries are very uncertain, some extending them beyond the Apalathean Mountains. Our first adventurers particularly were of opinion that Virginia, under which name they comprehended all the British Plantations, extended westward as far as the Pacifick Ocean, tho' later discoveries have convinced us that the continent to the westward of our plantations is more than two thousand miles broad; and should we continue to enlarge our western frontier for a thousand years to come, without any opposition from the natives, the French, or Spaniards, I doubt we should not be able to people or plant one half of it.

The north end of the bay of Chesapeake divides Maryland into two parts, called the

Eastern and Western Shores. It is bounded at present by part of Pennsylvania on the north, by another part of Pennsylvania and the Atlantick Ocean on the east; by Virginia Proper on the south, by the Apalathean Mountains on the west. It is separated from Virginia on the south, by the river Patowmack on the western shore, and the river Pocomoac on the eastern shore. The length from north to south being about an hundred and forty miles, and the breadth from east to west, if we extend it no farther than the country already planted, will not be so much, tho' its future limits possibly may extend much farther.

As to the face of the country, this, as well as Virginia, may be divided into: 1. The low lands next the sea: 2. The hilly country towards the heads of the rivers: And 3. The Apalathean Mountains beyond, which are exceeding high, and run parallel to the Atlantick Ocean, viz. from the north-east to the south-west.

The low lands heretofore consisted of swamps or woods, being one continued forest almost till the English cleared a good part of it, either to make room for their plantations, or for the building of ships and houses, and the

CHAP.
I.

Extent.

Face of
the coun-
try.

CHAP. I. the making Tobacco-casks and Pipe-staves for exportation; which has made such havoc among their woods, that some of them begin to apprehend the want of timber, especially near their ports and rivers; for as to that which lies remote from the water, it is of little use to them, the price of the carriage exceeding the value of the wood.

Towards the heads of the rivers there are a mixture of hills and vallies as in Virginia, well planted with a variety of nimber and fruit-trees; and where these are wanting there are large meadows or savannahs, where the grafs grows to a surprizing length.

Springs
and ri-
vers.

This country, like Virginia, also is watered with innumerable springs, which form a great many fine rivers, of which the chief are,

Patow-
mack.

1. Patowmack, which rising in the mountains on the north-west runs to the south-east, and separates Maryland from Virginia on the south-west, falling into the middle of the bay of Chesepeak.

Pocomoac.

2. The river Pocomoac, which rising near the ocean runs almost directly south, and then turning to the west falls into the bay of Chesepeak, near Watkins's Point; a line drawn from the mouth of the river directly east to the Atlantick Ocean is the true boundary between Maryland and Virginia on the eastern shore.

Patuxent.

3. The river Patuxent, which rising in Anne Arundel Country runs to the south-east, and falls into the bay of Chesepeak, about twenty miles to the northward of the mouth of Patowmack River.

Severn.

4. Severn River, which rises on the north-west part of Maryland, and running south-east falls into the upper-part of the said bay.

Cheptonk.

5. Cheptonk, which rising on the eastern shore runs to the south-west and falls into the same bay.

Sassafras.

6. Sassafras River, which rises in the north-east of Maryland, and running almost due west falls into the north end of the said bay.

Wicomo.

7. Wicomo River, which rising on the eastern shore runs to the south-west, and falls into the bay almost against the mouth of Patowmack River.

St. George

The 8th and last river I shall mention is St. George's, on the west side of the bay, which running from north to south falls into the mouth of the river Patowmack: Here the English first settled and built the town of St. Mary's. There are a great many more rivers capable of receiving large ships, which with the numerous bays and creeks that indent the land on every side, give the seamen an opportunity of bringing their vessels

Sea-coast.

up to the very planters doors to receive their freight, as in Virginia. As to that part of the coast of Maryland which lies upon the Atlantick Ocean, the same may be said of it which Colonel BEVERLEY says of Virginia, that it is a bold even coast with regular foundings, and open all the year round; so that having the latitude, which can hardly be wanted where there is so much clear weather, any ship may go in by foundings alone by day or

night, in summer or winter, and need fear no disaster if the Mariners understand any thing. Let the wind blow how it will, and chop about never so suddenly, they will find an opportunity by the evenness of the coast either of standing off and clearing the shore, or of running into a safe harbour within the capes of Virginia; to which conveniencies there is the addition of good anchorage without the capes.

CHAP. II.

Of the air, seasons, winds and tides.

THE air of this country, I perceive, is excessive hot some part of the summer, and equally cold in winter when the north-west wind blows: But the natives, who would have us believe their country a perfect paradise, tell us they are happily situated between the heat and cold; that their heats are very seldom troublesome, and then only by accident in a perfect calm, but that this does not happen above two or three days in a year, and then lasts but a few hours at a time; and even that inconvenience is made very tolerable by their cool shades, their open and airy rooms, arbours and grotto's; and in spring and fall the weather is as pleasant as can be wished.

That their winters are not of more than three or four months duration, and in these they seldom have one month of bad weather; all the rest they have are happy in a clear air and a bright sun, and are scarce ever troubled with fogs. It is acknowledged they have hard frosts sometimes, but they last no longer than while the wind blows from the north and north-west points, which is seldom more than three or four days. At other times they have no frost at all; and their frosts are attended with bright serene weather: And in the spring, summer and winter, these winds are only cool pleasant breezes.

Their rains, except in the depth of winter, are very agreeable and refreshing. In summer they last but a few hours, and then bright weather succeeds. However, it is acknowledged that the showers which fall in summer are very heavy for the time the last, and that part of the country which lies on the bays of the sea and the mouths of the rivers, which is much the best peopled, is certainly hot and moist, and consequently unhealthy: Indeed higher up the country, whither their plantations are now extended, the air is much more healthful; especially since their lands are cleared of wood. They have here however dreadful thunder in the heat of summer, but as it cools and refreshes the air, they rather wish for it than fear it, they tell us; tho' it sometimes does much mischief.

CHAP. II. Their tides are very small as well on the coast bordering on the ocean as in the bay of Chesapeake, as was observed in treating of Virginia, to which I must refer the reader for further satisfaction on these heads; these counties being situated almost in the same latitude and on the same bay of Chesapeake.

Tides.

CHAP III.

Of the provinces and chief towns of Maryland; and of the buildings of the Indians.

CHAP. III. WHEN the English planted this country they found a King or Chief called a Weroance, upon almost every river, as in Virginia; but the limits of their respective countries are not exactly known: Since the Indians transferred or yielded this province to the English, it has been divided into ten counties, six on the west side of the bay and four on the east side of it: Those on the west side taking them from south to north are, 1. St. Mary's County. 2. Charles County. 3. Prince George County. 4. Calvert County. 5. Anne Arundel County; and, 6. Baltimore County.

Provinces.

The counties on the east side of the bay, beginning also from the south, are, 1. Somerset County. 2. Dorchester County. 3. Talbot County. 4. Cecil County. As for the county of Kent, that or the greatest part of it is now held to be in Pennsylvania.

St. Mary's Town and County.

1. St. Mary's, the capitol of the county of the same name, and for some time of the whole province, is situated on the east side of the river St. George, in 38 degrees odd minutes north latitude. This, as has been intimated, was the first town in Maryland, built by the English, who raised a fort for its defence; but I don't perceive in its most flourishing state it had more than three or fourscore houses in it, and since the seat of the government has been removed to Annapolis, seems to be upon the decline; for the same humour prevails here as in Virginia of living on their respective plantations and not in towns. In this county also are the parishes of Hervington, St. Clement's, and St. John's; and here is a noble seat of the Lord Baltimore, the proprietor, called Mettapan, situate near the mouth of the river Patuxent.

Prince Charles County. Prince George County. Calvert County.

2 and 3. In Prince Charles County, which lies north of St. Mary's, are the parishes of Bristol and Piscataway; and in that of Prince George the parish of Masterkout.

Anne Arundel County. Annapolis, the capital of province.

4. In Calvert County, which is divided from Charles County by the river Patuxent, are the parishes of Abington, Warrington, and Calverton.

5. In the County of Anne Arundel, which lies north of Charles County, the chief Town is Annapolis, now the capital of the province, and formerly called Severn; being situate on the river of that name, in 39 degrees odd minutes north latitude: Here the courts of justice and the general assemblies were ordered to be

held in the year 1699, and this has ever since been the residence of the Governor; notwithstanding which, 'tis said there are not yet an hundred houses built in the town.

CHAP. III.

6. In Baltimore County, which lies between Anne Arundel County and the province of Pennsylvania, is the parish of Baltimore, situate on the north-west part of the Bay of Chesapeake.

Baltimore County.

1. In Somerset County, which is the most southerly county on the east side of the bay, are the town and parish of Somerset.

Somerset Town and County.

2. In Dorchester County, which lies north of Somerset, are the town and parish of Dorchester, besides a great many Indian towns.

Dorchester County.

3. In Talbot County, which lies north of Dorchester, are the parishes of Oxford, St. Michael's, and Bolingbroke; and

Talbot County.

4. Cecil, the most northerly county on the east side of the bay, is bounded both on the north and east by the province of Pennsylvania; but the limits hereof will be more particularly described when I come to treat of Pennsylvania.

Cecil County.

In this province are more Indian towns and better peopled than in Virginia, especially on the east side of the bay; there never having been any wars, and scarce any misunderstanding between the English and the natives. The houses of the Indians, which they call Wigwams, or Wigwangs, are of two sorts, the smaller resembling a bee-hive, and the larger being of an oblong form, are roofed like a barn; and both built with green poles, and covered with bark, which they tie together with the fibres of roots, or the rind of trees. Their windows are only holes in the sides of the house, which they close with shutters of bark in bad weather, leaving only the windows open to the leeward. Their fire-hearth is in the middle of the house, and a little hole at the top of it to let out the smoke; but it not being confin'd as in a chimney, the smoke often spreads all over the house, and can only be borne by those who have been bred up in such places from their infancy. Their door is no more than a piece of matting hung upon a string; and when they go far from home they barricade the door with great pieces of timber, to keep out wild beasts. The house seldom has more than one room; unless it be a great man's palace, which has usually some partitions in it made with poles and matts.

Buildings.

As to their furniture, the better sort have matts or carpets to sit on, and usually sit with their legs stretched out, and not cross-legged, like the eastern nations: Their lodging is upon a couch of boards or reeds, fixed to the side of the house, and covered with matts or skins. In winter they will lie upon the skin of a bear or some other animal about the fire, covering themselves with their watchcoats; but in warm weather they lie only on a matt, rolling up another matt for their pillow. When they are at war, or apprehensive of the approach of an enemy, they surround their town with pallisades, or at least the houses of their Weroances or Chiefs; within which they all retire with their families and effects, as in Virginia, upon receiving any alarm.

Furniture.

CHAP. IV.

Of the persons and habits of the Indians; their genius and temper, manufactures, food, exercises and diversions; the diseases they are subject to, and their remedies.

CHAP.
IV.
Persons of
the Mary-
land In-
dians.

THE stature of the Indians, as has been observed in treating of Virginia, is not different from that of the English. Their bodies are strait, and well proportioned; their features tolerable; their complexion would be the same as that of the people in the same latitude in Europe, if they did not take a great deal of pains to make them darker by greasing, and then exposing themselves to the sun from their infancy: The features of their women are not very engaging, and following the same custom of anointing themselves, and lying in the sun as the men do, their complexions are very dark, and some have observed they have an odd cast with their eyes, which are generally black.

The hair of both sexes is black; the men cut theirs short in various forms, and either grease or paint it; and persons of distinction leave a long lock behind. The men pull off the hair of their beards by the roots with tweezers made of shells, and neither men or women suffer any hair to grow on their bodies: The women wear the hair of their heads very long; sometimes flowing down their backs, and at others tied up with a fillet, or coronet of shells and beads; and men of distinction, as well as the women, wear coronets of shells and beads of various colours: The women also have chains of the same about their necks, and bracelets on their arms.

Habits.

The common people go bare-headed, only sticking some beautiful feathers on their crowns; and when they are at work, or employed in hunting, shooting, and other exercises, they wear only a piece of skin, wrapped about their loins, being naked from their waist upwards, and from the middle of the thigh downwards, but when they are dressed, especially in cold weather, they have a mantle about their shoulders, made of the skin of a deer, or some other animal, which they sometimes wear loose, and at others tied close about them; and they seldom go abroad without their bow, their quiver of arrows, and their tomahawk, or hatchet: They have a kind of shoes, made of a piece of deer-skin, which they lace, or fasten with a thong on the top of the foot. The dress of the women does not differ from that of the men, except it be in their ornaments, viz. their necklaces, bracelets, &c. and in the wearing of their hair.

Their Priests have a garment different from other men, resembling a short cloak, hung upon one shoulder, which being fastened about the neck reaches down to the middle of the thigh; but this garment having been described in Virginia, I shall not trouble the reader with it again.

VOL. III.

The Indians of Maryland are allowed to be men of quick and sprightly parts, like their neighbours of Virginia; but want, like them, the advantage of letters and education. They are nimble, active, and indefatigable in their warlike expeditions, hunting, and journeys. There are also men of courage amongst them, but they are generally timorous, revengeful, and implacable; and when they gain a victory, or get advantage of an enemy, destroy man, woman, and child. Their little kingdoms and tribes are perpetually in a state of war, which very much lessens their numbers; and if one man kills another of the same clan, the quarrel is never forgotten or forgiven, but they endeavour to retaliate injury for injury, from generation to generation. I do not find their Princes interpose in these cases, but leave every man to take his own revenge. Mr. HUGH JONES, in his account of the Indians of Maryland, says, though they are timorous and cowardly in fight, yet when they are taken prisoners, and condemned to death, they die like heroes, braving the most exquisite torments, and singing even upon the rack.

As to their manufactures and mechanick arts, if we consider the badness of their tools, they might be esteemed excellent workmen, especially as they had no particular trades amongst them; but every man was his own artificer, and did the work of a carpenter, tailor, shoe-maker, &c. for himself.

When the English arrived there, they had no sort of iron tools or instruments; their axes were sharp stones set in wood: With these they made their bows of the locust-tree, an excessive hard wood when it is dry, but they fashioned them therefore while it was green and pliant: Their arrows they made of reeds or sticks, that wanted but little fashioning; and fledged their arrows with turkeys feathers, which they glued to the small end of the shaft, and armed the head with a white transparent stone, a bone, or the spur of a wild turkey.

They procured fire, by rubbing a stick of hard wood upon a piece that was soft and dry: They felled trees of a prodigious size by making a little fire about the root, and keeping the flame from ascending, until they burnt away so much of the basis, that the least blast of wind brought it down; and as it lay on the ground, they burnt it of what length they pleased: Then they raised it to a convenient height to work upon, and burnt it hollow, when they intended to make a boat of it, removing the fire from place to place, until they had made it as deep as they designed; after which they scraped it smooth, and the canoe, or boat, was finished, being all of a piece: These canoes are from ten to forty foot in length.

In order to clear the ground for a plantation, they used to chop the trees round with their stone-hatchets, or tomahawks, which killed them in two or three years, and the trees fell of themselves; but they were glad to change their tomahawks for European axes, which make much quicker dispatch.

24 E

Their

CHAP.
IV.
Genius
and tem-
per.

Mecha-
nick arts.

CHAP.
IV.

Utenſils.

Their houſhold utenſils were earthen pots, in which they boiled their meat. Baskets made of ſilk-graſs, with gourds or calabashes, ſerved them for diſhes and bowls; a ſhell was their ſpoon, and their knife an edged reed or ſtint. Their mats were made of ruſhes; their mantles of the ſkins of beaſts, which ſerved them alſo for bed-cloaths; and as they never trouble themſelves to ſhape their cloaths to their bodies, it did not require much ſkill or pains to finiſh them. The fibres of the bark of trees, as well as ſilk-graſs, ſerved them for thread and cordage; and their needle was a thorn, or the bone of a fiſh.

Their
diet.

The Indians here have no ſet meals, but eat all day long when they have plenty of provisions, eſpecially when they have ſuch food as they like: However, no men endure hunger with more patience in a time of ſcarcity; and this they make more tolerable, it is ſaid, by girding up their bellies, which makes them not ſo ſenſible of the want of food as they would otherwiſe be.

They eat fiſh, fleſh and fowl of almoſt all ſorts, and even ſome ſpecies of ſnakes and inſects, ſuch as grubs, the nympha of waſps; ſome ſort of ſcarabæi, cicade, &c. They eat alſo peas, beans, and all manner of pulſe parched and boiled. Their bread is made of Indian corn, wild oats, or the ſeed of the ſun-flower; but they never eat bread with their meat. They had no ſalt, but uſed the aſhes of hiccory, ſtick-weed, or ſome other plants that afforded a ſalt-aſh, to ſeaſon their meat: And there is no food they ſeem fonder of than the green ears of Indian corn roaſted; for which reaſon they plant it at different times in the ſpring that the ſeaſon may laſt the longer.

Various
ways of
drefling
their food.

They ſlew their meat moſt commonly: They alſo broil and toaſt it againſt the fire, and frequently put fiſh and fleſh into their hom-mony (which is Indian corn ſtewed over a gentle fire for ten or twelve hours, until it is as thick as ſurmety or buttered wheat.) They either broil their meat upon the coals, or on a hot hearth, and frequently dry it upon a wooden grate, which ſtands very high above the fire, which they call barbacuing it; and this dried fleſh they uſually take with them on a march, or in their hunting expeditions, and ſlew it as they want it. They ſlea and embowel their veniſon and other meat as the Europeans do, and pull and draw their fowls; but they drefſ their fiſh without gutting or ſcaling; however, they do not eat the guts, as the Europeans do thoſe of woodcocks and larks.

The ſtewed umbles of a deer is a great diſh with them, and the ſoup made thereof much admired. Their deſert conſiſts of dried peaches and other fruits. They eat no kind of ſallads or ſauce with their meats, but boil roots with it, and make it pretty ſavoury with pepper, &c. in the drefling. They eat alſo trubs, earth-nuts, wild onions, and a tuberous root called tuckaboe, which grows in boggy grounds and is about the bigneſs of a potatoe, which it reſembles in taſte.

Liquor.

As for liquor, I do not find they drank

any thing but water, until the Engliſh taught them better (or rather worſe;) and it is remarkable that though they had a great variety of fine ſprings, they always choſe pond-water, or any other that had been expoſed to the air and ſun, to drink, rather than fountain or well-water. They are now very fond of every kind of ſtrong liquor the Engliſh have, and will be drunk with it as often as they can get it. They ſit drinking, and at their meals, on a mat on the ground, with their legs ſtretched out at length before them, and the cup or diſh between their legs; and for this reaſon ſeldom more than two eat together.

CHAP.
IV.

As to their exerciſes and diverſions, there are no people more conſtantly employed in hunting, fiſhing, and fowling than the Indians of this country, during the reſpective ſeaſons; but theſe may be looked upon rather as their buſineſs than diverſions, as they ſupply their families with food by theſe means the greateſt part of the year: Their domeſtick diverſions are ſinging, inſtrumental muſick, and dancing; which not differing from the muſick and dancing of the Virginian Indians already deſcribed, I ſhall not weary the reader with the repetition of what has been already ſaid upon that head. The diverſions of the Engliſh both here and in Virginia are chiefly hunting, fiſhing and fowling; ſome uſe ſtalking-horſes, whereby they cover themſelves from the ſight of the deer, until they come within reach of them; others cut down trees for the deer to browze upon, and lie in wait behind them: Others again ſet ſtakes in pits near their fences, where the deer have been uſed to leap over into a field of peas, which they love extremely. Theſe ſtakes they ſo place as to run into the body of the deer when he pitches, by which means they impale him; and for a temptation to the leap, take down the top-part of the fence.

They hunt their hares (which are very numerous) on foot with mungriſs or ſwift dogs, which either catch them quickly, or force them to hole in a hollow tree, whither all their hares generally tend when they are cloſely purſued. As ſoon as they are thus holed and have crawled up into the body of the tree, they kindle a fire, and ſmother them with ſmoak, until they let go their hold, and fall to the bottom ſtified, from whence they take them: If they have a mind to ſpare their lives, upon turning them looſe, they will be as fit as ever to hunt at another time, for the miſchief done them by the ſmoak immediately wears off again.

They have another ſort of hunting which is very diverting, and that they call vermine-hunting. It is performed on foot with ſmall dogs in the night, by the light of the moon or ſtars. Thus in ſummer-time they find abundance of raccoons, opoſſums, and foxes, in the corn-fields, and about their plantations; but at other times they muſt go into the woods for them. The method is to go out with three or four dogs, and as ſoon as they come to the place, they bid the dogs ſeek out, and all the company follow immediately. Wherever a dog barks you may

Hunting.

CHAP.
IV.

may depend upon finding the game, and this alarm draws both men and dogs that way. If this sport be in the woods, the game by that time you come near it, is perhaps mounted on the top of an high tree, and then they detach a nimble fellow up after it, who must have a scuffle with the beast before he can throw it down to the dogs; and then the sport increases to see the vermine encounter those little curs. In this sort of hunting they carry their great dogs out with them, because wolves, bears, panthers, wild cats, and all other beasts of prey are abroad in the night.

For wolves they make traps, and set guns baited in the woods, so that when he offers to seize the bait, he pulls the trigger, and the gun discharges upon him. They have many pretty devices besides the gun to take wild turkeys.

Fishing.

The Indian invention of weirs in fishing is mightily improved by the English, besides which they make use of seins, trolls, casting-nets, setting-nets, hand-fishing, and angling; and in each find abundance of diversion. Like those of the Euxine sea, they also fish with spilyards, which is a long line staked out in the river, and hung with a great many hooks on short strings, fastened to the main line about three or four foot asunder, supported by stakes, or buoyed with gourds. They use likewise the Indian way of striking by the light of a fire in the night.

Fowling.

Their fowling is answerable to their fishing, for plenty of game in its proper season. Some plantations have a vast variety of it.

Beavers.

The admirable oeconomy of the Beavers deserves to be particularly remembered. They cohabit in one house; are incorporated in a regular form of government, something like monarchy; and have over them a superintendent, which the Indians call Pericu: He leads them out to their several employments, which consists in felling of trees, biting off the branches, and cutting them into certain lengths suitable to the business they design them for; all which they perform with their teeth. When this is done, the Pericu orders several of his subjects to join together and take up one of those logs; which they must carry to their house or damm, as occasion requires. He walks in state by them all the while, and sees that every one bears his equal share of the burden while he bites with his teeth and lashes with his tail those that lag behind, and do not lend all their strength. Their way of carriage is upon their tail. They commonly build their houses in swamps; and then to raise the water to a convenient height, they make a damm with logs, and a binding sort of clay, so firm, that though the water runs continually over, it cannot wash it away. Within these damms they will enclose water enough to make a pool like a mill-pond; and if a mill happen to be built on the same stream below their damm, the miller in a dry season, finds it worth his while to cut it to supply his mill with water; upon which disaster the beavers are so expert at their work, that in

one or two nights time they will repair the breach and make it perfectly whole again. Sometimes they build their houses in a broad marsh, where the tide ebbs and flows, and then they make no damm at all. The doors into their houses are under water. I have been at the demolishing one of these houses, that was found in a marsh, and was surprised to find it fortified with logs that were six foot long and ten inches through, and had been carried at least one hundred and fifty yards: This house was three stories high, and contained five rooms, that is to say, two in the lower, two in the middle story, and but one at the top. These creatures have a great deal of policy, and know how to defeat all the subtilty and stratagems of the hunter, who seldom can meet with them, though they are in great numbers all over the country.

They have many horses foaled in the woods of the up-lands that never were in hand, and are as shy as any savage creature: These having no mark upon them belong to him that first takes them. However the captor commonly purchases these horses very dear by spoiling better in their pursuit, in which case he has little to make himself amends, besides the pleasure of the chase: And very often this is all he has for it, for the wild horses are so swift that it is difficult to catch them, and when they are taken, it is odds but their grease is melted, or else being old they are so fullen that they cannot be tamed.

The diseases of the Indians proceed from heats and colds, and are usually removed by sweating; but if the humour fixes, and occasions a pain in any of their limbs, they endeavour to cure it by burning the part with a live coal; with which having made a sore, they keep it running until the humour is drawn off.

They also scarify the part and suck the sore, and sometimes make use of reeds for cauterising, which they heat over the fire until they are ready to flame, and then apply them upon a piece of wet leather to the grieved part, which makes the heat more intense. As for the rest of their remedies, I must refer the reader to Virginia, and consider, in the next place, the diseases the English are subject to in this part of the world.

Distempers come not here (says my author) by choaking up the spirits with a foggy and thick air, as in some northern climes, nor by a stifling heat, which exhales the vigour of those that dwell in a more southerly latitude, but by a wilful and foolish indulging themselves in those pleasures which in a warm and fruitful country nature lavishes upon mankind for their happiness, and not for their destruction.

Thus I have seen persons impatient of heat lie almost naked upon the cold grass in the shades, and there often forgetting themselves fall asleep; nay, many are so imprudent as to do this in an evening, and perhaps lie so all night; when between the dew from heaven,

CHAP.
IV.

Wild horses.

Diseases and remedies of the Indians.

Of the English.

CHAP.
IV.

ven, and the damps from the earth, such im-
pressions are made upon the humours of their
body as occasion fatal distempers.

Thus also have I seen persons put into a
great heat by excessive action, and in the
midst of that heat strip off their cloaths and
expose their open pores to the air: Nay, I
have known some mad enough in this hot
condition to take huge draughts of cold wa-
ter, or perhaps of milk and water; which
they esteem much more cold in operation than
water alone.

And thus likewise have I seen several people
(especially new comers) so intemperate in de-
vouring the pleasant fruits, that they have fallen
into dangerous fluxes and surfeits. These and
such like disorders are the chief occasion of their
diseases.

The first sickness that any new comer hap-
pens to have there, he unfairly calls a seasoning,
be it fever, ague, or any thing else that his own
folly or excesses bring upon him.

Their intermitting-fevers, as well as their
agues, are very troublesome if a fit remedy be
not applied; but of late the Doctors there
have made use of the cortex peruvian with suc-
cess, and find that it seldom or never fails to
remove the fits. The planters too have se-
veral roots natural to the country, which in this
case they cry up as infallible; and I have found,
by several examples, a total immersion in cold
spring water, just at the accession of the fit, an
infallible cure.

When these damps, colds, and disorders af-
fect the body more gently, and do not seize
people violently at first, then for want of some
timely application (the planters abhorring all
physick, except in desperate cases,) these small
disorders are suffered to go on until they grow
into a cachexy, by which the body is over-run
with obstinate scorbutick humours: and this in
a more fierce and virulent degree I take to be
the yaws.

The gripes is a distemper of the Caribbee-
Islands, and not of Virginia or Maryland, and
seldom gets footing there, and then only up-
on great provocations, namely, by the intem-
perances before-mentioned, together with an
unreasonable use of filthy and unclean drinks.
Perhaps too it may come by new unfine cy-
der, perry or peach-drink, which the people
are impatient to drink before it is ready; or
by the excessive use of lime-juice and foul su-
gar in punch and flip; or else by the constant
drinking of uncorrected beer made of some win-
dy unwholesome things, as some people make
use of in brewing.

CHAP. V.

CHAP. V. *Of their history, government, and religion.*

Maryland
first disco-
vered.
Its name.

VIRGINIA and Maryland were dis-
covered anno 1606, by the same ad-
venturers, and retained the same name until
the eighth year of King CHARLES the first,

anno 1632, when that Prince granted that
part of Virginia which lay north of Patow-
mack river, and was not then planted, unto
CECILIUS CALVERT, Lord Baltimore,
of the kingdom of Ireland, and his heirs:
And this part of the country was afterwards
called Maryland, in honour of the then
Queen consort, HENRIETTA-MARIA,
youngest daughter of the French King, HEN-
RY IV.

CHAP.
IV.

Granted to
Lord Bal-
timore.

The Lord Baltimore having obtained this
grant, sent over his brother, the honourable
LEONARD CALVERT, Esq; with several
Roman Catholick gentlemen and other ad-
venturers, to the number of two hundred, to
take possession of the country; who setting
sail from England on the twenty-second of
November, 1633, arrived at Point-Comfort,
in the bay of Chesapeake, on the twenty-fourth
of February following; where being kindly
received and supplied with provisions by the
English of Virginia, they continued the
voyage northward to the river Patowmack,
appointed to be the boundary between Vir-
ginia and Maryland, on the west side of the
bay.

Planted
anno
1663.

The adventurers sailed up this river, and
landing in several places on the northern
shore, acquainted the natives they were come
to settle among them and trade with them;
but the natives seemed rather to desire their
absence than their company. However, there
were no acts of hostility committed on either
side, and the English returning down the
river patowmack again, made choice of a
place near the mouth of a river (which falls
into it, and by them called St. George's Ri-
ver) to plant the first colony. They advan-
ced afterwards to an Indian town, called Yo-
amaco, then the capital of the country, and
at a conference with the Weroance or sove-
reign of the place, to whom they made con-
siderable presents, the Weroance consented
that the English should dwell in one part
of the town, reserving the other for his own
people till the harvest was over; and then
agreed to quit the whole entirely to the English,
and retire further into the country, which
they did accordingly; and the following March
Mr. CALVERT and the planters were left
in the quiet possession of the whole town, to
which they gave the name of St. Mary's; and
it was agreed on both sides, that if any
wrong was done by either party, the nation
offending should make full satisfaction for the
injury. The reason the Yoamaco Indians were
so ready to enter into a treaty with the En-
glish, and yield them part of their country,
was in hopes of obtaining their protection
and assistance against the Sasquahannah In-
dians, their northern neighbours, with whom they
were then at war, and indeed the Yoamaco
Indians were upon the point of abandoning
their country to avoid the fury of the Sasqua-
hannah nation before the English arrived;
from whence it appears, that the adventurers sent
over by the Lord Baltimore cannot be charged
with any injustice in settling themselves in this
part,

St. Mary's
the first
town pos-
sessed by
the En-
glish.

CHAP. V. part of America, being invited to it by the original inhabitants.

The English being thus settled at St. Mary's, applied themselves with great diligence to cultivating the ground, and raised large quantities of Indian Corn, while the natives went every day into the woods to hunt for game, bringing home Venison and Turkeys to the English colony in abundance, for which they received knives, tools and toys in return. And thus both nations lived in the greatest friendship, doing good offices to each other, till some of the English in Virginia, envious of the happiness of this thriving colony, suggested to the Indians that these strangers were not really English, as they pretended, but Spaniards; and would infallibly enslave them, as they had done many of their countrymen: And the Indians were so credulous as to believe it, and appeared jealous of Mr. CALVERT, making preparations as if they intended to fall upon the strangers; which the English perceiving, stood upon their guard, and erected a fort for their security, on which they planted several pieces of ordinance, at the firing whereof the Yoamaco's were so terrified that they abandoned their country without any other compulsion, and left the English in possession of it; who receiving supplies and reinforcements continually from England, and having no other enemy to contend with than agues and fevers (which swept off some of them before they found out a proper regimen for the climate) they soon became a flourishing people, many Roman Catholick families of quality and fortune transporting themselves hither to avoid the penal laws made against them in England; and Maryland has been a place of refuge for those of that persuasion from that day to this.

During the grand rebellion in England, the Lord Baltimore's family were deprived of the government of this province, but were restored to their right by King CHARLES II. soon after his own restoration. Whereupon the Lord Baltimore sent over his son, CHARLES CALVERT, afterwards Lord Baltimore, to be Governor of Maryland, who continued in that post upwards of twenty years (long after his father's death,) by whose prudence the colony became almost as considerable as Virginia for its Tobacco and other products of the soil: And all the Indian nations on that side put themselves under their protection. The Indian Chiefs were appointed, or at least approved and confirmed in their commands by the Lord Baltimore, the proprietor, whose success is to be ascribed in great measure to the endeavours he used to cultivate a good correspondence with the Indian nations, and to give them as little offence as possible. I can't learn that this colony was ever in a state of war with the natives, or ever received any injury from them, unless in the year 1677; when the Indians being at war with the English of Virginia, plundered the frontiers of Maryland, and half a dozen people lost their lives: But this proceeded from a mistake; peace was soon restored upon the Indians making satisfaction for the outrage.

At the revolution the Lord Baltimore was deprived of the power of appointing a Governor and other Officers, and the government of that province fell under the same regulation as other plantations which are immediately subject to the crown. The Baltimore family also were in danger of losing their propriety on account of their religion,

V. O. L. III. NUMB. CXXXIV.

by the act which requires all Roman Catholick heirs to profess the protestant religion, on pain of being deprived of their estates: But that prudent family thought fit to profess the protestant religion rather than lose their inheritance; and the present Lord Baltimore is now both proprietor and Governor of Maryland, being one of the noblest estates enjoyed by a subject of Britain; for he is still entitled to a duty on every hogthead of Tobacco exported, enjoys several fair manours, which may be stiled his demesne lands, and has a rent paid him by every planter, besides other perquisites.

The Governor, however, as has been already observed, is now appointed by the crown, as are also the members of the council. The assembly is chosen by the freeholders of the respective counties, as in Virginia; and in the Governor, council and assembly, the legislative power is lodged. The Governor has a negative as the King has in England, and their acts must be confirmed by the King: However, they are in force till the King disapproves of them.

Their Provincial-courts are held once every quarter in the capital town of Annapolis, which determine common-law causes of consequence in the first instance, and on writs of error other causes brought from the inferior County-courts; and there is a court of chancery, which gives relief in equity, as in England.

Among the Laws of Maryland, we meet with these that follow.

The parties bringing appeals or writs of error in the provincial court from the County-courts, are required to give security to pay the costs and damages in case the cause goes against them.

No Person shall bring a writ of error or appeal from the County-court, where the debt or damage does not amount to six Pounds sterling; nor from the Provincial-court to the Governor and council, where it does not exceed fifty Pounds; but the judgments of those courts in such cases shall be final.

None shall appeal from the Governor and council to the King and council in England, unless the thing in dispute be of the value of three hundred Pounds sterling.

Every Elector of Burgeses for the general assembly shall have fifty acres of freehold land in the county, or a visible estate of the value of forty Pounds sterling. Four members shall be chosen to represent each county: Two citizens shall serve for the city of St. Mary's, and two for Annapolis, and every other town and borough privileged to send members to the general assembly.

No Person keeping a publick house is qualified to be a representative.

Members shall be allowed one hundred and forty pounds of Tobacco per diem for their wages, besides travelling charges.

The same allowance shall be made to every Commissioner or Judge of the provincial court during his attendance on that court, and eighty pounds of Tobacco per diem to the Judge of every County-court. But the latter part of this statute for allowing salaries to the Judges of the Provincial and County-courts was afterwards repealed.

Any person that shall blaspheme, or curse God, blasphemy our Saviour to be the Son of God, deny my-

Misunderstanding between the English and the Indians.

The Indians abandon their country to the English.

Courts.

Laws of Maryland.

Burgeses.

- CHAP. V.** the Trinity of the Godhead of any of the three Persons, or the unity of the Godhead, or shall utter any reproachful words against any of the three Persons, shall be bored through the Tongue, and fined twenty Pounds sterling for the first offence, forty Pounds for the second offence, and suffer death and confiscation of goods for the third offence.
- Fornication.** The penalty for fornication is twenty Shillings sterling, or corporal punishment, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, at the discretion of the court.
- Adultery.** And the punishment for adultery forty Shillings, or corporal punishment as aforesaid.
- Persons who harbour such lewd people are liable to the same penalties.
- Curfing and swearing.** The penalty of curfing and swearing is five Shillings sterling; and if the offence be committed in a court of justice ten Shillings.
- Schools.** Free-Schools were erected and endowed in several towns in Maryland for teaching latin and greek, by an act of assembly, anno 1696.
- English statute-book.** The English statutes or acts of parliament, with DALTON's Justice of peace, were ordered to be provided by the Justices of peace of every county in Maryland, by an act of assembly, anno 1699.
- Evidence.** Proof of bills, bonds, or other specialties, book-debts or accounts, may be made before two Justices of peace of any county, or one of the Justices of the provincial court; and the balance due upon such account, being certified under the hands and seals of such Justices, shall be deemed sufficient evidence in any court within the province.
- Annapolis the capital.** The port of Annapolis in Anne Arundel County, was made the chief seat of justice within the province, for holding assemblies and provincial courts, by an act of assembly passed 11. W. III. anno 1699.
- Conveyances.** It was enacted by their assembly 11 W. III. 1699, That no lands or tenements should be alienated or transferred from one to another, but by deed, indented and enrolled in the Provincial-court, or County-court where such lands, &c. lie.
- Executions.** Necessary Corn for the defendant's maintenance, his gun, bedding, tools, and such like, shall be protected from executions.
- Limitations of actions. Debts.** No bonds or obligations under hand and seal shall be suable, unless renewed within five years.
- No person shall depart the province, unless he set up his name three months at the Secretary's office before his departure, or give security to the government to pay his debts.
- Every master of a ship, or other person, transporting or conveying away any person out of the province without a certificate of his having complied with this law, is made liable to pay his debts: And if he convey away any servant, he shall be liable to satisfy the owner for his damages.
- Theft.** The Justices of the several County-courts are made Judges of all thefts under the value of one thousand pounds of Tobacco (robbery, burglary, and house-breaking excepted.)
- Every person convicted of such theft shall pay fourfold the value of the goods stolen, to the owner, and be put in the pillory, and whipped, as the court shall adjudge, not exceeding forty stripes. If the offender be not able to satisfy the owner otherwise, he shall receive the said corporal punishment, and pay the said penalty of four-fold retribution by servitude, the time thereof being determined by the court; and the receiver of such stolen goods is made liable to the like penalties as the thief.
- No Person shall range in the woods after wild near cattle, or Horses, without the Governor's licence, on pain of forfeiting five thousand pounds of Tobacco for every such wild animal killed or taken. Nor shall any person cut off the ear of a Hog, taken in the woods, on pain of being adjudged a Hog-stealer.
- All fences for inclosing corn-ground shall be five foot high at least, and strongly made; and if any cattle break into such fence, the owner of the cattle shall forfeit five hundred pounds of Tobacco, or such further damages as a Justice of peace shall award.
- No master of a ship, or merchant, shall import a convicted felon into Maryland, on pain of forfeiting the value of two thousand lb. of Tobacco.
- Whoever shall take, entice away, or sell any friend Indian without licence, shall be fined and imprisoned at discretion.
- In the year 1698, part of Dorchester County was assigned to the natives; to hold the same of the Lord Proprietor, under the rent of one Beaver skin.
- By an act, 11 W. III. 1699, The carrying strong liquors to the Indian Towns was prohibited.
- By 12 W. III. anno 1700, Certain persons were authorized by the government to determine all differences between the English and Indians.
- Enacted 11 W. III. 1699, That the libraries in every parish should be in possession of the Minister; who should preserve them, and be accountable for the books.
- Enacted 4 W. & M. 1692, That the persons intending to marry shall apply themselves to the Minister or Magistrate, and banns shall be published in the Church, County-court, or meeting-house next to which the parties dwell; and upon a certificate thereof the Minister or Magistrate may, three weeks after such banns published, join the parties in marriage, according to the liturgy of the Church of England: And no person shall contract marriage without such publication on pain of forfeiting one thousand lb. of Tobacco, and the Minister or Magistrate joining them in marriage five thousand lb. of Tobacco: And all marriages not made by some Minister or Magistrate, before five sufficient witnesses at least, shall be void: The fees for marriage being restrained to one hundred lb. of Tobacco.
- The Colonels and other Officers of the militia in every county are impower'd to enlist all persons to serve in the horse or foot from sixteen to sixty (except Negroes and slaves;) who are obliged to muster in their respective counties from time to time, at such places as the Governor shall appoint, and to bring their own arms and Horses, and maintain themselves during such muster. But if they are sent on actual service, their arms, &c. are to be provided them out of the publick magazines, and they are to be regularly paid by the respective counties they belong to: And Preb-masters are appointed in every county to preb provisions for the troops.
- The prisoners and plunder to be equally divided among the soldiery; and Troopers losing their Horses to have others bought them at the publick charge.
- Any

CHAP. V. Any Soldier being wounded to be provided for by the publick, as also the wives and children of such as are killed in the service.

Negroes. The baptized Negroes shall not alter their condition as to servitude.

Constables. Justices of peace in each county are empowered to appoint Constables in every parish.

Publick houses. Inns and publick houses are to be licensed by the Commissioners of each county; who may ascertain the price they shall take for their liquor, beds, provisions, and provender; and may suppress them if disorderly.

The landlord obliged to credit every freeholder as far as the value of four hundred lb. of Tobacco.

Perjury. The penalty of perjury twenty Pounds sterling, and six months imprisonment; and in default of paying the penalty, the offender to be set in the pillory, and his ears nailed to it.

Enemies. By 11 W. III. 1699, It was made felony to serve any foreign Prince or state against any other Prince or state in alliance with Great-Britain.

Trials. And that treasons, felonies, pyracies, or robberies committed at sea, should be tried in the same manner as such offences committed on shore; the Commissioners or Judges to proceed according to the English statute of 28 H. VIII. c. 15.

Small debts. No County-court shall take cognizance of any action where the debt or damage does not exceed the value of two hundred lb. of Tobacco, or sixteen Shillings and eight Pence sterling; but such causes shall be determined by any one Justice of peace of the county where the debtor shall reside without fee.

Chancery. The Court of Chancery shall not hear any cause where the original debt or damage does not amount to the value of twelve hundred lb. of Tobacco, or five Pounds sterling and upwards; but the judgments of the County-courts in such cases shall be final.

Acts of assembly. All acts of assembly are required to be published by the Sheriffs in the respective counties.

Common-prayer. By 12 W. III. 1700, the book of common-prayer was required to be read in all the churches of Maryland.

Clergy. For the encouragement of the clergy a tax of forty lb. of Tobacco per head was enacted to be levied and paid to the Ministers of the respective parishes.

Marriage. Enacted, that none should marry within the degrees prohibited.

No Justice of peace or Magistrate shall marry people in any parish where there is a clergyman resident.

Vestries. The vestry-men of each parish are incorporated and empower'd to receive for pious uses, and the benefit of each church and parish, all lands, tenements, goods and chattels granted or bequeathed to them. The Minister of the parish to preside in the vestry.

Pluralities. No Minister shall hold more than two parishes, and shall have the licence of the Governor and the two vestries for this.

Readers. Where there is no Minister in any parish the vestry may provide a Reader, allowing him a salary out of the forty Pounds per poll, not exceeding half the revenue of a Minister: And such Readers are allowed to read divine service out of the common-prayer-book, and read the homilies.

Servants and slaves. No servant or slave shall travel more than ten miles from his master's house without a note from his master or his overseer, on pain of being deemed a runaway; and such servant absenting him-

self shall serve ten days for every day he is absent.

CHAP. V. Passes. Any person travelling out of his county without a pass under the county-seal, and not being known or able to give a good account of himself, shall be deemed a runaway and carried before the next Magistrate; who shall commit him to safe custody, and give notice to his master or mistress, if it appear he have any; or else cause the name and description of such a runaway to be set up in the next County-courts, that it may be discovered to whom he belongs.

Every servant, at the expiration of his time, shall have a new suit of cloaths, two hoes, an ax, a gun, and three barrels of Indian Corn given him by his master.

No person shall barter goods, or traffick with any servant or slave without the master's leave.

If any servant shall be denied sufficient meat, drink, lodging, or cloathing, or shall be overworked or debarred of his natural rest, the County-court may fine such master; and for the third offence set the wronged person at liberty.

Bastards. If any white woman suffer herself to be got with child by a Negroe, she shall become a servant for seven years; and if she be then a servant, she shall serve seven years beyond her time. If the Negroe who got the child be free, he shall serve seven years; and their issue shall be servants until they arrive at thirty one years of age.

And if a white man get a Negroe woman with child he shall undergo the same punishment as a white woman got with child by a Negroe.

If a white woman servant have a bastard, and cannot prove who is the father, she shall satisfy the damage to her master by further servitude; and if she do produce the father he shall satisfy the damage, if free; and if a servant half the damage: And if the father be a single person and promised the maid marriage before he lay with her, he shall be at liberty to perform his promise, or make satisfaction otherwise.

No person shall work or use any sports on Sundays, or suffer his servants to work, &c. on that day (works of necessity excepted) on pain of forfeiting two thousand lb. of Tobacco for every offence.

No publick house shall sell strong liquor on Sundays, or suffer tipling, gaming, or other pastime, on pain of forfeiting one hundred lb. of Tobacco.

For Irish servants or Negroes imported, a duty of twenty Shillings sterling per head was given by an act of 11 W. III. 1699, and a duty of three Pence per gallon on rum and wine imported.

Every Constable shall annually on the 20th of June require of every master and mistress a list of all taxable persons in their respective families, and send one copy thereof to the Sheriff and another to the County-court.

All male children born and resident in this province, (being above sixteen years of age) all male servants of sixteen imported, all slaves male and female, imported of sixteen years of age, and all freemen (except clergymen and poor people that receive alms) shall be deemed taxable.

Weights and measures are enacted to be the same as in England.

Upon a man's dying intestate, one third of his personal estate goes to his widow, and the other two to his children; and if he has no children, to the nearest relations of the intestate.

And

CHAP.

V.
Orphans.

And the Justices of the respective counties are empowered to take care of all orphans, with their estates and effects until of age, every male orphan being deemed of age at one and twenty, and every female at sixteen, or day of marriage, which shall first happen; and it was provided that no orphan should be put into the hands of a person of a different religion from that of his parents.

The Justices of the County-courts shall annually enquire by a jury, how orphans are maintained and educated; and if they are apprentices, how they are used and instructed; and if they find any abuse or neglect, to redress the same.

N. B. The Governors of Maryland have endeavoured from time to time to make their laws resemble those of England as near as possible; and they have also unhappily introduced most of the niceties in pleading and dilatory proceedings of our courts of law and equity; which their neighbours of Virginia have wisely provided against, and retrenched all exorbitant fees; so that justice is administered in that province with much more speed and less charge than it is in this.

Mr. JONES, who resided a considerable time in Maryland, treating of their religion and government, expresses himself in the following manner:

JONES'S
observations.

We are governed (says that gentleman) by the same laws as in England, only some acts of assembly we have relating to some particular cases, not under the verge of the English laws, or where the laws of England do not aptly provide for some circumstances, under which our way of living hath put us. The Church of England (God be praised) is pretty firmly established amongst us. Churches are built, and there is an annual stipend allowed for every Minister by a perpetual law, which is more or less, according to the number of taxables in each parish; every Christian male sixteen years old, and Negroes male and female above that age, pay forty lb. of Tobacco to the Minister, which is levied by the Sheriff among other publick levies; which makes the revenues of the Ministers, one with another, about twenty thousand lb. of Tobacco, or one hundred Pounds sterling per annum. It hath been the unhappiness of this country, that they had no protestant Ministers hardly among them, till Governor NICHOLSON'S time, but now and then an itinerant preacher, of very loose morals, and scandalous behaviour; so that what with such mens ill examples, the Romish Priests cunning, and the Quakers bigotry, religion was in a manner turned out of doors: But (God be praised) things now stand better, and our churches are crowded as full as they can hold, and the people are pretty sensible of the Romish superstition, and the Quakers madness; so that their parties both joined together are very inconsiderable to what ours is. Indeed the Quakers struggle hard to maintain their footing, and their teachers (especially the female sex, who are the most zealous) are very free of their taunts and contumelies against us; but it is to little purpose, unless to make their own way more ridiculous.

We have not yet found the way of associating ourselves in towns and corporations. There are indeed several places allotted for towns, but hither-

to they are only titular ones, except Annapolis, where the Governor resides. Governor NICHOLSON did his endeavour to make a town of that, and there are in it above forty dwelling houses, seven or eight whereof afford good lodging and accommodation for strangers. There is also a State-house, a church, and a free-school built with brick, which make a great show among a parcel of wooden houses; but their buildings are much improved since Mr. JONES wrote.

As for our predecessors, the Indian inhabitants, I cannot give you any further account of them than this, viz. That whereas at the first seating of Maryland there were several nations of Indians in the country governed by several petty Kings, I do not think that there are now five hundred fighting men of them in the province, and those are more on the eastern shore than on the west. Here they have two or three little towns, and some of them come over to the west in winter time to hunt for Deer; being generally employed by the English. These Indians take delight in nothing else, and it is rare that any of them will embrace our way of living and worship. The cause of their diminishing proceeded not from any wars with the English, for we have had none with them, but from their own perpetual discords and wars among themselves: And their drinking and other vices which the English taught them probably may have destroyed many more.

I shall conclude the state of Maryland with a late account Mr. JONES has given us of the college erected at Williamstadt in Virginia, which was built for the education of the youth of Maryland as well as those of Virginia.

The royal foundation of William and Mary college, erected with a prospect of doing the greatest good to the colonies of Virginia and Maryland, and seconded with the ample benefactions of the honourable Mr. BOYLE, and the contributions of the country, had many difficulties to struggle with in its infancy: And two sides of the quadrangle were no sooner finished but it was laid in ashes by a terrible fire, that could not be extinguished until the whole fabrick was consumed. And tho' it was afterwards rebuilt and much improved, it has not answered the expectations that were conceived of it; for it was still (when Mr. JONES wrote, being about twelve years since) without a scholarship, without a statute, and without a chapel, and very few books in the library.

A further
account of
the col-
lege for
the educa-
tion of the
English
and Indi-
ans.

The Indians upon Mr. BOYLE'S foundation have indeed a handsome apartment for themselves and their master, built near the college; which useful contrivance ought to be carried on to the utmost advantage in the real education and conversion of the Infidels; for hitherto but little good has been done therein, though abundance of money has been laid out, and a great many endeavours have been used, and much pains taken for that purpose.

The young Indians procured from the tributary or foreign nations with much difficulty, were formerly boarded and lodged in the town, where abundance of them used to die, either through sickness, change of provision and way of life; or, as some will have it, often for want of proper necessities, and due care taken of them: Those of them that have escaped well, and been taught to read and write, have, for the most part, returned to their homes, some with, and some with-

out

THE PRESENT STATE OF NEW-ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

Of the name, situation, extent and face of the country. Of its seas, bays, capes, lakes, springs and rivers, and of the tides, winds, air and seasons.

- CHAP. I.** **U**NDER the general title of New-England are comprehended the several colonies or governments of 1. The Massachusetts. 2. New Hampshire. 3. Connecticut. and, 4. Rhode Island, and Providence Plantation.
- Name.** This country received the name of New-England from prince CHARLES, afterwards King CHARLES I. and is situated between 41 and 45 degrees of north latitude; and between 67 and 73 degrees of western longitude; being bounded by Canada on the north-west, by Nova Scotia on the north-east, by the Atlantick Ocean on the east and south, and by the province of New-York on the west; and as it stretches along the said ocean from the south-west to the north-west, is upwards of three hundred miles in length, and from one hundred to two hundred miles in breadth.
- Face of the country.** This like other uncultivated countries was one great forest, covered with excellent timber when the English first visited these shores: The land next the Sea being generally low, and intermixed with a great many swamps or morasses, on which there grew under-wood and bushes; but farther up in the country the land rises into hills, and on the north-east is rocky and mountainous.
- Sea.** The Atlantick Ocean washes the shores on the east and south, and there are several good bays and harbours on the coast, particularly those formed by Plymouth, Rhode Island and Providence Plantation on the south; Monument Bay to the eastward of these in Barnstable-County; West-Harbour, formed by the bending of the coast at Cape Cod; the harbour of Boston, which will be particularly described in treating of that capital; Casco Bay farther northward, with several others of less note, which will be found in the map of the British Plantations; several of these are capable of receiving the largest fleets.
- Capes.** The most remarkable capes going from south to north are, 1. that of Cape Cod. 2. Marble Head. 3. Cape Anne. 4. Cape Netick. 5. Cape Porpus. 6. Cape Elizabeth; and 7. Cape Small-point.
- Springs.** The country is generally well watered with springs and rivulets; and there are some lakes,
- but not of that magnitude as those which lie north and west of this country. The principal rivers are, 1. that of Connecticut, which rising north of New-England runs almost directly south, and having divided the province of Connecticut in two parts, falls into the sea between the towns of Saybroke and Lime, almost over-against the east-end of Long Island; this river is navigable with large vessels a great way. 2. The Thames, which rising in some lake north of the Massachusetts, runs also directly south, falling into the sea below New London, and to the eastward of the river Connecticut. 3. The river Patuxet, which rising in the north-west of the Massachusetts country, runs to the south-east thro' Providence Plantation, falling into a bay of the sea near the town of Swansey. 4. The great river Merimack, which rising north of New-England also runs to the southward, forming a lake on the west of New Hampshire, from whence continuing its course south to 43 degrees of latitude, then turns about to the east, falling into the sea between Salisbury and Newbury in the county of Essex. 5. The river Piscataway, which runs from west to east, and falls into the sea near the town of Portsmouth in Hampshire; the mouth of which is more like an arm of the sea than a river, and is capable of receiving the largest ships. 6. The river Saco, which rising north of New-England takes its course to the south, falling into the sea between Cape Porpus and Cape Elizabeth in the province of Maine. 7. The river Casco, which runs parallel to the river Saco, and falls into Casco Bay. To the eastward of these are the rivers Saghedock, Kenebeck, Penobscot, and many more considerable streams, which rising far to the north run almost due south, falling into the ocean to the eastward of Casco Bay; but this part of the country being but slenderly inhabited and little resorted to, I meet with no further description of them. The tides on these shores ebb and flow regularly, rising usually nine or ten foot in the bays and mouths of rivers. Their winds are variable as with us, and very boisterous in the winter season: The north and north-west winds are exceeding cold, blowing over a long tract of frozen countries.
- CHAP. I.** Rivers. Connecticut. Thames. Patuxet. Merimack. Piscataway. Saco. Casco. Saghedock. Kenebeck. Penobscot. Tides. Winds.

CHAP. I.
Seasons.

tries. Their winters are much severer, and some months longer than ours, tho' they lie nine or ten degrees nearer the sun than we do; however, their heaven is usually brighter, and the weather more settled than in England both in winter and summer; and the summer, though shorter than in England, is a great deal hotter whilst it lasts; however, the climate is esteemed as healthful and agreeable to English constitutions as any of our plantations on the continent.

CHAP. II.

Of the provinces and sub-divisions of this country, generally known by the name of New-England; and of its chief towns, and publick and private buildings.

CHAP. II.
Indian kingdoms.

WHEN the English arrived here, they found this country inhabited by upwards of twenty different nations or tribes, commanded by their respective Chiefs, the territories of several of them not exceeding five and twenty or thirty miles in circumference. Of these the most powerful were, 1. The Massachusetts, whose country comprehended the counties of Suffolk and Middlesex, and still a part of the Massachusetts colony.

Neumkeaks.

2. The Neumkeaks, who inhabited that part of the Massachusetts Country which now goes by the name of the county of Essex.

Narragansets.

3. The Narragansets, whose habitations were in the county of New London, east of the river Connecticut.

Pocassets.

4. The Pocassets; this people dwelt to the southward of the Massachusetts in the county now called New Plymouth.

Pequots.

5. The Pequots, who inhabited another part of Connecticut.

Wompanoags.

6. The Wompanoags, who inhabited the country now called New Bristol.

Moratigons.

7. The Moratigons, seated to the westward of the Wompanoags.

Patuxets.

8. The Patuxets, seated upon the river which still bears that name.

Maquas.

9. The Maquas, who lived to the westward of Connecticut River.

Manimoyes.

10. The Manimoyes, who inhabited Barnstable County.

Nicaniticks.

11. The Nicaniticks, Mattachiests and Namaskets, situated south-west of Merimack River: And,

Marchicans and Sequems.

12. The Marchicans and Sequems, who were seated in New Hampshire.

English colonies first erected.

The first four colonies established by the English in this country were, 1. The Massachusetts. 2. New Plymouth. 3. Connecticut; and, 4. New Haven: Afterwards three more were added, viz. 5. The province of Maine. 6. New Hampshire; and, 7. Rhode Island and Providence Plantation.

The present divisions of the country.

These seven colonies have since been reduced to four, 1. The provinces of the Massachusetts, New Plymouth and Maine, are now included in one charter and subject to the same government. 2. New Hampshire is at this day a separate government. 3. Connecticut and New Haven are now included in one charter; and, 4. Rhode Island and Providence Plantation have a distinct charter, and are a colony independent of any of the former; the occasion of which alterations will appear in the chapter assigned to treat of the history of this country.

CHAP. II.

I proceed in the next place to describe the situation and boundaries of the present larger subdivisions, and to enumerate the counties and chief towns comprehended in each of these divisions.

1. The Massachusetts colony, which at this day includes the following grand subdivisions; viz. 1. That of Massachusetts Proper. 2. New-Plymouth. 3. That of Maine.

1. Massachusetts Proper is bounded by New-Hampshire towards the north, by the Massachusetts Bay on the east, by Plymouth and Connecticut on the south, and by the province of New-York on the west, containing the counties of Suffolk, Middlesex, and Essex, all of them situated on the Massachusetts Bay, of which Suffolk is the most southerly, comprehending the towns of, 1. Boston the capital of the province. 2. Braintree. 3. Dedham. 4. Dorchester. 5. Hingham. 6. Hull. 7. Medfield. 8. Mendon. 9. Milton. 10. Roxborough. 11. Weymouth. 12. Woodstock. 13. Wrentham. 14. Brooklin; and 15. Needham.

Boston, the capital of New-England, according to Mr. NEALE, is situated in 42 degrees 24 minutes north latitude, and 71 degrees of western longitude, making London the first meridian. It stands in a peninsula about four miles in circumference, at the bottom of a fine bay of the sea, at the entrance whereof are several rocks, which appear above water, and above a dozen small islands, some of which are inhabited. There is but one safe chanel to approach the harbour, and that so narrow that three ships can scarce sail through a-breast; but within the harbour there is room enough for five hundred sail to lie at anchor. The entrance is defended by the castle of Fort William, on which are one hundred guns mounted, twenty of which lie on a platform level with the water; so that it is scarce possible for an enemy to pass the castle: And to prevent surprize, they have a guard placed on one of the rocks, about two leagues distant, on which also there stands a light-house, from whence they make signals to the castle when any ships come in sight. There is also a battery of great guns at each end of the town, which command the harbour, to the fire whereof an enemy would be exposed if he should be so fortunate to pass the castle.

At the bottom of the bay there is a pier near two thousand feet in length; with warehouses for the Merchants on the north side of it; and ships of the greatest burden may come up close to the pier and unload without the help of boats.

The same writer adds, that the town of Boston lies in the form of a crescent about the harbour, the country beyond rising gradually, and affording a most delightful prospect from the sea: That there are several streets not much inferior to the best in London; the chief of which runs from the pier up to their town-house or guild-hall; a handsome building, where are walks for the Merchants, as on the exchange; and here also are the council-chamber, the house of representatives, and their courts of justice; the exchange being surrounded with bookfellers shops, who have trade enough to employ five printing-presses here. There are ten churches of all denominations; of which six are Independents, the most prevailing party in New-England: And the number of souls in the towns may be about fourteen or fifteen thousand. The episcopal church is handsomely built and adorned; and the congregation said to be about a thousand

CHAP.
II.

thousand in number: Their church-plate and some pieces of painting were given them by King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, and their organ by THOMAS BRATTEL, Esq; there is also in this Church a magnificent seat for the Governor, who comes hither, I presume, when he happens to be of the Church of England.

Mr. NEAL observes further, that Boston is the most flourishing town of trade in English-America; and that three or four hundred sail of ships, brigantines, and other vessels, are annually loaded here with lumber, beef, pork, fish, and other provisions for Europe or the American Islands: That their Merchants and tradesmen are a polite people, many of them having travelled into Europe, or conversed with foreigners of several nations at home: That their houses are as elegantly furnished, and their tables as well served as those of the Merchants and tradesmen in London; all manner of provisions being as plentiful as in any town in Old-England.

Mr. DUMMER's description of Boston agrees with Mr. NEAL's as to the fortifications, but is something more particular; for he says there is a battery of great guns at each end of the town, and about a league from it there is a beautiful strong castle, by far the finest piece of military architecture in British-America: That it is a quarry surrounded by a covered way, and joined with two lines of communication to the main battery, as also a line of communication from the main gate to a redoubt, to prevent an enemy's landing; and the battery is situated so near the channel as to hinder ships coming up to the town, which must all sail within pistol-shot of it: That in time of peace there is but one company on duty in the castle, but in time of war there are five hundred able-bodied men, exempted from all other military duty, to attend the service of the castle at an hour's warning, when the signal is given from the light house of the approach of an enemy: That the castle thereupon makes a signal to the town, and if five ships or more appear in time of war, the neighbouring country is alarmed by firing a beacon.

Middle-
sex.
Chief
Towns.

The county of Middlesex lies contiguous to that of Suffolk on the north, and contains the following towns. 1. Cambridge. 2. Billerica. 3. Charles-town. 4. Chelmsford. 5. Concord. 6. Lexington. 7. Grotton. 8. Lancaster. 9. Marlborough. 10. Malden. 11. Framingham. 12. Medford. 13. Newton. 14. Oxford. 15. Reading. 16. Sherburn. 17. Stow. 18. Sudbury. 19. East-Waterton. 20. Weston. 21. Woburn; and, 22. Worcester.

Cam-
bridge.

The chief town whereof is Cambridge, commonly called Newton, situated on the northern branch of Charles River, about seven miles from Boston, in which are several well-built streets; but it is most considerable for its university, consisting of three colleges, viz. Harvard-College, Stoughton-Hall, and — Hall. There was also a college built for the education of Indians, but this is now converted into a printing-house, the education of the Indians in the learned languages being found impracticable; there never were above four or five educated there, and but one that ever took a degree. They have also a library here, but very defective in modern books; which my author is of opinion is the reason that the stile of the New-England divines is no better: They also still want endowments for the reading public lectures in the college by professors of the

several sciences. The university is governed by a President, five Fellows, and the Treasurer, who have each of them a competent revenue settled on them; and there may be an hundred and fifty students resident in all the colleges: Their visitors or overseers are the Governor, and Deputy-Governor with the magistrates of the province, and the Ministers (for the time being) of six adjacent towns.

Essex is the most northerly county of Massachusetts Proper, and contains the towns of, 1. Salem. 2. Amesbury. 3. Salisbury. 4. Haverhill. 5. Newbury. 6. Boxford. 7. Rowley. 8. Ipswich. 9. Topsfield. 10. Bradford. 11. Gloucester. 12. Manchester. 13. Beverly. 14. Marble-head. 15. Lynn. 16. Wenham; and, 17. Andover; of which Salem is the chief, or county-town, being situate in a plain between two rivers mouths, and has two harbours, the one called the Summer and the other Winter Harbour. They boast mightily of their church, which they assure us is one of the finest in New-England: They value themselves also on their antiquity; for here it was, they relate, that the Massachusetts adventurers fixed their first colony. A little to the northward of Salem lies the promontory called Cape Anne, esteemed a good station for fishing; and a little further northward lies Newbury, pleasantly situated at the mouth of Merimack River, where they take abundance of Surgeon, and pickle them after the same manner as they do in the Baltick. On the opposite side of Merimack River lies the town of Salisbury; and between Salisbury these towns there is a constant ferry half a mile over.

Essex
Chief
towns.
Salem.

The second grand division of the Massachusetts government is the province of Maine, which is bounded on the north-east by Nova-Scotia; by the bay of Massachusetts on the south-east, and by the province of New-Hampshire on the south-west and north-west, in which are the two counties of York and Cornwall; though according to some, the whole province of Maine is but one county: The chief towns are, 1. Falmouth. 2. Saco, or Chief Scarborough. 3. Wells. 4. Hedeck, or New towns. 5. Edger Town. 6. York. 7. Ketterg. 8. Berwick; and, 9. Biddeford. Several fortifications were erected on the north-east part of this province in the late wars, to defend the country against the French and Indians of Nova-Scotia; particularly at Saco, Kennebeck, Saghadock and Pemaquid; the last of which was taken by the French and demolished: And since Nova-Scotia has been yielded to Great Britain by France, it is to be presumed the rest are of no great use, our frontiers on that side being extended much farther by that cession.

The pro-
vince of
Maine.Fortifica-
tions.

The third and last grand division of the Massachusetts government is that of Plymouth, which lies south of Massachusetts Proper, and contains the three counties of Plymouth, Barnstable, and Bristol.

Plymouth
County.
Counties.

Of these three counties, that of Plymouth lies most northerly; in which are the towns of, 1. New-Plymouth. 2. Bridgewater. 3. Duxbury. 4. Marshfield. 5. Scituate. 6. Middleburgh. 7. Pembroke; and 8. Plympton. And of these, New-Plymouth the chief, is situated on the south-side of a large bay, called Plymouth Bay, and is the oldest town in New-England.

Plymouth
County.
Chief
towns.

The county of Barnstable lies contiguous to Plymouth on the south-east, in which is the celebrated promontory of Cape Cod, forming a large commodious

Barnstable
County.

CHAP. II. commodious bay, capable of containing a thousand sail of ships. In this county the chief towns are, 1. Barnstable, situate at the bottom of the first bay. 2. Eastham. 3. Marmoy. 4. Truro. 5. Rochester. 6. Sandwich. 7. Yarmouth. 8. Harwich; and, 9. Nantucket, situate in an island of the same name, that lies south-east of the main land, near which is one of the most considerable fisheries in New-England; and the town flourishes in proportion, there being three or four score sail of ships and vessels belonging to that port, as I am informed.

Bristol County. Chief towns. The county of Bristol lies south-west of Plymouth, and contains the towns of, 1. Bristol. 2. Swansey. 3. Rohoboth. 4. Norton. 5. Dartmouth. 6. Taunton. 7. Dighton. 8. Little Compton. 9. Artleborough. 10. Freetown; of which, Bristol the chief is situated on a commodious harbour, at the entrance whereof lies Rhode-Island.

The province of New-Hampshire. Chief towns. The province of New-Hampshire, now a distinct government, is bounded by * Nova-Scotia on the north-east; by the province of Maine on the south-west; by the Massachusset Colony on the south-east; and by Canada on the north-west; the chief towns whereof are Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, and Hampton, all which lie near the mouth of the river Piscataway; and indeed I meet with scarce any towns in the in-land country, which still remains a great forest, covered with excellent timber, large portions whereof are set apart and appropriated by act of parliament to the furnishing masts, &c. for the royal-navy of England; but the soil does not seem proper either for Corn or Grass.

The province bordering upon Canada, or New-France, suffered much by the ravages of the French and Indians in the two last wars; which occasioned the building several forts and redoubts on the frontiers for their security.

Connecticut Colony. Counties. The third colony or government, esteemed also a part of New-England, is that of Connecticut, which comprehends New-Haven, and is bounded by the Massachusset Colony on the north; by another part of the Massachusset and Rhode-Island on the east; by an arm of the sea, which divides Connecticut from Long-Island on the south; and by New-York on the west, being about one hundred miles in length, and eighty in breadth, and contains the following counties, viz. 1. New-London. 2. Hertford. 3. New-Haven County; and 4. Fairfield County.

New-London County. Chief towns. New-London County is situated on both sides of the river Connecticut, and contains the following towns, viz. 1. New-London, situate on the west bank of the Thames not far from its mouth. 2. Saybrook, the oldest town in the county, situate at the mouth of the river Connecticut, on the west-side, as 3. Lyme is on the east-side. 4. Stoniton. 5. Preston. 6. Dantsick. 7. Norwich. 8. Lebanon; and 9. Killingworth.

Hertford County. Chief towns. Hertford County, contiguous to that of London County on the north, lies also on both sides the river Connecticut, containing the following towns, viz. 1. Hertford. 2. Farmington. 3. Glassenbury. 4. Hadham. 5. Middletown. 6. Simsbury. 7. Waterbury. 8. Weathersfield. 9. Windsor. 10. Farm; and 11. Windham; of which Hertford is the chief or County-town, and capital of the whole province, having a little university or college in it, as I am informed, where young gentlemen receive academic education.

CHAP. II. New-Haven County is bounded by that of Hertford on the north; by London County on the east; the sea on the south; and Fairfield County on the west; in which are the towns of 1. New-Haven, the chief, said to be a very flourishing place, and to have a college in it called Yale-College, where young gentlemen have university education. To which is added a library well furnished with books, procured chiefly by the application and interest of JEREMY DUMMER, Esq. once Agent for this colony. 2. Brainford. 3. Derby. 4. Guildford. 5. Milford; and, 6. Wallingford.

Fairfield County also lies upon the sea, between Fairfield the county of New-Haven on the east, and the province of New-York on the west; in which are the chief towns of, 1. Fairfield. 2. Danbury. 3. Greenwich. 4. Norwalk. 5. Rye. 6. Stamford. 7. Stratford; and, 8. Woodbury.

4. The last colony comprehended in New-England is that of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantation established by another charter. Rhode-Island called by the natives Aquetnet, lies in the Narraganset Bay, between Plymouth Colony and Providence Plantation, being about fifteen miles in length, and six in breadth; to which belong several smaller islands: And Providence Plantation, which is included in the same charter, being a district about twenty miles square, on the neighbouring continent, and separated from Connecticut on the west by an imaginary line drawn from north to south, and from the Massachussets by another line drawn from east to west.

The chief towns are, 1. Newport, situated on the south-west part of Rhode-Island, in 41 degrees odd minutes north latitude, having a very secure and commodious harbour, defended by a regular fort at the entrance, on which are planted three hundred pieces of large cannon. It appears to have a brisk trade, for there are no less than sixty ships and vessels belonging to this town.

There are two other large port towns situated on the continent, near the mouth of the river Patuxet in Providence Plantation, one of them called Providence, and the other Warwick; but of these I meet with no particular description.

Several other islands lie near the south-east coast of New-England, of which Block-Island belongs to Connecticut Colony; and Elizabeth-Island, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket already mentioned belong to the Massachusset government; and are very considerable on account of the fishery carried on in those seas.

As to the buildings of the Indians of New-England, they are not different from those of Virginia and Maryland already described; and the English follow the models of their mother country, as near as they can, except in their churches; which come nearer the form of the London meeting-houses than of our churches. The few churches indeed that have been erected by the members of the Church of England, resemble those in Old England, and are generally built of wood, but some few of brick. The only publick buildings they have besides, are the town-house and guild-hall in every province and county-town, where the respective general assemblies and courts of justice are held; and some colleges and schools that have been erected in their great towns for the education of youth, which, I presume, have nothing extraordinary in

* N. B. I call all that country Nova-Scotia, which lies north-east of New-England.

CHAP. II. the fabrick, by the silence of their historians in the description of them.

CHAP. III.

Of the persons and habits of the New-England Indians; their genius and temper, arts, manufactures, food, exercises and diversions.

CHAP. III. **T**HE New-England Indians are of a good stature, and might have good complexions, if they did not affect an olive-colour, and take a great deal of pains with certain oils and juices to make their skins darker than they naturally are. Their features are well enough, except their noses, which their parents press flat in their infancy, if they are not born so: Their hair is black, and usually cut short before, but suffered to grow long behind, sometimes braided and dressed up fantastically with feathers. The hair of their beards and bodies they pull up by the roots as soon as they appear, and some of them, 'tis said, never have any beards: They frequently paint their faces and shoulders with a deep red, and on other parts of their bodies make a variety of frightful figures, endeavouring to render themselves as terrible as possible.

Habits. They generally go naked in the summer, covering their loins only with a piece of skin; but in the winter, the days of ceremony, they have a mantle or short cloak, made of the skin of a deer, or of some other animal: And of the like materials they make breeches, stockings, and shoes, all of a piece frequently. In hard weather they also put on their snow-shoes, which are very long and broad, and tied on their feet with thongs of green leather.

Ornaments. The women paint as well as the men; and their mantles are much of the same form. Their ornaments are earrings of copper, necklaces, and bracelets, made of beads and shells, or other glittering toys.

Arts and sciences. The natives are generally reckoned to have quick parts, though they had made but little improvement in arts and sciences when the English came amongst them. Their buildings and cloathing are very mean, nor was there any thing that could be called a manufacture in the country, much less were they skilled in the liberal arts, having no notion of letters, and seem but little disposed to literature at this day; for the English here, and in the rest of our colonies, tell us, they despair of making scholars of them, though no means have been left unattempted to give them a learned education.

Genius and temper. Courage or a contempt of death is what they most admire in others, and affect to be thought possessed of themselves. And there appears to have been some brave men amongst them; but they are generally timorous, revengeful, and thievish. They seldom have the courage to face an enemy in the open field; most of the great actions they boast of being done in the dark, or by surprise; and a wood-fight, where they can skulk behind the trees and bushes, is their master-piece. As they are very nimble and excellent marksmen, they have sometimes been too hard for the Europeans in such encounters.

In war, in hunting, fishing, and other rural sports, they are acknowledged to be indefatigable. They will make prodigious long and swift marches, lie in the woods night after night, endure cold and heat, hunger and thirst to admiration; and yet, when they are not engaged

in such expeditions, they are observed to be the most idle, slothful wretches upon the face of the earth; putting their women upon all manner of drudgery both without doors and within: For the women plant their corn, roots, and fruits, and afterwards reap and gather them. They also prepare and dress their food, lug about their children, and do all manner of household business, and even carry the provision and baggage upon every march and removal, the men carrying nothing but their arms: And 'tis observed they seldom go out a hunting or fishing, till necessity forces them, and then they usually set out fifty or an hundred in a company, dividing the country amongst them, so as the game may not escape, which ever way it takes, and continue their sport several weeks: Sometimes they beat the woods and thickets, at others they take their canoes or boats, and go down their rivers; and are so dextrous at shooting and striking their game in the water, as well as land, that they seldom fail of doing execution.

Their food, and the manner of dressing it, differs so little from that of the Indians already described, that it is unnecessary to enlarge on those articles any more than on their domestick diversions and exercises; which consist chiefly in singing, dancing, and hollowing; in distorting their limbs, and the most extravagant gestures they can invent.

The Europeans have taught them another mischievous recreation, viz. The drinking strong liquors, of which they are so fond, that they would sell their lands, and every thing they had, to procure them some; till the government, in compassion to the natives, prohibited their drinking strong liquors, and forbid the English to purchase their lands, without the leave of their superiors: However, these regulations are little observed; and those Indians, that live among the English, are still a wretched, sottish, and beggarly people, that will apply themselves to no manner of business; dreading labour more than poverty itself.

CHAP. IV.

Of their animals and vegetables.

CHAP. V. **T**HEIR Quadrupedes are almost the same here as in Virginia, viz. Deer, Elks, Raccoons, Bears, Wolves, Foxes, Hares, Rabbits, Squirrels, Beavers, Martins, Opossums, and little Cur-Dogs. They have now also all manner of European cattle, viz. Horses, Oxen, Sheep, and Hogs; none of which they ever saw, till the English carried them over: And though the Horses are not so large as those we have here, yet they are very serviceable both for the saddle and draught, and make the best troopers horses in America. But the most celebrated animal, which is almost peculiar to New-England, is the Moose-Deer; of which Mr. DUDLEY, now of the council in New-England, and a member of the Royal Society, has given us the following account.

The Moose is thought peculiar to North-America, and is one of the noblest creatures of the forest: The Aborigines have given him the name of Moose, Moosuck in the plural.

There are two sorts; the common light and grey Moose, by the Indians called Wampoos; these are more like the ordinary Deer, spring like

CHAP.
IV.

like them, and herd sometimes to thirty in a company: And then there are the large and black Moose, of which I shall now give you the following account.

He is the head of the Deer-kind, has many things in common with other Deer, in many things differs; but in all very superior. The Moose is made much like a Deer, parts the hoof, chews the cud, has no gall, his ears large and erect. The hair of the black Moose is a dark grey; upon the ridge of his back the hair is ten and twelve inches long, of which the Indians make good belts. He has a very short bob tail. Mr. NEAL, in his late history of this country, speaking of the Moose, says, they have a long tail; but that gentleman was imposed on as to other things, besides the Moose.

Our hunters have found a Buck or Stag-Moose of fourteen spans in height from the Withers, reckoning nine inches to a span; a quarter of his venison weighed more than two hundred pounds. A few years since, a gentleman surprised one of these black Moose in his grounds, within two miles of Boston; it proved a Doe or Hind of the fourth year. After she was dead, they measured her upon the ground from the nose to the tail between ten and eleven feet. She wanted an inch of seven foot in height.

The horns of the Moose, when full grown, are about four and five feet from the head to the tip; and have shoots and branches to each horn, and generally spread about six feet. When the horns come out of the head, they are round, like the horns of an Ox. About a foot from the head they begin to grow a palm broad, and further up still wider; of which the Indians make good ladles that will hold a pint. When a Moose goes through a thicker, or under the boughs of trees, he lays his horns back on his neck, not only that he may make his way the easier, but to cover his body from the browse or scratch of the Wood. These mighty horns are shed every year. The Doe-Moose has none of these horns.

A Moose does not spring or rise in going, as an ordinary Deer, but shoves along side-ways, throwing out the feet much like a Horse in a racking pace. One of these large black Moose, in his common walk, has been seen to step over a gate or fence five feet high. After you unharbour a Moose, he will run a course of twenty or thirty miles before he turns about or come to a bay. When they are chased, they generally take to the water, the common Deer for a short space are swifter than a Moose; but then a Moose soon outwinds a Deer.

The meat of a Moose is excellent food; and tho' it be not so delicate as the common venison, yet it is more substantial, and will bear salting. The nose is looked upon as a great dainty. I have eat several of them myself; they are perfect marrow. The Indians have told me, that they can travel as far after a meal of Moose, as after any other flesh in the forest.

The black Moose is not very gregarious, being rarely found above four or five together; the young ones keep with the dam a full year.

A Moose calves every year, and generally brings two. The Moose bring forth their young ones standing, and the young fall from the dam upon their feet. The time of their bringing forth is generally in the month of April.

The Moose being very tall, and having short necks, do not graze on the ground as the common Deer, neat cattle, &c. do; and if at any time they eat Grass, it is the top of that which grows very high, or on steep rising ground. In the summer they feed upon plants, herbs, and young shrubs, that grow upon the land; but mostly, and with greatest delight, on water-plants, especially a sort of wild Colts-foot and Lilly that abound in our ponds, and by the sides of the rivers, and for which the Moose will wade far and deep; and by the noise they make in the water our hunters often discover them. In the winter they live upon Browze, or the tops of bushes and young trees; and being very tall and strong they will bend down a tree as big as a man's leg; and where the Browze fails them, they will eat off the bark of some sort of trees as high as they can reach. They generally feed in the night, and lie still in the day.

The skin of the Moose, when well dressed, makes excellent buff; the Indians make their snow-shoes of them. Their way of dressing it, which is reckoned very good, is thus: After they have haired and grained the hide, they make a lather of the Moose's brains in warm water, and after they have soaked the hide for some time, they stretch and supple it.

Their fowls, birds, snakes, and insects, are much the same here as in Virginia, whither therefore I refer the reader: And they have the same fish in their seas and rivers; only I must observe, that the Cod-fishery and Whale-fishery of New-England are far superior to any fisheries on the coast of North-America, and yield a vast profit to this country. I am informed also, that the year before last, the New-England men sent twenty sail of ships to fish for Whales in Greenland and Davis's Streights, where they met with great success, but were not so fortunate the last year. And here it may be acceptable to the reader to introduce Mr. DUDLEY's description of their Whales, and the whale-fishery on the coast of New-England.

This gentleman observes, that the most learned part of mankind were at a loss about many things even in medical use, and particularly in what is called Ambergreese, until the whale fishermen of Nantucket in New-England, some three or four years ago, made the discovery.

Cutting up a Sperma Ceti Bull Whale, they found accidentally in him about twenty pound weight, more or less, of that drug: After which they and some other fishermen became very curious in searching all such Whales as they killed; and it has since been found in lesser quantities in several male Whales of that kind and in no other; and scarcely in one of an hundred of them. They add further, that it is contained in a cyst or bag, without any in-let or out-let to it, and that they have sometimes found the bag empty and yet entire.

The bag is no where to be found but near the genital part of the fish. The ambergreese is, when first taken out, moist and of an exceeding strong and offensive smell.

The following account respects only such Whales as are found on the coast of New-England, and of these there are divers sorts.

The right or Whalebone Whale is a large fish measuring sixty or seventy feet in length, and very bulky, having no scales, but a soft fine smooth skin;

CHAP.
IV.

Fowls, insects, &c.

3d ed.
vol. IV.

Ambergreese.

3d ed.
vol. IV.

The Sperma Ceti Whale.

3d ed.
vol. IV.

The Whalebone Whale.

CHAP.
IV.

skin; no fins but only one on each side, from five to eight foot long, which they are not observed to use but only in turning themselves, unless while young and carried by the dam on the flukes of their tails, when with those fins they clasp about her small, and so hold themselves on. This fish, when first brought forth, is about twenty foot long, and of little worth, but then the dam is very fat. At a year old, when they are called short-heads, they are very fat, and yield to fifty barrels of oil; but by that time the dam is very poor and termed a dry skin, and will not yield more than thirty barrels of oil, tho' of large bulk. At two years old they are called Stunts, being stunted after weaning, and will then yield generally from twenty-four to twenty-eight barrels. After this they are termed Scull-fish, their age not being known, but only guessed at by the length of their bones in their mouths. The Whalebone so called grows in the upper jaw on each side, and is sometimes six or seven feet in length. A good large Whale has yielded a thousand weight in bone. 'Tis thought by some that the hairy part of the Whalebone, and which is next to the tongue, serves in the nature of a strainer of their food.

The eye of a Whale is about the bigness of an Ox's eye, and situated in the after-part of the head on each side, and where the Whale is broadest; for his head tapers away forward from his eyes, and his body tapers away backwards: His eyes are more than half way his depth, or nearest his under-part. Just under his eyes are his two fins abovementioned; he carries his tail horizontally, and with that he sculls himself along.

The intrails of this Whale are made and situated much like those of an Ox, and their scalps are sometimes found covered with thousands of Sea Lice. One of these Whales has yielded one hundred and thirty barrels of oil, and near twenty out of the tongue. The Whalebone Whale is the most valuable, except the Sperma Ceti Whale.

The Scrag
Whale.

The Scrag Whale is near a kin to the fin-back; but instead of a fin upon his back, the ridge of the after-part of his back is scragged, with half a dozen knobs: He is nearest the right Whale in figure and for quantity of oil: His bone is white, but will not split.

The Fin-
back.

The Fin-back Whale is distinguished from the right Whale by having a great fin on his back from two foot and a half to four foot long, which gives him the name. He has also two side fins, as the Whalebone Whale, but much longer; measuring six or seven feet. This fish is somewhat longer than the other, but not so bulky, much swifter, and very furious when struck, and very difficultly held; their oil is not near so much as that of the right Whale, and the bone of little profit, being short and knobby. The belly of this Whale is white.

The Bunch
Whale.

The Bunch, or Hump-back Whale, is distinguished from the right Whale by having a bunch standing in the place where the fin does in the fin-back. This bunch is as big as a man's head, and a foot high, shaped like a plug pointing backwards. The bone of this Whale is not worth much, tho' somewhat better than the fin-back's. His fins are sometimes eighteen foot long, and very white; his oil as much as that of the fin-back. Both the fin-backs and hump-backs are shaped in reeves longitudinal, from head to tail, on their bellies and their sides, as far as their fins, which are about half way up their sides.

The Sperma Ceti Whale is much of the same dimension with the other, but is of a greyish colour, whereas the others are black. He has a bunch on his back like the hump-back, but then he is distinguished by not having any Whalebone in the mouth; instead of which there are rows of fine ivory teeth in each jaw, about five or six inches long. One of these teeth I have sent the society; the man who gave it me, says the Whale was forty-nine foot long, and his head made twelve barrels of Sperma Ceti oil. They are a more gentle fish than the other Whales, and seldom fight with their tails, but when struck usually turn upon their backs and fight with their mouths. The oil which is made of the body of this fish is much clearer and sweeter than that of the other Whales.

The Sperma Ceti oil so called lies in a great trunk, about four or five foot deep, and ten or twelve foot long, near the whole depth, breadth, and length of the head, in the place of the brains, and seems to be the same, and disposed in several membranous cells, and covered not with a bone but a thick grizzly substance below the skin, thro' which they dig a hole and lade out the clear oil. Not but that the head and other glandulous parts of this fish will make the Sperma Ceti oil; yet the best, and that which is prepared by nature, is in the trunk aforesaid: And an ingenious man, who has himself killed many of these Whales, assures me, that only the trunk will afford from ten to twenty barrels. Besides the Sperma Ceti oil, this fish will yield from twenty to fifty barrels of common oil.

They generate much like our neat cattle, and therefore they are termed Bull, Cow, and Calf: They bring forth but one at a time, and but every other year. When the Cow takes Bull, she throws herself upon her back, sinking her tail, and so the Bull slides up, and when he is slid up she clasps him with her fins. A Whale's pizzele is six foot long, and at the root is seven or eight inches diameter, and tapers away till it comes to about an inch diameter; his stones would fill half a barrel, but his genitals are not open or visible, like those of the true Bull. The Calf, or young Whale, has been found perfectly formed in the Cow when not above seventeen inches long, and white; and yet when brought forth is usually twenty foot, but of a black colour. It is supposed they go with their young about nine or ten months, and are very fat in that time, especially when they bring forth. When the female suckles her young she turns herself almost upon her back upon the rim of the water. She has two teats of six or eight inches long, and ten or twelve inches round. The milk is white, like that of a Cow; and upon opening a young sucking Whale the milk was found curdled in his bag, just like that of a Calf.

Their care of their young is very remarkable, they not only carrying them on their tails and suckling them, but often rising with them for the benefit of the air; and however they are chased and wounded, yet as long as they have sense, and perceive life in their young, they will never leave them, nor will they then strike with their tail; and if in their running the young one loses his hold and drops off, the dam turns about, and passing underneath takes it on again; and therefore care is taken by those who kill these fish, only to fasten the Calf but not to kill her, till they have first secured the Cow; for as soon as ever the Calf is dead

CHAP.
IV.
The Sperma Ceti Whale further described.

How they engender.

Their care of their young.

CHAP. dead the Cow perceives it, and grows so violent that there is no managing her.

IV.

The Whales are very gregarious, being sometimes found an hundred in a scull, and are great travellers: In the fall of the year the Whalebone Whales go westward, and in the spring they are headed eastward: And here it must be noted, that the several kinds of Whales do not mix with one another, but keep by themselves.

Their way of breathing is by two spout-holes in the top of the head: The Sperma Ceti Whale has but one, and that on the left side of the head. Once in a quarter of an hour, when not disturbed, they are observed to rise and blow, spouting out water and wind, and to draw in fresh air; but when pursued they will sometimes keep under half an hour or more: Tho' it is observed, when any Cow has her Calf on her tail, she rises much oftner for the young one to breathe, without breathing herself. Out of their breathing-holes they spout great quantities of blood when they have received their death's wound.

For the first year they all suck the dam: After they are weaned the right Whales (as is generally supposed) live upon ouzy matter, which they suck up from the bottom of the sea. The triers that open them when dead, acquaint me, that they never observed any grass, fish, or any other sort of food in the right or Whalebone Whale, but only a greyish soft clay, which the people call Bole Armoniac; and yet an experienced whaleman tells me, that he has seen this Whale in still weather skimming on the surface of the water, to take in a sort of reddish spawn or brett, as some call it, that at sometimes will lie upon the top of the water for a mile together. Here also it may be observed, that tho' the body of this Whale is so very bulky, and so exceeding fat, yet when cut open is seldom found to have much more draught than that of an Ox; and they dung much as neat cattle. Their swallow is not much bigger than an Ox's, but the Fin-back Whale has a larger swallow, for he lives upon the smaller fish, as Mackarel, Herrings, &c. great sculls of which they run through, and with a short turn cause an eddy or whirlpool, by the force of which the small fish are brought into a cluster, so that this fish with open mouth will take in some hundreds of them at a time. The Sperma Ceti Whale, besides other fish, feeds much upon a small fish that has a bill, our fishermen call them Squid-fish: The small pieces of these squid-bills are plainly to be discerned in the ambergreese, and may be picked out of it; they appear glazy, and like little pieces of broken shells.

Mr. HARRIS, in his *Bibliotheca Navigantium*, &c. has given us a very particular account of the method of taking Whales at Greenland; and tho' our way in New-England differs very much from that, yet I shall wave it as not so strictly appertaining to philosophy; only I would take notice of the boats our whale-men use in going from the shore after the Whale: They are made of Cedar Clapboards, and so very light that two men can conveniently carry them, and yet they are twenty foot long, and carry six men, viz. the harpooner in the fore-part of the boat, four oar-men and the steerfman. These boats run very swift, and by reason of their lightness can be brought on and off, and so kept out of danger. The Whale is sometimes kill'd with a single stroke, and yet at other times she will hold the whale-men in play near half a day together with their launces, and

VOL. III.

will sometimes get away after they have been launched and spouted blood, with irons in them, and drags fastened to them, which are thick boards about fourteen inches square. Our people formerly used to kill the Whale near the shore, but now they go off to sea in sloops and whale-boats, in the months of May, June, and July, between Cape Cod and Bermudas; where they lie by in the night, and sail to and again in the day, and seldom miss of them, bringing home the blubber in their sloops. The true season for taking the right or Whalebone Whale is from the beginning of February to the end of May; of the Sperma Ceti Whale from the beginning of June to the end of August: And it has been observed by our fishermen, that when a Sperma Ceti Whale is struck, he usually if not always throws the excrements out of the anus.

The wonderful and even prodigious strength of this creature lies principally in their tail, that being both their offensive and defensive weapon. Many instances of this kind I have had from credible persons, who were eye-witnesses. I will mention but a few. A boat has been cut down from top to bottom with the tail of a Whale, as if cut with a saw, the clap-boards scarce splintered, tho' the gunnel upon the top is of a tough wood. Another has had the stem or stern-post, of about three inches through, and of the toughest wood that can be found, into which the ends of the Cedar Clap-boards are nailed, cut off smooth above the cuddee, without so much as shattering the boat, or drawing the nails of the Clapboards. An oar has been cut off with a stroke upwards, and yet not so much as lifted up out of the thole-pin. One person had an oar cut off while in his hand, and yet never felt any jarring.

A few years since, one of the Fin-back Whales came into a harbour near Cape Cod, and towed away a sloop of near forty ton out of the harbour into the sea. This accident happened thus: It was thought the Whale was rubbing herself upon the fluke of the anchor, and going near the bottom got the fluke into her nasket, or the orifice of the uterus; and finding herself caught, tore away with such violence that she towed the ship out of the harbour as fast as if she had been under sail with a good gale of wind, to the astonishment of the people on shore; for there was no body on board. When the Whale came into deep water she went under, and had like to have carried the sloop with her, but the cable gave way and so the boats that were out after her recovered it. This Whale was found dead some days after on that shore with the anchor sticking in her belly.

After a Whale is dead it has been observed that the same way the head lies, so the head will lie, if not forcibly turned; and let the wind blow which way it will, that way they will scull a head tho' right in the eye of the wind, and they are much easier towed to the shore, if they die that way with their head than any other.

The enemies of the Whale, or the fish that prey upon the Whales, and often kill the young ones (for they will not venture upon a young one, unless much wounded) our whale-men have given the name of Killers. The Killers are from twenty to thirty foot long, and have teeth in both jaws that lock one within another: They have a fin near the middle of their backs four or five foot long: They go in company by dozens and set upon a young Whale, and will bait him like so many Bull-Dogs; some will lay hold of his

24 I

tail

CHAP. IV.

The strength of the Whale is in his tail.

The Killers which prey upon Whales.

The way of taking Whales in New-England.

CHAP.
IV.

tail to keep him from threshing, while others lay hold of his head, and bite and thresh him until the poor creature being thus heated lolls out his tongue, and then some of the Killers catch hold of his lips, and if possible of his tongue; and after they have killed him they chiefly feed upon the tongue and head; but when he begins to putrify they leave him. This Killer is without doubt the Orca that Dr. FRANGIUS describes in his treatise of animals. His words are these: Quando Orca insequitur Balænam, ipsa Balæna horribilem edit mugitum, non aliter quàm cum Taurus mordetur à Canè. These Killers are of such invincible strength, that when several boats together have been towing a dead Whale, one of them has come and fastened his teeth in her and carried her away down to the bottom in an instant: And sometimes they have bit out a piece of blubber of about two foot square, which is of that toughness that an iron with little beads being struck into it will hold it until it draws the boat under water. The Killers are sometimes taken and make good oyl, but have no whalebone. The carcases of Whales in the sea serve for food for Gulls and other sea fowl as well as Sharks, for they are not very nice.

Amber-
greese,
what.

Many and various have been the opinions (even of the learned world) as to the origin and nature of ambergreese. Some have reckoned it a bitumen, and to issue from the entrails of the earth; others, that it was produced from some insect, as honey, silk, &c. The famous Mr. BOYLE, as I find it in the second volume of LOWTHORP'S abridgment of the philosophical transactions, communicates an account of ambergreese from a Dutch Merchant, who first denies it to be the scum or excrement of a Whale; and then gives it as his opinion, that it is a fat gum that issues from the root of a tree, and that you may raise it in quantities by planting those trees by the shore, and so the stream will cast it up to great advantage. But it is now found out, that this occultum naturæ is an animal production, and bred in the body of the Sperma Ceti Whale, analogous to what is found in some animals of the land, as the Musk-Hog, or Taiacu, the Musk-Deer, the Bezoar Sheep, and some amphibious animals, as the Musquash, &c. who have their valuable scent in a particular cystis or bag. I am apt to think that which first gave occasion to the notice of ambergreese being the production of the Whale, was because it was found in considerable quantities on the shores of the Summer Islands, and among the Bahama's, where the dead Whales are frequently wrecked, and broke up with the sea, and the ambergreese found floating on the shore; but here again the ingenious, until very lately, were at a loss, and divided in opinion; for tho' they agreed it to come from the Whale, yet some took it to be the true and proper semen, being found only in the Bull at the root of the penis near the testicles; others again thought that it was the ordure or excrements of the Whale.

The best and most exact account of ambergreese, that I have been able to procure, I very lately received from one Mr. ATKINS, now an inhabitant at Boston in New-England, who used the whale-fishery for ten or twelve years together, and was one of the first that went out a fishing for the Sperma Ceti Whales, about the year 1670, and then began to discover the ambergreese; and being a sober ingenious man, what he says may safely

be depended on, tho' for substance I have had it^{C H A P. IV.} from several of the whale-men.

His relation which was taken a few days since from his own mouth is as follows:

"The ambergreese is found only in the Sperma Ceti Whales, and consists of balls or globular bodies of various sizes from about three inches to twelve inches diameter, and will weigh from a lb. and an half to twenty-two lb. lying loose in a large oval bag or bladder, of three or four foot long, and two or three foot deep, and wide almost in the form of an Ox's bladder, only the ends more acute or like a Blacksmith's long bellows, with a snout running tapering into and through the length of the penis, and a duct or canal opening into the other end of the bag, and coming from towards the kidneys; this bag lies just over the testicles which are above a foot long, and is placed lengthways at the root of the penis, about four or five foot below the navel, and three or four foot above the anus. This bag or bladder is almost of a deep orange-coloured liquor, not quite so thick as oyl, and smelling as strong or rather stronger; of the same scent with the balls of ambergreese which float and swim loose in it. The inside of the bag is very deeply tinged with the same colour as the liquor, which may also be found in the canal of the penis. The balls seem to be pretty hard while the Whale is alive, inasmuch as there are many times found upon opening the bag large concave shells of the same substance and consistence, that have scaled off from them; and the balls themselves seem to be composed of several distinct coats inclosing one another, something like the coats of an Onion."

As to the number of balls, Mr. ATKINS never found above four in a bag, and in the bag where he found one that weighed twenty one lb. which was the largest he ever saw, there was no other.

He further says, "That to one Sperma Ceti Whale that has any of these balls, there are two that have nothing but the deep orange-coloured liquor aforesaid in their bags." This remark confirms what another whale-man told me; "That the ambergreese was found only in such Sperma Ceti Whales as are old and well grown." It is the general opinion of the whale-men that the ambergreese produced only by the male, or the Bull Sperma Ceti Whale. As to this particular, Mr. ATKINS says, "He never saw or certainly heard of a female Sperma Ceti Whale taken in his life, the Cows of that species of Whales being much more timorous than the males, and almost impossible to be come at, unless when happily found asleep on the water and detained by their Calves." This is certain, the boats can never come near them when they are awake, they are so very shy and fearful.

Mr. ATKINS's method of getting the ambergreese out of the Whale was thus: After the fish is killed, he turns the belly upwards and fixes a tackle to the penis; then cuts a hole round the root of the penis, through the rim of the belly, until he comes to the intrails, and then searching for the duct or canal at the further end of the bag, cuts the duct off beyond it, upon which he draws forth the penis by the tackle, and the ambergreese bag entirely follows it, and comes clean and whole out of the belly.

The

CHAP.
IV.

The reverend Mr. PRINCE of Boston, who took the preceding relation from Mr. ATKINS, apprehends the bag aforesaid to be the urinary bladder, and the ambergreese ball to be a certain concretion formed out of the greasy odoriferous substance of the liquor aforesaid contained within it. As for my own part, I dare not pretend to give any opinion upon the point, but content myself with relating matter of fact.

It may be added here, that the bone taken out of the New-England Whales is not near so good as that taken out of the Greenland Whales, being too brittle for the uses whalebone is put to, otherwise we should not be obliged to import so much of the Hollanders whalebone: But as the New-England men are now got into the way of fishing for Whales in Greenland, it is probable they will be able to furnish their mother country with the best whalebone in a few years; and we shall not be obliged to part with so much treasure to the Dutch for this kind of merchandise.

New Eng-
land plants
by Dun-
LEY.

The plants of England, as well those of the fields and orchards as of the garden that have been brought over hither, suit mighty well with our soil, and grow here to great perfection.

Our Apples are without doubt as good as those of England, and much fairer to look to, and so are the Pears; but we have not got of all the sorts.

Our Peaches do rather excel those of England, and then we have not the trouble or expence of walls for them; for our Peach Trees are all standards, and I have had in my own garden seven or eight hundred fine Peaches of the Rare-ripes growing at a time on one tree.

Our people of late years have run so much upon orchards, that in a village near Boston, consisting of about forty families, they made near three thousand barrels of Cyder: This was in the year 1721. And in another town of two hundred families, in the same year, I am credibly informed they made near ten thousand barrels. Some of our Apple-Trees will make six, some have made seven barrels of Cyder, but this is not common; and the Apples will yield from seven to nine bushels for a barrel of Cyder. A good Apple-Tree with us will measure from six to ten foot in girt. I have seen a fine Pearmain at a foot from the ground measure ten foot and four inches round: This tree in one year has bore thirty-eight bushels (by measure) of as fine Pearmain as ever I saw in England. A Kentish Pippin at three foot from the ground seven foot in girt: A Golden-Rossetin six foot round. The largest Apple-Tree that I could find was ten foot and six inches round; but this was no graft.

An Orange Pear-Tree grows the largest and yields the fairest fruit. I know one of them near forty foot high that measures six foot and six inches in girt a yard from the ground, and has born thirty bushels at a time; and this year I measured an Orange-Pear, that grew in my own orchard, of eleven inches round the bulge. I have a Warden Pear-Tree that measures five foot six inches round. One of my neighbours has a Bergamot Pear-Tree, that was brought from England in a box about the year 1643, that now measures six foot about, and has bore twenty-two bushels of fine Pears in one year. About twenty years since, the owner took a Cyon, and grafted it upon a common Hedge-Pair, but the fruit does not prove altogether

so good, and the rind or skin is thicker than that of the original.

Our Peach-Trees are large and fruitful, and bear commonly in three years from the stone. I have one in my garden of twelve years growth that measures two foot and an inch in girt, a yard from the ground, which two years ago bore me near a bushel of fine Peaches. Our common Cherries are not so good as the Kentish Cherries of England; and we have no Dukes, or Heart-Cherries, unless in two or three gardens.

Some years since, I measured a Platanus Occidentalis, or Button-wood-tree (as they are called here) of nine yards in girt, and it held its bigness a great way up. This tree, when it was cut down, I am informed, made twenty-two cord of wood. A gentleman tells me, that in the forest he met with a strait ash that grew like a pillar of a great height, and free from limbs, that measured fourteen foot eight inches round, near a yard from the ground; and the other day I met with a Sassafras-Tree that measured five foot three inches in girt. I meddle not here with our noble Pines and Cedars, because I design to treat of them in a chapter of the Ever-greens of this country: Among our trees of quick and easy growth, the Button-wood, before mentioned, and the Locust-Tree are the most remarkable; as to the latter, by the description Mr. MOORE, while in New-England, gave me of the Manna-Tree, our Locust-Tree may be called the American Manna. I have known a seed of it blown off from the tree into my garden that took root of itself, and in less than two years was got above six foot high, and as big about as a common walking-cane. The Platanus I have frequently propagated by cutting off sticks of five or six foot long, and setting them a foot deep in the ground, in the spring of the year when the season was wet; they thrive best in a moist soil.

An Onion set out for seed will rise to four foot nine inches in height. A Parsnip will reach to eight foot: Red Orrice will mount nine foot, White Orrice eight. In the pastures I measured Seed-Mullen nine foot two inches in height, and one of the common thistles above eight foot.

Among the remarkable instances of the power of vegetation, I shall begin with an account of a Pompion seed, which I have well attested from a worthy divine. The relation is as follows: That in the year 1699, a single Pompion seed was accidentally dropp'd in a small pasture where cattle had been foddered for some time. This single seed took root of itself, and without any manner of care the vine run along over several fences, and spread over a large piece of ground far and wide, and continued its progress till the frost came and killed it. This seed had no more than one stalk but a very large one, for it measured eight inches round. From this single vine they gathered two hundred and sixty Pompions, and one with another as big as a half-peck, enough in the whole to fill a large tumbrel; besides a considerable number of small and unripe Pompions that they made no account of. The philosophical transactions give an account of a single plant of Barley, that by steeping and watering with salt-petre dissolved in water, produced two hundred and forty-nine stalks, and eighteen thousand grains; but then there was art, and even force in that case, whereas in ours there was nothing but pure nature and accident.

CHAP.
IV.

Our

CHAP.
IV.

Our Indian Corn is the most prolifick grain that we have, and commonly produces twelve hundred, and often two thousand grains from one; but the fairest computation is thus: Six quarts of this grain will plant an acre of ground, and it is not unusual for an acre of good ground to produce fifty bushels of Corn. Indian Corn is of several colours, as blue, white, red and yellow; and if they are planted separately, so that no other sort be near them, they will keep to their own colour: But if in the same field you plant the blue Corn in one row of hills (as we term them) and the white or yellow in the next row, they will mix and interchange their colours; that is, some of the ears of Corn in the blue Corn rows shall be white or yellow, and some again in the white or yellow rows shall be blue. Our hills of Indian Corn are generally about four foot asunder, and so continued in a strait line as far as the field will allow; and then a second line or row of hills and so on; and yet this mixing and interchanging of colours has been observed when the distance between the row of hills has been several yards: And a worthy clergyman of an island in this province assures me, that the blue Corn has thus communicated or exchanged even at the distance of four or five rods; and particularly in one place where there was a broad ditch of water betwixt them. Some of our people, but especially the Aborigines, have been of opinion that this communication and interchange was owing to the roots and small fibres reaching to, and communicating with one another: But this must certainly be a mistake, considering the great distance of the communication, especially at some times, and cross a canal of water; for the small fibres of the roots of our Indian Corn cannot extend above four or five-foot. I am therefore humbly of opinion, that the stamina, or principles of this wonderful copulation, or mixing of colours, are carried by the wind, and that the season of it is when the Corn is in the earing, and while the milk is in the grain; for at that time the Corn is in a sort of estuation, and emits a strong scent. One thing which confirms the air's being the medium of this communication of colours in the Corn, is an observation of one of my neighbour's, that a close high board fence between two fields of Corn, that were of a different colour, entirely prevented any mixture or alteration of colour from that they were planted with.

Forrest-trees.

Forrest-trees and others of the growth of New-England are Cedar, Oak, Ash, Elm, Cypress, Pine, Firr, Aspin, Beech, Walnut, Chestnut, Hazel, Sassafras, Sumack, and other woods used in dying, and tanning leather. Their Firr Trees are of an uncommon growth, and furnish the royal navy of England with masts and yards; they draw also from these and other trees Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Turpentine, Gums and Balms used in physick and surgery: And the soil is extremely proper for Hemp and Flax.

Fruits.

They had a variety of fruits of their own growth before the English arrived; particularly Grapes, Strawberries, Raspberries, Hurtleberries, Filberts, and many more mentioned among the plants of Virginia: As also roots and salad-herbs, several sorts of Beans and Pulse, but they had the greatest plenty of Kidney-Beans of any of them. I proceed in the next place to speak of their trade and manufactures, the best account whereof we meet with in the representation of the board of trade to the House of Commons, in the year 1732.

Trade and manufactures of the British Colonies.

CHAP.
IV.

In this representation they inform the house that an act passed in the general assembly of the Massachusetts Colony in the year 1728, entitled, An act for the encouragement of the making paper; but that manufacture, however, has hitherto made but a very small progress, and can hardly be said to interfere with the paper manufacture in Old-England; because almost all the paper sent to New-England from hence is foreign manufacture; but it certainly interferes with the profit made by the British Merchant upon foreign paper sent to this province: However, no complaints have ever been made to us against this law.

Paper.

By the return to our circular letter from the Governor of New-Hampshire, we are informed, that an act passed many years since in that province for encouraging of Iron-works, by which the exportation of Iron Ore is prohibited; but, upon the most diligent enquiry, no such act is to be found in our office, and we believe none such was ever transmitted to this board: However, not knowing whether this act might not have passed since the late King's accession, we have inserted it in this list.

Iron-works in Hampshire.

A law passed in the year 1728, in New-York, entitled, an act to repeal some parts, and to continue and enforce other parts of the act therein mentioned, and for granting several duties to his Majesty for supporting his government in the colony of New-York, from the 1st of September, which will be in the year 1733; wherein (among other duties) one was laid of five ounces of plate, or forty Shillings in bills of credit, on every Negroe imported from Africa, and a duty of four Pounds on every Negroe imported from any other place.

Duties on Negroes imported.

The plantations in all times past have laid duties upon the importation of Negroes, and as the Merchants have naturally increased their price in proportion to those duties, so it is but lately that complaints have been made against these duties, unless they went to excess: But the board are of opinion, that it would be more for the convenience of the trade that these duties should for the future be paid by the purchaser, than by the importer; and his Majesty has (upon our representation) been pleased to send an instruction to that effect to all the Governors in America.

Now paid by the purchaser.

By the charter of Pennsylvania it has already been observed, that the proprietor is obliged to offer the laws of the province to the crown, for approbation or disallowance, within five years after they are passed; and if his Majesty does not think fit to repeal them in six months from the time they are so offered, it is not in the power of the crown to repeal them afterwards; but since the year 1715 this article of the charter has been evaded, and the laws of this province have not been transmitted to this board (except occasionally an act or two;) so that we are not enabled to lay a state of the laws of this province before the house.

That upon a late petition to his Majesty from the Merchants of London, in the behalf of themselves and others, complaining that, as the law now stands in some of the colonies, his subjects residing in Great-Britain are left without any remedy for the recovery of their just debts, or have such only as is very partial and precarious; as also that in several of the said colonies and plantations greater and higher duties and impositions are laid on the ships and goods belonging to subjects in

CHAP. IV. in Great-Britain, than on the goods and ships of persons inhabiting the said colonies and plantations.

The plantations partial to themselves.

A state of the Silk, Linen and Woollen manufactures in the plantations.

The said Merchants being desired to acquaint the board whether they knew of any particular laws in the colonies, against which they had reason to object, they did deliver to us a list of laws wherein the said colonies appear to have been very partial in their own favour; in some of them exempting their persons from arrests, in others giving a preference to the inhabitants before the British Merchants in the recovery of debts, and enacting duties where a less burthen is laid upon their own effects than upon those of the British Merchants.

We beg leave to acquaint this house, that pursuant to an order of the committee of council, this board did, on the 5th of December, 1728, make a very particular enquiry into the state of the plantations at that time, with respect to Silk, Linen and Woollen Manufactures established there; and having then discoursed with many persons who had either been Governors of some of the colonies, or were by other means well acquainted with their circumstances, it appeared to this board, and we did accordingly represent,

That in the colonies of New-England, New-York, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, Pennsylvania, and in the county of Somerset in Maryland, the people had fallen into the manufacture of Woollen and Linnen Cloth for the use of their own families; but we could not learn they had ever manufactured any for sale in those colonies, except in a small Indian town in Pennsylvania, where some Palatines had then lately settled.

The reasons why these people had begun this manufacture were:

Produce of some of them.

1. That the produce of those colonies being chiefly stock and grain, the estates of the inhabitants depended wholly upon farming; and as this could not be carried on without a certain quantity of Sheep, their Wool would be entirely lost, were not their servants employed at leisure times of the year, but chiefly during the winter, in manufacturing it for the use of their families.

2. That Flax and Hemp being likewise easily raised, the inhabitants manufactured them into a coarse sort of Cloth-bags, traces and halters for their Horses; which they found did more service than those they had from any part of Europe.

3. That these settlements, which were distant from water-carriage, and remotely situated in the woods, had no opportunities of a market for grain; and therefore as they did not raise more Corn than was sufficient for their own use, they had the more time to manufacture both Wool and Flax for the service of their families, and seemed to be under a great necessity of doing it.

Upon a farther enquiry into this matter, we do not find that those people had the same temptation to go on with those manufactures during the time that the bounty upon naval stores subsisted, having then encouragement to employ their leisure hours in another way, and more profitably both to themselves and this kingdom; for the height of wages, and great price of labour in general in America, made it impracticable for the people there to manufacture their Linen Cloth at less than 20 per cent. more than the rate in England, or Woollen Cloth at less than 50 per cent. dearer than that which is exported from hence for sale. We conceive it was to be wished,

VOL. III. NUMB. CXXXV.

that some expedient might be fallen upon to divert their thoughts from undertakings of this nature; so much the rather, because those manufactures, in process of time, might be carried on in a greater degree, unless an early stop were put to their progress; and the most natural inducement that we could think of to engage the people in America to desist from these pursuits, was to employ them in naval stores: Wherefore we take leave to renew our repeated proposals, that a reasonable encouragement should be given for the making, raising and manufacturing naval stores of all kinds in the plantations; from whence we might be furnished in return for our own manufactures.

But several alterations have happened since that time; and by such lights as we have been able to acquire we find trades carried on, and manufactures set up there detrimental to the trade, navigation and manufacture of Great-Britain.

The state of the plantations varying almost every year more or less in their trade and manufactures, as well as in other particulars, we thought it necessary for his Majesty's service, and for the discharge of our trust, from time to time to send certain general queries to the several Governors in America, that we might be the more exactly informed of the condition of the said plantations; among which there were several that related to their trade and manufactures: To which we received the following returns.

New-Hampshire.

Colonel SHUTE, Governor of New-Hampshire, in his answer to the same queries in 1719, said, that there were no settled manufactures in that province, and that their trade principally consisted in lumber and fish.

Massachusetts Bay in New-England.

Colonel SHUTE, at the same time Governor of the Massachusetts Bay, informed us, that in some parts of this province the inhabitants worked up their Wool and Flax, and made an ordinary coarse cloth for their own use; but did not export any: That the greatest part both of the linen and woollen cloathing, that was then worn in this province, was imported from Great Britain, and sometimes linen from Ireland; but, considering the excessive price of labour in New-England, the Merchants could afford what was imported cheaper than what was made in that country.

That there were also a few Hatters set up in the maritime towns, and that the greatest part of the Leather used in that country was manufactured amongst themselves.

That there had been for many years some iron-works in that province, which had afforded the people Iron for some of their necessary occasions; but that the Iron imported from Great Britain was esteemed much the best, and wholly used by the shipping.

That the iron-works of that province were not able to supply the twentieth part of what was necessary for the use of the country.

New-York.

General HUNTER, formerly Governor of New-York, in his answer to the queries in the year 1720, informed us, that they had no manufactures in that province that deserved mentioning; and that the trade consisted chiefly in Furs, Whalebone, Oil, Pitch, Tar, and provisions.

CHAP. IV.

The raising naval stores ought to be encouraged in the plantations.

Trades now carried on there pre-judicial to Old England.

Woollen manufacture in New-England.

Hats and Leather.

Iron.

Produce of New-York.

CHAP.

IV.

New-Jersey.

General HUNTER, formerly Governor of this province, also informs us, in his answer to the same queries in the year 1720, that there were in that province no manufactures that deserve mentioning; and that their trade was chiefly in provisions exported to New-York and Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania.

Colonel HART, formerly Governor of Maryland, who lived many years in the neighbourhood of this government, in answer to the like queries in 1720, relating to this province, said, that their chief trade lay in the exportation of provisions and lumber; and that they had no manufactures established, their cloathing and utensils for their houses being all imported from Great-Britain.

New-Hampshire.

Mr. BELCHER, Governor of New-Hampshire, in his letter, dated the 4th of December last, informs us, that the Woollen manufacture of that province was much less than formerly, the common lands on which the Sheep used to feed being now divided into particular properties, and the people almost wholly clothed with Woollen from Great-Britain: That the manufacturing of Flax into Linnen (some coarser, some finer) daily increased, by the great resort of people from Ireland into this province, who are well skilled in that business.

And the chief trade of this province continued, as for many years past, in the exportation of naval stores, lumber and fish.

Massachusetts Bay in New-England.

Mr. BELCHER, the present Governor of this province, in answer to the same queries, which we sent him in June last, informs us:

That there is a resolve of the assembly of that province subsisting, for allowing a bounty of twenty Shillings to all persons, and ten Shillings more to JOHN POWELL, the first undertaker, for every piece of Duck or Canvas by them made; but he does not give us any account of the quantity that has been made.

He farther says, that there are some other manufactures carried on there, as the making of brown Hollands for womens wear, which lessens the importation of Callicoes and some other sorts of Indian goods in that province.

That there are likewise some small quantities of cloth made of Linen and Cotton, for ordinary shirting and sheeting.

That about three years ago a paper-mill was set up, which makes to the value of about 200 l. sterling per ann.

That there are several forges for making Bar-iron, and some furnaces for Cast-iron (or hollow-ware) and one flitting-mill, the undertaker whereof carries on the manufacture of nails.

As to the woollen manufacture, Mr. BELCHER says, the country people, who used formerly to make most of their cloathing out of their own Wool, do not now make a third part of what they wear, but are mostly clothed with British manufactures.

We are likewise informed, by some letters of older date from Mr. BELCHER, in answer to our annual queries, that there are some few Copper-mines in this province; but so far distant from water-carriage, and the ore so poor, that it is not worth the digging.

Colonel DUNBAR, Surveyor-General of his Majesty's woods, in his letter of September the 15th, 1730, takes notice, that the people of New-England have an advantage over those of Great-Britain, in the draw-back for all India and other goods exported, which pay a duty in Great Britain, and no duty is paid upon importing them into the plantations. He has likewise sent this board several samples of edge-tools made in New-England; and in his letter to our Secretary of the 4th of June 1731, he says they have six furnaces and nineteen forges for making Iron in New-England.

He also informs us, in his letter of the 19th of August, 1730, that in this province many ships are built for the French and Spaniards, in return for Rum, Molosses, Wines, and Silks, which they truck there by connivance.

These informations have been in a great measure confirmed by Mr. JEREMIAH DUMMER, deputy Surveyor of the woods, and also by Mr. THOMAS CORAM, a person of reputation, who resided many years in New-England: To which they have added, that great quantities of Hats they made in New-England, of which the company of Hatters of London have likewise lately complained to us: And Mr. JEREMIAH DUMMER further says, that great quantities of Hats made in that province are exported to Spain, Portugal, and our West-India Islands; and that they make all sorts of iron-work for shipping; and that there are several still-houses and sugar-bakers established in New-England.

New-York.

Mr. RIP VAN DAM, President of the council of this province, in his letter of the 29th of October last, informs us, that there are no manufactures established there that can affect the manufactures of Great Britain.

And as to the trade and navigation of the province, he acquaints us there is yearly imported into New-York a very large quantity of the Woollen Manufacture of this kingdom for their cloathing; which they should be rendered incapable to pay for, and reduced to the necessity of making for themselves, if they were prohibited from receiving from the foreign Sugar Colonies the money, Rum, Sugar, Molosses, Cocoa, Indico, Cotton, Wool, &c. which they at present take in return for provisions, Horses and lumber; the produce of that province and New-Jersey, of which he affirms the British Colonies do not take off above one half.

But the company of Hatters in London have since informed us that Hats are manufactured in great quantities in this province.

New-Jersey.

Mr. MORRIS, who is at present Commander in chief to this province, has made no particular return for the same.

Pennsylvania.

Major GORDON, Deputy-Governor of Pennsylvania, in his answer received the 24th of the last month, informs us, that he does not know of any trade carried on in that province that can be injurious to this kingdom; and that they do not export any Woollen or Linen manufactures, all they make (which are of a coarser sort) being for the use of themselves and families.

We are further informed, that in this province are built brigantines and small sloops, which they sell to the West-Indies.

Rhode-

CHAP.

IV.

No duties there on East-India goods.

Edge-tools made there.

Six furnaces and fourteen forges in New-England.

Ships sold the French and Spaniards for Rum, Wine, and Silk.

Hats exported.

Wrought Iron.

Distillers and Sugar Bakers.

Produce of the foreign Sugar Colonies imported into New-York and New-Jersey.

Hats made there.

Brigantines and sloops built in Pennsylvania.

Rhode-

Linen made in New-Hampshire.

Naval stores, &c.

Canvas for sails in the Massachusetts.

Brown-Hollands made there.

Cotton and Linen.

Paper.

Iron-works.

Woollen Cloth.

Copper-mines in the Massachusetts Colony.

CHAP.

IV.

Iron-works in Rhode-Island.

Rhode-Island. The Governor of Rhode-Island, in his answer to queries dated the ninth of November last, informs us, that there are Iron-mines there, tho' not a fourth part of Iron enough to serve their own use; but he takes no notice of any sort of manufacture set up there.

Connecticut.

Produce and handicrafts in Connecticut.

We have no return from the Governor of this province; but we find by some accounts that the produce of this colony is Timber-board, all sorts of English grain, Hemp, Flax, Sheep, cattle, Swine, Horses, Goats, and Tobacco, of which they export Horses and lumber to the West-Indies; and receive in return Sugar, Salt, Molosses, and Rum. We likewise find that their manufactures are very inconsiderable, the people there being generally employed in tillage; some few in tanning, shoe-making, and other handicrafts; others in building, Joyners, Taylors, and Smiths work, without which they could not subsist.

The Sugar Colonies, viz. Jamaica, Leeward-Islands, and Barbadoes.

No manufactures in the Sugar Islands, which interfere with those of Britain. Their Produce.

By the last returns which we have had from those islands to our circular queries, we do not find that they have any other manufactures established besides those of Sugar, Molosses, Rum, and Indigo of their own produce; these, with Cotton, Aloes, Pimento, and some other productions of less note, are their whole dependance, which are commodities no ways interfering with the manufactures of this kingdom.

In the year 1724, Mr. WORSELEY, then Governor of Barbadoes, informed us, that of Cotton they made hammocks, a few stockings, and nets for Horses.

From the foregoing state it is observable, that there are more trades carried on, and manufactures set up in the provinces on the continent of America to the northward of Virginia prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great-Britain, particularly in New-England, than in any other of the British Colonies, which is not to be wondered at; for their soil, climate, and produce being pretty near the same with ours, they have no staple commodities of their own growth to exchange for our manufactures, which puts them under great necessity, as well as under greater temptation of providing for themselves at home. To which may be added, in the charter governments the little dependance they have upon their mother country, and consequently the small restraints they are under in any matters detrimental to her interest.

Reflections on the charter governments.

And therefore we would humbly beg leave to report and submit to the wisdom of this honourable house the substance of what we formerly proposed in our report on the Silk, Linen and Woollen manufactures herein before recited; namely, whether it might not be expedient to give these colonies proper encouragements for turning their industry to such manufactures and products as might be of service to Great-Britain, and more particularly to the production of all kinds of naval stores.

Trade and produce of Rhode-Island and Providence plantation.

From a considerable Merchant of New-England I received the following account of the trade and produce of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantation, viz. That they have a great trade by sea to the British West-Indies, to the Dutch Colonies at Surinam, on the continent of South-America, and to the Dutch Island of Curaco, or Curassow, near the coast of Terra-Firma, whither they send

Horses, Salt, provisions and lumber; that is Deal-boards, Pipe-staves, Hoops, and Shingles. They also send their ships sometimes by the way of the West-Indies to London: And several vessels sail annually to the bay of Honduras for Logwood, which they transport to Europe; but this colony has very little concern in the fishery.

CHAP.

IV.

Trade with the Dutch and the Spaniards.

They are supplied with most of their British manufactures from Boston; but sometimes they import these themselves directly from Great Britain. It is a pleasant, healthful, and fruitful country. They breed and feed great numbers of Horses and black cattle, their land being proper for grazing. They have some Indian Corn indeed, but very little other grain, importing most of their Wheat from New-York, and some from Virginia. Here are some iron-mines also wrought, and turn to a good account; for they make many of their own edged-tools, and implements of husbandry.

A grazing country.

Iron-mines.

CHAP. V.

Of the history of New-England.

KING JAMES I. by letters patents dated the 10th of April, 1606, erected two companies of adventurers, empowering them to send colonies to Virginia (as the north-east coast of America was then called); the first of which companies obtained the name of the London-Company, and were authorized to plant colonies between 34 and 41 degrees of north latitude; and the other obtained the name of the Plymouth-Company, and were empowered to plant their people between 38 and 45 degrees of north latitude; but it was provided that the said companies should not interfere or fix themselves within an hundred miles of each other: The London-Company hereupon sent out ships the very same year, and planted that country to which the name of Virginia is now appropriated, as has been already related; but the Plymouth-Company contented themselves for some years with trafficking with the natives of North-Virginia (as New-England was then called) for Furs, and fishing upon that coast. Two ships being employed in this fishery in the year 1614, commanded by Captain JOHN SMITH (formerly President of South-Virginia) and Captain THOMAS HUNT; Captain SMITH went on shore, and took a particular view of the country of the Massachusetts, and had some skirmishes with the natives: After which he returned to England, ordering HUNT to sail with the other ship to Spain, and dispose of the fish he had taken there; but HUNT, proposing to make a market of the natives themselves, as well as of their fish, after Captain SMITH was gone, enticed twenty-seven of the Indians on board his Ship; and then setting sail with them to Malaga, sold them there to the Spaniards for slaves, at the rate of twenty Pounds a man; among whom was an Indian called SQUANTO, afterwards very serviceable to the English. This outrage was so resented by the Indians for the present, that all commerce with them became impracticable; nor was this the first time the natives had been thus violently carried away by the English; for Captain HARLOW, in the year 1611, surpris'd one ERENOW, and two more of his countrymen, and brought them to England; where ERENOW having learned English enough to impose upon his masters, and understanding that the hopes of acquiring mountains of gold was

CHAP. V.

Two companies erected by one patent.

The London-Company plant South-Virginia.

The Plymouth-Company trade to North-Virginia or New-England.

HUNT spirits away twenty seven of the natives, and sells them for slaves in Spain.

A stratagem of an Indian to get home again.

the

CHAP. V. the principal inducement the English had to visit his country, the cunning Indian, in order to get thither again, pretended there was a rich gold mine not far from the country where he was born, which he would guide them to if they thought it worth their while to fit out a ship on such an Expedition. This overture had the success EPE- now expected, and Captain HOBSON was dispatched the next year, with provisions, tools and materials proper to make a settlement, and open the mines EPE now had given them intelligence of. The ship arriving on the coast of the Massachusetts, several Indians came on board, promising to return the next day with Furs and other merchandize; and they did indeed return, but in an hostile manner, with twenty canoes full of armed men; and EPE now beckoning to them to approach nearer the ship, jumped into the sea, and made his escape to them: Whereupon the English fired upon the canoes, and were answered with a flight of arrows, and several were wounded on both sides, among whom was Captain HOBSON himself: After which, the Captain, without attempting any thing farther, thought fit to return to Eng- land.

MAHO In the year 1619, Captain DORMER was sent to New-England, and with him SQUANTO the Indian, as an interpreter, to endeavour to make peace with the natives, and settle a colony in the Massachusetts Bay; but to no purpose, the Indians would not be reconciled, and in a skirmish with them, DORMER received fourteen wounds; whereupon he proceeded to Virginia, leaving SQUANTO on shore in New-England.

The original of the New-England Colonies.

In the mean time some Brownists, the very worst of our English sectaries, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the government by the rebellious principles they taught, thought fit to transport themselves to Amsterdam; where not being able to agree among themselves, part of them removed with their preacher Mr. JOHN ROBINSON, to Leyden, about the year 1610; where having remained seven years more, either the Dutch grew weary of them, or they grew weary of the Dutch; for the Brownists complained of very great hardships, declaring that imprisonment in England was preferable to the condition of refugees in Holland; and many of them actually returned to England. Whereupon ROBINSON and his elders, apprehending a general desertion of their flock, hit upon this expedient to keep them together, and increase their number: They represented that New-England was not only a place which abounded with all things desirable in life, but that there were great expectations of discovering treasures there equal to those of Mexico or Peru: However, as it was known to be a fruitful soil, and the climate not unlike that of Old-England, here the sectaries might live in peace and plenty, and enjoy the freedom of their consciences, and probably become the founders of some mighty state; they proposed therefore to the dissenters in England to join them, and make a common purse, with which they might purchase a territory in New-England of the Plymouth-Company, and obtain a patent from his Majesty King JAMES I. for the free exercise of their religion; and furnish themselves with ships, men, provisions, and utensils to plant the country.

This project many dissenters came into, and some others, on a prospect of making their fortunes, and immediately applied themselves to the then Ministry for a patent; which they at length

obtained by the mediation of Sir ROBERT NANTON, Secretary of state, and Sir EDWARD SANDYS: But it seems the patent was not so full as they expected; for there was not an express toleration of their religion contained in it; only an assurance that their worships should be connived at.

The motives made use of at court to obtain this grant were, the glorious pretence of propagating the christian religion among infidels, the extending his Majesty's dominions, and the enriching their mother country; and possibly it might be suggested, that they should thereby prevent both the French and Dutch possessing themselves of this desirable country, which they were attempting to do at this time. All things being at length agreed upon, the Leyden adventurers embarked at Delf in Holland in July 1620, and arrived at Southampton the latter end of that month, where they found their friends on board a ship of near two hundred tons. It seems Mr. ROBINSON and great part of his congregation remained in Holland, not designing to embark till they received advice of the success of this first attempt.

The two ships having provided themselves with all manner of necessaries at Southampton for establishing a colony, and taken to the value of between two and three thousand Pounds in merchandize on board, to traffick with the Indians, they set sail on the 5th of August: But the smaller ship springing a leak, they were forced to return into harbour again; and the leaky vessel being at length found unfit for the sea, they removed part of their men and provisions into the large ship, which set sail from Plymouth on the 6th of September with an hundred and fifty people on board, including the seamen; and after a stormy passage they arrived at Cape Cod in New-England on the 9th of November following.

The first colony set sail for New-England and arrive at Cape Cod.

Our adventurers were bound for HUDSON'S River, at the mouth whereof New-York now stands; but their pilot, it is said, was bribed by the Dutch to carry them further north, the Hollanders proposing to plant that country with their own people, as they actually did soon after. Certain it is, our adventurers finding the winter exceeding sharp, and sailing become dangerous on that coast, resolved to fix themselves at the first good harbour they should meet with. They went on shore therefore in their boats; and having taken a view of the country over against Cape Cod, after a month's laborious search, many hazards at sea, and some skirmishes with the natives on shore, they arrived at a very commodious bay, on which they built a town, and gave it the name of Ply- mouth, being situate in 42 degrees north latitude, a great way to the north-east of the country they had purchased and obtained a patent to plant. They determined therefore to have no regard to the letters patents they had obtained from the crown, but to elect a Governor, and strike out such a form of government as they could agree on among themselves.

The planters, designed to stay in the country, including women and children, were about an hundred, of whom only one boy died in the passage. Their historians mention no more than nineteen families that settled at Plymouth, and give us the names but of forty one effective men, among whom the chief were JOHN CARVER, WILLIAM BRADFORD, EDWARD WINSLOW, (JOHN BREWSTER, assistant to Mr. ROBINSON above-mentioned.)

The chief planters.

CHAP. V. above-mentioned, and ruling elder of his church, to whose care he committed that part of his flock who engaged in this enterprize, ISAAC ALLERTON, MILES STANDISH, JOHN HOWLAND, RICHARD WARREN, STEPHEN HOPKINS, EDWARD TILLY, CHRISTOPHER MARTIN, WILLIAM WHITE, RICHARD CLARK, and THOMAS ENGLISH.

The first thing they considered after their landing, was the choice of a Governor, and were unanimous in conferring that post upon Mr. JOHN CARVER. They also agreed to submit to such laws as should be approved of by the majority, and signed an instrument to that effect; but such were the fatigues and hardships this young colony underwent the first winter, that out of an hundred planters fifty of them died within the space of two months; and had the Indians attacked them, they had probably all perished before the winter was over; but they met with no disturbance from the natives after they fixed themselves at Plymouth Bay, and only saw some few of them now and then at a distance till the middle of March, when SAMOSET, one of their Sagamores or Captains, came to them in a friendly manner, and gave them to understand they were welcome into the country, and that his people would be glad to traffick with them. And coming again the next day with several other Indians, they informed the English that their great Sachem or King, whom they called MASSASSOJET, had his residence but two or three days march to the northward, and intended them a visit; and accordingly MASSASSOJET arrived on the 22d of March, with a retinue of about sixty people, and being received by Captain STANDISH at the head of a file of musketeers, was conducted to a kind of throne they had prepared for his Indian Majesty in one of their houses.

MASSASSOJET an Indian King visits them.

They relate, that this Monarch was of a large stature, middle aged, of a grave countenance, and sparing in his speech; that his face was painted red, and both head and face smeared over with oil; that he had a mantle of Deer-skin, and his breeches and stockings, which were all of a piece, were of the same materials; that his knife or tomahawk hung upon his breast on a string, his Tobacco-pouch behind him, and his arms were clothed with wild Cat-skins; and in the same garb were his principal attendants. They did not observe any marks of distinction between this Prince and his subjects, unless it were a chain of fish bones which MASSASSOJET wore about his neck.

Soon after the Prince was seated, CARVER the Governor came in with a guard of musketeers, a drum and trumpet marching before him: Whereupon MASSASSOJET rose up and killed him; after which they both sat down, and an entertainment was provided for the Indians, of which no part appeared more acceptable to them than the brandy, the Sachem himself drinking very plentifully of it. In MASSASSOJET's retinue was the above-mentioned SQUANTO, who had been carried to Europe by HUNT and brought to New-England again, as related above. This Indian it seems had a very great affection for the English, among whom he lived several years; and it was to his favourable representation of the colony that the Sachem was induced to make them this friendly visit; and at this first meeting to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with the English, and even to acknowledge King JAMES

VOL. III.

for his Sovereign, and promise to hold his dominions of him; and as an evidence of his sincerity, MASSASSOJET granted and transferred part of his country to the planters and their heirs for ever. This alliance being founded upon the mutual interests of the contracting parties was maintained inviolably many years. The Sachem, who had been informed by SQUANTO how powerful a people the English were both by sea and land, promised himself their assistance against the Narraganset Indians his enemies; and the English stood in no less need of his friendship and assistance to establish themselves in that country.

The treaty being concluded, MASSASSOJET returned to his capital, leaving SQUANTO with the colony, who was extremely serviceable to them, not only as an interpreter, but by instructing them how to plant and manage their Indian Corn, in piloting them along the coast, and supplying them with fish, fowl and venison. Still the English remained very unhealthy, and many of them died, among whom was Mr. CARVER their Governor, who did not survive the month of April, 1621. The seamen also had their share of illness, inasmuch that they were not in a condition to sail till May, when the ship returned to England to give their friends an account of the circumstances of the colony.

In the mean time the colony elected Mr. BRADFORD their Governor, who sent an embassy to the Sachem MASSASSOJET, and renewed and confirmed the treaty of alliance his predecessor had made with that Monarch. The Ambassadors, in their journey to Pokanoket, the usual residence of MASSASSOJET, received great civilities from the Indians upon the road, who supplied them with provisions, carried their baggage, and assisted them in crossing the rivers they met with in their way; and the English understood from them that the country had been in a manner depopulated by a great plague which raged there the beginning of this year, inasmuch that several towns were left without inhabitants, and the Corn standing in their fields without an owner; and to this calamity our adventurers in a great measure ascribed their security, that they were not molested by the natives. They tell us however, that they were threatened by the Narragansets, enemies to MASSASSOJET, a powerful nation on the south-west of Plymouth; but having strengthened their fort, and planted cannon on their works, they rendered themselves so formidable, that the Narragansets did not think fit to attack them: On the other hand, several Sachems, or petty Princes, came in and put themselves under their protection, acknowledging the King of Great-Britain their Sovereign.

CHAP. V. MASSASSOJET enters into an alliance with the English, and acknowledges the King of Great-Britain his sovereign.

The colony sickly. CARVER the Governor dies.

BRADFORD elected Governor.

The natives destroyed by a pestilence.

Several Chiefs desire the protection of the colony.

In the year 1622 several ships arrived from England with planters, but bringing no provisions with them, and there happening a great drought in New-England this summer, they were in great danger of being distressed for provisions; but the rain falling plentifully in July, they had a better crop of Indian Corn than they expected; and some ships arriving from England with cutlery ware and other merchandize about the same time, they purchased a farther supply of Corn of the natives. This year died that friendly Indian SQUANTO, who had been so serviceable to the colony: It seems he endeavoured to render the English as formidable to his countrymen as possible;

Some ships arrive from England.

SQUANTO dies.

CHAP.

V.

Divisions
in the co-
lony on
account of
religion.

possible; and among other things assured them, that the English could inflict what plagues they pleased upon their enemies; insinuating, that they had been the authors of the last pestilence, which fell upon some districts that were for driving the English out of their country; and this, it is said, kept the rest of the Indian Princes in great awe.

And now the numbers of the planters being increased by the continual arrival of ships from Old-England, and there being some differences among them on account of religion, Mr. WESTON, with part of their adventurers (who seem to have been members of the Church of England, by the character the sectaries of Plymouth give of them) removed to a place called Wefagufquafet, afterwards Weymouth, situate on the south-side of the Massachusetts Bay, where they built some huts, and surrounded them with palisadoes; but having no great guns, or any reinforcements of men from England, or supplies of ammunition or provision, as the people of Plymouth had; and being forced to range about the fields and woods in search of provisions, they became contemptible among the Indians, were daily insulted, and had been all massacred (as the Plymouth men relate) if they had not sent a detachment to their relief, who attacked the Indians, killed some of their Chiefs, and compelled the rest to sue for peace. However, WESTON and his men, being in no condition to maintain themselves at Weymouth, quitted that settlement, which Captain GORGES afterwards came from England with a design to restore, being made Governor of that part of the country by the company; but not finding things answer his expectations, this gentleman also abandoned Weymouth, and returned to England, being soon followed by his Bishop and the rest of the planters, as the Plymouth men relate. What they mean by his Bishop, I presume, was the chaplain of the colony, which Captain GORGES carried over with him; and as this Weymouth Colony were generally episcopal Men, the New-England historians (who were of another persuasion) represent the Weymouth planters as a most licentious and debauched generation, and impute their want of success to the wickedness of their lives; but as they dress up all their church-men in the like odious colours, it is presumed little weight will be given to this charge, especially as we find their dancing round a maypole enumerated amongst their greatest crimes.

The true reason why the sectaries succeeded better in this country than other adventurers was, that their whole party almost engaged in the enterprise, proposing to make this their retreat, if they miscarried in the design they had in view, of subverting the ecclesiastical and civil government at home: If this could not be effected, they promised themselves however that they should be able here to put in practice their darling schemes of independency in the church, and democracy in the state, and become the founders of a new religion, as well as of a new republic.

As their hearts were set upon this project, they took care to supply their friends they sent before them from time to time with all manner of provisions and necessaries, while they supplanted and discouraged all others from settling there, and actually sent several considerable adventurers back again to England for presuming to worship God after the manner of the establish'd church, as will

appear from their own relations in the course of this history.

As for themselves, they had not for many years any clergyman amongst them, either conformist or non-conformist, but were preached to and directed in their devotions by BREWSTER the lay-elder, whom father ROBINSON sent over to explore the country, and prepare a place for his reception; but ROBINSON died in Holland, and was not suffered to pass over Jordan to that land of reformation, that paradise of the saints.

The colony of Plymouth still remaining without a patent, or any title to the lands they possessed from the North-Virginia (or New-England) Company, sent over Mr. WINSLOW, one of their number, to solicit for both in the year 1624; and this gentleman succeeded beyond their expectations, for the charter he procured enabled the planters to elect a Governor, a Council and Magistrates, and to make laws, provided they were not opposite to the laws of England, nor encroached on the prerogatives of the crown.

Three Heifers and a Bull were carried over to Plymouth Colony this year (1624) being the first horned cattle that ever were seen in New-England: Some Hogs, Goats and poultry also were imported about the same time, which soon increased to a very great number.

The company also sent over one LYFORD an Irishman, as Chaplain to the Plymouth Colony, who would have performed divine service and administered the sacraments after the manner of the Church of England; but the planters compelled him to conform himself to their way of worship, and sufficiently humbled him upon intercepting some letters he had sent to England, complaining of their extravagancies, and representing them as monsters in religion; insomuch that he was forced to remove from Plymouth to a new colony of planters, who had fixed themselves near cape Anne.

In the year 1625 (as the New-England historians relate) Mr. WHITE, Minister of Dorchester, observing the success of the Plymouth Colony, projected a new settlement in the Massachusetts Bay in New-England, as an asylum also for the sectaries; and prevailing with Mr. CONANT and some others, to go over and make choice of a proper settlement, he and his friends purchased or procured a grant from the North-Virginia or New-England Company in the year 1627, to Sir HENRY ROSWELL, Sir JOHN YOUNG, Knights, THOMAS SOUTHCOT, JOHN HUMPHRIES, and SIMON NEWCOMBE, Esqrs. their heirs, assigns, and associates, of all that part of New-England which lies between the great river Merimack and Charles River, at the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay, and all lands, &c. three miles north of Merimack River, and three miles south of Charles River, and in length or in longitude between those rivers from the Atlantick to the South Sea; and obtained a patent from King CHARLES I. to hold the same as of his manour of East-Greenwich, in common focage, yielding and paying to his Majesty a fifth part of such gold and silver Oar as should from time to time be found within those limits.

These gentlemen having taken in Sir RICHARD SALTOUSTAL, Mr. ISAAC JOHNSON, SAMUEL ADDERLEY, JOHN VAN MATTHEW CRADOCK, THOMAS GOFF, GEORGE HARWOOD, SAMUEL BROWN, and several more partners, the following year 1628, procured a new patent with the names of the last mentioned gentlemen in-
serted

The Ply-
mouth
planters
obtain a
charter.

Cattle sent
to New-
England.

The origi-
nal of the
Massachu-
set Colo-
ny.

CHAP. V. ferted as proprietors; by which patent they and all others who should join with them were incorporated by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England, and were empowered to elect a Governor, Deputy Governor, and Magistrates, and to make laws for the good of the plantation, tho' not repugnant to the laws of England; and liberty of conscience was thereby granted to all that should settle there.

CRA- The adventurers, by virtue of this patent, elect-
DOCK the ed Mr. CRADOCK their Governor, and Mr. EUP-
first Go- teor their Deputy-Governor, and sent over the
vernor of latter immediately to reinforce Mr. CONANT, who
the Mas- was settled at Mumkeak, now Salem, situate on
sachusetts the coast of New-England, between the promon-
Colony. tories of Marblehead and Cape Anne.

A fleet of The following year the Massachusetts adventur-
planters ers fitted out six ships, on board whereof were
arrive at three hundred and fifty planters, men, women and
Salem. children; and two non-conformist Ministers, viz.
Mr. SHELTON and Mr. HIGGINSON: They also
sent over cattle of all kinds, viz. Horses, Mares,
Cows, Hogs and Goats, with Rabbits and Barn-
door-fowls; as also cannon, ammunition and pro-
vision of all kinds, necessary to establish a colony;
which fleet sailed from the Isle of Wight on the
first of May, 1620, and arrived at Salem in
New-England on the twenty-fourth of June fol-
lowing. The first thing they did after their arri-
val was to send for some of their brethren from
Plymouth, and having learned what species of in-
dependents they were, resolved to copy after them
(in religion at least) and entered into a solemn co-
venant among themselves for that purpose; de-
claring (as I understand the instrument) that they
would submit to no government, ecclesiastical or
civil, but of their own framing. One of their own
writers observes, that they were attached to the prin-
ciples of the Brownists, which they carried to such
a length as not only to discourage but to drive
away a regular and learned ministry, which after
some years they were blessed with. (I presume he
means the presbyterian fathers who resorted thither
afterwards.)

They re- The same writer informs us, that some of the
fuse to to- planters, finding their Ministers did not use the
lerate the common-prayer, or administer the sacraments with
service of the usual ceremonies, set up a separate assembly,
of Eng- wherein they used the liturgy of the Church of
land. England; and of these Mr. SAMUEL BROWN a
lawyer, and his brother JOHN BROWN a merchant,
men of estates and figure, were the chief, being of
the number of the first patentees.

The Deputy-Governor sending to these gentle-
men to demand the reason of their separation, they
represented, that the Ministers were separatists from
the Church of England, and the principles they
professed would shortly lead them to become ana-
baptists. To which the Ministers answered, they
were neither separatists nor anabaptists; they did
not separate from the Church of England, or from
the ordinances of GOD, but only from the cor-
ruptions and disorders of that church; that
they came away from the common-prayer and ce-
remonies, and had suffered for their non-confor-
mity in their native land; and being now in a
place where they had their liberties, they neither
could nor would use them, judging the imposition
of these things sinful corruptions of the word of
GOD.

Mr. BROWN and his friends replied, that as
they were of the church established by law in

CHAP. V. their native country, it was highly reasonable they
should worship GOD in the manner that govern-
ment required, from which they received their char-
ter; at least they ought to allow the members of
the church that liberty of conscience they them-
selves thought so reasonable when they were on
the other side of the water; and as one article
in their charter provided that all persuasions of
Christians should have liberty of conscience, they
did not know whether their denying it to them
was not a forfeiture of their charter. But these
arguments were called seditious and mutinous;
and the brethren, determining to suffer none to
reside there that were not of the same levelling
principles in church and state as they professed,
forced the two Mr. BROWNS to return back to
Old-England in the same ship that brought them
over, whereby they escaped that mortality which
happened among the planters the next winter,
when an hundred of them died, and among the
rest Mr. FRANCIS HIGGINSON their preacher, and
HOUGHTON the ruling elder of their church.

The year following (1630) Mr. CRADOCK de-
clining to go over to his government, the Massa-
chuset adventurers in Old-England made choice
of JOHN WINTHROP, Esq. for Governor, and
Mr. THOMAS DUDLEY Deputy-Governor; and
having fitted out ten sail of ships, the Governor
and his Deputy embarked in that fleet for New-
England, together with Sir RICHARD SAL-
TOUSTAL, ISAAC JOHNSON, Esq. and his lady,
THEOPHILUS EATON and JOHN VENN, Esqrs.
with several other gentlemen and non-conformist
Ministers, and upwards of two hundred planters
more, who arrived at Salem in July 1630: Soon
after which the people of Salem made two new
settlements, the first at Charles Town, on the
north side of Charles River, opposite to the place
where Boston now stands, and the other at Dor-
chester, situate at the bottom of the Massachusetts
Bay; but the new planters bringing the scurvy
and other distempers along with them, and lying
in tents and booths pretty much exposed to the
weather, above an hundred of them dyed with-
in three months after their arrival. The small-
pox at the same time made such havock among
the Indians that nine parts in ten of them (as
the New-England historians relate) died of that
distemper, and the rest flying from the distemper
the country was in a manner depopulated: But
this it not very consistent with what the New-
England writers add: That they purchased the
several tracts of land they afterwards possessed
of the natives; for if the former inhabitants were
all dead or gone, the English, who succeeded them
in the possession, seem to have had the best title
to the country, and had no occasion or even op-
portunity to purchase their lands. If they did
purchase some small parcels on their arrival, there
is no doubt to be made but they possessed them-
selves of much more on this general desertion with-
out paying any thing for it.

The latter end of the same year 1630, the in-
habitants of Charles Town observing that the op-
posite side of the river was a much more desirable
situation than that their town stood upon, took the
liberty to dispossess Mr. BLACKSTON an episco-
pal Minister, of it, who had built a little house
there, by vertue whereof he laid claim to the whole
peninsula; and they seem to justify the outrage by
suggesting that Mr. BLACKSTON was an odd sort
of a man, who would not join himself with any
of their New-England Churches, declaring that

CHAP. V.

A great mortality amongst the planters.

WINTHROP made Governor.

DUDLEY Deputy-Governor.

Charles Town founded: And Dorchester.

Does not seem to be very consistent with what the New-England writers add.

CHAP. V. as he came from Old-England because he did not like Lords Bishops, so he would not join with them because he would not be subject to the Lords Brethren, whose tyranny he held much more insupportable than the other: But however that be, certain it is, when the brethren had driven away this unhappy Parson that could agree with no body, they laid the foundation of their capital city upon this very spot of ground, to which they gave the name of Boston: Cambridge and several towns more were founded soon after not far from Boston; for now the non-conformists resorted hither in great numbers; fleets of ships came over crowded with them every year. In 1634 the small-pox was as fatal to the Indians as it had been in the year 1630. The English observe that those people are generally very full of them, and wanting beds and Linen they become the most loathsome objects imaginable; for having nothing but hard mats to lie on, when the postules break they stick to the mats, and all their skin is shed off, and in this condition they catch cold and die in the utmost torture; which makes the natives dread the small-pox much more than a pestilence.

Boston the capital founded.

The small-pox fatal to the Indians.

Divisions among the planters.

The cross in the colours expunged as idolatrous.

There happened great divisions about this time (1634) among the brethren. Their writers relate, that Mr. ROGER WILLIAMS, who was chosen to succeed Mr. SHELTON deceased, as Pastor of the Church of Salem, being a rigid Brownist, precise and uncharitable, and of turbulent passions, was near setting the whole country in a flame. This father taught, that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for a good man to join in prayer with those he thought unregenerate: That it was not lawful to take an oath to a Magistrate; and thereupon refused the oath of allegiance, and advised his congregation to do the same: And declared that their charter granted by the King of England was void, and an instrument of injustice which they ought to renounce as injurious to the natives; his Majesty having no power to dispose of their lands to his subjects: That Magistrates had nothing to do with matters of the first table of the decalogue, and therefore there ought to be a general and unlimited toleration for all religions: To punish men for matters of conscience was persecution. For holding which tenets the Magistrates banished him the Massachusetts Colony as a disturber of the peace of their church and commonwealth: But such an influence had his exhortations on some of his followers, that in the height of their zeal they cut the cross out of the King's standard, declaring it to be an idol; and the people thereupon became divided in their opinions, whether it was lawful to have the cross in their colours or not. Several furious books were printed and published on each side the question, and most of their militia refused to march with their colours so long as the cross remained in them, lest they should be thought to do honour to an idol; while others were for following the King's colours with the cross in them, lest their deserting them should be interpreted a casting off their allegiance to the crown of England: But at length the Magistrates and Officers compromised the matter in the following manner: They ordered that all castles and ships should have the same colours as formerly, but that the cross might be omitted in the colours belonging to the regiments of militia. To return to ROGER WILLIAMS, who started and encouraged these notions. So much were his congregation devoted to him that many of them chose to accompany him in his

banishment. Whereupon he led them to the southward, beyond the bounds of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and there became the founder of another petty state, calling the country Providence, which it retains to this day; and here says the New-England writers, they incorporated a church, proceeding from one whimsey to another until they crumbled to pieces, every one following his own fancy; inasmuch that religion itself grew into contempt, and the publick worship of God was generally neglected among them.

However, they tell us, that ROGER made a good civil Governor, remained in those parts above forty years, and regained his reputation even among the Massachusetts Planters who had banished him, and was very instrumental in obtaining the charter of Rhode-Island, to which his plantation of Providence was annexed; adding, that if he had never meddled with divinity he would have been esteemed a great and useful man.

In the mean time Mr. VANE arrived in the Massachusetts Colony, a gentleman that made a much greater noise afterwards both in Old and New-England than ever ROGER WILLIAMS had done. Their writers represent Mr. VANE at this time as a hot-headed young fellow, whose zeal for pure religion drew him over thither: His first design was to have settled a new colony on the banks of the river Connecticut; but being complimented with the government of the Massachusetts on his arrival, he resolved to stay there.

He was no sooner advanced to the government, but he appeared to be a person of little conduct, and by no means equal to the post he was preferred to: He was, they tell us, a violent enthusiast, openly espousing the antinomian doctrines, and gave such encouragement to their preachers, that he had very near overturned their infant-church and commonwealth, if some of the wisest of them had not put an end to his reign, by electing another Governor as soon as the year expired.

He returned afterwards to Old England, where his father being principal Secretary of state he was elected a member of the Long Parliament; and what a share both father and son had in fomenting the Grand Rebellion against King CHARLES I. all the world are apprised; nor did any man act with more zeal, or rather more malice, against the royal family and monarchy itself during the usurpation, than this gentleman, which occasioned his being left out of the act of indemnity by King CHARLES II. But to return to the Massachusetts planters; the brethren flocking over to them continually, so that they began to be straitened for want of room, and the Indians on their western frontiers beginning to be troublesome, they detached a party of an hundred men to the banks of the River Connecticut, that they might plant that country and serve as an out-guard to their more eastern settlements. And these adventurers beginning their march in the month of June, and travelling on foot with their wives, children and baggage, about nine or ten miles a day, arrived at the River Connecticut in less than a fortnight, where they founded the town of Hartford, now the capital of Connecticut, on the west-side of that river; and soon after laid the foundation of Windsor, Weathersfield and Springfield in the same province; and finding themselves beyond the limits of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, they chose a Governor and Magistrates among themselves, and made such laws as they thought

CHAP. V. The original of Providence Plantation.

Mr. Vane Governor of the Massachusetts.

Connecticut Colony.

CHAP. V. fit in imitation of the Colony from whence they came; and in this state they remained till the restoration of King CHARLES II. when they applied to his Majesty for a patent, and in the year 1664. obtained a very ample charter, authorising them to elect their own Governor, Council and Magistrates, and enact such laws as they thought most advantageous to the colony, not opposite to the laws of England; the benefit whereof they enjoy to this day: The colony of New-Haven, and most of the Narraganset country being annexed to it by the same charter, and constituting but one government at present. New-Haven and the Narraganset country it seems had been granted by King CHARLES I. to the Earl of Warwick in the year 1630, and purchased of that Earl by WILLIAM Viscount Say and Seal, ROBERT Lord BROOKS, ROBERT Lord RICH, CHARLES FIENNES, Esq. Sir NATHANIEL RICH, JOHN PYM, Esq. JOHN HAMPDEN, Esq. and other male-contents, who fomented the Grand Rebellion against King CHARLES I. for a place of refuge, in case their conspiracy against that Prince had not succeeded; and they were once upon the point of transporting themselves thither with the most noxious of their party, being in doubt of carrying their point in the senate. OLIVER CROMWELL, 'tis said, was actually on board in the River Thames, intending to have transported himself to New-England; but such multitudes of people were embarking at the same time for the plantations, that it was thought proper to publish a proclamation (dated the 30th of April 1637) prohibiting all people to transport themselves without license, whereby CROMWELL, Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG, Mr. JOHN HAMPDEN, and several other disaffected gentlemen, were prevented going thither; and succeeding in their rebellion afterwards beyond their expectation, they sold their interest in these plantations to other adventurers, who united with the Connecticut Colony, and became one government, as has been intimated already.

In the mean time other English adventurers possessed themselves of the countries of New-Hampshire and Maine to the northward of the Massachusetts, which for some time remained separate governments; but afterwards united themselves with the Massachusetts, and continued so till the reign of King CHARLES II. when the Massachusetts charter was adjudged to be forfeited. And in the charter which was granted to the Massachusetts by King WILLIAM III. after the revolution, the provinces of Maine and Plymouth were annexed to the Massachusetts, but Hampshire was made a distinct government immediately depending on the crown, which appoints the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Council and Magistrates there; as will appear further under the head of Government: I shall only add here, that all the New-England provinces were planted and pretty well peopled within the space of seventeen or eighteen years, and a very beneficial fishery carried on at the same time on their coasts by the Merchants of Old-England, who with the fish, taken here annually, purchased the merchandize of Spain and Portugal.

Hitherto the English colonies had lived in peace with the Indians. Some little misunderstandings and slight skirmishes had happened indeed, but these differences had been amicably composed, and no formal war yet entered into with the natives: But upon the Massachusetts penetrating into the

V O L. III.

heart of their country, and taking possession of the province of Connecticut, without any previous treaty, or so much as notice given them of their intention, the Indians immediately concluded they should be extirpated, or at least enslaved by these strangers; and the Pequots, the most potent nation in those parts, thereupon fell upon the English before they had perfected their settlements on Connecticut River, killed nine men, and carried two women into captivity; and then endeavoured to form a confederacy with the rest of the Indian nations against the English for their common defence. But the Narragansets, ancient enemies of the Pequots, refused to come into their measures, and determined to take part with the English, notwithstanding the Pequots represented that nothing could now preserve their country from a foreign yoke but a strict union among themselves: That the Narragansets, if they favoured the English, would only have the satisfaction of being destroyed last; conjuring them therefore, as they valued their own preservation, to forget all quarrels among themselves, and unite in the defence of their common country against so formidable an enemy: That it was true, the fire-arms of the English seemed to render them invincible in a body, yet they might surprise them when they were dispersed in small parties, or busied in building and fortifying their towns; they might cut off their provisions, harass their troops, and so distress them by perpetual alarms, if they were unanimous; that they would be glad to retire again to the sea-coasts, and probably abandon their country; whereas if they defer it till more of them came over, and they were suffered to complete the fortifications of their towns, it would then be in vain to struggle for the recovery of their lost liberties, and they must submit to such terms as these foreigners should be pleased to impose on them.

But such was the resentment of the Narragansets against their former enemies the Pequots, who had frequently triumphed over them, that they were not to be removed with any arguments they could use; the prospect of satiating their revenge, on a people that had often insulted them, made them not consider the consequences of assisting the English; or perhaps, like some other people, they chose rather to be slaves to foreigners than to their neighbours, and might hope for better terms from the English by an early submission.

Thus were the Pequots left alone to defend themselves against these powerful invaders, infinitely superior to them both in their arms and in the art of war; and what was still more unfortunate, several Indian nations joined in confederacy with them, and contributed to the conquest of their country. However, they assembled their troops, determining to make the best defence they could; and on the other hand the Governor of the Massachusetts sent a detachment of an hundred and sixty men to support the new Colony of Connecticut, who were joined by five hundred of their Indian allies, who vowed to live and die with the English; but the Narragansets no sooner came in sight of the Pequots than most of them deserted the service and run away; however, the English advanced and drove the Pequots before them, who retired into two forts that were defended only by stakes and bushes, one of which the English entering in the night-time set fire to their thatched huts; and the Pequots, endeavouring to make their escape from the flames, were most of them cut in pieces, either by the

24 M

English

CHAP. V.

The War with the Pequots.

Join of the Indians.

Join of the Indians.

The Pequots defeated by the English.

CHAP.

V.

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English or their Indian allies, who now returned to the slaughter of the flying enemy; tho' they could not be persuaded to face them while they were unbroken; and of five hundred Pequots that were shut up within this fort (as it was called) not more than six or seven escaped: This victory being obtained with the loss only of two English men killed and twenty wounded.

The English advancing towards the other fort the garrison mutinied against SASSACUS their Sachem, and he was forced to abandon it; his people thereupon retiring to the woods and swamps; whither being pursued by the English and their allies, some hundreds more of them were killed, and near two hundred men, women and children taken prisoners; who were divided between the colony and the Narraganset Indians: As to those that fell to the share of the English, the males were sent slaves to the Bermudas, and the females distributed in their own families; which success struck such a terror into the Indian Sachems that many of them came in and desired to be taken into the protection of the English. As for SASSACUS, the great King of the Pequots, he fled with most of his subjects to the Maquas; who, at the instance of the Narragansets, cut off his head, and the Connecticut colony possessed themselves of his dominions, as the New-England writers acknowledge. But after this, it is to be presumed, they will no longer affirm that they obtained the lands of the Indians by purchase, or the voluntary grants of the natives.

Who possessed their country.

Divisions among the English, occasioned by the numerous and monstrous heresies and errors that were broached at this time.

To proceed in their history. While the Massachusetts were thus successful against their enemies abroad, they were in great danger of being destroyed by their intestine divisions at home, as the celebrated MATHER, and after him Mr. NEAL relate. Familistical and antinomian errors, according to these writers, over-spread the colony, the rise of which they ascribe in a great measure to one Mrs. HUTCHINSON; who observing that the men used to meet once a week at Boston to repeat the sermons they had heard the preceeding Sunday, and to pass their judgments on the doctrines contained in them, she apprehended it might be as expedient for the zealous women to have the same kind of meetings, grounding her opinion on that passage of scripture, that the elder woman ought to teach the younger; and accordingly assembled three or fourscore women at her house every week, where the repeated the sermons of her teacher Mr. COTTON, and made her remarks on them. Among other things she taught her disciples, that believers were personally united with the spirit of God, and that the revelations the saints were indulged with, were of equal authority with the holy scriptures; that their ministers were legalists, men that were unacquainted with the spirit of the gospel and with Christ himself: And the whole country became immediately divided into two factions, the one zealous for the covenant of works, and the other for the covenant of grace, as they called them. The colony of Plymouth were so furious for the latter, that they starved and discarded all their old ministers who were of another opinion, and set up mechanics in their stead. The town of Boston also was infected with antinomianism; whereupon the fathers of the Massachusetts Colony thought fit to call a synod to censure their errors, of which they enumerated above four-score, some of them, according to the abovesaid writers, the most mon-

strous and absurd that ever were broached: And when Mr. WHEELRIGHT, one of their Ministers, and Mrs. HUTCHINSON persisted to avow their opinions, the synod called in the lay powers to their assistance, and caused WHEELRIGHT, Mrs. HUTCHINSON, and many more of their adherents, to be banished the colony, and fined and imprisoned others, without which wholesome severities they suggested it was impossible for their church or commonwealth to subsist: For, say they, these men were for turning the government upside down, and excluding the Magistrates as unqualified for their offices, because they were men of legal spirit, and inclined to a covenant of works.

One party banishes the other.

Those that were thus banished, and many more of their friends, hereupon retired to Rhode-Island, which they planted in the year 1639, and purchasing that tract of land over-against it on the continent, where the towns of Providence and Warwick are situated, they became a separate colony, and in proportion to the extent of their territories, which are but small, are now as flourishing a people as any in New-England; tho' Dr. MATHER and the rest of the Massachusetts fathers load them with the most scandalous reproaches, representing them as a generation of libertines, familists, antinomians, and quakers, whose posterity, for want of schools and a publick ministry, became so barbarous, they say, as not to be capable of speaking good English or good sense.

The exiles retire to Rhode-Island, and plant it, an. 1639.

On the other hand, the good people of Rhode-Island charge the Massachusetts fathers with persecution for conscience-sake, the very motive which induced them all to leave their native country: And they glory in it, that in this colony no man's conscience was ever forced, or any manner of compulsion used in matters of religion to this day.

Charge the Independents with persecution.

Notwithstanding these divisions among the English, the natives remained quiet for some time after the defeat of the Pequots, or Connecticut Indians; and in the year 1641 the great King or Sachem MASSASOIT came to Plymouth with his son MOONAM, to confirm his ancient league with the English, both of them promising to remain faithful subjects to the King of Great-Britain; and the colony on the other hand promised to protect and defend them against their enemies.

MASSASOIT renews the treaty of alliance with the Plymouth Colony.

And now the civil wars breaking out in Old-England, and the faction at London carrying all before them, the brethren put a stop to their embarkations for New-England, and instead of transporting themselves thither, a great many gentlemen and non-conformist Ministers returned to Old-England at this time (1641) either to new model the church here, or to assist in subduing their Prince and country; in order to erect such another commonwealth at home as they had established in New-England; among whom were EDWARD WINSLOW, afterwards one of the Commissioners of the navy under the usurpers, EDWARD HOPKINS, a Commissioner of their admiralty, GEORGE DOWNING, afterwards Sir GEORGE DOWNING, employed as envoy in Holland by the usurpers, and afterwards by King CHARLES II. SAMUEL MATHER, JOHN KNOWLES, THOMAS ALLEN, HENRY WHITFIELD, and the infamous HUGH PETERS, CROMWELL's chaplain and buffoon, who made a jest of all religions and all forms of government.

The New-England heroes return to England, and join the rebels, an. 1641.

CHAP.

V.

The government of New-England modelled like that of Holland.

In the mean time those they left behind them in New-England, kept pace with the disaffected here, or rather led the way in casting off their allegiance to the crown of Great-Britain: And in the year 1643 the four principal colonies of New-England (viz.) the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New-Haven Colonies entered into an association or confederacy; like that of the United Provinces, to defend themselves against all mankind.

Each province assumed sovereign power, and agreed to send deputies to a certain place, where they were to form a council like that of the States General, and negotiate their common concerns, especially those relating to peace and war, and the adjusting their several quotas and proportions of men and money; but their resolutions were to be of no force till confirmed by the respective colonies. They also copied so far after the Dutch as not to suffer any denomination of christians but those of their own church, to have any posts or places in the government, and laid dissenters to independency under very great restraints and hardships; of which the presbyterians, anabaptists, antinomians, and other sects complained very loudly: They represented, that they had a natural right to be admitted to a share in the government as well as the independents without taking the oaths and covenants that were required of them, and were evidently inconsistent with the oath of allegiance: And that it was still more oppressive to fine and imprison them for neglecting to take such oaths, and press them into the military service against their wills, as many of them were: They preferred a petition therefore to the government to have these grievances redressed, which being rejected, they appealed to the parliament of England, and sent over Agents thither to lay their case before the Houses; at which the independent preachers exclaimed in their pulpits, calling it an unjust and rebellious appeal against the people of God, and denounced judgment against those that promoted it.

Conversion of the Indians.

While the independents thus persecuted their brethren in New-England, their historians inform us; they appeared no less zealous in converting and civilizing the Indians that lived amongst them; and as these poor creatures were absolutely in their power, I find they submitted to whatever their masters dictated; and thereupon the independent fathers boast of the hundreds and thousands they converted in the space of a few years. But this seeming conversion appears to be owing altogether to force and compulsion; for I do not find they ever made converts of any Indians but those in the little islands upon the coast, and such as resided within their bounds. There is scarce an instance of a convert made beyond the walls of their towns; or if there were any such they have now deserted their communion, all the Indians on the borders of New-England, that are at liberty, being roman catholicks at this day, the fruits of the jesuit missions. And here give me leave to mention some few of those customs the New-England fathers of those days compelled their converts to observe, which were such as these: That the women should not wear their hair loose and flowing, but tied up; and that they should not go with naked breasts: That the men should not wear long hair, or kill their Lice between their teeth; and that they should not commit fornication, or beat their wives: That they should not attend the pawawing, or superstitious ceremonies

and forceries of their priests: That they should lay aside the custom of howling, greasing their bodies, and adorning their hair: That they should not steal, get drunk, or break the sabbath: That they should pray in their wigwams with their families, and say grace before and after meat. Their writers add, that having instructed a great many hundred Indians in the christian religion, they proceeded to baptize and admit them to the communion; and several congregational churches were formed out of them, after the manner of the independents, about the year 1660. They also printed catechisms, the practice of piety, and even the bible itself in the Indian language. Several Indians were ordained preachers, and some specimens are given us of their sermons and prayers; from whence it is not difficult to discover who were their masters, and where they learned their divinity: The chief apostles in these notable conversions of the Indians were Mr. ELLIOT, Mr. MAYHEW, and Mr. COTTON.

Doctor INCREASE MATHER, Minister of Boston, and Rector of their university of Cambridge, in his letter to Doctor LEUSDEN, hebrew professor at Utrecht, and dated the 12th of July 1687, tells him, that there were then six churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens: That there were there four English Ministers who preached in the Indian tongue, and twenty four Indians who were preachers: And Dr. COTTON MATHER, son of INCREASE MATHER, who has brought down their ecclesiastical history to the year 1695, says, there were then three thousand adult Indian christians in the islands of MARTHA'S Vineyard and Nantucket; but the Indians on the continent, and especially at a distance from the coast, it appears, have but little regard to the independent missionaries. Mr. EXPERIENCE MAYHEW, in his visitation of the Pequot and Mohegin Indians, in the years 1713 and 1714, observed that the remains of those nations were under strong prejudices against the christian religion; and that one of their Sachems bid him go and make the English good first before he preach'd to them; objecting that some of the English kept Saturday, others Sunday, and others no day at all for the worship of God; so that if his people were inclined to turn Christians, they could not tell what sect to be of. Others, after they had heard him preach, said, they did believe the being of a God, and worshipped him, but as every nation had its peculiar way of worship, so they had theirs, and they thought their way good, and there was no reason to alter it. Another said, that the difficulties of the Christian religion were such as the Indians could not endure; their fathers had made some trial of it, but found it too hard for them, and therefore quitted it; and they were no more able to undergo the hardships of it than their fathers: That they did not see men were ever the better for being Christians, the English Christians cheated the Indians of their lands, and wronged them in other instances; and their knowledge of books only rendered them more artful and cunning to cheat others, and therefore seemed to do them more hurt than good; and one of their priests plainly told Mr. MAYHEW, if the Indians made him any promises of becoming Christians, they would not keep them, but as soon as he was gone, they would get drunk, and be as bad as ever.

The Indians are prejudiced against the independents.

CHAP.

V.
Anabaptists and
quakers
persecuted.Several
quakers
put to
death.

My author (Mr. NEAL) having finish'd his account of the conversions of the Indians, proceeds to censure the independent church of New-England for not allowing liberty of conscience, telling us they fined two anabaptists for separating from them, and whipped a third at the common whipping post; and that they afterwards passed an act of assembly to banish all anabaptists the colony. But they appeared still more severe against the quakers in the year 1656; for having fined, imprisoned, and whipped many of them, and finding this would not reclaim them, tho' some of them were almost whipped to death, a law was made for cutting off their ears, and boring their tongues through with hot irons; and lastly, they made it death (in the year 1658) for a quaker to return from banishment; and three of them actually suffered death at Boston by virtue of that act, in the year 1659, viz. WILLIAM ROBINSON, of London, merchant, MARMADUKE STEVENSON, of Yorkshire, husbandman, and MARY DYAR.

STEVENSON, a little before his execution, signed a paper, wherein he says, "That when he was following his plough, in the east part of Yorkshire in Old-England, he was in a sort of rapture, and heard a secret voice in his conscience, saying, I have ordained thee a prophet of the nations: And in obedience to this voice he left his family and employment, and went first to Barbadoes, in the year 1658, and from thence to Rhode-Island, where, as he was visiting the feed, the word of the LORD came to him, saying, Go to Boston with thy brother WILLIAM ROBINSON; and for yielding obedience to this command of the ever living God, and not obeying the commands of men, he suffered." And ROBINSON also left a paper of the like tenor.

These executions, says my author (Mr. NEAL) raised a great clamour against the government, and sullied the glory of their former sufferings from the bishops; for now it appeared that the New-England puritans were no better friends to liberty of conscience than their adversaries; and that the question between them was not whether one party of Christians ought to oppress another, but who should have the power of doing it. The quakers themselves observed upon these executions, that the law for putting them to death was contrary to the laws of England, and consequently a forfeiture of their charter: And if it was not contrary to the laws of England, it was certainly contrary to the laws of God, which allowed every man a right of private judgment, or to judge for himself in religious matters. They added, that if it was an offence to make profession of their religion, the punishment they inflicted upon it, however, was too severe; for they were not charged with felony or treason, but only with a contempt of authority and God's ordinances, which might deserve a fine or the pillory, but were never punished with death in any civilized nation.

However, the government still continued to put this sanguinary act in execution, and having banished several quakers more, put to death WILLIAM LEDDIA, a foreigner, in the year 1660; who told them, when he was brought to the gallows, That he suffered for bearing his testimony for the LORD against the deceivers and the deceived. Nor did the puritans of New-England cause these bloody persecutions to cease, till

they received the following order from King CHARLES II.

CHARLES REX.

"Trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Having been informed that several of our subjects among you, called quakers, have been, and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others (as hath been represented to us) are in danger to undergo the like; we have thought fit to signify our pleasure in that behalf for the future, and do hereby require, That if there be any of those people called quakers, amongst you now, already condemned to suffer death, or other corporal punishment; or that are imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein, but that you forthwith send the said persons (whether condemned or imprisoned) over into this our kingdom of England, together with their respective crimes or offences laid to their charge, to the end such course may be taken with them here as shall be agreeable to our laws and their demerits; and for so doing, these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge. Given at our court at Whitehall, September the 9th, 1661, in the 13th year of our reign.

"Subscribed, to our trusty and well beloved JOHN ENDICOT, Esq. and to all and every other the Governor or Governors of our plantation of New-England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or hereafter shall be; and to all and every the Ministers and Officers of our said plantation and colonies whatsoever within the continent of New-England.

By his Majesty's command.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

The same author observes, that all the colonies of New-England were not equally severe against the quakers. They suffered but little in the districts of Connecticut and New-Haven; but Plymouth colony copied after the Massachusetts, as appeared by a letter from Mr. JAMES CUDWORTH to his friend at London, dated the 10th of December, 1658, wherein Mr. CUDWORTH says: The condition of things amongst us is sad, and so like to continue. The antichristian persecuting spirit is very active. He that will not whip and lash, persecute and punish men that differ in matters of religion, must not sit on the bench, or sustain any office in the commonwealth. By our law, if any man entertain a quaker but a quarter of an hour he forfeits five Pound; and if any man see a quaker, he is obliged to give notice to the next Constable, tho' he lives five miles off, and the Constable is to apprehend him; and if he do not presently depart, to whip and send him away. Divers have been whipped in our colony; and to tell you truly, the whipping them with that cruelty as some have been whipped, and their patience under it, has gained them more disciples than their preaching could have done.

There

CHAP. V. There is another law in our colony, which provides, that if a quaker's meeting be held in any man's house or ground, the owner thereof shall pay forty Shillings, and the preacher and every hearer the like sum. Our civil powers (says the writer) are so exercised in matters of religion and conscience, that they have no time to do any thing that tends to promote the civil prosperity of the place. We must now have a state religion, such as the powers of this world will allow, and no other. A state ministry (clergy) and a state maintenance for them: And we must worship and serve the LORD JESUS as the world shall appoint us: We must all go to the publick place of meeting in the parish where we dwell, or forfeit ten Shillings for absenting: Fourscore were presented last court for not coming to the publick meetings.

Baptism denied to the children of baptized Christians.

But notwithstanding the independents of New-England persecuted every other denomination of Christians, when they addressed King CHARLES II. on his restoration, they implored that he would grant them that invaluable blessing, liberty of conscience, which they denied to every body else; and endeavoured at the same time to justify their usage of the quakers. They pretended also to merit his favour, by telling him, That they were not seditious as to the interests of Cæsar, nor schismatick as to matters of religion (which was equally true, for they had taken part with every species of usurpers against church and crown from the beginning of the civil wars till the restoration.) The next thing I meet with remarkable in their history, is a dispute among the independents of New-England, in the year 1662, whether the children of persons baptized (who had not entered into covenant to be obedient to that church, and been formally admitted members after they were of years of discretion) might be baptized; and upon calling a synod of their preachers, it was decreed, that the children of such persons ought not to be baptized.

One executed for a witch.

In the same year they began their prosecution of witches, and put to death one Mrs. GREENSMITH for acts of witchcraft said to be committed on the body of ANNE COLE, who being taken with fits, accused this GREENSMITH as the occasion of them. Their Ministers relate that the prisoner was prevailed on also to confess, that the devil appeared to her in the shape of a Deer, and that she talked with him, though she did not enter into covenant with him, and he had carnal knowledge of her body; from whence it appears that the devil is flesh and blood, and not a spirit, and indulges himself in the same pleasures as those of human race, according to the New-England creed; but of this hereafter, when I come to speak of those numerous murders that were committed there under a colour of law for the like pretended crimes. In the year 1664 Connecticut and New-Haven procured the charter already mentioned from King CHARLES II; which united those two colonies, and empowered them to elect their own Governor, Council, and Magistrates, and make laws. The same year King CHARLES made a grant to his royal Highness JAMES Duke of York (his brother) of the provinces of New-York and New-Jersey, then called Nova Belgia, which the Dutch pretended to have purchased of Mr. HUDSON, an Englishman, about the year 1608, and afterwards planted in 1623; and the latter end of this year a squadron of men of war with land

Connecticut charter.

New-York recovered from the Dutch and given to the Duke of York.

forces on board, under the command of Sir ROBERT CARR, was sent over to reduce it. Sir ROBERT landing 3000 Men near New-Amsterdam, now New-York, situate on an island at the mouth of Hudson's River, and summoning the Governor, it was surrendered to him without striking a stroke, and most part of the Dutch inhabitants chose to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England and remain there. Fort Orange, now Albany, an hundred and fifty miles up Hudson's River, also with the whole country, in the possession of the Dutch submitted, and has remained in the possession of the English ever since, having been confirmed to them by the treaty of peace that was made at the end of the Dutch war.

CHAP. V.

The displeasure of the government (of New-England) says Mr. NEAL, still ran very high against the anabaptists and quakers (anno 1669) being very severe in putting the laws in execution against them, whereby many honest people were ruined by fines, imprisonment and banishment, which was the more extraordinary, the same writer observes, because their brethren in Old-England pretended to groan under persecution there. Sad complaints were sent over every summer of the severity of the government of New-England against the anabaptists, which induced the dissenters in London to send a letter to the Governor of the Massachusetts, signed by their preachers, Dr. GOODWIN, Dr. OWEN, Mr. NYE, Mr. CARYL, and nine more, intrating him to make use of his authority and interest for restoring such of them 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. In this letter they tell the Governor they hoped he would not give an advantage to their adversaries, who sought pretences and occasions against their liberty, and were too apt to retort upon them, that persons of their principles could not bear with dissenters from them, and left it to his wisdom therefore to consider if it was not advisable at present to put an end to the sufferings and confinement of the persons censured, and restore them to their liberty.

The persecution still continued in New-England.

But this letter, says Mr. NEAL (my author) made no impression on them; the prisoners were not released, nor the execution of the laws suspended. The persecuted quakers also sent over a petition or representation to his Majesty, wherein having enumerated the hardships, their friends suffered during CROMWELL's usurpation, they add, "And now, O King, since the very day the LORD brought thee into this land again, and gave unto thee thy regal power, have they in thy name made strange and cruel havock of thy true subjects, in putting to death and banishing: "And in thy name, with many torturing whippings of old and young at posts, and at wheels of great guns, and at carts tails, dragging the naked bodies of parents, and children through divers long towns, through the dirt and filth of their chanel and cart-ways: And in thy name commanding one friend and brother to help imprison the other; yea, in thy name they have lately pressed the son to help to force his tender father and mother to goall sundry miles in the extremity of the winter-season, to the hazard of their lives: And such as refused to obey their unnatural and abominable commands, they have fined in their courts. And thus from court to court do these monsters of men, in thy name, "fine

The quakers petition to King CHARLES II.

CHAP. V. "fine and break open the houses of the quakers, and rob them of their goods, and take away that they should eat in, and that they should drink in; yea, the very cloaths from their backs in the winter, and the bed they should lie on, while they keep the body sundry miles off in prison; driving husbands and wives divers miles to prison; in times of great frost and snow, keeping them close prisoners in a very cold room, to the endangering of their lives, and to the ruin of their families, had not the LORD preserved them. All this, and much more too tedious to mention at this time, have they done to the servants of the LORD in New-England, in thy name, saying that thou ownest their doings, and esteamest their laws as thy laws: And these hard things have the servants of the LORD patiently suffered and sustained at their hands for no other cause but for their faithful obedience to the spirit of the LORD in their hearts, which spirit of holiness teacheth them, that forced worships and worshippers are both an abomination to the LORD. These few Lines are written not from any desire of the least revenge from thy hand upon them, but that thou mayest know it, and make known thy dislike of their wickedness, that so the blood of the innocent there, if possible, might not be laid to thy charge in the terrible day of the LORD."

The quakers also reflected severely upon the dissenting preachers in London, because they did not mention them in the letter they wrote to the Governor of New-England in behalf of the other sects: And in the reign of QUEEN ANNE, Mr. NEAL observes, the principal quakers in London presented the following short memorial to the dissenting Ministers of that City, viz.

"There being several severe laws made by your brethren in New-England in the Massachusetts bay and province, against our friends the people called quakers, only for their conscientious dissent from the national way there, if you are for liberty of conscience to those that dissent from you, and are willing our friends in New-England should enjoy the like liberty of conscience there as you with us do here, we request you to manifest your sincerity herein, not only by shewing your dislike hereof to your brethren there, but also by your concurrent application with us to the Queen, that she would be favourably pleased to disallow of all such laws."

The dissenters of London thereupon writing over to their brethren in New-England, desired the quakers might be allowed liberty of conscience there.

The independents answer to the quakers charge of persecution.

DOCTOR COTTON MATHER, a New-England preacher, in the name of the rest answered, that there could not then (in the reign of QUEEN ANNE) be any severe laws in force there on account of religion, because their charter expressly provided, that liberty of conscience should be allowed there for ever in the worship of God to all Christians, except papists.

But the severe laws they complained of (says MATHER) were only such as these; 1. The law which requires all persons of a proper age, quality and condition, to attend the military exercises on four training days in a year; as also to be furnished with arms and ammunition fit for service, on the penalty of a moderate fine therein expressed. Now, the government does not insist

upon the quakers personal appearance, but upon their paying the fine, in case of default, as many other gentlemen and inhabitants of the country chuse to do; but the quakers will do neither. Tho' they enjoy the protection of the government, they will do nothing towards the security and defence of it; which is the more extraordinary, since all the world knows that the quakers in Pennsylvania, in the year 1692, on occasion of a piracy, hired men with money, and supplied them with ammunition and fire-arms to recover their sloop from the privateers.

Another branch of the law provides, that there be military watches kept in every town at such times, in such places, and in such numbers, and under such regulations as the chief Officer in each town shall appoint; and that all persons able of body, or that are of estates (not exempt by law) shall by themselves, or some meet person in their stead, attend the same, on the penalty therein expressed. But the quakers, though the country was then at war with the French and Indians, would neither provide arms and ammunition, nor watch and ward; they would neither march out against the enemy nor keep garrison at home, nor pay the penalty which the law provides for defaulters. It is true, the quakers pay the taxes raised by the general assembly for the maintenance of the army, but refuse to submit to the penalty which the law inflicts on personal defaulters in the trained-bands, which has obliged the Officers sometimes to distrain their goods; but the quakers have no more reason to complain of this, than of the practice of their own friends in Pennsylvania, who have not only fined their brethren for declining to serve on juries, but have violently taken away their goods for non-payment, though they pleaded the laws of England, which exempt quakers from serving on juries.

The other severe law which the quakers complain of, is that which obliges them, as well as the other Inhabitants, to pay their proportion of assessment for the maintenance of the Ministers legally chosen and settled. This law extends only to such places where the Minister's salary is raised by assessment; for in Boston, and some other places, it is raised by a voluntary contribution, and there nothing is demanded of them. But if this law was universal, it is no greater a hardship than they are under from the national Church of Old-England; and yet the Governors of New-England have something more to say for themselves; for in a considerable part of the province, the original grants of the lands were made with this condition, that there should be certain taxes paid out of them as a sort of quit-rent, towards the maintenance of the established ministry: Now, tho' the quakers are in possession of some of those lands, and have raised estates upon them, yet they deny to pay the quit-rent, because it is to support a ministry they do not approve of.

Now if this be a true state of the case (says MATHER) I leave the reader to judge whether the quakers had reason to raise such a cry of persecution against the New-England government, or to prefer a supplication to QUEEN ANNE against them, when they enjoyed the same privileges with the rest of their fellow-subjects of that country.

Thus I have given some account of the divisions among the New-England sectaries, and of the persecuting spirit of the Independents or governing party there, which will be enlarged upon hereafter. It is time now to return to the civil history of this province, which has not yet been brought down

CHAP. V. lower than the year 1673, when there happened one of the most remarkable occurrences that is to be met with upon record, and can by no means be omitted here, because it shews how America was or might be, first peopled; an event that has perplexed all inquisitive people that have hitherto treated on that subject.

A boat with men in it drove from the coast of Spain to New-England.

A vessel being bound from the Straights to London, the crew mutinied against their master and officers, and having put them into the long-boat, with a small quantity of provisions, about an hundred leagues to the westward of the coast of Spain, the mutineers set sail with the ship for New-England, where they arrived in a few weeks; but to their great surprise met with their master and his officers soon after their coming on shore, for the wind having blown briskly from the eastward from the time the ship parted from the long-boat, and the officers labouring hard at their oars, they had the good fortune to make the coast of New-England before their provision was all spent; and the Captain informing the Magistrates of Boston of the matter, the crew were apprehended, tried and convicted of piracy; and FOREST, the chief of the mutineers, with several more of the criminals, were executed for the fact at Boston this very year 1673; which does not only shew the possibility of peopling America by ships, or even boats driven from the coasts of Europe or Africa, but that it must have been very strange, if no such accident had ever happened, when the Phœnicians and Carthaginians were so long masters of the western coasts of Europe and Africa, and of the Canary Islands, and other islands that lie between this and the American continent; especially as the wind always sits easterly between the tropicks, and six or seven degrees beyond either tropick. But to proceed in the history of New-England.

The history of New-England re-famed.

The Indians until now made scarce any attempts for the recovery of their liberties, after the Pequot Nation was subdued in the year 1637. Their respective sovereigns remained at variance among themselves, and frequently called in the English to revenge their domestick quarrels, appealing to them when they apprehended themselves injured, and making the English arbiters of all their differences; who cunningly played one against another, until they were so weakened by their private quarrels, that our colonies found themselves in a condition to give law to the whole country; after which they proceeded to enlarge and strengthen their frontiers, using the natives as their slaves and vassals; which the Indians might easily have foreseen would be the consequence of calling in a people so much superior to themselves to assist in the conquest of their domestick enemies, if they had not been blinded and infatuated with an insatiable thirst of revenge.

There may also be other reasons assigned for their courting and submitting to the English: They might be so terrified by their fire-arms at their first arrival, as to apprehend them irresistible, and might hope to obtain the better terms by a ready submission. They might hope perhaps to gain advantages in point of traffick also by entering into alliances with them; and probably were imposed on by the fair pretences of the adventurers, who assured them they had no other design than trade, and to exchange the valuable merchandize of Europe for what their country afforded; and desired only to purchase some small parcels of land to secure their effects,

and enable them to carry on their traffick with advantage.

These or some such reasons, no doubt induced the Indians to permit the English to settle amongst them, and to give them but little disturbance for thirty years and upwards; but when they found the English used them every where like a conquered people, and there was not much distinction made between those that had submitted and entered into alliances with them, and those who had not, but that they were all now equally slaves, and compelled to part with their religion as well as their liberties, they entered into a general confederacy to shake off this insupportable foreign yoke, in which they were encouraged by the following considerations.

A general conspiracy against the English.

1. The tyranny of the English had rendered them more unanimous than formerly.

2. Their fire-arms were no longer terrible; the English had taught the natives the use of guns, given them powder and shot, and employed them in shooting game, so that the Indians were become better marksmen than their masters.

3. The English now looking upon themselves to be secure, and believing the Indians would never dare to make head against them, had neglected to fortify their towns, and discipline their forces, which rendered it much easier to drive them from their coasts at this time than it was when they stood upon their guard, as in an enemy's country.

In these circumstances, METACOMET (the son and successor of the great MASSASOJET King of the Wampanoags, who had formerly taken the christian name of PHILIP upon him, when he renewed the treaty of alliance his father made with the colony of Plymouth,) observing the encroachments of the English, who had in a manner deprived him of his authority, treating him and the neighbouring Sachems as their vassals.

This prince, eminent for his valour and conduct, dispatched messengers privately thro' all the tribes of Indians, inviting them to a general revolt, as the English termed it, of which the government of Plymouth received advice by one SAUSAMAN, who had changed his religion several times, and was now pleased to profess himself a christian. PHILIP being informed that his design had taken air, and who had betrayed him, ordered some of his people to surprise and kill SAUSAMAN as he went to visit his converts (for the English it seems employed him as a missionary among the natives) and the Sachem's orders were executed with great privacy; for three or four Indians met SAUSAMAN on the road, and killed him as he was going over a pond that was frozen, and cutting a hole in the ice thrust his body under it, leaving his hat and gun near the place, that it might be thought he fell in accidentally: And it seems those that found his corps were of that mind, for they buried him without inquiring farther into the matter. But the Magistrates of Plymouth suspecting some foul play, ordered the body to be dug up, and a jury, half English and half natives, to sit upon it; who found that his neck was broke, his head very much swelled, and several bruises on his body, and gave their verdict that he was murdered. But the first intimation, who were the authors of his death, according to the credulous Dr. MATHER, proceeded from the bleeding of the corps on its being touched by an Indian named TOBIAS, one of King PHILIP's council; though afterwards ('tis said)

The conspiracy discovered by SAUSAMAN.

Who is killed by the Indians.

The murderers put to death by the English.

CHAP. V. said) another Indian came in as a witness, and swore positively that he saw TOBIAS and two more murder SAUSAMAN; and tho' all three of them denied the fact when they were brought to the gallows; yet one of them breaking the rope confessed that he saw the other two murder the deceased, but still avowed his own innocence.

From hence it is evident that the colony had assumed the government of the Indians as well as of the English: And this instance of it was no doubt a fresh provocation to the Sachem PHILIP, and the more so as they had taken upon them to put to death one of his principal Ministers without laying the matter before him, or demanding satisfaction in an amicable manner. And though he smothered his resentment some months, he was no sooner prepared to execute the scheme he had formed, but he suffered his people to insult the English settlements; and when complaint was made to him, he returned such haughty answers as discovered he no longer intended to submit to their usurpations. In the month of June 1675, things came to an open rupture, for the Sachem encouraged his soldiers to plunder some plantations almost in view of his palace of Mount-Hope; and a party of English being sent out to protect them, fell into an ambuscade of Indians, who fired from the bushes and killed six or seven of the Plymouth men, and then retired to the woods. Whereupon the Governor of Plymouth immediately dispatched an express to the Massachusetts, and the rest of the united colonies, with advice that the war was actually begun, and to demand the troops they were respectively obliged to send to his assistance by the articles of the confederacy.

King PHILIP driven from Mount Hope. These succours being arrived, the English attacked the Sachem in his palace of Mount-Hope, which, after a faint resistance he abandoned (the place being surrounded by the English plantations) and retired to the Pocasset Indians on the sea-coast; whereupon the English marched into the country of the Narragansets, whose fidelity they suspected, compelled them to deliver up several of their Sachems as hostages, and sign a treaty, whereby they obliged themselves to assist the confederated colonies against King PHILIP and his adherents; after which receiving intelligence that King PHILIP was fortifying himself in a swamp covered with bushes, in the Pocasset country, the English surrounded the place with their forces, and by blocking up the avenues to it proposed to reduce him by famine. But PHILIP escaped in the night-time on a float of timber over a river that ran by the side of the swamp or morass, and fled to the Nipmuck Indians, who inhabited the inland country on the east side of the river Connecticut. Here PHILIP assembled a considerable army, and soon became master of most of the English plantations in this country; and four-score of the English retiring to a place of difficult access, he besieged them in it; but the confederated colonies sending a detachment to the assistance of their friends, the siege was raised, and PHILIP retreated further westward, being pursued as far as the river Connecticut. Several skirmishes in the mean time happened between the English and Indians in the other colonies; all the nations of Indians having by this time taken arms to recover their expiring liberties, which they were now too late convinced were in the utmost danger. And in some encounters they were successful. They attacked Captain BEERS, who com-

manded a party of six and thirty men, killing the Captain and twenty more, the rest making their escape to Hadly; after which the enemy cut off the heads of the slain, fixing some of them on poles by the high-way side, and hanging up others by the jaws on the boughs of trees; which Major TREAT marching with a body of four-score men to revenge, and fighting after the Indian manner in the woods, where every man endeavoured to cover himself by some tree from the enemy's shot, the Indians, who were ten times his number, and better marksmen, killed seventy of his men; and the remainder had been cut off if Captain MOSLEY (hearing the continual fire) had not come in to their assistance; after which PHILIP's men retired, having lost about an hundred of their companions, as the New-England histories relate. However, it appears from the same histories, that the Indians were still masters of the field, and among other places burnt and plundered the town of Springfield, situated on the river Connecticut; and the New-England people were now so sensible of their weakness, that they had recourse to fasting and prayers to deprecate the divine vengeance, and inquire into the crying sins of the land, which they held to be the occasion of these calamities; but in their bead-roll of sins they never took notice of the most crying sins of injustice and oppression of the Indians, over whose persons and country they had usurped the dominion, and which were indeed the sole occasion of this war, and of the calamities they most justly suffered in it.

However, bad as their cause was, they met with some success soon after, which they held to be the effect no doubt of their fasts. They received intelligence, or pretended they had intelligence, that the Narragansets had harboured some of King PHILIP's soldiers, which they determined amounted to a declaration of war; and therefore in the beginning of winter, 1675, without sending to enquire the truth of the advice, or expostulating with the Narragansets, they invaded their country with twelve or fifteen hundred English destroying it with fire and sword; and the people thereupon retiring into a swamp, which they endeavoured to fortify by cutting down trees, and raising a breast-work, the English stormed and carried the place, killing a thousand Indians in arms, among whom were twenty of their Captains of great fame: Besides these were massacred multitudes of old men, women and children, who fled hither on the invasion, this being esteemed the best natural fortification, and the most inaccessible in the country of the Narragansets. The English lost in the action six of their bravest Captains, and eighty-five Soldiers, besides an hundred and fifty that were wounded.

This slaughter of the Narragansets did not go long unrevenge; for all the Indian nations on the frontiers of New-England immediately took the field (and calling in the French of Canada to their assistance, as their histories relate) they burnt and plundered the towns of Mendon, Lancaster, Marlborough, Sudbury, Chelmsford, Weymouth, and even the town of Medford, within twenty Miles of Boston, the capital of the Massachusetts, carrying many of the inhabitants into slavery. From hence they marched into the colony of Plymouth, where the war first began, laid the town of Warwick in ashes, and surprised Plymouth, the capital of that colony.

CHAP. V.
Two parties of English cut off by the Indians.

A war commences thereupon.

The Narragansets massacred.

The Indians burnt and plundered the English towns.

CHAP. V. They cut off two detachments of English. lony, but were beaten out of it again; and being pursued by fifty English, and twenty Christian Indians, they formed an ambuscade, into which the English fell and were all cut in pieces, except one Englishman, and twelve of their Indian allies. After this King PHILIP's people burnt the towns of Rehoboth, Providence, Andover, and several more; the inhabitants having deserted them and fled for refuge to places that were more defensible.

In the mean time a detachment of seventy English under the command of Captain WADSWORTH and Captain BRATTLEBANK, marching to the assistance of their friends, were surrounded by five hundred Indians, who killed fifty of them on the spot, and took some prisoners after a very obstinate engagement, wherein it is said above one hundred Indians were slain. However, it is agreed on all hands, the Indians obtained the victory, and, according to the New-England histories, put their prisoners to death by the most unheard-of tortures. But notwithstanding the Indians were generally successful during the winter, when the season was so rigorous that the English forces could not keep the field, fortune began to frown on them in the beginning of the year 1676.

The Indians ruined by their divisions. King PHILIP's troops were defeated in several encounters, and the potent nation of the Mohawks, upon some quarrel with PHILIP, entering into a league offensive and defensive with the English, he was no longer able to make head against his enemies, but fled to his fortrefs of Mount-Hope in Plymouth Colony, where the war began. And here he shut himself up, refusing to surrender, but was at length killed by a musket shot, on the 12th of August 1676. The brave Queen of Pocasset, his most faithful ally, lost her life a few days before. This heroick savage being surprized by a detachment of the English, animated her men as long as there was any hopes of success, and when they deserted her, fled to a river-side, where missing of her canoes, she attempted to cross the river and was drowned.

PHILIP killed. The Queen of Pocasset defeated and drowned. The character the New-England historians give us of King PHILIP is, that he was ever an implacable enemy of the English nation; a bold and daring Prince, with all the pride, fierceness, and cruelty of a savage, and a mixture of deep cunning and design. He had the address to engage all the Indian nations in his neighbourhood in the war against the growing power of the English; and when his affairs became desperate, chose rather to die than survive the liberties of his country, and submit to a foreign yoke: That he was no less an enemy to the Christian religion than to the dominion of the English, never suffering any of them to preach to his people, telling their missionaries he did not care a button for their gospel.

The Indians on the south west entirely subdued. Upon the death of King PHILIP, his adherents either submitted to the English government or dispersed, some of them flying to Albany, and others beyond the river Piscatawa; which put an end to the war on the south-east of New-England, and so broke the strength of the Indians there, that they never attempted an insurrection afterwards: But the war of the frontiers of New-Hampshire and Maine (that is, on the north and the north-east) still continued. The Massachusetts writers inform us, that the English adventurers, who first possessed themselves of the provinces of Maine and New-Hampshire, lived dis-

The war on the north-east.

CHAP. V. perfed all over those countries without building a single town or fort in it for their defence; and behaved themselves however very insolently, treating the Indians as slaves, and cheating and imposing upon them in their traffick; though their trade would have been very advantageous to them if they had dealt fairly and upon the square, inasmuch as they purchased Beaver-skins and other rich Furs of the natives for trifles.

The Indians had long borne with the insults and outrages committed by the English of these colonies; but when they found they were engaged in a war with their countrymen on the south-west, they also had recourse to arms, over-run and plundered the provinces of Maine and Hampshire, the English flying before them to the towns in the Massachusetts Colony; and those which could not escape thither were either cut in pieces or carried into captivity. Whereupon the Massachusetts detached a body of two hundred men to oppose the Indians on the north-east, who had the good fortune to surprize four hundred of the enemy and make them all prisoners. Upon which success the Indians were induced to come to a treaty with the English, and a peace was concluded on the 12th of November, 1676, on the following terms, viz.

1. That the Indians should deliver up all the English prisoners they had taken, with their effects, and make satisfaction for the losses the English had sustained. 2. That the English furnishing the Indians with powder and shot, they should trade with no other people; and, 3. That those who had been concerned in massacring the English in their houses before war was declared, should be put to death, or delivered up to the English.

Upon the conclusion of this treaty some few English prisoners were released, but others being still detained in captivity, the English ordered a detachment of two hundred men to march to the north-east, to compel the Indians to perform their part of the articles; which they were so far from obtaining, that the English, in a subsequent treaty, were obliged to promise to deliver a certain quantity of corn annually to the northern Indians, as a tribute or acknowledgment for that part of the country they had planted.

In the year 1684, the colony of New Hampshire finding themselves continually exposed to the invasion of the French and their confederate Indians of Canada, surrendered their charter, and put themselves immediately under the protection of the crown of England, and ever since their Governor, council, and Magistrates have been appointed by the King; and about the same time judgment was obtained, on a Quo Warranto, against the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies. On the other hand, the Connecticut and Rhode-Island Colonies submitting themselves to his Majesty's pleasure, no judgment was given against them, and they afterwards resumed their ancient form of government, which they have been permitted to exercise ever since: But the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies were governed by the crown of England in an arbitrary manner, till King WILLIAM granted a new charter to the Massachusetts, in which were comprehended the colonies of Maine and Plymouth, as has been observed already.

In the mean time King CHARLES II. granted a commission to HENRY CRANFIELD, Esq. to be Governor of the Massachusetts Colony; and he re-

CHAP.

V.

An insur-
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mained in that post till the reign of King JAMES II. who appointed JOSEPH DUDLEY, Esq. a native of New-England, and one he thought acceptable to them, as being a member of the independent sect, to succeed Mr. CRANFIELD; but they were so far from approving Mr. DUDLEY's administration, that they rose in arms, made the Governor prisoner, and sent him to England, and at the same time threw off their allegiance, pretending to revive their former charter by their own authority; and actually proceeded to the choice of Magistrates, after they had deposed those appointed by the crown. However the King constituting Sir EDMUND ANDROS their Governor, in June 1686, impowered him and four of the council to frame laws for the government of the colony, which the Massachusetts thought fit to submit to for some time; and all the Judges, Magistrates, and Officers civil and military, were preferred to their posts by Sir EDMUND ANDROS.

During this gentleman's administration, namely, in the year 1687, the Indians on the north-east of New-England, supported by the French of Canada and Nova Scotia, began to commit outrages on the northern frontiers of New-England, for which they gave the following reasons: 1. That the English had neglected to pay the tribute of Corn, as was stipulated by the last treaty of peace. 2. That they obstructed their fishery in the river Saco, by pitching nets and seines at the mouth of it. 3. That the English had turned cattle into one of their islands and eaten up their Corn; and, 4. That their lands were actually patented out to the English; which seems to be too true, for the New-England writers tell us they threatened the Surveyors to knock them on the head when they came to lay out those lands: And indeed I don't find the English denied any part of the charge, only replied, that the Indians ought to have complained of these grievances first, and seen if they would not have been redressed in an amicable way, before they had proceeded to acts of hostility.

As to the French, their principal complaint was, that the English had made some encroachment on their territories in Canada: But however, as they were incorporated with the Indians by intermarriages, and were become in a manner one people with them, it could scarce be expected they should stand neuter; and in fact we find they have supported these Indians in all their wars with the English ever since.

Sir EDMUND ANDROS, who was at this time at New-York, hearing the frontiers of New-England were invaded by the French Indians of Canada, returned to Boston, and having endeavoured to accommodate matters in vain, marched against the enemy in the winter of 1688, at the head of a thousand men; whereupon the Indians retiring into the woods, he built and garrisoned two forts to defend the frontiers, and sent the rest of his forces into winter quarters, and before the next spring, 1689, advice came of the revolution in Old-England. Whereupon the people rose and made the Magistrates and Officers of Boston prisoners, and summoned Governor ANDROS, who was retired into the castle, to surrender, which, after some time, he thought fit to do, observing the whole country disposed to revolt. Upon his return to England, King WILLIAM approved his conduct, tho' great complaints were made of

the tyranny of his administration, and in the year 1692 he was constituted by that Prince Governor of Virginia.

In the mean time the gentlemen of New-England were pleased to call an assembly of representatives by their own authority, who voted that the government was devolved upon the people, and appointed SIMON BRADSTREET, Esq. their Governor, and THOMAS DANFORTH, Esq. Deputy-Governor, with the same council or assistants they had elected in the year 1686. But their declaration that the government was devolved on the diffusive body of the people, was attended with some ill effects; for the common people, now looking upon themselves as so many sovereigns, took upon them to plunder every one they did not like, and among the rest the friendly Indians; but while they were in this confusion, a letter arrived from King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, dated the 12th of August, 1689, requiring them to obey their Magistrates till they received further orders.

Still the Indians continued to ravage the frontiers, killed great numbers of English, and were guilty of very barbarous actions (as the New-England writers relate) in which they met with little opposition while the government remained in that unsettled condition. At length the celebrated Sir WILLIAM PHIPS, in the year 1690, raised a body of seven hundred men, and observing that the Indians were constantly supported in their wars by the French, who had possessed themselves of Nova Scotia or Acadia, a country which of right belonged to the English, and that their principal fortress was at Port-Royal, he resolved to embark with his troops, and endeavour to reduce that place; but before I give an account of the success of that expedition, I shall take this opportunity to inform the reader who this Sir WILLIAM PHIPS was, and the memorable occasion of raising his fortune.

This hero was born of mean parents, anno 1650, at a small plantation on the banks of the river Kennebeck, the north-east frontier of New-England. His father was a Gunsmith, and left his mother a widow with a large family of small children: This WILLIAM being one of the youngest, kept Sheep in the wilderness till he was eighteen years of age, and was then bound apprentice to a Ship Carpenter. When he had served his time, he went to sea, and having been successful in some small adventures, at length discovered a rich Spanish wreck, near the Port of La Plata in Hispaniola, which gained him a great reputation in the English court, and introduced him into the acquaintance of some of the greatest men in the nation.

The galleon, in which this treasure was lost, had been cast away upwards of fifty years, and how Captain PHIPS came to the knowledge of it does not appear to me; but upon his applying to King CHARLES II. in the year 1683, and acquainting his Majesty with the probability there was of recovering it, the King made him Commander of the *Algier Rose*, a frigate of 18 guns, and 95 men, and sent him to Hispaniola, in search of the prize. Here he was informed by an old Spaniard of the very place where it was lost, and began to fish for it, but his ship's crew looking upon it as a romantick undertaking, after some little trial despaired of success, and compelled him to return to England without effecting any thing:

CHAP.

V.

Sir WILLIAM
PHIPS's
expedition
against
Port-
Royal.His rise in
the world.

CHAP. V. And tho' the Captain assured the Ministry that the impatience of the seamen only prevented his success, the court refused to be concerned in the Enterprize any further, and it was dropped for some time. However, the Captain continuing his application to some great men, the Duke of Albemarle, and several other persons of distinction, fitted him out again in the year 1686; and arriving at the port De la Plata with a ship and tender, the Captain went up into the woods, and built a stout canoe out of a Cotton Tree, large enough to carry eight or ten oars. This canoe and tender, with some choice men and skilful divers, the Captain sent out in search of the wreck, whilst himself lay at anchor in the port. The canoe kept busking up and down upon the shallows, and could discover nothing but a reef of rising shoals, called the boylers, within two or three foot of the surface of the water. The sea was calm, every eye was employed in looking down into it, and the divers went down in several places without making any discovery, till at last, as they were turning 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 told them that he had discovered several great guns; whereupon he was ordered down again, and then brought up a pig of silver of two or three hundred Pounds value, the sight of which filled them with transports, 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, who could hardly believe them, till they shewed him the silver, and then with hands lift up to heaven, he cried out, Thanks be to God we are all made! All hands were immediately ordered on board, and sailing to the place, the divers happened to fall first into the room where the bullion had been stored, and in a few days brought up 32 ton of silver, without the loss of any man's life. When they had cleared the store room they searched the hold, and amongst the ballast of the ship found a great many bags of pieces of eight. It is observable, that these bags having lain so long under water amongst ballast, were crusted over with a hard substance like lime-stone, to the thickness of several inches, which being broken with irons contrived for that purpose, the rusty pieces of eight tumbled out in prodigious quantities. Besides these things they found vast treasures of gold, pearls, jewels, and every thing that a Spanish galleon used to be laden with. There was one ADDERLEY of Providence, who had been with Captain PHIPS in his former voyage to this place, and promised to assist him again if ever he should make a second adventure, who met him with a small vessel at port De la Plata, and with the few hands he had on board took up six ton of silver for themselves. They both staid till their provision was spent, and then the Captain obliging ADDERLEY and his men not to discover the place of the wreck, nor come to it himself till next year; they weighed anchor and returned. The reason of this obligation was, because the last day of their fishing the divers brought up several sows of silver, which made the Captain imagine that there was a great deal of treasure yet behind,

tho' it afterwards appeared that they had in a manner quite cleared the ship of her bullion before they left her. The Captain steered directly away for England without calling at any port by the way, and arrived the latter end of the year, with about three hundred thousand Pounds sterling, sixteen thousand of which, after all charges paid, and gratuities to the sailors, came to his own share: Besides which, the Duke of Albemarle made his wife a present of a golden cup of a thousand Pounds value.

Some of King JAMES's courtiers would have persuaded him to have seized the ship and its cargo, under pretence that the Captain had not rightly informed him of the nature of his project when he was graciously pleased to grant him his patent; but the King replied, that PHIPS was an honest man, and that it was his council's fault that he had not employed him himself, and therefore he would give him no disturbance in what he had got; but as a mark of his royal favour conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. But to proceed in the history.

I left Sir WILLIAM embarking his forces in New-England, for the reduction of Acadia, who sailing from Nantascot on the 20th of April 1690, came before Port-Royal (now Annapolis) the capital of Nova Scotia, on the 11th of May; and the place being then but poorly fortified, the garrison made scarce any defence, but surrendered upon condition of being conducted to Canada. Most of the French inhabitants choosing to remain in the town, took the oaths to King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, over whom Sir WILLIAM having appointed a Governor returned to Boston on the 30th of the same month, having reduced another French settlement at the mouth of St. John's River, in the bay of Fundi, by the way: And the English kept possession of this country till the peace of Ryfwick, anno 1697, when King WILLIAM thought fit to resign it to the French. But Queen ANNE being better apprised of the importance of this country to the English, obliged the French to yield up their pretensions to Nova Scotia and Acadia at the peace of Utrecht, anno 1712, the town of Port-Royal now bearing the name of Annapolis in honour of that Queen. But to proceed.

The success Sir WILLIAM PHIPS met with in the reduction of Nova Scotia encouraged him to attempt the conquest of Canada, which would have rendered the English masters of all the north-east part of America; and to support him in this enterprize, the people of New-England fitted out a fleet of two and thirty sail, putting on board of it two thousand men under his command: And it was concerted with the western colonies, that a thousand English and fifteen hundred Indians should march over land from Connecticut and New-York at the same time, and attack the fortrefs of Montreal, situate above Quebec, on the river St. Lawrence, that the French might be obliged to divide their forces.

The fleet set sail from the town of Hull, on the 9th of August, but contrary winds prevented their coming before Quebec till the 5th of October; and the detachment which marched over land not meeting with the canoes or boats the Indians had promised to provide to transport them over the lakes, they were obliged to return home, which gave Count FRONTENAC, the Governor of Canada, an opportunity to unite all his forces in the defence of Quebec; and when Sir WILLIAM

CHAP. V.
The value of 300,000l. sterling fished up.

Port-Royal taken.

And St. John's. Resign'd to the French by King WILLIAM. Recovered by Queen ANNE. Port Royal now called Annapolis.

The reduction of Canada attempted.

CHAP.
V.

Liam sent him a summons to surrender, he did not only slight the summons, but threatened to hang up the Officer who brought it, telling him they were a pack of pyrates, having no commission from the true King of England.

Sir WILLIAM PHIPS hereupon landed fourteen hundred men, giving the command of them to Colonel WHALLEY, with orders to attack the town on the land-side, while he battered it with his ships from the river: But WHALLEY making his descent a league and a half from the town, to which the way lay through a wood that the French had fortified, he was twice repulsed and could never penetrate it. Whereupon Sir WILLIAM PHIPS ordered his men to embark again, resolving to land them close to the town; but a storm arose in the night which dispersed the fleet, and at the same time it grew so extreme cold that many of their men fell sick. Whereupon it was thought adviseable to return home: And before they reached Boston, they lost a thousand men by the rigour of the season.

The enter-
prize de-
feated.

Mr. DUMMER also observes that their troops did not fall by the sword of the enemy, but the losses they sustained were occasioned by famine and various disasters in their return home, and chiefly by the early approach of a severe winter, which made it impracticable for provisions to follow them. Certain it is they were very unfortunate in being detained so long by contrary winds, that the summer was spent before they could enter upon action. It had been much better after this accident to have deferred the expedition till another year. In that cold climate it is scarce ever practicable to make a winter's campaign; and the storms, fogs, and difficulty of the navigation in the river Canada, or St. Lawrence, after the autumnal equinox, make that voyage extremely hazardous. Whoever therefore shall attempt Quebec hereafter, will do well to begin the enterprize before midsummer, or they must never hope for success. But to return.

During this expedition of Sir WILLIAM PHIPS to the westward, the war was carried on very briskly in the east. Four or five hundred French and Indians crossed the bay of Casco in canoes, and surprised the town of Casco, making the inhabitants prisoners of war. Whereupon all the smaller garrisons thereabouts abandoned their forts, and retired to Saco: And three hundred men being detached under Major CHURCH, to make head against the enemy on the frontiers, the Major did not only recover the town of Casco, but forced the enemy to retire to the woods, and the Indians soon after desired a truce; which was agreed to at the fortrefs of Saghedoc, on the 29th of November, to continue till May, 1691.

A truce
with the
eastern In-
dians.

Still Sir WILLIAM PHIPS had his heart fixed upon the conquest of Canada, an enterprize of the last consequence to the british plantations, and embarked for England in the beginning of the year 1691, to solicit the court of England for a supply of troops from thence; but King WILLIAM wanted all his forces to make head against the French in Europe, and could not spare him any: When Sir WILLIAM found it in vain therefore to continue his application on that head, he employed his interest with the New-England agents to obtain a restoration of the Massachusetts charter: And tho' they did not succeed in this, they procured another with ample privileges, which the New-England people were not so well pleased with however as the old patent, because by the

A new
charter
granted
to New-
England.

new patent the appointment of a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Secretary, was reserved to the crown, and the power of the militia vested in the Governor, as Captain-General; whereas, by their former patent, the Governor and all Officers, civil and military, were appointed by the general assembly. However, his Majesty was pleased to indulge the New-England agents so far as to suffer them to name their first Governor by the new charter, and they thereupon desired Sir WILLIAM PHIPS might be the man; which the King granted, and Sir WILLIAM PHIPS was appointed Captain-General and Governor in chief of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England.

CHAP.
V.Sir WILLIAM
PHIPS
Governor.

In the mean time the truce of Saghedoc being expired, the war was revived in New-England, and carried on with various success. The English defended their garrison towns in the province of Maine pretty well; but the open places and their plantations were generally plundered and destroyed, and great cruelties exercised on such of the English as were made prisoners.

The war
commen-
ces again.

Sir WILLIAM PHIPS arriving at New-England with the charter he had obtained, about this time, the people appeared discontented that their privileges were abridged in so many particulars: However, the general court appointed a day of thanksgiving for the safe arrival of their Governor, and transmitted an address of thanks to his Majesty for granting them a new charter. And now Sir WILLIAM applied himself with his usual diligence to carry on the war against the Indians on the north-east; who still continued to harass and plunder the English settlements and massacre the inhabitants; and marching with a body of four hundred and fifty men over the river Kennebeck, after he had repulsed the savages, he caused a fort to be erected near the mouth of the river Pemaquid, which he named William-Henry Fort, for the defence of the frontiers, being one of the strongest and most regular fortifications that has been seen in that part of the world; and proved an excellent barrier against the incursions of the Indians; who being now weary of the war sent an ambassador to Pemaquid to make proposals of peace; and a treaty being thereupon agreed to, the following articles were concluded on the 11th of August, 1693.

Pemaquid
Fort built.

1. That all the Indians on the north-east of Merimack River should acknowledge themselves subject to the crown of England, and promise to abandon the French interest. 2. That they should set all the English prisoners at liberty without ransom. 3. They agreed that the English should quietly enjoy all their plantations in this country; and 4. That trade should be under such regulations as the government of New-England should prescribe. And for the performance of these articles they delivered to Sir WILLIAM PHIPS the Governor several hostages, as pledges of their fidelity: And the Governor, on the other hand, promised them his protection.

Peace con-
cluded
with the
Indians.

Towards the end of this war the people of New-England appeared perfectly distracted with apprehensions of their being over-run with witches and evil spirits, one neighbour prosecuting another capitally for witchcraft with the utmost violence; in which they were so much encouraged by their preachers, and countenanced by their Magistrates, that no man's life was safe. Strange were the mistakes, says my author (Mr. NEAL) which some of the wisest and best men in the country

New-
England
bewit-
ched.

CHAP. V. try committed on this occasion: And it must have proved fatal to the whole province if God had not mercifully interposed.

PARIS, a preacher, the prime author of the delation.

Mr. PARIS a preacher at Salem, began the tragedy the latter end of the year 1691, under pretence his daughter and niece were under an ill tongue (the former of them being nine, and the latter eleven years of age;) and what was thought an evidence of their being afflicted by witches, was their creeping into holes and corners, and lying under chairs and stools. They had also, it is said, something like convulsion fits, and complained of their being bitten and pinched by invisible agents; and Mr. PARIS suspecting an Indian woman in his house named TITUBA, and two others whom the children cried out tormented them in their fits, to be the witches, they were examined before a Magistrate; and TITUBA, frightened out of her wits at the charge, confessed that she and the two other women had afflicted the children: But upon her enlargement (for they never put any to death that confess themselves witches,) she declared that her master had beaten and abused her to make her confess and accuse such as he called witches; and that whatever she had said by way of confession and accusing others, was the effect of such usage.

The witnesses threatened, to extort a confession.

The form of the indictment against BURROUGHS.

The form of their indictments may be seen in that preferred against one of their preachers, viz. Mr. GEORGE BURROUGHS, Minister of Falmouth.

Wherein they charge, that the said GEORGE BURROUGHS, on the ninth of May, in the fourth year of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, and divers other days and times before and after, certain detestable acts, called witchcrafts and sorceries, had wickedly and feloniously used, practised, and exercised, within the town of Salem, in the county of Essex, in and upon MARY WALCOT of Salem, single woman; by which said wicked acts, the said MARY WALCOT, on the ninth of May aforesaid, and divers other days and times, was tortured, afflicted, pined, consumed, wasted, and tormented, against the King and Queen's peace, &c.

Upon this and three indictments more for bewitching three other women, Mr. BURROUGHS was brought to his trial, on the fifth of August, 1692.

The evidence against him.

The witnesses against him were five women, who pretended to be bewitched by him, and eight confessing witches; the latter swearing he was the principal actor in their nightly revels, and was promised to be made King of Satan's kingdom, then about to be erected: And the bewitched persons unanimously deposed, that a spectre, resembling the prisoner, but invisible to others, tormented them in their fits. One of the witnesses testified, that the prisoner pressed her to set her hand to a book, and inflicted cruel pains on her when she refused. Others deposed he sounded a trumpet for the witches to rendezvous at a sacrament, and tempted those he tormented to partake with them. Another said, he carried her to the top of a high mountain, and shewed her glorious kingdoms, telling her he would give them all to her if she would sign his book.

The confessing witches testified, he gave them puppets, and thorns to stick into the puppets, for afflicting other people; exhorting them to bewitch all the people of Salem, but to do it gradually.

VOL. III.

Some people of credit deposed, that he had the strength of a giant, and instanced in his lifting great weights; but he shewed that an Indian in court had done the same.

Others testified, he had been a cruel man to his wives; who often complained to the neighbours his house was troubled with evil spirits.

The prisoner denied the whole charge, and declared it to be his opinion, that never any person made a formal contract with the devil, or could send the devil to torment other people at a distance. However, he was convicted, and sentence of death passed on him.

The prisoner convicted.

Being brought to his execution, he made solemn protestations of his innocence, and concluding his prayer with the LORD's prayer, expressed so much devotion and resignation, that the people were moved to pity him; and it was expected the Magistrates who attended him would have respited his execution: But his accusers cried out he was assisted by the Devil; whereupon he was turned off, and after he was cut down dragged into a hole, not being suffered to have a decent burial in the usual burying-place.

His execution.

Doctor MATHER, giving an account of the circumstances of several persons said to be bewitched, relates, "that their limbs were horribly distorted and convulsed; that they were pinched black and blue; that pins were invisibly run into their flesh; and that they were scalded until they had blisters raised in them. One of them (says he) was assaulted by a spectre with a spindle in its hand, which no-body else in the room could see, until the afflicted in one of her agonies, snatch'd it out of the spectre's hand, and then all the company saw it. Another was haunted by a spectre in an invisible sheet; but the afflicted in one of her fits tearing a piece of it away, it became visible: Sometimes poison has been forced on the afflicted by an invisible hand, which, when they have drank, they have presently swollen, and afterwards been relieved by the medicines usually given in such cases. Sometimes they have complained of burning rags forced into their mouths, which no body else could see, yet the burns have remained on their mouths afterwards. Sometimes they have complained of irons heating in the fire to brand them, the marks of which they have carried to their graves. The spectres (says he) usually personated some persons whom the afflicted knew, and (which is very strange if true,) when they wounded the spectre, the person whom the spectre represented was wounded too: For example, one of the afflicted said, that the spectre that tormented her was D—H— and pointing to a certain place in the room, she cried out, there is D—H—; upon which a man with his rapier struck at the place, and the afflicted told him that he had given her a small prick about the eye; soon after which D—H— being apprehended, confessed herself a witch; and that in troubling the girl that had impeached her she had received two wounds, one about the eye, which she shewed the Magistrates, and another in the side. If the accused cast their eyes on the afflicted, the afflicted, tho' their faces were turned another way, would fall into a swoon, and continue in it until the hands of the accused came to touch them; and it was often found that the flesh of the afflicted was bitten, so that the print of teeth was very visible;

MATHER's account of these transactions.

CHAP.
V.

and there would appear just such a set of teeth, as was in the accused, even such as might be clearly distinguished from other people's. In a word, the afflicted (as the Doctor observes) in a few days time arrived to such a refining alteration upon their eyes, that they could see their tormentors: They saw a Devil of a little stature, and of a tawny colour, attended with spectres, that appeared in more human circumstances: These tormentors used to tender the afflicted a book, requiring them to sign, or touch it at least, in token of their consenting to be lifted in the Devil's service; which, if they refused, the spectres under the command of the black man tortured them with prodigious molestations."

The Doctor's account exploded.

But Mr. CALEF of Boston, in his book entitled, *More wonders of the invisible world*, has endeavoured to invalidate the Doctor's account of things: He declares that the story of the sheet was a known forgery, it having been provided by the afflicted person the day before: And he does not doubt but the spindle was so too. He adds, that the print of the set of teeth was nothing but the afflicted's biting themselves; and that sometimes instead of finding a set of teeth, the accused have not had a tooth in their heads.

And to shew yet farther the wickedness of these afflicted persons, he mentions an accident at the trial of SARAH GOOD, which, if true, ought alone to have invalidated their evidence for the future. The story is this: While SARAH GOOD was upon her trial, one of the afflicted fell into a fit, and cried out that the prisoner's spectre was stabbing her with a knife, but had broke it in her body; and to confirm the truth of her relation, she plucked a piece of the blade out of her breast, and shewed it in court. But there was a young man present, who, seeing the blade, had the honesty and courage to claim it for his, and to declare before the Judges, that he broke his knife but the day before, and threw away that part of the blade in the presence of the afflicted person; but that he had the handle with the other part of the blade in his pocket, which he delivered into court: And upon comparing them together, they were found to be parts of the same knife; upon which the Judge only reprimanded her, and bid her tell no more lies.

'Tis certain that these suspected wizards and witches were convicted on very slender evidence; for the court allowed the witnesses to tell stories of twenty or thirty years standing, about over-setting of carts, the death of cattle, unkindness of relations, or unexpected accidents befalling them after some quarrel; all that was alledged against them, to the purpose, being either from the distempered persons themselves, or from those who had been frightened into a confession of their being witches by the threatnings of the Magistrates, or encouraged to it by the hopes of mercy.

The evidence against all of them incompetent and ridiculous.

Great part of the evidence given against these unhappy people also appears exceeding ridiculous. One testified, he bought a Sow of the prisoner which was troubled with fits soon after. Another, that the prisoner's spectre so oppressed him in his bed that he was not able to stir; but on calling for help it vanished. Another, that twelve years before the trial the prisoner often came to his house, and soon after his child was troubled with strange fits. Another deposed, that having a controversy with the prisoner about her fowls, he was grievously oppressed by something in her

likeness the night following. Another time he was troubled with a black Pig; but going to kick it the Pig vanished. A millar deposed, that going to receive some money of the prisoner, he had not gone three rods from her before he lost it: And at another time, having been discoursing with her, he had parted from her but a very little time before one of the wheels of his cart sunk into the earth in very plain ground, and he was forced to call for assistance to get it out, but going to view the hole afterwards there was no sign of it.

Two other men deposed, that being employed to repair one of the prisoner's collars, they found several puppets made of rags and Hogs bristles with headless pins in them; and a jury of women being impanell'd to search her, found a preternatural teat on her body, but upon a second search, three or four hours after, there was none to be found.

JOHN ALLEN testified against another prisoner, that refusing to carry some pipe-staves for her, she told him, he had as good, or his Oxen should not do him much service; and he replying, do you threaten me, you old witch? I will throw you into the brook. She ran away, but his Oxen afterwards run mad into the sea, and were all drowned except one.

Another deposed, that as he lay in his bed one night, the prisoner jumped in at a window, took hold of his feet, and drawing his body into a heap, lay upon him two hours, so that he could neither speak or stir; but at last he caught hold of her hands, and bit three of her fingers to the bone, whereupon she went down stairs and out of doors.

One KEMBAL testified that, upon some disgust, one of the prisoners told him his Cow should do him no good, and it died next morning: And another time, refusing to buy one of the prisoner's Puppies, he was frighted with a black Dog as he came out of the woods, which flew upon him, and he thought would have torn his throat out; but upon naming the name of CHRIST it vanished away: Which he supposed to be a piece of the prisoner's black art, to revenge himself on him for not buying his Puppy.

SARAH ATKINSON deposed, that the prisoner came on foot from Amesbury to her house at Newbury in an extraordinary wet season, when it was not fit to travel, and yet the soles of her shoes were hardly wet; which last piece of evidence, Dr. MATHER observes, put the prisoner into great confusion.

And here, says Mr. NEAL (who was far from being an enemy of the Doctor,) I can't forbear making one remark upon these as well as upon all the trials that Dr. COTTON MATHER has published to the world on this occasion; that when he has given us the depositions of the witnesses against the prisoners at large, he passes over their defence in such general words 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 rendered incapable of judging of the merits of the cause. If the defence of the prisoners were so weak and confused as the Doctor represents, it had been for the advantage of the court to have exposed it at large to the world; but if not, it is very hard that it should be smothered.

NEAL's remarks on Dr. MATHER's relation.

But

CHAP. V. But upon such evidence as this, twenty-eight persons received sentence of death, of which nineteen were executed, and one (namely) GILES CORY, was pressed to death, all of them dying with strong protestations of their innocence. GEORGE JACOBS, sen. being condemned, the Sheriff's officers came and seized all he had, even to his wife's wedding-ring. Hard was the case of this old man! who was convicted by 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 and Mr. BURROUGHS. On the day before their executions she came to Mr. BURROUGHS, acknowledged her guilt, and begged his pardon on her knees; who not only forgave her, but also prayed with and for her. The day after their executions she wrote the following letter to her father.

Honoured father,

"After my humble duty remembered to you, hoping in the LORD of your good health, as blessed be GOD I enjoy, though in abundance of affliction, being close confined here, in a loathsome dungeon, the LORD look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how soon I shall be put to death, by means of the afflicted persons, my grand-father having suffered already, and all his estate seized for the King. The reason of my confinement is this, I having through the Magistrates threatnings, and my own vile and wretched heart, confessed several things contrary to my conscience and knowledge, though to the wounding of my own soul; the LORD pardon me for it, but oh! the terrors of a wounded conscience who can bear! But blessed be the LORD, he would not let me go on in my sins, but in mercy I hope to my soul would not suffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the Magistrates, who would not believe me; but it is their pleasure to put me here, and GOD knows how soon I shall be put to death. Dear father, let me beg your prayers to the LORD on my behalf, and send us a joyful and happy meeting in heaven. My mother, poor woman, is very crazy, and remembers her kind love to you, and to uncle, viz. D—A—, so leaving you to the protection of the LORD, I rest your dutiful daughter,

From the dungeon
in Salem-prison,
Aug. 20, 1692.

MARGARET JACOBS.

There were eight more condemned besides those that were pardoned, but on account of their becoming evidences they were first reprieved, and then pardoned; and between three and four hundred more were imprisoned or accused: Indeed, the whole country (says Mr. NEAL) was in confusion, every one being jealous of his neighbour.

Mrs. CARY of Charles-Town being committed to Cambridge prison and laid in irons, her husband attended the trials of some others, and observing that the spectral evidence was received, together with idle and malicious stories against peoples lives, contrived his wife's escape, and fled with her to Rhode-Island, and afterwards to New-York, where they staid till the storm was over.

Mr. PHILIP ENGLISH and his wife also fled, whose estate Mr. CORWIN the Sheriff seized, to the value of 1500*l.* which was wholly lost, except about 300*l.* which was afterwards restored.

CHAP. V. Mr. DUDLEY BRADSTREET, a Justice of peace in Andover, having granted out warrants against thirty or forty for supposed witchcraft; and seeing cause at length to refuse granting any more, was with his wife accused of killing nine persons by witchcraft, and forced to fly the country.

Mr. JOHN BRADSTREET, brother to the Justice, being accused of afflicting a poor Dog, and riding upon him through the air to witch-meetings, was forced to fly for his life into Piscataqua government; but the Dog was put to death.

Captain JOHN ALDIN, a man of good reputation and esteem, being examined at Salem, and committed to Boston Goal, May 31, after fifteen weeks imprisonment made his escape. And afterwards returning again, surrendered himself to the superior court at Boston, none of his former accusers appearing against him.

Another gentleman of Boston, being accused by the afflicted at Andover, ventured to stand his ground, and sent a writ by some particular friends to arrest his accusers in 1000*l.* action for defamation, with instruction to inform themselves of the certainty of the proof; which so frightened the poor creatures, that from that time the accusations at Andover generally ceased.

Things were indeed come to a wretched pass, no man being sure of his life or fortune for an hour; and no wonder, considering the infamous methods that were made use of to bring people into the snare: There was a society of gentlemen at Salem, like that for the reformation of manners in London, who engaged to find out and prosecute all suspected persons; and many were imprisoned by their means.

Mr. JOSEPH BALLARD's wife of Andover falling sick of a malignant fever, of which she died, her husband fancied her bewitched, and sent horse and man forty miles to Salem to fetch some of these distempered wretches that pretended to the spectral sight, to tell who it was that afflicted her: When they came they fell into their fits, and accused one person as sitting on the head, and another on the lower parts of the afflicted. No sooner was the scene opened but the whole town was alarmed, and more than fifty were complained of for afflicting their neighbours in a few weeks; here it was that many were made to accuse themselves of riding upon poles through the air to witch-meetings; many parents believed their children to be witches, and husbands their wives.

Things went on in the old channel till the afflicted over-acted their parts so far as to accuse some of the nearest relations of Dr. INCREASE MATHER, and of the Governor himself; it was time then to make a stand: Accordingly we find the very next sessions, which was January 3, 1692-3, when fifty-six bills were preferred against persons for witchcraft, the grand jury brought in thirty ignoramus; and of the remaining twenty-six, the petty jury convicted but three, whom the Governor pardoned: Nay, the people's eyes were so far opened by this time, that they would not convict people upon their own confessions; for when MARY WATT's confession was produced as evidence against her, the grand jury would not accept it, but looking upon her as a distemper'd person, brought in the bill ignoramus; and though the court sent them out a second time, they returned again with the same verdict.

And indeed all the confessions that were made seem to me either the effects of a distempered brain,

CHAP. V. brain, or extorted from persons to save their lives.

Hence it was, that the husbands and children of some upon their bended knees have prevailed with them to confess every thing that was laid to their charge: * Others have been wearied out with long and tedious examinations before private persons for many hours together, till they yielded to any thing; the question being then asked, were you at such a witch-meeting? Or have you signed the Devil's book? If they replied yes, the whole was drawn out into the form of a confession. That this was really the case, will appear by the following certificate, signed by the hands of half a dozen honest women, whose consciences would not suffer them to disguise the truth any longer.

"We whose names are under-written, inhabitants of Andover: Whereas that horrible and tremendous judgment beginning at Salem-Village in the year 1692, by some called witchcraft, first breaking forth at Mr. PARKIS's house, several young persons being seemingly afflicted did accuse several persons for afflicting them, and many there believing it to be so, we being informed, that if a person were sick, the afflicted persons could tell what or who was the cause of that sickness; JOSEPH BALLARD (of Andover's) wife being sick at the same time, he either from himself, or the advice of others, fetched two of the persons called the afflicted persons from Salem-Village to Andover, which was the beginning of that dreadful calamity that befel us in Andover; and the authority in Andover believing the said accusations to be true, sent for the said persons to come together to the meeting-house in Andover (the afflicted persons being there;) after Mr. BALLARD had been at prayer, we were blind-folded, and our hands were laid upon the afflicted persons, they being in their fits, and falling into these fits at our coming into their presence, as they said some led us, and laid our hands on them, and then they said they were well, and that we were guilty of afflicting them: Whereupon we were all seized as prisoners by a warrant from the justice of the peace, and forthwith carried to Salem; and by reason of that sudden surprisal, we knowing ourselves altogether innocent of that crime, we were all exceedingly astonished and amazed, and consternated and affrighted out of our reason; and our dearest relations seeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, apprehending that there was no other way to save our lives, as the case was then circumstantiated, but by confessing ourselves to be such and such persons, as the afflicted represented us to be: They out of tender love and pity persuaded us to confess what we did confess, and indeed that confession, that is said we made, was no other than what was suggested to us by some gentlemen, they telling us that we were witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it, which made us think that we were so; and our understanding and our reason, and our faculties being almost gone, we were not capable of judging of our condition; as also the hard measures they used with us rendered us incapable of making our defence, but we said any thing, and every thing they desired, and most of what we said was but in effect a consenting to what they said. Some

time after when we were better composed, they telling us of what we had confessed, we did profess that we were innocent and ignorant of such things; and we hearing that SAMUEL WARDWELL, who had renounced his confession, was condemned and executed, some of us were told that we were going after WARDWELL, MARY OSGOOD, ABIGAIL BAKER, MARY TILER, SARAH WILSON, DELIVERANCE DANE, HANNAH TILER.

CHAP. V. One executed for denying his confession.

If this confession had been made a little sooner, while the spectral evidence was in repute, it had cost the confessors their lives; for it is impossible to express the blind fury and zeal of the people against the prisoners, who believed every thing the afflicted said, and disbelieved every thing the accused offered in their own vindication.

When neither promises nor threatnings could bring persons to confession, they sometimes made use of violence and force, as appears by the moving letter that Mr. PROCTOR sent to the Ministers of Boston a few days before his trial; which because it gives a clear account of this matter, I will transcribe in his own words.

To the reverend Mr. MATHER, MOODY, BAILY, ALLEN, WILLARD.

Reverend gentlemen,

"The innocence of our case, with the enmity of our accusers, and our judges and juries, whom nothing but our innocent blood will serve their turn, having condemned us already before our trials, being so much incensed and enraged against us by the Devil, makes us bold to beg and implore your favourable assistance of this our humble petition to his excellency. That if it be possible our innocent blood may be spared, which undoubtedly otherwise will be shed if the LORD does not mercifully step in, the Magistrates, Ministers, Juries, and all the people in general being so much incensed and enraged against us by the delusion of the Devil, which we can term no other, by reason we know in our consciences we are all innocent persons; here are five persons who have lately confessed themselves to be witches, and accuse some of us of being along with them at a sacrament since we were committed to close prison, which we know to be lies. Two of the five are carriers sons, young men who would not confess any thing till they tied them neck and heels, till blood was ready to come out of their noses; and 'tis credibly believed and reported, that this was the occasion of making them confess that they never did; by reason they said one had been a witch a month, another five weeks, and that their mother had made them so, who had been confined here these nine weeks. My son WILLIAM PROCTOR, because he would not confess when he was examined that he was guilty, they tied him neck and heels, till the blood gushed out of his nose, and would have kept him so twenty-four hours, if one more merciful than the rest had not taken pity on him, and caused him to be unbound. These accusations are very like the popish cruelties; they have already undone us in our estates, and that will not serve their turns without our innocent blood. If it can't be granted that we may have our trials at Boston, we humbly beg that you would endeavour to have these Magistrates changed, and others put in their room; begging also and beseeching, that you would

* They were never executed if they confessed, unless they recanted their confession.

" please

CHAP. V. "please to be here, some of you, if not all, at our trials, hoping thereby you may be the means of saving our innocent bloods; desiring your prayers to the LORD on our behalf, we rest your poor afflicted servants,

JOHN PROCTOR, &c.

But this Letter had no effect, PROCTOR and his fellow prisoners being convicted and executed a little after. Such methods as these being made use of, it is no wonder that the number of confessing witches amounted to fifty, not one of whom were put to the 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. But upon the afflicted's over acting their part, as I observed before, the tide of the people's affections began to turn, and they who a little before were in danger of being torn in pieces by the mob, were now universally lamented and pitied. All further prosecutions were now stopped, the accusations of the afflicted were entirely disregarded, the prison doors were set open to all that were under confinement by the accusations of the afflicted, and Sir WILLIAM PHIPS, after some time, pardoned all that were under sentence of condemnation.

But besides the blood that was spilt upon this occasion, several persons and families were ruined in their estates and reputations, partly by long imprisonment, and partly by the avarice of the Officers who took possession of their houses in their absence; and tho' I am fully satisfied that the zeal of the government in this affair proceeded from their regard to the glory of God (continues Mr. NEAL) yet I must say, that the Magistrates were too partial in their behaviour towards the accused; and that Sir WILLIAM PHIPS himself treated them with too much severity, by ordering them to be laid in irons, and countenancing the popular cry against them.

The whole country were by degrees made sensible of their mistake, and most of the actors in this tragedy repented the share they had in it. One of the honourable judges that sat on the bench at these trials on a fast day, in a full assembly at the south meeting in Boston, delivered in a paper to be read to all the people, acknowledging his having fallen into some errors in the trials at Salem, and begging the prayers of the congregation that the guilt of such miscarriages might not be imputed to the country in general, or to him and his family in particular. And while this paper was reading, he stood up in view of the whole assembly.

The jury likewise published a paper signed with their own hands in the following Words:

"We whose names are under-written, being in the year 1692, called to serve as Jurors in court at Salem, on trial of many who were by some suspected of doing acts of witchcraft upon the bodies of sundry persons, do confess that we ourselves were not capable to understand, nor able to withstand the mysterious delusions of the powers of darkness and prince of the air, but were, for want of knowledge in ourselves, and better information from others, prevailed with to take up with such evidence against the accused, as on further consideration, and further informations, we justly fear was insufficient for the touching the lives of any, Deut. xvii. 6. Whereby we fear we have been instrumental with others, though ignorantly and un-

VOL. III.

CHAP. V. willingly, to bring upon our selves, and these people of the LORD, the guilt of innocent blood, which sin the LORD saith in scripture he would not pardon, 2 Kings xxiv. 4. That is, we suppose, in regard to his temporal judgments; we do therefore hereby signify to all in general, and to the surviving sufferers in especial, our deep sense of, and sorrow for our errors in acting on such evidence to the condemning of any person.

"And do hereby acknowledge that we justly fear that we are very sadly deluded and mistaken, for which we are much disquieted and distressed in our minds, and do therefore humbly beg forgiveness first of God for CHRIST's sake for this our error, and pray that God would not impute the guilt of it to our selves, nor others; and we also pray that we may be considered candidly and aright by the living sufferers, as being then under the power of a strong and general delusion, utterly unacquainted with, and not experienced in matters of that nature.

"We do heartily ask forgiveness of you all, whom we have justly offended; and declare, according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again for the whole world; praying you to accept of this in way of satisfaction for our offence; and that you would bless the inheritance of the LORD, that he may be intreated for the land.

THOMAS FISK, foreman. THOMAS PERLEY, sen.
WILLIAM FISK, JOHN PEHODY,
JOHN BATCHELER, THOMAS PERKINS,
THOMAS FISK, jun. SAMUEL SAYER,
JOHN DANE, ANDREW ELLIOT,
JOSEPH EVELITH, HENRY HERRICK, sen.

And Dr. COTTON MATHER, who writ the forementioned trials, has since declared it as his opinion, that things were carried too far, as appeared to him: 1. From the great number of persons accused. 2. From the quality of the persons accused, some of whom were persons of blameless and holy lives. 3. From the number of the afflicted, which encreased to about fifty. This (says he) gave just ground to suspect some mistake. 4. From the execution of the prisoners, not one of which confessed their guilt at their death, tho' several of them were persons of good knowledge and sober lives, and dyed in a serious and affecting manner. And as for the confessors (says he) we had no experience whether they would abide by their confessions when they came to die; they being all reprieved and pardoned. 5. Because, when the prosecutions ceased, the afflicted grew presently well. The accused are generally quiet, and we have had no disturbance since that time for these five years.

I have often wondered that no publick notice was ever taken either of the afflicted persons or confessing witches. If the agitations of the afflicted were voluntary and artful, the blood of the innocent certainly lay at their doors; but if not, they should have been treated as lunatics, or as persons, who, being possessed by an evil spirit, had been the unhappy instruments of taking away the lives of their honest neighbours. The confessing witches may possibly deserve a little more compassion if their confessions were extorted by violence, or arose from the pure necessity of saving their lives this way and no other (as I believe was the case of most of them;) but yet their bearing false witness against their neighbours, and

24 Q

dipping

Dr. MATHER confesses his errors.

NEAL's remarks on these prosecutions.

CHAP. dipping their hands in their innocent blood, ought
V. not to have been passed over in silence.

Mr. PARIS indeed, in whose house this tragedy began, and who had himself been a witness, and a zealous prosecutor of the accused, felt the effects of the people's repentment some time after; for his people not only withdrew from his communion, but presented several petitions and remonstrances to the Magistrates and Ministers of Boston to obtain his removal: They declared, "That Mr. PARIS's believing the Devil's accusations, and readily departing from all charity to persons of blameless lives and conversations upon such suggestions; his promoting accusations, and his partiality therein; his stifling some and encouraging others; his going to MARY WELCH and ABIGAIL WILLIAMS, to know who afflicted the people in their illnesses, and his taking an oath that the prisoners by their looks knocked down the pretended sufferers, tho' it is certain he knew nothing of the matter;" obliged them to refuse him for their Minister. The Ministers of Boston did every thing they could to make up the difference; and Mr. PARIS himself, in the year 1694, made a publick acknowledgement of his error, begging pardon both of God and man; but the people insisting that they neither could nor would sit under the ministry of a man who had been an instrument of the misery and ruin of so many of their relations and friends, he was at last removed.

The Indians profelytes to the Jesu-ites.

The confusion occasioned by these prosecutions were no small hindrance to the cultivating a good correspondence with the Indians on the conclusion of the Peace of Pemaquid, in the year 1693. However, Sir WILLIAM PHIPS, the Governor, did not entirely neglect it. He assembled the Sachems on the frontiers, made them presents and opened a free trade with their tribes. He proposed also the leaving among them some converted Indians, to instruct them in the Christian religion, and they thereupon made great protestations of their fidelity and future friendship; but as to religion they desired to be excused, and would not suffer any preachers or missionaries to remain amongst them; for the French jesuites and Popish priests had already profelyted this people, and indeed created in them an abhorrence of the religion of the English; suggesting that their ancestors were the crucifiers of our SAVIOUR, and themselves the persecutors of all good catholics.

Sir WILLIAM was no less unfortunate in his administration at home than in his attempts to convert the Indians; for his government was not only disturbed by people who pretended to be possessed and bewitched, but a strong faction was formed against him, that ascribed all their grievances to his conduct: To him they imputed it, that their privileges were abridged by the new charter, and that their taxes were so high, occasioned by the needless expences he had put them upon, of building fort Pemaquid, and other fortresses on their frontier: And they proceeded so far as to exhibit articles against him to the privy-council of England; whereupon he was recalled to defend himself; but carrying over with him an address from the general assembly in his favour, he was not only acquitted; but promised to be restored to his post: However he fell ill of a fever in London, and dyed there on the 18th of February, 1694-5, in the 45th year of his age.

Sir WILLIAM PHIPS impeached and sent for to England.

He dies.

In the mean time the French spirited up the Indians of Canada and Nova Scotia to break the peace with the English within a year after it was made; and the Savages falling upon the plantations and open towns on the frontiers, massacred great numbers of the inhabitants, and carried more into captivity: And the French joining their forces with the Indians, in the year 1696, surprised the important fortress of Pemaquid and demolished it.

Fort Pemaquid surprised by the French and demolished.

In the year 1697, the French and their Indian allies made preparations to invade New-England by sea and land; but Lieutenant STOUGHTON detaching five hundred men to the north-east, under the command of Major MARCH, the enemy was repulsed on that side, and obliged to fly into the woods; and the French fleet at the same time being shattered by a tempest, thought fit to return to the river Canada without attempting to make a descent. There were afterwards some small skirmishes upon the frontiers, but no considerable action; and in December 1698, advice arrived of the conclusion of the peace of Reswick; whereupon the Sieur FRONTENAC, Governor of Canada, advised his Indian allies to release their prisoners, and make the best terms they could with the English; for his master being now at peace with that nation, he could no longer support them; and the Indians taking his advice, made their submission at Casco, on the 7th of January, 1698-9 promising to perform the articles they had agreed to in the year 1693, and declared they had never broke them, if they had not been incited to it by the French jesuites.

The peace of Reswick.

The Earl of Bellamont was about this time made Governor of New-England and New-York, but resided chiefly at the latter, leaving the administration of the Government of New-England to Lieutenant-Governor STOUGHTON; and a war commencing in Europe between the confederates and the French, in the year 1702, New-England was soon involved in it. In this war the New-England people made another effort for the recovery of Port-Royal in Acadia, but were not successful in their first attempt. However, being assisted the next year with five hundred regular troops, commanded by Colonel NICHOLSON, they carried the place.

The war renewed.

The English take Port-Royal again.

Encouraged by this success, the ministry in Old-England proposed the attacking of Canada once again; and the colonies of New-England and New-York readily came into it, and actually made considerable levies of men and money to assist and support that enterprize, being in daily expectation of a squadron of men of war, and a body of land forces from Great-Britain, to enter upon action; but our Generals on this side being unwilling to spare any troops from Flanders, the enterprize was laid aside until the year 1711: When the Generals as well as the ministry, being changed, that important expedition was revived, and Admiral WALKER was commanded for New-England with a squadron of twelve men of war, six store ships, and forty transports; on board whereof were five thousand veteran troops, under the command of Brigadier-General HILL. All manner of warlike stores, and forty horses, for the use of the artillery, also were put on board; and with these the Admiral arrived at Boston on the 25th of June 1711, having been seven weeks and three days in his passage from Plymouth. Whereupon the land forces were set on shore on Nodd's Island, in the Massachusetts Bay, to refresh themselves, and wait

Another expedition against Canada, an. 1711.

Admiral WALKER and General HILL arrive at Boston.

CHAP. V. wait until all things were in readiness to besiege Quebec, the capital of Canada. Here the forces lay waiting for provisions until the 20th of July; when they were reembarked, and on the 25th two New-England regiments also were added to them, and embarked on board the fleet, by the command of Governor DUDLEY.

In the mean time General NICHOLSON, Governor of New-York, assembled a body of two thousand English and thirteen hundred Indians, who were ordered to embark on the rivers which fall into the lake of Ontario, usually called the lake of Canada, or Frontenac, and so get into the river of St. Lawrence, and attack the fortress of Montreal, situated in an island of that river in order to make a diversion, and divide the French forces, while Admiral WALKER and General HILL should attack Quebec. But our unfortunate fleet never reached that city; for arriving in the mouth of the river Canada, there fell to thick a fog that their pilots were at a loss which way to steer, having no soundings to direct them; and it afterwards blowing hard, they were driven upon the north shore among the rocks, where they lost eight of their transports with eight hundred men on board, and the whole fleet was in danger of being shipwrecked. Whereupon they made the best of their way to the east-ward, and coming to Spanish-River-Bay, they held a council of war, on the 4th of September, wherein it being considered that they had but ten weeks provision for the fleet and army, and that the navigation was so bad at this time of the year in those parts that they could not depend on supplies of provision from New-England, it was unanimously resolved to return home; and setting sail accordingly (after they had detached some ships and forces to Boston and Annapolis) the fleet arrived at Portsmouth on the 9th of October following; where, to complete their misfortune, the Edgar, the Admiral's ship was blown up, and seven hundred people perished, including the sailors wives and those that came to welcome their friends home: But the Captain and most of the Officers being then on shore, escaped the terrible blow.

As for General NICHOLSON, and the forces that were designed to make a diversion by besieging Montreal, an express being sent after them with the advice of the loss of the transports in the river Canada, they returned to New-York without attempting any thing. And thus unhappily ended an expedition, which if it had succeeded, would have made us masters of the best part of North-America, and driven the French entirely from that continent: And as people are apt to blame one another where they fail of success, we find the Admiral and General complaining that their being detained at Boston for want of the provisions and reinforcements the government of New-England had promised, until the summer was spent, and then not being furnished with good pilots there, were the occasions of their misfortune. The New-England people, on the other hand, alledged, that it was not too late in the year but they might have succeeded, if the General and Admiral had been hearty in the enterprize.

But perhaps neither of them were much to blame. We may rather ascribe the ill success they met with to the want of a good understanding between Old and New-England, and to the wind and weather, which the wisest and bravest commanders cannot provide against.

CHAP. V. An enterprize of this nature had been concerted in Old-England some time before, as has been observed already, and the New-England people had made great preparations to second it; but when they had put themselves to a very great expence, our Generals in Flanders would spare no troops for this service; whereby all the trouble and charges they had been at were lost. When this project therefore was revived, the New-England people determined to wait till the fleet and army should arrive at Boston before they began their preparations, and the rather because there had been a change of the ministry; for they were jealous that the new ministry had but little friendship for them. When the fleet and army therefore came into the bay, they were forced to wait a whole month for the forces and provisions they were to take in there. The colony indeed urge in their defence, that no port in Great-Britain could have furnished such a fleet and army with provisions sooner; which I agree to be true, and that they were very hearty in the enterprize after they saw the forces arrive; for nothing could be of more importance to them than the conquest of Canada. But they ought to have had their forces and provisions ready on the arrival of the British squadron, when they had notice of their coming; for that month's delay, in the finest season of the year, was certainly a vast disadvantage to the enterprize: And whatever some malicious and envious spirits in Old-England might suggest to the contrary then, and have repeated since the disaster happened, it is very evident that all imaginable encouragement was given to the undertaking in England, and that the Officers employed used the utmost diligence and circumspection in the execution of their orders: For the squadron and land forces actually sailed from Plymouth the beginning of May, and arrived at Boston on the 25th of June, the best season in the world to execute the scheme that had been laid, if the New-England people had been in a readiness to join them, and furnished them with good pilots; in both which articles they were apparently defective: And to these, and the cross winds and fogs, and the badness of the navigation in the river Canada the latter end of the year, as has been intimated already, the ill success of this enterprize is principally to be imputed, and not to want of zeal or conduct in the Admiral or General; for they were so intent upon the enterprize, that they avoided engaging a squadron of French men of war, under the command of DE GUY TROEN, rather than the design upon Canada should be defeated; and for this they were severely censured by some who did not consider the importance of the enterprize they were going upon: And the pressing orders they had to use all imaginable dispatch while the fair season lasted, an expedition of the like kind having miscarried once before, when the government of New-England had the sole management of it, purely by its being undertaken too late in the year; and more men were lost in that expedition, than there were in this.

The year following, anno 1712, was concluded the peace of Utrecht, in which New-England was included; and as Nova-Scotia and Acadia were yielded to Britain by that treaty, the fisheries on those coasts and in the bay of Fundi, which are equal, if not preferable to the fisheries of Newfoundland) became solely vested in the subjects of Great-Britain.

There

The delay in furnishing provisions the occasion of the ill success in the expedition against Quebec.

Nova-Scotia and its fisheries yielded to Great-Britain by the peace of Utrecht.

CHAP.

V.

The trade of New-England interferes with that of Great-Britain.

They refuse to allow the Governor a fixed salary.

The constitution of the Massachusetts Colony.

There have not been many transactions of any great moment in New-England since the peace of Utrecht, unless it be their falling into some manufactures and foreign trades, which interfere with the manufactures and trade of Great-Britain, as has been touched upon already, and will be considered further when I come to treat of the disputes between the sugar islands and the northern colonies.

The assembly of New-England have also had a long contest with the court of Great-Britain about settling a fixed salary on their Governor, which they refusing to comply with, that matter was proposed to have been laid before the parliament; and the people of New-England beginning to apprehend their charter in some danger, employed Mr DUMMER, one of their Agents, to appear in print as their Advocate; a gentleman the best qualified for that office of any writer I have met with; for he evidently acts the part of an advocate, concealing or mitigating their errors in government, and setting their best actions in the most advantageous light: Which brings me to enquire into the constitution of the respective colonies, which are comprehended under the name of New-England; and first of that of the Massachusetts.

It is observed by Mr. DUMMER, already mentioned, that by the new charter granted to the Massachusetts (the most considerable of the New-England Colonies) that the appointment of a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary, and all the Officers of the admiralty, is vested in the crown: That the power of the militia is wholly in the hands of the Governor, as Captain-General: That all Judges, Justices and Sheriffs, to whom the execution of the law is intrusted, are nominated by the Governor, with the advice of the council; and that the Governor has a negative on the choice of counsellors peremptory and unlimited; and that he is not obliged to give a reason for what he does in this particular, or refrained to any number: That all laws enacted by the general assembly, are to be sent to the court of England for the royal approbation; and that no laws, ordinances, elections (of Magistrates I presume he means) or acts of government whatsoever are valid without the Governor's consent in writing.

By these reservations (in the opinion of this gentleman) the prerogative of the crown and the dependance of this colony are effectually secured: Whereas we find the Lords Commissioners of trade and plantations, in their representation to the house of commons, anno 1732, observing that notwithstanding the power seems to be divided between the King and the people in the Massachusetts Colony, the people have much the greatest share; for they do not only chuse the assembly of representatives, but this assembly chuse the council (equivalent to our house of lords) and the Governor depends upon the assembly for his annual support, which has frequently laid the Governor of this province under the temptation of giving up the prerogatives of the crown, and the interest of Great-Britain: That this colony as well as others ought to transmit to Great-Britain authentick copies of the several acts passed by them; but they sometimes neglect it, and pass temporary laws which have their full effect before the government here can have due notice of them: And if the laws of this colony are not repealed within three years after their being presented,

they are not repealable by the crown after that time.

And here it may be proper to mention some observations of Mr. DUMMER and other New-England writers in relation to the administration of the Governors and Officers of our plantations, as well as on the government itself.

That Governors are apt to abuse their power, and grow rich by oppression, experience shews us, (says Mr. DUMMER.) We have seen, not many years since, some Governors seized by their injured people, and sent prisoners to Whitehall, there to answer for their offences. Others 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. Others, after being recalled, have been prosecuted at the King's-bench Bar, pursuant to an act of parliament made in the reign of the late King WILLIAM, whereby it is provided, that Governors shall be impleadable at home for any injuries done in their governments abroad. We have had more than one flagrant instance of this very lately, where Governors have been convicted and censured, not so properly for oppressing, as for a direct plundering their people, and such other acts of mis-rule and lawless power, as one would not have thought it possible they should have committed, if experience had not shewn it to be more than possible.

I do not, however, intend by what is here said to reproach our own nation, as if we were greater sinners than others, or to reflect on the present times, as if they were worse than the former. I know that the same abuses have been practised in every age as well as this, and in foreign colonies as well as our own. The ancient Romans were as brave and as virtuous a people as any in the world; and yet their Pro-Consuls and Governors were very guilty in this respect: Their corruption was so notorious as to be distinguished by the name of crimen repetundarum, a phrase not used in any other meaning, and derived from the obligation which the Roman senate laid on their Governors to make restitution.

Nor have the modern governors in the French and Spanish plantations been less criminal. It is a famous story of a great minister at the court of Madrid, who writ to his friend the vice-roy of Peru, that great complaints were made against him for having extorted immense sums of money from the people in his government; which (says he) I wish may be true, or else you are undone. It seems the same thing that wounded him was necessary to heal him; what put him out of favour was the only thing could restore him.

Indeed it can hardly be expected but these corruptions must happen, when one considers that few gentlemen will cross the seas for a government whose circumstances are not a little strait at home; and that they know by how slight and uncertain a tenure they hold their commissions; from whence they wisely conclude that no time is to be lost: And then for the account to be rendered at home, that is not thought of at so great a distance; for procul a Jove, procul a fulmine.

To enlarge then the power of Governors, is to give them greater power to oppress; and to vacate the charters, is to enlarge their power, the government in that case of course devolving upon them, as we see in those plantations which never had any charters, but are immediately dependent on the crown. There they have in a manner the

CHAP.

V.

Observations on the administration of the plantation Governors.

Of the government of the plantations immediately subject to the crown.

CHAP. V. intire legislative and executive powers, or at least, so great an influence on the constituent parts of the former, as leaves them little more than nominal sharers, serving rather as screens to the Governor, than a defence to the people. The militia is absolutely vested in the Governors, which influences all elections of representatives: They appoint Judges, Justices, Sheriffs, and other civil Officers with the consent, it is said indeed, of the council; but that such consent, voluntary or involuntary, will ever be refused, seems too much to be expected, if we consider, that altho' the Governors do not indeed appoint the council, yet they recommend proper persons to the King; and it may be supposed, that a gentleman who is intrusted with the chief command of a province, and is actually on the spot, will be thought the best judge who are fit to serve, and therefore his recommendations will almost always prevail. Besides, if there be a turn to serve, or an emergency real or imaginary, and any of the members should be so refractory as not to give into his measures with an implicit faith, the Governor can suspend as many of them as he pleases; and when he has reduced the board under a number limited in his instructions, he can then fill it up to that number, Instantly, with whom he pleases; and who will they be, may we presume, but such as are passively obedient to his will? And too many such there are to be found in all colonies, so constituted, who are content to be saddled themselves, provided they may ride others under the chief rider. I must farther observe, that where there are no charters, there are courts of equity established, in which the Governor is always Chancellor, and for the most part chief Justice and Ordinary at the same time; which puts the estates, lives, and liberties of the inhabitants, saving the liberty of an appeal at home, intirely in his disposal; and even an appeal in all cases under a considerable sum, in all cases of the ordinary jurisdiction, and in all cases capital, is either disallowed by his instructions, or wholly in the Governor's breast to allow or not.

The sum of my argument is, that the benefit which Great-Britain receives from the plantations arises from their commerce: That oppression is the most opposite thing in the world to commerce, and the most destructive enemy it can have: That Governors have in all times, and in all countries, been too much inclined to oppress. And consequently, it cannot be the interest of the nation to increase their power, and lessen the liberties of the people.

The same writer observes, that all the Officers of the revenue in the plantations are appointed by the crown; and all breaches of the acts of trade and plantations are tried by Judges commissioned by the broad seal, or by warrants from the admiralty of England. That the laws of the country are not pleaded in these courts, but acts of the British parliament; and where they are silent, the civil and maritime laws take place, and the forms of proceeding are regulated after the manner practised in Doctors-Commons. That neither the Judge, nor any of the inferior Officers of the admiralty have salaries, or other dependence, than upon what they get by their fees, and are therefore strongly tempted to receive all business that comes before them however improper for their cognizance.

That the Officers of the revenue are multiplied of late years in the plantations, and guilty of great

oppressions: The Merchants complain, that by their violent practices, they have driven away all vessels from some parts of the country, inasmuch that they have no sloops left to carry their produce to market.

In answer to that prevailing opinion, that the increasing numbers and wealth of this and the rest of the charter colonies, joined to their great distance from Britain, will give them an opportunity in the course of some years to throw off their dependance on this nation, and declare themselves free states, if not checked in time, by being made entirely subject to the crown. He answers, that those gentlemen are but little acquainted with these, or any of the northern colonies, who do not know and confess that their poverty and the declining state of their trade is so great at present, that there is far more danger of their sinking, without some extraordinary support from the crown, than of their revolting from it; besides, they are so distinct from one another in their forms of government, in their religious rites, in their emulation of trade, and consequently in their affections, that they can never be supposed to unite in so dangerous an enterprize: It is for this reason I have often wondered to hear some great men profess their belief of the feasibility of it, and the probability that it will some time or other actually come to pass, and yet at the same time advise, that all the governments on the continent be formed into one, by being brought under one Vice-roy, and into one assembly; for if they in earnest believed that there was, or would be hereafter, a disposition in the provinces to rebel and declare themselves independent, it would be good policy to keep them divided; because, if it were possible they could contrive so wild and rash an undertaking, yet they would not be hardy enough to put it in execution, unless they could first strengthen themselves by a confederacy of all the parts. On the other hand, another writer is of opinion, that our colonies can never defend themselves against the invasions and outrages of the French and their Indian allies, but by uniting them under one Vice-roy or Generalissimo: He observes, that all Princes and states who have planted colonies, or subdued nations, have given the command of them to particular Governors in subordination to others, who have presided over the whole, for preventing and suppressing sedition; and that each particular government might be strengthened and supported by the rest against the attacks of their common enemies: That in the Roman empire, which contained one hundred and twenty provinces, and near three hundred colonies, there were only four Prefects or chief Governors under the Emperor; and over these extensive countries the Spaniards possess in north and south America, there are but two Vice-roys: In Canada and Louisiana, equal in extent to all the British Colonies, the French have but one Governor in chief, or Generalissimo, who can unite the whole force of the French in that part of the world against any one of the British Colonies he pleases to attack. While the countries in America possessed by the English seem to be in much the same state that Britain was, on the invasion of the Romans, divided under several chiefs, and consequently easily subdued one after another by the united forces of their enemies. Dum singuli pugnabant Universi vincebantur; while they fought in single bodies the whole island was conquered (say the Roman

CHAP. V. historians:) So in this country, to draw the parallel, we have at least thirteen colonies governed by their respective Commanders, according to their peculiar laws and constitutions; whereof there is scarce one that can expect relief from one another in the most imminent danger, as experience has often shewn.

Of making all the colonies immediately dependent on the crown. This gentleman also observes, that the colonies depending immediately on the crown, such as Virginia and New-York, have been much less harassed by the Indians, and much better prepared to defend their respective countries when attacked, than the charter governments of New-England; either says he, the latter have not authority enough to prevent the unfair usage the Indians frequently complain of there, or they neglect to give them satisfaction when they are injured, and the frontier plantations are ruined before they can agree to march to their defence.

Of unqualified and corrupt Governors. Another thing that has exposed our colonies to great dangers, he observes, has been the unskilfulness, or corrupt views, of some Governors, and Officers there, who have been left to trust to providence and their own ingenuity for their subsistence: I will not say, that all that go thither are like those in David's camp, in debt or distress, and consequently unqualified to promote the publick weal; but there have been those, who in time of war have supplied their Indian enemies with powder and shot, the French with provisions, and the Spaniards with naval stores: And by keeping up parties and factions, and oppressing the people under colour of their authority, of flourishing colonies, have made very poor ones; but to return to the Massachusetts.

The laws of New-England, and their administration. The laws of the greatest consequence in this colony, and the administration of them, are thus summed up by my author Mr. DUMMER: He says, there is in every county an office, where all conveyances of land are entered at large, after the granters have first acknowledged them before a Justice of peace; by which means, much fraud is prevented, no person being able to sell his estate twice, or take up more money upon it than it is worth. Provision has likewise been made for the security of the life and property of the subject in the matter of juries, who are not returned by the Sheriff of the county, but are chosen by the inhabitants of the several towns, a convenient time before the sitting of the courts. And this election is under the most exact regulation, in order to prevent corruption so far as human prudence can do it. It must be noted, that Sheriffs in the plantations are comparatively but little Officers; and therefore not to be trusted as here, where they are men of ample fortunes. And yet even here such flagrant corruptions have been found in returning juries by Sheriffs, that the house of commons thought it necessary lately to amend the law in this point, and passed a bill for chusing them by ballot.

Redress in their courts of law is easy, quick, and cheap. All processes are in English, and no special pleadings or demurrers are admitted, but the general issue is always given, and special matters brought in evidence, which saves time and expence; and in this case a man is not liable to loose his estate for a defect in form; nor is the merit of the cause made to depend on the niceties of clerkship. By a law of the country, no writ may be abated for a circumstantial error, such as a slight mis-nomer, or any informality. And by another law, it is enacted,

CHAP. V. that every Attorney taking out a writ from the Clerk's office, shall endorse his surname upon it, and be liable to pay to the adverse party his costs and charges in case of non-prosecution or discontinuance, or that the plaintiff be non-suited, or judgment pass against him. And it is provided in the same act, that if the plaintiff shall suffer a non-suit by the Attorney's mis-laying the action, he shall be obliged to draw a new writ without a fee, in case the party shall see fit to revive the suit. I cannot but think that every body, except gentlemen of the long robe, and the Attornies, will think this a wholesome law, and well calculated for the benefit of the subject. For the quicker dispatch of causes, declarations are made parts of the writ, in which the case is fully and particularly set forth. If it be matter of accompt, the accompt is annexed to the writ, and copies of both left with the defendant; which being done, fourteen days before the sitting of the court, he is obliged to plead directly, and the issue is then tried. Whereas by the practice of the court of King's-Bench, three or four months time is often lost after the writ is served, before the cause is brought to issue.

Nor are the people of New-England oppressed with the infinite delays and expence that attend the proceedings in Chancery; where both parties are often ruined by the charge and length of the suit. But as in all other countries, England only excepted, Jus & Equum are held the same, and never divided, so it is there: A power of Chancery being vested in the Judges of the courts of common law, as to some particular cases; and they make equitable constructions in others. I must add, that the fees of Officers of all sorts are settled by acts of assembly at moderate prizes for the ease of the subject.

To these laws give me leave to add some others.

If a man commit adultery with a married woman, or maid, or woman espoused, both the man and woman are to be put to death.

The punishment for robbery on the highway, or burglary, for the first offence, is only branding on the forehead; for the second offence, branding again and whipping; and the third offence, death.

Blasphemy is punished with death.

Cruel punishment or correction of servants or children are prohibited; nor shall any court of Justice condemn any offender to receive more than forty stripes.

No man condemned to die shall be executed within four days after condemnation.

Masters of families are to instruct their children and apprentices in the penal laws.

A child upwards of sixteen years of age striking or cursing his parent, to be put to death.

If any parent or guardian shall deny a child timely and convenient marriage, upon complaint to authority, a redress may be had.

No orphan shall be disposed of by a guardian without the consent of some court.

The minority of women in case of marriage is declared to be under sixteen years of age.

Any Magistrate may hear and determine civil causes in his county where the debt or damages do not exceed forty Shillings; and no such causes shall be brought before a court.

False witnesses, forswearing themselves with a design to take away another's life, shall suffer death.

Fornication

CHAP. V. Fornication is punished either by compelling marriage, fining the parties, corporal punishment, disfranchisement, or all of these, as the court shall direct.

No man shall be admitted a freeman but a member of some church in the colony.

No man who is a member of a church shall be exempted from offices.

All Englishmen orthodox in religion, not scandalous in life, who are freeholders of the country and rateable in one single rate at ten Shillings, and twenty four years of age, shall be admitted to the freedom of the common-wealth. Made anno 1664.

Heresy. During the usurpation, anno 1646, they passed a law against hereticks, wherein they recite, that notwithstanding no human power is lord over the faith and consciences of men, yet to avoid damnable heresies tending to the subverting the christian faith, spreading among the inhabitants of this jurisdiction, 'tis enacted, that if any person within this jurisdiction shall broach and maintain any damnable heresies, as denying the immortality of the soul, or the resurrection of the body, or any sin to be repented of in the regenerate, or any evil to be done by the outward man to be accounted sin, or shall deny that CHRIST gave himself a ransom for our sins, or shall affirm that we are not justified by his death and righteousness but by our own merit, or shall deny the morality of the fourth commandment, or shall openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of the ordinance of baptism, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy or their lawful authority to make war and peace, and to punish the outward breaches of the first table, or shall endeavour to seduce others to any of these opinions, every such person lawfully convicted shall be banished this jurisdiction.

Whoever shall revile the office or person of a Magistrate or Minister (Clergyman) shall be severely whipped, and pay the penalty of five Pounds.

Whoever shall publish any heterodox opinions in religion, shall be censured by the county court.

Raw hides, skins, or leather unwrought, shall not be exported, on pain of forfeiture. Anno 1646.

No Horse shall be sold or disposed of to any Indian, on pain of one hundred Pounds.

No Stone-Horse to run in the woods, unless he be well made, and fourteen hands high.

Jurymen shall be chosen by the freemen of each county, a convenient time before the sitting of the court.

No popish priest or jesuit, shall come to, or abide within this jurisdiction, but shall be banished, or otherwise proceeded against as the court of assistants shall direct; and if he return from banishment, he shall be put to death.

No Indians shall be depossessed of their lands or fishing grounds; and any Indians desiring to live among the English, shall have allotments of land.

No man shall sell or dispose of arms or ammunition to the Indians.

No person shall give or sell brandy, rum, or other strong liquors to the Indians.

No person shall sell or dispose of any boat or other vessel to an Indian.

Damage done to the Indians in their Corn or cattle, shall be recompensed.

The civilized Indians, who live under this government, shall have Indian Commissioners in their several plantations, to hear and determine such differences as a single Magistrate may determine among the English, and shall have Marshals and Constables to execute warrants and orders. They shall also have courts equivalent to county courts among themselves, provided the English Magistrate appoint the fines, and give his consent to the judgments passed; and matters of a higher nature shall be determined by the court of assistants.

No person shall be permitted to pawaw, or perform their idolatrous worship; nor shall the Indians profane the LORD's day.

Strong liquors found in the possession of Indians shall be seized.

Indians found drunk shall be committed till they confess where they had their liquor; and shall pay ten Shillings for being drunk, or receive ten stripes.

Persons allowed to trade with the Indians for skins, may sell them arms and ammunition on paying certain duties to the government, provided such Indians are in amity with the English. This act was made anno 1668.

No person shall be suffered to sit tippling in a publick house above half an hour, except strangers; or to drink above half a pint of wine at a sitting.

No private person to permit people to sit tippling in his house, on pain of twenty Shillings for the first offence, and five Pounds for the second.

All persons prohibited singing in a publick house, or to go into one on a Sunday or lecture-day.

No victualler to suffer a drunken fellow, who has been admonished of his offence by the select men, to come into his house.

The stealing of men is made capital.

No man shall strike his wife, or woman her husband, on pain of ten Pounds, or corporal punishment, at the discretion of the county court.

No man shall make a motion of marriage to any maid, without the consent of her parents or governors, or in their absence, of the next Magistrate; on pain of five Pounds for the first offence, and ten for the second.

Married people shall not live separately without shewing good cause to the court of assistants.

None shall marry any person but a Magistrate, or those that are authorized by the court of assistants, and that after banns three times published in their churches.

The freemen of every town are empowered to settle the wages of servants and labourers there.

If any maim or disfigure his servant, he shall be disfranchised.

The mint shall coin money, Two-pence in the Shilling less in value than English money: The exportation of money prohibited.

Convicted criminals refusing to discover their accomplices may be put to the torture.

Playing in the streets or fields, walking, drinking, visiting, sporting, and travelling on the Sabbath-day prohibited.

No violence shall be offered to any that suffer shipwreck upon the coast, or to their goods; but both shall be harboured and preserved in safety.

CHAP. V.

Government of Connecticut and Rhode-Island.

As to the two colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, which I comprehend under the title of New-England, these, as has been observed already, are distinct governments, and indulged at present with higher privileges than the Massachusetts Colony; for these, by their respective charters, are authorized annually to elect their own Governors, Deputy-Governors, council and assembly, with the rest of their Magistrates and Officers, civil and military; and to make laws for the government of the colony, provided they are not repugnant to the laws of England; and the people of Connecticut, in their religion, laws and customs, copy pretty closely after their mother colony, that of the Massachusetts.

State of religion there.

As to the state of religion in Rhode-Island Colony, a gentleman of considerable interest there gives me this account of it. He says, they are a very free people in that respect. They consist of episcopalians, presbyterians, anabaptists and quakers; but the quakers are now the most considerable, their present Governor, JOHN WANTON, Esq; being a quaker, as are also several of the council and house of representatives; and as they are principled for a free ministry of the gospel, so consequently there is no forced maintenance in the colony for the ministry of any persuasion, but every different society that is for maintaining a preacher does it voluntarily by a contribution or subscription.

Of New Hampshire.

The fourth and last colony comprehended under the name of New-England, is that of New-Hampshire; which is immediately dependent on the crown, and consequently the King appoints their Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Council, Magistrates and Officers, civil and military; but the freemen still elect their representatives, as the free-holders in England do with us. The constitution of this, and all other colonies immediately depended on the crown therefore resembles nearly that of Old-England; but in the rest, called charter governments, the diffusive body of the people

The difference between the charter governments and those immediately depending on the crown.

seem to be vested with the sovereign power, having the election of their Governors, Council, and Magistrates annually, and their laws being made by themselves without the King's concurrence. However their laws are liable to be repealed, and their constitution entirely altered by the King and parliament; which, one would think, should render them extremely cautious in making laws that may prove disadvantageous to their mother country, or promote such trades and manufactures as may interfere with those of Great-Britain; for they may very well expect when this shall be done to any great degree, the parliament will keep a severe hand over them, and perhaps deprive them of their most darling privileges. It may be found expedient hereafter also, even for their own defence and security, to appoint a Vice-roy, or at least a Generalissimo in time of war, who, by the advice of his Council, may assemble and unite the whole force of the plantations against the encroachments and invasions of the French, and assign every province and colony their respective quotas of troops to oppose this formidable rival: Or at least it may be found necessary to make all the colonies immediately dependent on the crown, as Virginia, Carolina, and New-York are; for the

CHAP. V.
charter governments are not to be depended on in such exigencies: They may refuse their assistance, or it will probably come too late to be of any service upon a sudden invasion. Half the country may be destroyed before they come to an effectual resolution to raise forces; or at least before they put their resolutions in execution. Nor can it ever be expected that the charter colonies should agree about their respective quotas and supplies of men and money, or indeed know what is necessary for the defence of the whole, so well as the Vice-roy or Generalissimo may, who attentively considers the several colonies and their respective circumstances with an impartial eye. All the difficulty lies in finding a gentleman of probity and capacity equal to so great a trust, or in putting such checks and restraints upon him as may prevent the abuse of such a power without prejudice to the service.

As to the money of New-England, according to Mr. NEAL, they have none at present, neither Silver nor Gold. About fifty or sixty years ago there was money coined in the country, but there is hardly enough left now for the retail business, all their payments among themselves being made in province bills made legal by act of the general assembly, which descend as low as half-a-Crown; so that the gentlemen of New-England carry all their money in their pocket-books: Hence it is that the course of exchange runs so much to the disadvantage of the country, that 100 l. to be paid in London is sometimes worth 220 and 225 l. paid in New-England; so that if a Merchant of Boston should remit his estate to London it would not be worth half so much as it is there; but on the other hand, if a Merchant in London worth a 1000 l. should have a mind to settle in New-England, and carry his effects along with him, he might be worth 3000 l. on his arrival there, and live as well upon it as upon 3000 l. here.

Money of New-England.

Exchange.

A gentleman of Connecticut Colony informs me that they are not allowed the privilege of coining any money there; the Silver and Gold that is among them is what they import from other parts in return for the commodities they export, and passes all by weight, and serves only as merchandize, which for the most part, one way or other is sent home to Great-Britain, to pay for goods imported into New-England from thence; what serves as a medium of trade is their bills of credit from 5 s. to 5 l. bills, of which they have some quantities issued by their government.

The Indians have a sort of money among them, which they call Wampam, and is a parcel of little beads made of the shells which lie on the sea-coast, with holes in them to string upon a bracelet, whereof some are white, and of these six go for a Penny; some black or blue, and of these three go for a Penny.

Indian money.

Besides water-carriage, they have now waggons and Pack-horses. There is a stage waggon which goes from Boston to Newport in Rhode-Island, being seventy miles. Gentlemen also have coaches and chaises, but they travel most commonly on horseback. And there are inns on the roads as well provided for the entertainment of travellers as those of Old-England.

Carriages, travelling and inns.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
NOVA-SCOTIA.

CHAP. VI.

Of Nova-Scotia or New-Scotland, and Acadia.

CHAP.
VI.

New-
Scotland.
The situa-
tion and
extent.

NEW-SCOTLAND, in which I comprehend Acadia, is bounded by the bay and river of St. Lawrence on the north-east and north-west, by the Atlantick-Ocean on the east, by the same ocean and the bay of Fundi on the south, and by part of Canada and part of New-England on the west, lying between 43 and 51 degrees of north latitude, and between 63 and 70 degrees of western longitude; being about five hundred miles in length from north to south, viz. from Cape Sable to Cape Gaspe, at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence; and about three hundred miles in breadth from east to west, viz. from Cape Canso to the river Penobscot, which divides New-England from New-Scotland, as I apprehend.

This country yet remains undivided into counties or lesser districts, and is still uncultivated, unless in two or three places near the sea-coasts; the rest is all forest: Yet where it has been settled or planted, either by the French or English, the soil appears to be fruitful. The only towns the English have in Nova-Scotia are that of Port-Royal, or Annapolis, situate in the bay of Fundi, and that of Canso in the east, over-against the island of Cape-Breton.

Chief
towns.

Annapo-
lis.

The town or city of Annapolis lies upon an excellent harbour on the east side of Fundi Bay, capable of receiving a fleet of a thousand ships, and at the entrance of it has sixteen or eighteen fathoms water on one side, and six or seven on the other. The town is pretty well fortified; and here the Governor resides with a garrison of five hundred English. Canso, situated on the eastern shore of Acadia, will probably in time be a very considerable town, on account of an excellent fishery near it; tho' it seems the English have been disturbed, and great encroachments made on their territories and fisheries in Nova-Scotia by the French since the peace of Utrecht.

Canso.
The coun-
try of Aca-
dia still un-
cultivated.

An English gentleman, who wrote of this country in the year 1720, says it must be acknowledged that ever since the peace of Utrecht no care has been wanting to provide this province with

Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and other inferior Officers both civil and military, and also with a considerable number of regular forces; but with great submission, I think the Orator's question may very pertinently be repeated here, Cui bono? And indeed what great service can be expected from a single garrison whose command reaches no farther than their guns, whilst the whole country is abandoned to the French, who make settlements, and erect forts by order of the Governor of Canada, on all the principal rivers, particularly St. John's, Passamaquady and Penobscot, and have possessed themselves of our fishery at Canso, which is perhaps the best in the world: For tho', according to the true meaning of the 11th article of the treaty of Utrecht, they can claim no more liberty to fish there than on any other part of that coast; yet finding that their new plantations on Cape Breton were scarce habitable, they not only managed their fishery on our ground, and in our harbours, but by the assistance of the Indians pulled down our stages, destroyed our vessels, and proceeded so far as to suffer none of his Majesty's subjects to catch or cure fish at the island of Canso without first paying for a licence from the Governor of Cape Breton; tho' the French have no manner of right to these islands and harbours: If they had it would be an unpardonable crime in that Governor to allow the English to trade or fish there on any account whatsoever. And the reason is because all Governors in America, whether English or French receive express instructions from their respective masters, to put in execution the articles of the treaty of neutrality in America, between King JAMES II. and the late King of France; wherein it is stipulated, that none of the subjects of either King shall trade or fish in the bays, &c. belonging to the other, under the penalty of the vessel so trading or fishing, and lading, being confiscated.

CHAP.
VI.

The
French
encroach-
ments
there.

But, as I am informed, the people of New-England have of late asserted their right to those fisheries, and built and peopled the town of Canso, and manage the fishery there to great advantage:

CHAP.
VI.

However, the rest of the country still remains unplanted. The greatest part of the European inhabitants are French, who have taken the oaths to the crown of England, and the Indians are for the most part profelytes to the French jesuites; so that if a war should break out again between Great-Britain and France, the French would soon become masters of Acadia and all Nova-Scotia again, in the opinion of some. They have 'tis said, always fifteen hundred regular forces in the neighbouring island of Cape Breton, and would be joined by a French squadron and land forces from Europe in case of a rupture, which, with the assistance of the natives, would enable them, say these gentlemen, to reduce Acadia under their power in a single campaign, ruin the British fisheries here and at Newfoundland, destroy the foreign trade of our northern Colonies, and cut off all communication between them and Europe.

Whereas if this country were peopled and planted by the English, it would not only yield us all manner of naval stores, great plenty of rich Furs and skins, but preserve to us the finest fisheries in the world, secure Acadia against any attacks from Cape Breton, and with the help of an English squadron in time of war protect the trade of the northern Colonies.

Port-Royal, while it was in the hands of the French last war, was justly styled the Dunkirk

of that part of the world, continually harbouring fleets of privateers, and French cruizers, to the ruin of the fisheries and foreign trade of the northern Colonies: And this will probably be the case again if we do not plant this country, and make provision against the attempts of the French while the peace continues; and when this is done, still Cape Breton will remain a thorn in our sides, and probably occasion perpetual skirmishes between the subjects of Great-Britain and France, till either we reduce that island, or the French make a conquest not only of Nova-Scotia, but of New-England itself, and all our northern colonies: And as we have no great reason to fear the French will ever be able to effect the latter, at least in this age, so we must expect they will use their utmost efforts for the preservation of the island of Cape Breton; for whenever this falls into the hands of the English, the French trade to Canada and North-America must infallibly be lost and fall to the share of Great-Britain; and all their hopeful schemes of uniting Canada or New-France to Louisiana, or South Florida, must vanish; for Cape Breton and Newfoundland (already in our possession) lie before the bay of St. Lawrence, and with the assistance of a squadron of men of war stationed there might easily cut off all communication with that river, by which alone Canada or New-France can be approached.

CHAP.
VI.

THE PRESENT STATE OF NEW-BRITAIN.

CHAP. VII.

Of New-Britain, or Terra de Labrador, and Hudson's Bay.

CHAP.
VII.

New Britain and Hudson's Bay. The situation and extent.

NEW-BRITAIN, or Terra de Labrador, in which I comprehend Hudson's Bay and Streights, is separated from Nova-Scotia by the river of St. Lawrence and part of Canada, and extends from 49 to 64 degrees north latitude, lying between 60 and 90 degrees of western longitude.

This cold inhospitable country is but thinly peopled with Indians, and the only part of it that was ever thought worth the planting by any Europeans was the bottom and the west side of Hudson's Bay, where the English have four or

five little forts and factories, the chief of which is fort Albany. The Hudson's Bay company trade thither for furs and skins, to the value of fifteen or twenty thousand Pounds prime cost annually, of which three fourths are Beaver Skins.

The eastern shores of this country were discovered by SEBASTIAN CABOT, for HENRY VII, King of England, about the year 1498. They were afterwards visited by DAVIS and others in their attempts to discover a north-west passage to China; but Captain HENRY HUDSON, who has communicated his name to the bay and

CHAP.
VII.

Produce of the country. The first discovery of it by CABOT.

CHAP. VII. and freights, surrounded almost the whole coast going on shore in several places.

HUDSON'S discovery. Mr. HUDSON made four voyages to the north upon discovery, the first in the year 1607, when he set sail from England in the month of May; and having made the coast of Greenland, sailed as far as 81 degrees 30 minutes, and returned to England on the 15th of September the same year.

In the year 1608, he endeavoured to discover a north-east passage to China, but coming into 75 degrees 30 minutes north latitude on the 9th of June, he found his way so blocked up by mountains of ice that he returned home.

The year following, anno 1609, he made another attempt to find a way to China, by the north-east, but was again prevented by fields of ice near Nova Zembla.

The following year, 1610, Sir THOMAS SMITH, Sir DUDLEY DIGGES, Mr. WOSTENHOLME, and other adventurers, fitted out Mr. HUDSON again, with orders to endeavour to find a passage through Davis's Straights to the South-Sea or Pacifick Ocean. Accordingly Mr. HUDSON set sail from England in April, and on the 4th of June arrived upon the coast of Greenland, from whence he sailed to the Island of Desolation; then he steered almost due west till he discovered a point of land, being part of Terra de Labrador, in the latitude of 60, which is called Desire Provokes, being near the mouth of those freights which afterwards obtained the name of Hudson's Straights: These he entered soon after, and sailing through fields of ice to the north-west for upwards of three hundred leagues by computation, he came to a small strait two leagues over and very deep water, through which he passed between two promontories, calling that to the southward Cape Wostenholme, and that to the north-west Digges's Island, the latter lying in 64 degrees 44 minutes north latitude: And now coming into a spacious sea, wherein he sailed an hundred leagues south, he assured himself he had found the passage into the Pacifick Ocean; but perceiving at length, by the shallow water, that he was embayed, he was extremely disturbed, for there was a necessity now of remaining all winter in this frozen country, there being no possibility of returning through the freights till next summer on account of the ice. He brought his vessel therefore to an anchor in a small creek on the south-west part of the bay, where being in great distress for want of provisions, he was plentifully supplied with wild fowl during the winter, and afterwards in the spring with fish; but the Captain was so intent upon completing his discovery, that he left his men to take and salt up fish and victual the ship, while he search'd every creek and corner of the shore in his sloop for a passage to the South-Sea. During his absence his men did not only neglect to catch fish, but entered into a conspiracy to run away with the vessel and leave him and the rest of their Officers behind, which they put in execution soon after his return, forcing him and eight more into a boat with a very small share of provisions; and they were never heard of from that day to this. The pretence of the mariners for this piece of barbarity being that the Captain had threatened to set part of the crew on shore, for not furnishing the ship with fish when it was in their power.

The conspirators having left their Captain and his companions to shift for themselves, brought

the ship to Digges's Island, where all their provisions being spent, they went on shore, and furnished themselves with great quantities of wild fowl: But GREEN the Captain of the mutineers, and three or four more of the ring-leaders, were surprised by the natives and cut in pieces. Whereupon PRICKET, a servant to Sir DUDLEY DIGGES (whose life the mutineers had spared, in hopes he would have been instrumental in getting their pardon,) took the charge of the ship upon him, and brought her home on the 6th of September, 1611, the crew being all so weak that they were not able to manage their sails without the assistance of some fishermen they met with at sea; and part of them were actually starved to death in the passage.

The year following, Sir THOMAS BUTTON pursued the discovery, and passing Hudson's Straights entered the same bay, and leaving the south part of it, which HUDSON had visited, he sailed some hundreds of leagues to the westward, till he arrived at a large continent, which he named New-Wales; and here he lost his ship, coming home in a sloop that he built in the country.

The next adventurer that entered Hudson's Bay was Captain JAMES, in the year 1631. This gentleman sailed to the bottom of the bay, and wintered on Charlton-Island, in 52 degrees odd minutes north latitude, for which reason the south part of this gulph is usually called James's Bay. At his return he gave so dreadful an account of the hazards he sustained in his voyage from the ice, that nobody attempted it again till the year 1667, when Captain GILLAM entered the bay, sailing to a river near the bottom of it in 51 degrees north latitude, which he judged to be a proper place for settling a factory, and called it Prince Rupert's River. Upon his return his owners applied to King CHARLES II. for a patent to plant the country, which they obtained anno 1670, Prince RUPERT being the chief proprietor: And the company have carried on a small but profitable trade thither with some interruptions from the French of Canada almost ever since. The English were encouraged to settle factories here by two Frenchmen, who had been conducted to the bay by some of the natives of Canada. These men returning to France, and proposing the settling of a colony at the bottom of the bay, the project was slighted by that ministry; whereupon the English ambassador at that court engaged these two men in the service of the English, and thereupon preparations were made in England to send a colony to the bay.

The first English Governor that went thither was CHARLES BATLY, Esq; anno 1670, who built a fort on Rupert-River, and gave it the name of Charles Fort; and soon after he caused a factory to be settled at port Nelson, on the west side of the bay, in 57 degrees north latitude but the two Frenchmen (RADISON and GOOSELEER) soon after betrayed that place to the French of Canada; However, in the year 1682 they thought fit to change sides again, and restored port Nelson to the English. In the year 1684 the chief factory of the English was removed to Chickewam-River, and called Albany; and a Albany fort was erected for its defence on the south-west part of the bay. It was designed also to have fixed a colony on Charlton-Island, and to have built warehouses there for their Furs; but the place

CHAP. VII.

The ship returns home.

Sir THOMAS BUTTON'S voyage to the bay.

JAMES'S voyage thither.

A patent to plant the country, 1670.

Charles Fort. Port Nelson.

HUDSON'S men run away with his ship, and leave him to perish.

CHAP.
VII.New-Se-
vern.The
French in-
vade our
factories in
time of
peace and
take them.Restored
by the
peace of
Utrecht.
Articles of
that treaty
relating to
New-Brit-
tain and
New-
Scotland.

place was afterwards found inconvenient, and de-
serted again. The company were now in posses-
sion of five settlements (viz.) those in Albany-River,
Hayes-Island, Rupert-River, port Nelson and New-
Severn, between port Nelson and Albany, and
their trade in a flourishing condition, when the
French, apprehensive that the English would draw
all the upland Indians to the bay, sent a detach-
ment of troops from Canada under the command
of the Chevalier DE TROYS, who invaded our set-
tlements, and made himself master of Hayes-Island,
fort Rupert, and Albany, in July 1686, though
we were then at peace with France. But the Eng-
lish still remained in possession of port Nelson; and
in the first war between the confederates and the
French, in the year 1693, the English recovered
the rest of their settlements in the bay. During
the last war the French reduced all our settlements,
except Albany, under their power again, but they
were yielded to Great-Britain by the peace of U-
trecht, anno 1713, and we have remained in pos-
session of them ever since.

By the tenth article of this treaty his most
christian Majesty obliged himself to restore to
Great-Britain the bay and streights of Hudson,
with all lands, seas, sea-coasts, rivers, and places
situate on the said bay and streights, with the
fortresses there erected, in the condition they then
were, with all cannon and ammunition in the same:
And it was agreed that commissaries on the part of
Great-Britain and France should determine within a
year the limits to be fixed between the said bay
of Hudson and the places appertaining to the
French; which limits the subjects of Great-Britain
and France are not to pass over to each other by
sea or land. And commissioners did afterwards set-
tle the limits by an imaginary line drawn from a
promontory situate on the Atlantick-Ocean, in 58
degrees 30 minutes, and running from thence
south-west to the lake Miscosink or Mistassin, and
from thence south-west indefinitely to the latitude of
49; all the countries to the north being assigned to
Great-Britain, and all on the south, between that
line and the river of St. Lawrence or Canada, to
France.

By the eleventh article France was obliged to
make satisfaction to the English company trading
to Hudson's Bay for all the depredations the
French had committed there in time of peace; and
the English were to give the like satisfaction to
the French.

By the twelfth article of the same treaty, Nova-
Scotia or Acadia, Port-Royal or Annapolis-Royal,
with their lands and dependencies, were entirely
yielded and made over to Great-Britain in such
ample manner that the subjects of France were
entirely excluded from all kind of fisheries in the
seas, bays and coasts of Nova-Scotia, especially
those which lie towards the east and within thirty
leagues thereof, beginning from the island of Sable
inclusive, and stretching thence to the south-west
(but I question if this is not a mistake, and it ought
not to have been said to the North-East; for Cape
Sable is the most southerly promontory of Aca-
dia, or Nova-Scotia) however, it is possible this mi-
stake has given the French a pretence to disturb our
fishery at Canso, on the north-east point of Acadia.

The orders of the Admiralty to Captain MID-
DLETON, to endeavour a discovery of the
North-west-passage.

Whereas we have, in obedience to his Majesty's
commands, ordered the Furnace Sloop, whereof

you are Commander, to be fitted out in a proper
manner, to proceed on a voyage towards Hud-
son's Strait, in order to attempt the discovery of
a passage that way into the western American
ocean, and have appointed the Discovery Pink,
WILLIAM MOOR, Master, (who is hereby re-
quired and directed to follow your orders) to at-
tend you on that service, you are hereby required
and directed, so soon as the said Sloop and Pink
are ready for the sea, to fall down to the Nore,
and when they have been paid what is due to
their companies, to proceed to Leith, and deli-
ver the inclosed packet to Captain HOLBURN,
commander of his Majesty's ship the Dolphin,
containing orders to the said Captain to proceed
in company with you, as far as the islands of
Orkney, for your better security against the pri-
vateers of the enemy, said to be cruising there-
about.

You are accordingly to proceed in company
with the said ship Dolphin as far as the aforesaid
islands, and then to make the best of your way
with the Sloop and Pink under your command,
towards Hudson's Strait, and after passing the
same, to proceed to Carey's Swan's-nest; and
then steer north-westerly, so as to fall in with the
North-west land at Sir THOMAS ROE's Welcome,
or ne ultra, near the latitude of 65 degrees
North.

You are there to make the best observations
you can of the height, direction and course of
the tides, bearing of the lands, depth and found-
ings of the sea, and shoals, with the variation of
the needle.

When you come up with Whalebone Point in
65°, you are to try the best passage in doubling
that land, whether to eastward or westward, in
case it be an island; and on which side soever
you meet the tide and flood, to direct your course
so as to meet the tide, whether north-westerly or
south-westerly.

If after, in doubling that cape, you find either
a strait or an open sea, you are to keep on your
course, still meeting the tide of flood; and if it
be so wide as to lose sight of land, then keep to
the larboard or American shore, steering south-
westerly, so as to take the bearings of the lands
and soundings; and observe whether there are any
inlets, bays, or rivers, to shelter the ships, in
case bad weather, or contrary winds, oblige you
to take harbour; and there make the best plans
you can of such harbours, and the charts of the
coast.

You must make no stay any where, whilst wind
and weather permits, (except for making obser-
vations for your safety in your return) until you
get to the southward of 60 degrees North; and
then, if you continue to find an open sea, make
more careful observations of the American coast or
islands, and of the head-lands, bays, and rivers,
until you make the latitude of 50 degrees, or
any more southerly latitude, in case you find it
convenient to winter on the western side of Ame-
rica; but if you should find it more convenient to
return into the bay to winter, or can make your
passage home in time, after making a discovery
of the passage to the western American ocean,
(which is more eligible) in order to prosecute
the discovery to advantage next season, then you
need proceed no farther southerly than 50 or 60
degrees latitude, and make all proper observa-
tions of the tides, bays, head-lands, shoals, and
rocks on both sides, if the passage be narrow, or

CHAP.
VII.

CHAP.

VII.

on which ever side the wind and weather permits you, with the variation, or any other curious observations you can make.

If you find any inhabitants upon the coast, or any populous nations to the southward, you are to endeavour by all proper means, to cultivate a friendship and alliance with them, presenting them with such trifles as they value, and shewing them all possible civility and respect; but to take caution, if they be numerous, not to let yourself be surprized, but to be constantly on your guard against any accidents.

If you find it proper to winter on the other side of the passage, get to a warm climate not more northerly than 42 degrees in some safe harbour, that may be of use in a future settlement; and rather in an island, if there be a good harbour, which would be safer than on the continent for an infant settlement.

If your place of wintering is within a proper distance to be supplied by the natives on the continent, take proper seeds, of fruit-trees, plants, grain and pulse, and sow them in the spring, or in case you find any civilized nation, who want such kinds, you may present some to them, and make them sensible of their use and manner of culture.

In places where you meet with inhabitants, make purchases with their consent, and take possession of convenient situations in the country, in the name of his Majesty of Great-Britain.

But when there are no inhabitants, you must take possession by setting up proper inscriptions as first discoverers and possessors.

If in your passage you meet with any ships trading to the western countries, eastward of Japan, or any Japanese ships, and you apprehend any danger from them, either from their force or number, you are to proceed no farther in the discovery, but immediately to return, that ships of sufficient force may be sent out next season, to begin a trade, or make a settlement, without any apprehension of disturbance from any powerful nation on that side, lest any accident should prevent your return, and discourage any farther attempts to be made for the future.

If you should arrive at California without any apprehension of danger, and chuse to winter in 42 degrees (where CAXTON is said to have found a civilized nation and good harbour) or more southerly, then endeavour to meet Captain ANSON in the month of December, before the arrival of the Manila ship at the Cape St. Lucas, the southern Cape of California, and leave a copy of your journal with him, lest any accident should happen to you upon your return, and so the discovery be lost, and it might prevent ships being sent out to your relief in case of shipwreck.

But for as much as, in an undertaking of this nature, several emergencies may arise, not to be foreseen, and therefore not so particularly to be provided for by instructions before-hand, you are in such case to proceed, as upon advice with your Officers, you shall judge may be most advantageous to the service on which you are employed.

When you return home, you are to proceed into the river Thames, and send our Secretary an account of your arrival and proceedings, for

VOL. III.

our information. Given under our hands the 20th of May, 1741.

CHAP.

VII.

To Captain MIDDLETON,
Commander of his Majesty's Sloop the Furnace,
Deptford.

CHA. WAGER.
THO. FRANKLAND.
GLENORCHY.

By command of their Lordships,

THOMAS CORBETT.

By the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High-Admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland, &c.

You are hereby required and directed during the course of your intended voyage, not to give any disturbance or molestation to any of the ships or sloops, employed in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, but to give them all protection and assistance that lies in your power, whenever any opportunity offer of your being serviceable to them. Given under our hands the 29th of May, 1741.

To Captain MIDDLETON,
Commander of his Majesty's Sloop Furnace.

CHA. WAGER.
VERE BEAUCLERK.
GLENORCHY.

By command of their Lordships,

THOMAS CORBETT.

Captain MIDDLETON's account of the extraordinary degrees and surprizing effects of Cold in Hudson's Bay, North-america, read before the Royal Society, Oct. 28, 1742.

I observed that the Hares, Rabbits, Foxes and Partridges, in September, and the beginning of October, changed their native colours to a snowy white; and that for six months, in the severest part of the winter, I never saw any but what were all white, except some Foxes of a different sort, which were grizzled, and some half red, half white.

That lakes and standing waters, which are not above 10 or 12 feet deep, are frozen to the ground in winter, and the fishes therein all perish.

Yet in rivers near the sea, and lakes of a greater depth than 10 or 12 feet, fishes are caught all the winter, by cutting holes through the ice down to the water, and therein putting lines and hooks. But if they are to be taken with nets, they cut several holes in a strait line the length of the net, and pass the net, with a stick fastened to the head line, from hole to hole, till it reaches the utmost extent; and what fishes come to these holes for air, are thereby entangled in the net; and these fish, as soon as brought into the open air, are instantaneously frozen as stiff as stock-fish. The seamen likewise freshen their salt provisions, by cutting a large hole through the ice in the stream or tide of the river, which they do at the beginning of the winter, and keep it open all that season. In this hole they put their salt meat, and the minute it is emersed under water, it becomes pliable and soft, though before it's immersion it was hard frozen.

Beef, Pork, Mutton, and Venison, that are killed at the beginning of the winter, are preserved by the frost, for six or seven months, intirely free from putrefaction, and prove tolerable good eating. Likewise Geese, Partridges, and other Fowl, that are killed at the same time, and kept with their feathers on, and guts in, require no other preservative but the frost to make them good wholesome eating,

24 T

CHAP. eating, as long as the winter continues. All kinds of fish are preserved in the like manner.

VII.

In large lakes and rivers, the ice is sometimes broken by imprisoned vapours; and the rocks, trees, joists and rafters of our buildings, are burst with a noise not less terrible than the firing off a great many guns together. The rocks, which are split by the frost, are heaved up in great heaps, leaving large cavities behind; which I take to be caused by imprisoned watery vapours, that require more room, when frozen, than they occupy in their fluid state. Neither do I think it unaccountable, that the frost should be able to tear up rocks and trees, and split the beams of our houses, when I consider the great force and elasticity thereof. If beer or water is left in mugs, cans, bottles, nay in copper-pots, though they were put by our bedsides, in a severe night, they are surely split to pieces before morning, not being able to withstand the expansive force of the inclosed ice.

The air is filled with innumerable particles of ice, very sharp and angular, and plainly perceptible to the naked eye. I have several times this winter tried to make observations of some celestial bodies, particularly the emerfions of the Satellites of Jupiter, with reflecting and refracting Telescopes; but the metals and glasses, by that time I could fix them to the object, were covered a quarter of an inch thick with ice, and thereby the object rendered indistinct, so that it is not without great difficulties that any observations can be taken.

Bottles of strong beer, brandy, strong brine, spirits of wine, set out in the open air for three or four hours, freeze to solid ice. I have tried to get the Sun's refraction here to every degree above the horizon, with ELTON's quadrant, but to no purpose, for the spirits froze almost as soon as brought into open air.

The frost is never out of the ground, how deep we cannot be certain. We have dug down 10 or 12 feet, and found the earth hard frozen in the two summer months; and what moisture we find five or six feet down, is white like ice.

The waters or rivers near the sea, where the current of the tide flows strong, do not freeze above 9 or 10 feet deep.

All the water we use for cooking, brewing, &c. is melted snow and ice; no spring is yet found free from freezing, though dug never so deep down. All waters inland are frozen fast by the beginning of October, and continue so till the middle of May.

The walls of the house we live in are of stone, two feet thick, the windows very small with thick wooden shutters, which are close shut 18 hours every day in the winter.

There are cellars under the house, wherein we put our wines, brandy, strong beer, butter, cheese, &c. Four large fires are made in great stoves, built on purpose, every day; as soon as the wood is burnt down to a coal, the tops of the chimneys are close stopped with an iron cover: This keeps the heat within the house (though at the same time the smoke makes our heads ach, and is very offensive and unwholesome;) notwithstanding which, in four or five hours after the fire is out, the inside of the walls of our house and bed-places, will be two or three inches thick with ice, which is every morning cut away with a hatchet. Three or four times a day we make iron shot of 24 pounds weight red-hot, and hang them up in the windows of our apartments. I have a good fire in my room the major part of the 24 hours; yet all this will

not preserve my beer, wine, Ink, &c. from CHAP. freezing.

VII.

For our winter drefs we make use of three pair of socks of coarse blanketing or duffil for the feet, with a pair of deer-skin shoes over them; two pair of thick English stockings, and a pair of cloth stockings upon them; breeches lined with flannel; two or three English jackets, and a fur or leather gown over them; a large beaver cap, double, to come over the face and shoulders, and a cloth of blanketing under the chin; with yarn gloves, and a large pair of beaver mittings hanging down from the shoulders before, to put our hands in, which reach up as high as our elbows; yet notwithstanding this warm cloathing, almost every day, some of the men that stir abroad, if any wind blows from the northward, are dreadfully frozen; some have their arms, hands, and face blistered and frozen in a terrible manner, the skin coming off soon after they enter a warm house, and some have lost their toes. Now their lying in for the cure of these frozen parts, brings on the scurvy in a lamentable manner. Many have died of it, and few are free from that distemper. I have procured them all the helps I could, from the diet this country affords in winter, such as fresh Fish, Partridges, Broths, &c. and the doctors have used their utmost skill in vain; for I find nothing will prevent that distemper from being mortal, but exercise and stirring abroad.

Coronæ and Parhelia, commonly called Halo's, and Mock-suns, appear frequently about the Sun and Moon here. They are seen once or twice a week about the Sun, and once or twice a month about the Moon, for four or five months in the winter, several Coronæ of different diameters appearing at the same time.

I have seen five or six parallel Coronæ concentric with the Sun several times in the winter, being for the most part very bright, and always attended with Parhelia or Mock-suns. The Parhelia are always accompanied with Coronæ, if the weather is clear; and continue for several days together, from the Sun's rising to his setting. These rings are of various colours, and about 40 or 50 degrees in diameter.

The frequent appearance of these Phenomena in this frozen clime seems to confirm DESCARTES's hypothesis, who supposes them to proceed from ice suspended in the air.

The Aurora Borealis is much oftner seen here than in England; seldom a night passes in the winter free from their appearance. They shine with a surprizing brightness, extinguishing all the stars and planets, and covering the whole hemisphere: Their tremulous motion from all parts, their beauty and lustre, are much the same as in the northern parts of Scotland, Denmark, &c.

The dreadful long winters here may almost be compared to the Polar parts, where the absence of the Sun continues for six months; the air being perpetually chilled and frozen by the northerly winds in winter, and the cold fogs and mists obstructing the Sun's beams in the short summer we have here; for notwithstanding the snow and ice is then dissolved in the low-lands and plains, yet the mountains are perpetually covered with snow, and incredible large bodies of ice continue in the adjacent seas. If the wind blows from the southern parts, the air is tolerably warm, but insufferably cold when it comes from the northward, and it seldom blows any otherwise than between the north-east and the north-west, except in the two summer months, when we have, for the major part, light gales between

tween

CHAP.
VII.

tween the east and the north, and calms. The northerly winds being so extremely cold, is owing to the neighbourhood of high mountains, whose tops are perpetually covered with snow, which exceedingly chills the air passing over them. The fogs and mists that are brought here from the Polar parts, in winter, appear visible to the naked eye in icicles innumerable, as small as fine hairs or threads, and pointed as sharp as needles. These icicles lodge in our cloaths, and if our faces or hands be uncovered, they presently raise blisters as white as a linen cloth, and as hard as horn. Yet if we immediately turn our backs to the weather, and can bear our hand out of our mitten, and with it rub the blistered part for a small time, we sometimes bring the skin to its former state: If not we make the best of our way to a fire, and get warm water, wherewith we bathe it, and thereby dissipate the humours raised by the frozen air; otherwise the skin would be off in a short time, with much hot, ferous, watry matter coming from under along with the skin; and this happens to some almost every time they go abroad, for five or six months in the winter, so extreme cold is the air when the wind blows any thing strong.

Now I have observed, that when it has been extreme hard frost by the Thermometer, and little or no wind that day, the cold has not near so sensibly affected us, as when the Thermometer has shewed much less freezing, having a brisk gale of northerly wind at the same time. This difference perhaps may be occasioned by those sharp pointed icicles beforementioned striking more forcibly on a windy day, than in calm weather, thereby penetrating the naked skin, or parts but thinly covered, and causing an acute sensation of pain or cold: And the same reason, I think, will hold good in other places; for should the wind blow northerly any thing hard for many days together in England, the icicles that would be brought from the Polar parts by the continuance of such a wind, though imperceptible to the naked eye, would more sensibly affect the naked skin, or parts but slightly covered, than when the Thermometer has shewn a greater degree of freezing, and there has been little or no wind at the same time.

It is not a little surprising to many, that such extreme cold should be felt in these parts of America, more than in places of the same latitude on the coast of Norway; but the difference I take to be occasioned by the winds blowing constantly here; for seven months in the twelve, between the north-east and north-west, and passing over a large tract of land, and exceeding high mountains, &c. as beforementioned: Whereas at Drunton in Norway, as I observed some years ago in wintering there, the wind all the winter comes from the north and north north-west, and crosses a great part of the ocean clear of those large bodies of ice we find here perpetually. At this place we have constantly every year nine months frost and snow, and unsufferable cold from October to the beginning of May. In the long winter, as the air becomes less ponderous towards the Polar parts, and nearer to an equilibrium, as it happens about one day in a week, we then have calms and light airs all round the compass, continuing sometimes twenty-four hours, and then back to its old place again, in the same manner as it happens every night in the West-Indies, near some of the islands.

The Snow that falls here is as fine as dust, but never any Hail, except at the beginning and end of

winter. Almost every full and change of the moon, very hard gales from the north.

The constant trade winds in these northern parts, I think, undoubtedly to proceed from the same principle which our learned Dr. HALLY conceives to be the cause of the trade winds near the Equator, and their variations.

“Wind, says he, is most properly defined to be the stream or current of the air; and where such current is perpetual and fixed in its course, it is necessary, that it proceed from a permanent and unintermitting cause, capable of producing a like constant effect, and agreeable to the known properties of air and water, and the laws of motion of fluid bodies. Such an one is, I conceive, the action of the Sun’s beams upon the air and water, as he passes every day over the oceans, considered together with the nature of the soil and situation of the adjoining continents. I say, therefore, first, that according to the laws of statics, the air which is less rarefied and expanded by heat, and consequently more ponderous, must have a motion towards those parts thereof which are more rarefied, and less ponderous, to bring it to an equilibrium, &c.”

Now, that the cold dense air, by reason of its greater gravity, continually presses from the Polar parts towards the Equator, where the air is more rarefied, to preserve an equilibrium or balance of the Atmosphere, I think, is very evident from the wind in those frozen regions blowing from the north and north-west, from the beginning of October until May; for we find, that when the Sun, at the beginning of June, has warmed those countries to the northward, then the south-east, east and variable winds continue till October again; and I do not doubt but the trade winds and hard gales may be found in the southern Polar parts to blow towards the Equator, when the Sun is in the northern signs, from the same principle.

The limit of these winds from the Polar parts, towards the Equator, is seldom known to reach beyond the 30th degree of latitude; and the nearer they approach to that limit, the shorter is the continuance of those winds. In New-England it blows from the North near four months in the Winter; at Canada, about five months; at the Dane’s settlement in Streights Davis, in the 63d degree of latitude, near seven months; on the coast of Norway, in 64, not above five months and a half, by reason of blowing over a great part of the ocean, as was before-mentioned; for those northerly winds continue a longer or shorter space of time, according to the air’s being more or less rarefied, which may very probably be altered several degrees, by the nature of the soil, and the situation of the adjoining continents.

The vast bodies of ice we meet with in our passage from England to Hudson’s Bay, are very surprising, not only as to their number, but magnitude. It is in truth unaccountable how they are formed of so great a bulk, some of them being immersed 100 fathom or more under the surface of the ocean; and a fifth or sixth part above, and three or four miles in circumference. Some hundreds of these we sometimes see in our voyage here, all in sight at once, if the weather is clear. Some of them are frequently seen on the coasts and banks of Newfoundland and New-England, tho’ much diminished.

When I have been becalmed in Hudson’s Streights for three or four tides together, I have taken my

boat, and laid close to the side of one of them, sounded, and found 100 fathom water all round it. The tide floweth here above four fathom; and I have observed, by marks upon a body of ice, the tide to rise and fall that difference, which was a certainty of its being a-ground. Likewise in a harbour in the island of Resolution, where I continued four days, three of these isles of ice (as we call them) came a-ground. I sounded along by the side of one of them, quite round it, and found 32 fathom water, and the height above the surface but 10 yards; another was 28 fathom under, and the perpendicular height but nine yards above the water.

I can in no other manner account for the aggregation of such large bodies of ice but this: All along the coasts of Streights Davis, both sides of Baffin's Bay, Hudson's Streights, Anticosti, or Labradore, the land is very high and bold, and 100 fathoms or more close to the shore. These shores have many inlets or fairs, the cavities of which are filled up with ice and snow, by the almost perpetual winters there, and frozen to the ground, increasing for four, five, or seven years, till a kind of deluge or land-flood, which commonly happens in that space of time throughout those parts, breaks them loose, and launches them into the Streights or Ocean, where they are driven about by the variable winds and currents, in the months of June, July and August, rather increasing than diminishing in bulk, being surrounded (except in four or five points of the compass) with smaller ice for many hundred leagues, and land covered all the year with snow, the weather being extreme cold, for the most part, in those summer months. The smaller ice that almost fills the Streights and Bays, and covers many leagues out into the ocean along the coast, is from four to ten fathom thick, and chills the air to that degree, that there is a constant increase to the large isles by the sea's washing against them, and the perpetual wet fogs, like small rain, freezing as they settle upon the ice; and their being so deeply immersed under water, and such a small part above, prevents the wind's having much power to move them; for though it blows from the north-west quarter near nine months in twelve, and consequently those isles are driven towards a warmer climate, yet the progressive motion is so slow, that it must take up many years before they can get five or six hundred leagues to the southward: I am of opinion some hundreds of years are required; for they cannot, I think, dissolve before they come between the 50th and 40 degree of latitude, where the heat of the Sun consuming the upper parts, they lighten and waste in time: Yet there is a perpetual supply from the northern parts, which will so continue as long as it pleases the Author of all Beings to keep things in their present state.

Observations of the longitude, latitude, and the declination of the Magnetic-Needle at Prince of Wales's Fort, Churchill River.

Having observed the apparent time of an emersion of Jupiter's first Satellite at Fort Churchill, on Saturday the 20th of March last, 1741-2, at

I find the same emersion happened at London, by Mr. POUND's tables, compared with some emersions actually observed in England near the same time, at

Whence the horary difference of meridians, between Fort Churchill and London, comes out

H 11 55 50

H 18 15 10

H 6 19 20

Which converted into degrees of the equator, gives for the distance of the same meridians } 94° 50'

Wherefore since the time at London was later in denomination than that at Churchill, it follows that, according to this observation, Churchill is 94 degrees 50 minutes in longitude west of London.

I took several other observations, which agreed one with another to less than a minute, but this I look upon as the most distinct and best.

The observation was made with a good 15 foot refracting Telescope, and a two foot Reflector of GREGORY's kind, having a good watch of Mr. GRAHAM's that I could depend upon; for I have frequent opportunities of discovering how much its variation amounted to, and constantly found its daily deviation or error to be 15 seconds too slow; by which means it was as useful to me for all purposes, as if it had gone most constantly true without any change. This watch I kept in my fob in the day, and in bed in the night, to preserve it from the severity of the weather; for I observed, that all other watches were spoiled by the extreme cold.

I have found from repeated observations, a method of obtaining the true time of the day at sea, by taking eight or ten different altitudes of the Sun or Stars, when near the Prime Vertical, by Mr. SMITH's or Mr. HADLEY's quadrant, which I have practised these three or four years past, and never found from the calculations, that they differed one from another more than 10 or 15 seconds of time. This certainty of the true time at sea is of greater use in the practice of navigation, than may appear at first sight; for you thereby not only get the variation of the compass without the help of altitudes, but likewise the variation of the needle from the true meridian, every time the Sun or Star is seen to transit the same. Also having the true time of day or night, you may be sure of the meridian altitude of the Sun or Star, if you get a sight 15 or 20 minutes before or after it passes the meridian; and the latitude may be obtained to less than 5 minutes; with several other uses in astronomical observations; as the refraction of the atmosphere, and to allow for it, by getting the Sun's apparent rising and setting, which any body is capable of doing, and from thence you will have the refraction.

If we had such a Telescope contrived as Mr. SMITH recommends to be used on ship-board at sea, now we can have an exact knowledge of the true time of the day or night from the above instruments and a good watch, we should probably be able to observe the eclipses of the first Satellite of Jupiter, or any other Phenomenon of the like kind, and thereby find the distance of meridians or longitude at sea.

The variation of the magnetic-needle, or sea-compass, observed by me at Churchill in 1725, (as in Numb. 393 of the Philosophical Transactions for the months of March and April 1726,) was at that time north 21 degrees westerly, and this winter I have carefully observed it at the same place, and find it no more than 17 degrees, so that it has differed about one degree in four years, for in 1738, I observed it here, and found its declination 18 degrees westerly. I have carefully observed, and made proper allowance for the Sun's declination and refraction, and find the latitude here to be 58 degrees 56 minutes north: But in most parts of the world, where the latitudes are fixed by seamen, they are for the most part falsely laid down, for

CHAP. VII. want of having regard to the variation of the Sun's declination, which, computed at a distant meridian, when the Sun is near the equator, may make a great error in the Sun's rising and setting, azimuths, &c.

The foregoing relation having been given by Capt. MIDDLETON, to the late worthy President of the Royal Society, Sir HANS SLOANE, Bart. he was pleased to communicate the same to the Society, and at the same time, as the surviving trustee of the late Sir GODFREY CAPLEY, to nominate Capt. MIDDLETON to receive this year the prize Medal, given annually by the Royal Society, in consequence of Sir GODFREY's benefaction; and the same was accordingly presented to the Captain on St. Andrew's day last, 1742.

An abstract of Capt. CHRISTOPHER MIDDLETON's journal, when he attempted to discover a north-west passage, by order of the Lords of the Admiralty, anno 1742.

I sail'd from Churchill the first day of July, and continued sailing with a fair wind till the third, when we saw an island, the two extremities bearing N. by E. and E. by N. lying in the latitude of 63° N. and longitude from Churchill 3° 40' E. which I take to be the same which Fox named Brook-Cobham. On the fifth day, I saw a Headland on the north side of the Welcome, bearing N. W. by N. seven or eight leagues distance, in the latitude of 63° 20', and longitude from Churchill 4° E. Here I tried the tides several times, and found close in with the land the tide to run two miles an hour from the N. by E. which I take to be the flood; and by the flacks, from several trials, I found that a West or a W. by N. Moon made high water, having a full Moon that day. On the 8th day saw the north side of the Welcome, with much ice in shore; I tried the tide and found it set E. N. E. two fathoms. On the ninth, continuing my course and sailing through much ice, I was obliged at length to grapple to a large piece. The Tender did the same to keep off from the shore, the wind blowing us right upon it. I tried the tide frequently, and could discover neither flood nor ebb by my current log. Here we were fast jamm'd up in ice, being totally surrounded for many miles, and the wind setting it right upon us, it was all ice for ten leagues to windward, and we were in great danger of being forced ashore; but it happily falling calm, after we had lain in this condition two or three days, the pieces of ice separated, or made small openings, we being then within two miles of the shore; and with no small difficulty hauled the ships from one piece to another, till we got amongst what we call sailing ice, that is, where there are such intervals of water, as a ship by several traverses, may get forwards towards the intended course. In this manner we continued till we saw a fair Cape, or Headland, to the northward of Whalebone Point, in the latitude of 65° 10' N. and longitude from Churchill 8° 54' E. This I named after my worthy friend, Cape Dobbs. I had very good soundings between the two shores of the Welcome, having 46, 48 and 49 fathoms water. At the same time that I saw Cape Dobbs, I saw a fair opening bearing N. by W. which, according to my instructions, I stood in for among the sailing ice. It was just flood when we entered it; the tide running very strong, which, by observation afterwards, I found to run five or six miles an hour: I run over

V O L. III.

some rocks on the north side of it very luckily, being just high water, and anchored in about 34 fathoms: But as soon as the tide of ebb was made, it ran so strong, and such quantities and bodies of ice came down upon us, that we were obliged to steer the ship all the time, and keep all hands upon their guard, with ice poles to shove off the ice; notwithstanding which, we brought our anchor home, and taking hold again, one of the arms of the anchor was broke off.

The next day I sent my Lieutenant in the boat to seek out some securer place for the ships, it being impossible to keep a float where we were: Some Uskimay Savages came off to us, but had nothing to trade; I used them civilly, made them some presents and dismissed them. As soon as I got the ships secured, I employed all my officers and boats, having my self no little share in the labour, in trying the tides, and discovering the course and nature of this opening; and after repeated trials, for three weeks successively, I found the flood constantly to come from the eastward, and that it was a large river we were got into, but so full of ice there was no steering the ships with any probability of safety, while the ice was driving up and down with the strong tides. Here I lay not a little impatient to get out; went several times in my boat towards the mouth of the river, and from a hill that overlook'd part of the Welcome, saw that place full of ice, so that I found there was no time lost by our being in security; however, I sent my Lieutenant and Master in the eight oar'd boat, to look out for a harbour near the entrance of the river, but they found none; and it was a small miracle they got on board again, for they were so jammed up with ice, which driving the strong tides, would inevitably have stove the boat to pieces, and all must have perished, had it not been for an opening in a large piece of ice into which they got the boat, and with it drove out of the rivers mouth; but when the tides slack'd the ice opened as usual, and they rowed over to the north shore, so got in with the flood. I several times sent the Indians on shore to see if they knew any thing of the land, but they were quite ignorant of it. In this vexatious condition I continued three weeks, resolving to get out the first opportunity the river was any thing clear of ice, and make what discoveries I could by meeting the flood tide. This river, which by frequent trials of the land's soundings, tides, &c. I was able to take a draught off, I nam'd the river Wager, after the Right Hon. Sir CHARLES WAGER.

On the third of August, the river for the first time was a little clear of ice; and accordingly, in pursuit of our discovery, on the fifth by noon I got into the latitude of 66° 14', we had then got into a new streight much pestered with ice; and on the north side of which we saw a Cape, or Headland, bearing north; we had deep water and very strong tides within four or five leagues of it. I nam'd this Headland Cape Hope, as it gave us all great joy and hopes of its being the extreme north part of America, seeing little or no land to the northward of it. We turned, or worked round it the same night, and got five or six leagues to the N. by W. before we could perceive any otherwise than a fair opening; but about noon the sixth day, after having got into the latitude of 66° 40', found we were embayed, and by two in the afternoon, could not go above three leagues further; and having tried the tides all the forenoon, every two hours, till two o'clock in the afternoon, found neither ebb nor flood, yet deep waters. From this it was concluded that we had

24 U

overshot

CHAP.
VII.

overshot the freights on the north-east shore, from whence the flood came; and as there was no proceeding above three or four leagues further, it was agreed upon by all to return back and search narrowly for a freight, or opening, near where we found the strong tides. On the seventh, after we were confirmed the flood came in at the N. E. from the E. by S. I went on shore in the boat and found it flowed 15 feet three days after the full, and a W. by S. Moon made high water: I travelled 12 or 15 miles from hill to hill inland, till I came to a very high mountain, from whence I plainly saw a freight, or opening, the flood came in at; and the mountain I stood upon being pretty near the middle of this freight, I could see both ends of it; the whole being about 18 or 20 leagues long, and six or seven broad, and very high land on both sides of it, having many small islands in the middle and on the sides of it; but it was all frozen fast from side to side, and no appearance of its clearing this year, and near the 67th degree of latitude, and no anchoring the ships, being very deep water close to the shore, and much large ice driving with the ebb and flood, and but little room if thick weather should happen, which we continually expect in these parts. It was agreed upon in council to make the best of our way out of this dangerous narrow freight, and to make observations between the 64th and 62d degree of latitude. The Frozen Strait I take to run towards that which BYLOR named Cape Comfort, and the bay where FOX had named a place, Lord Weston's Portland; it is in the latitude of 66° 40', and 12° 49' east from Churchill.

Pursuant to the Resolution, we bore away and tried the tides on the other side the Welcome, founding and observing close in shore, but met with little encouragement. On the eleventh of August, I once more saw the island of Brook Cobham, and continued trying the tide, and still finding the flood came from the eastward, and by coasting along the Welcome, was certain of its being the main land, though there are several small islands and deep bays, and saw several black Whales, of the right Whalebone kind. I worked off and on by Brook Cobham; sent the northern Indians on shore upon the island, who, at their return, gave me to understand it was not far from their country, and desired I would let them go home, being tired of the sea. I kept them with assurances that I would act according to my promise, and finding no probability of a passage in two or three days after, I gave them a small boat well fitted with sails and oars, the use of which they had been taught, and loaded it with fire-arms, powder, shot, hatchets, and every thing desirable to them. They took their leave of me, and I sent another boat for water, which accompanied them on shore, the southern Indian being with them.

The southern Indian who was linguist for the northern ones, returned with the boat, being used to the English customs at the factory; and desirous of seeing England, being a willing handy man, I brought him with me. And the same evening which was the 15th of August, I bore away for England, thinking to have tried the tide at Carey's Swan's-nest, but could not fetch it. On the 20th saw Mansell's isle. On the 21st Cape Diggs was in sight. On the 26th made Cape Resolution, and arrived at Carleton, in Pomona, one of the islands of Orkney: Most of my men being so very much afflicted with the scurvy, and otherwise sick and disordered, that I shall be obliged to leave part

of them behind me, and only wait to impress hands CHAP.
VII.

The remarks of Mr. DOBBS (who projected this voyage) upon Capt. MIDDLETON's journal, in several letters to the Captain, with Capt. MIDDLETON's answers to them.

Mr. DOBBS to Captain MIDDLETON.

Dear Sir,

I had both yours from Orkneys, and the duplicate you wrote when you arrived in the Thames, which I immediately answered from Lisburn, congratulating you upon your safe arrival with the ships after so dangerous a discovery; and at the same time, expressing my concern at your not having found the passage, as we had reason to have expected it, if you had found things agreeable to the former journals. I directed for you as formerly in London-Street, near Ratcliff-cross, but found by a letter I had from Mr. ALLAN last night, that you have not got my letter. Since I have not a duplicate of what I wrote, I shall now again mention the chief points I wrote to you before to be resolved in, and desire your answer and opinion upon the whole, and hope you will still send me the copy of your journal, and the draught you made of what you discovered.

I am convinced from the extract you have sent me of your journal, that from the Welcome in 64°, to the latitude of 67°, there are no hopes of a passage on that coast; and if there is any, it must be further north, and consequently attended with more difficulty; this seems to be ascertained by your finding so large a river as that of Wager to the northward of Whale-bone Point, and the Cape you have honoured me with the name of; and if the fresh stream there is large, the continent thro' which it runs must be so much the broader in that place. I should have been glad to have one of your northern savages understand the language of the Eskimaux savages which came on board you, for they might then have given you some account of that country and neighbouring sea, if any near it to the westward.

You observed, that a W. by N. Moon made high water, and a W. by S. above Cape Hope in 66° 40', consequently the tide at the Welcome must flow from the other as it is later; but you not acquainting me, whether the lands to the eastward, or starboard, as you sailed North, were continuous islands, makes me at a loss to know whether the tide there came from the eastward or from the north-eastward by Cape Hope, and the new freight you discovered from the mountain, through which the tide came, from near Cape Comfort on Weston's Portland, where the freight you saw ended. Now the difficulty I find in accounting for this, makes me desire your opinion upon it, you have confirmed that a W. by N. Moon makes high water at the Welcome, and a W. by S. above Cape Hope. BYLOR and BAFFIN affirm, that a S. by E. Moon makes high water at Cape Comfort; if that be fact, can the tide, in so small a way, from Cape Comfort to your bay above Cape Hope, be eight points later and only two points later in going from Cape Hope to the Welcome, since you were there as near Cape Comfort as the Welcome, and therefore as the freight you saw was made up of broken

CHAP.
VII.

broken lands, or islands to the north-eastward, whether around these islands a northern tide might not have set about some of these Head-Lands, as well as a south-eastern tide from Hudson's freight?

I also desire your opinion, whether the great quantity of ice you found near the Welcome, not mentioned by Fox or Scrooges, was caused by the winter's having been more severe there than usual, or whether you imagine it was the usual quantity which is there every year; and since you saw black Whales at the Welcome, from whence do you imagine they came, since none have ever been mentioned to have been seen passing or repassing Hudson's freight?

These were the chief things I would have had your opinion upon. But as upon the whole, I apprehend it would be in vain to push it any farther that way; I think the only safe way now, is by the rivers of Nelson, or Churchill, by going up to their end, from thence descending such rivers as fall from thence into the western ocean. This can only be done by laying open the trade, and dissolving the company for so far, and then making proper settlements higher up upon these rivers to the south-westward in a more temperate climate; and therefore I desired your assistance, if you approved of it, to inform me as much as you could of these rivers and inland countries, with their climates, and what advantages we might have by making settlements up those rivers, in the bottom and western side of the bay, which must enlarge our trade, and secure our settlements there from the French, and regain the trade which has been lost to them by the monopoly of the company.

As this, since the other has failed, would be a publick benefit, I have been preparing all I can to enforce it, and should be glad to have what further accounts or materials you can furnish me with, from any journals you have had, or accounts of these climates, countries and trade, and then I shall make no doubt of engaging the merchants to join us in opening that trade, and settling those countries.

I left this should miscarry, as well as my last, I have inclosed it to Mr. ALLAN to deliver it to you, and hope to have your answer as soon as you can conveniently, with your journals and draught.

I wish you health and prosperity in all your undertakings, and am, with great esteem,

Dear Sir,

your most obedient

humble servant

A. DOBBS.

Dublin, November
19, 1742.

Captain MIDDLETON to Mr. DOBBS.

London, November
27, 1742.

S I R,

I had the favour of yours of the 20th ult. which happened to lie some days at my former habitation, before it was forwarded to me; and I shall transmit you the chart, together with the journal, and other observations, by the first convenient opportunity. In the mean time, I shall give you the best satisfaction I am able, with relation to the difficulties that have occurred to you. And first, it is to be noted, that all the

CHAP.
VII.

land along the east side of the Welcome, from 64° of latitude to the Frozen Streights, is one continued level land, somewhat like Dungeness, low and shingly, the great tides you mention, which flow up the river Wager, and off Cape Dobbs, come all from the Frozen Streights, E. by N. by compass, according to the course of the new Streight, that we passed between Cape Dobbs and Cape Hope, the mean variation between the said Capes 40° westerly, and makes the true course of this streight nearest N. 40° easterly; the said streight ends to the westward of Cape Hope, in a bay 20 leagues deep, and 15 leagues broad, which lies W. N. W. by the true bearings; and we carefully surrounded it, sailing up to the very bottom within 2 or 3 leagues, and found no appearance of a passage for either tide or vessels. All the way as I sailed from Cape Hope, quite down to the bottom of this bay, I tried the tide; and all round I found neither ebb nor flood, which must have appeared had there been any. The land was all very high and bold, ascending into the country to a vast height, without any breaks, so that had there been a passage here we could not have missed of it.

With regard to the tide, which you think would have been obstructed from flowing so rapidly to Wager river, if the streight was froze fast from side to side.

I need only observe to you, that at Churchill, all the winter, the tide ebbs and flows up the river in the same manner as if there was no ice, being lifted every tide of flood from 12 to 18 feet, all except what is fast to the ground, and falls again upon the ebb, though 8 or 9 feet thick. Now close to the north end of the Frozen Streights is 100 fathoms of water or more, and probably that depth may continue the whole length; and then there is passage free for the flood and ebb to pass without lifting; but I observed this ice was all cracked round the shores, and on the island at Churchill.

You seem to be at a loss how to account for the black Whales getting to Brook Cobham, if they do not pass and repass by Hudson's Streights. Now, 'tis true, I never saw any above 20 leagues up Hudson's Streights; but I have traded with Indians off Nottingham and Diggs, for Whalebone just fresh taken; for my own part, I cannot think these Whales come round Cary's Swan's-Nest, but thro' the Frozen Streights under the ice; for we saw many of them in Wager river, and in 63° latitude, and these may not come thro' Hudson's Streights, but to the northward, as all the north side of Hudson's Streights appear to be the broken land and islands; and Cumberland Bay, Baffin's Bay, and Streights Davis may have a communication with this new Frozen Streights, and Whales, &c. may come from thence.

It is hardly possible to account for the difficulties about the tides; for though it flows E. S. E. at Resolution, and S. by E. at Cape Diggs, which makes five points in running 130 leagues; yet it is but one point in going down to Albany and Moose river, for there it flows south, and the distance 250 leagues.

So from Humber to Cromer, on the Lincolnshire coast (as I mentioned formerly) is but 14 leagues; at one place it flows W. by S. at the other N. W. Likewise from the Frozen Streights to Churchill is but two points difference, or one hour and half of time, in the distance of 200 leagues;

CHAP.
VII.

leagues; so that I think no rule can be fix'd, where tides flow into deep bays, obstructed by islands or counter tides.

The ice I met with in the Welcome, was most of it to the northward of all the parts before discovered; so that none who went before me could have seen it; for most of it lay to the north of Whalebone-Point; and every year is not alike, with respect to wind bringing it to the southward; and it is intirely directed by the winds here, as well as in all other parts of the bay. In our way to Churchill, there was less ice than usually happens; and it was also sooner clear in the spring, by 15 days than common.

Undoubtedly there is no hope of a passage to encourage any further trial between Churchill and so far as we have gone; and if there be any further to the northward, it must be impossible for the ice, and the narrowness of any such outlet, in 67 or 68° of latitude, it cannot be clear of ice one week in a year, and many years, as I apprehend, not clear at all.

In any other attempts, I shall be glad to give you all the assistance I can, and furnish you with any other informations that you may think needful to promote your design; but I hope never to venture myself that way again.

My friends being out of the Admiralty, I find there will be a great deal of difficulty to get any thing done for me in the Navy at present; or to procure any other recompense for my loss these two summers in leaving the Hudson's-bay service, where I should have 1400 l. in the time that I have acquired but 160 l. in the Government's. I remain, with great sincerity and respect,

Sir,
your most obedient,
humble servant,

C. MIDDLETON.

P. S. The Eskimaux, and the northern Indians I had with me, were utter strangers to each other, in manners and language; neither could I make these Eskimaux understand me by the Vocabulary I had of the language of those in Hudson's Streights.

Mr. DOBBS to Captain MIDDLETON.

Dear Sir,

I have your last favour of the 27th of October, in answer to the difficulties I started, which you have fully answered; so that I am fully convinced there can be no passage N. W. by Sea, as we seemed to have had reason to expect; and therefore it would be very wrong to think of attempting it for the future. But I am still of opinion, that the publick may have a great advantage by the Hudson's Bay trade; if it be laid open, and the country settled higher up upon these great rivers, which run into the bay, by Moose, Albany, the Severn, the Nelson river; and these settlements, as the rivers come from great lakes to the south-westward of the bay, would be in a much more temperate climate, than at the mouths of the rivers, among the swamps, where they and the bay continue a much longer time frozen, than farther into the country; so that whoever would settle higher up, might have very

comfortable and beneficial settlements, and not only secure all the country and trade westward of Moose river from the French of Canada, but also by making a settlement near the lake Errice, westward of Pennsylvania, above the great fall of Magara, secure all the navigation of the lakes, and cut off their communication with the Mississippi, and also secure a great deal of the trade to the north-eastward of these lakes, to Rupert's river, and the East Main. To shew this to more advantage, I should want a better description of the rivers and lakes to the westward of the bay; I have extracted from Monsieur JEREMIE, all the knowledge the French acquired, whilst they possessed Fort Bourbon upon Nelson river, who was himself some hundred leagues up among the lakes which fall into Nelson river, which are in a temperate climate, and run through rich countries. Now if you concur in this scheme, we might, by joining in this scheme, and adding what further you have observed, or have collected from such of the company's factors or servants, who may have been curious to search into these rivers, give a much greater light in the description of those countries and rivers, as well as charts of the bay, and account of the several climates, as may fully convince the publick of the benefit to be made of these countries by opening the trade, and settling upon the Rivers. I have already sketched out from what I have read, and the journals you gave me from Albany, and the nature of their trade, what may shew the advantage may be made of that trade, but it will be much more complete, from what you are capable to furnish; and if you have no thoughts of publishing something of this nature from yourself, I shall be glad of your joining with me in this attempt; I know Lord CARTERET, WINCHELSEA, and several others, who will support it, if a proper plan be laid before them; and probably, by the heads of these rivers we might gain a communication with the nations upon the western sea, which may be of advantage, though nothing so great, as if the discovery had been made by sea.

I shall be glad to have your thoughts upon this, and what materials you think you could furnish towards it; and if we can prepare a reasonable plan, I shall go over and push it with all my friends.

I have a letter from Mr. SAMUEL SMITH yesterday, that he has forwarded to me your last journal, and that you will send me your draught as soon as you have got it copied, for which I am very much obliged to you.

I should be very glad to hear that you were employed in some way satisfactory to you by the publick, which you have so just a right to, after having quitted the company's service in order to serve the publick; and wish it was in my power to contribute to it, I should do it with great pleasure, and would go over upon that very account, if it could be of advantage: In the mean time, I wish you all happiness, and hope to hear from you, being with great esteem,

Dear Sir,

your most obliged, and

Dublin, Decemb.
14, 1741.

obedient humble servant,

A. DOBBS.
Captain

Captain MIDDLETON to Mr. DOBBS.

Sir,

'I was duly favoured with yours of the 14th of December; and am sorry that I could not return my answer sooner, but the ill state of health that I laboured under, prevented me in this as well as many other of my affairs.

'It gives me much satisfaction to find, that you approve of the solutions I sent, in regard to the difficulties you proposed, and that you are convinced I have done all that was necessary to put the impassibility through those seas to the westward out of question; in such manner as to render any attempt needless for the future: But on the contrary, I should have been infinitely pleased, had our expedition succeeded according to the reasonableness of your expectation.

'I have seriously considered your proposition of laying open the Hudson's Bay trade, and settling the country higher up, upon those great rivers which run into the bay; and though I may agree with you in the great advantage the publick would reap from such a settlement, (could it be made) in the obstruction it would give to the French, both as to their trade, and the cutting off the communication with the Mississippi, yet I must declare my opinion, that it is altogether impracticable upon many accounts; for I cannot see where we could find people enough that would be willing, or able to undergo the fatigue of travelling those frozen climates, or what encouragements would be sufficient to make them attempt it, with such dangerous enemies on every side; no Europeans could undergo such hardships as those French that intercept the English trade, who are inured to it, and are called by us Wood-runners, (or Coureurs de Bois) for they endure fatigues just the same as the native Indians, with whom they have been mixed and intermarried for two, three, or more generations.

'As to the rivers you mention, none of them are navigable with any thing but Canoes, so small, that they carry but two men, and they are forced to make use of land carriages near the fourth part of the way, by reason of water falls during that little summer they enjoy.

'Out of 120 men and officers the company have in the bay, not five are capable of venturing in one of those Canoes, they are so apt to overturn and drown them. Many of our people have been twenty years and upwards there, and yet are not dextrous enough to manage a Canoe; so there would be no transporting people that way.

'Should there happen a French war, the best step we could take towards rooting them out of America, would be, in the first place, to take Canada; which I make no question might be done, if attempted in a proper manner, and at a right season of the year.

'Had Sir HOVENDEN WALKER succeeded when he was sent upon that expedition, it would undoubtedly have been of great advantage to us; for at that time the French were not one tenth part so numerous as now, that they have intermarried with the natives, and over-run the whole country, so that it is become a matter of infinite difficulty to root them quite out of their possessions and trade in America.

'I look upon Sir HOVENDEN WALKER's miscarriage in his expedition, to be owing to this;

VOL. III.

that he did not arrive there till the latter end of August, at which time he ought to have been returning: And whenever a war happens again with France, should it be thought proper to attempt the taking of Canada, we ought to be in the river of St. Lawrence by the first day of June at the farthest; and as to the difficulties Sir HOVENDEN complained of, from the uncertainty of the currents, fogs, &c. they are such as we now make no account of conquering in Hudson's Bay and Streights, where they are certainly greater. I can set the currents and tides in any weather, even under a mainfall in a storm of wind, so as to discover both how fast, and upon what point of the compass it sets; and then as to observing the latitude in foggy seasons, I have seldom mis'd two days together, if it be tolerable smooth water, as you will find in our journals. Now I apprehend that the navigation in the river St. Lawrence must be attended with much fewer inconveniencies than in Hudson's Streights, and those coasts where we have no soundings, much ice, great fogs, with strong tides, and various currents.

'This is the principal matter that I can think of at present; had not my indisposition prevented me, I should, before this time, have drawn up some further account of our voyage, but I have nothing material worth imparting to you further, except a chart of the whole Bay and the Streights, which will be engraved in a little time, for you already have my journals and observations, as well as the accounts of those that attempted the discovery before me.

'I am very much obliged to you for your kind wishes, and all the favours you have conferred on me, and am as yet quite uncertain as to what their Lordships intend to do for me; they treat me with great respect, and such as I have the honour to know, to wit, my Lord WINCHELSEA, Lord BALTIMORE, and Admiral CAVENDISH, have all promised me their favours. I am,

Sir,

your most obedient,

January 1742-3.

humble servant,

To A. DOBBS, Esq.

C. MIDDLETON.

Mr. DOBBS to Captain MIDDLETON.

'Dear Sir,

'In my last to SAMUEL SMITH, I inclosed one for Lord CARTERET, open for your perusal, upon our scheme of opening a trade to the bay, to which I refer you; and in SAM's letter hinted at what I discovered from your journal at large; that you have made a much greater progress in the discovery of the passage, than you imagined when there; and that from the lights I have got from your journal, I can almost prove that you were in the passage, and that Wager river is properly Wager Streight, and not a fresh water River; and that the way you entered it was one, though not the greatest and easiest, way into the Streight: I only want your chart of the whole new discovered coast, to establish or contradict my judgment of it, which I am informed is come to Dublin, but not yet sent to me.

24 X

'However,

CHAP.
VII.

However, I cannot delay imparting my present thoughts of it, and my reasons from your journal, to shew you were in the Streight, but not in a fresh river; and that the chief cause of your taking it for a river was from the quantity of ice, the straitness of the tide, and its following you from the eastward, and not meeting the flood from the westward, which was one of the greatest proofs we went upon, before you left us. Now this last objection is answered; that had the ocean flowed in near Whalebone Point, as we at first expected, we must then have expected to have thereabouts met the tide of flood from the westward; but since we find the communication is by a streight, or passages through islands and broken lands, as in the Magellanic Streights; there the tide continues to rise, until it meets the tide from the other ocean, and the flood is not to be expected to meet us until we have at least got thro' half the length of the streight; and if you will look into NARBOROUGH's account of the Magellanic Streights, you will find that a parallel instance. Those Streights are no where above four leagues wide, in most places not above two leagues, and in the narrow, at the east entrance, not above a league wide; and yet he went about fifty leagues into the Streights, before he met the western tide. Now you have full stronger reasons for Wager's river being a Streight; it was but six or seven miles wide at the entrance on the east-side, and but from 16 to 44 fathom deep; as you went up, it increased to four, five, six, and seven leagues wide; Deer Sound, seven miles wide, goes off from it, and probably others not mentioned in the journal; since the Lieutenant, when he was last up 12 leagues above it, says, he tried every other inlet, to try if he could meet a contrary tide or other passage out, and the depth increased to 70 and 80 fathoms; your mentioning also the height and craginess of the coast, and not mentioning their being covered with snow, though you mention that Brook Cobham was, makes me conclude that they were not covered with snow; and there being neither trees nor grass, still confirms me that the whole was a Streight of salt water, and that you were not come into fresh water; but the number of Whales and fish, seen as high as he went, and none being seen below, nor where the ships lay, in Savage Cove and Sound, is a demonstration to me, not only that it was salt water, but also that they came in from the westward, and that you would have found less ice the higher you went; because the Whales could not come there, without a passage tolerably free from ice, otherwise they would have come as far as where your ships lay, but did not because of the ice; and that must be the reason why you did not see them, when you went up to Deer Sound, because the ice was not then broke up where you were, as it was afterwards when the Lieutenant went up, and probably was much sooner up to the westward; from the Whales also, which you saw in the bay or inlet between 63° and 64°, and those seen by Fox in the same place, and by SCROGGS in 64° 8', and towards Whalebone Point, where they had no ice, though you met a great deal there; I conclude, there has been more ice thrown in there this year, than usually is; and that all that coast is a broken coast with islands, and inlets, as Cape Fullerton was, as mentioned by SCROGGS; and consequently conclude, that the Whales came into the corner of the bay, from the upper end

of the Streight you were in; and that you happened into the most northerly and narrow entrance into that Streight, and consequently most pestered with ice, and that the most easy and largest inlet is to the south-ward of Whalebone Point, betwixt that and the head-land near Brook Cobham in 63° 20'.

My reasoning upon your journal I would have you consider of; for I really think you have proved the passage, though you were not at once able to perfect it.—What is only necessary to fix or alter my judgment, would be an account of the Lieutenant's and Master's observations, the last time they went up the Streight; what depths they had upon sounding, what breadth the channel continued, which way it was directed, what sounds went off from it on either side; a great deal depends upon their recollection of these things, as well as whether they met with more or less ice, whether snow upon the land or not; for as to the tides following them in a Streight it is no objection.

If their accounts confirm the others I have taken from the journal, I think I may congratulate you upon your having found the so-much-wish'd-for passage; and if it be one, am convinced the more southerly entrance, through which the Whales come into the bay, will be free from ice.—I beg to have your sentiments upon this, as soon as you can consider it, and have an answer from your Officers, for the presumption will be a great inducement to open the trade to the bay; and in a further discovery, there needs no wintering in the bay, only getting there in the middle of July, and pushing as far in the Streight as can be done in the month of August, and then returning in September home, which is better than wintering at Churchill, until the passage through leads them to a warmer climate on the other side.

I shall add no more, but that I am with great Esteem,

Dear Sir,

your most obedient,
humble servant,

Lisbon, January
22, 1742-3.

A. DOBBS.

Your answer and Lord CARTERET's will determine my going over next month.

Captain MIDDLETON to Mr. DOBBS.

Sir,

Yours I received of the 22d of January. And I also saw yours to Mr. SMITH, with the inclosed to my Lord CARTERET, upon opening the trade to the bay.

You say, I have made a much greater progress in the discovery of the passage, than I imagined when there; and that from the light you have got from my journal, you can almost prove that I was in the passage; and that Wager River is properly Wager Streight, and not a fresh water river; and that the way I entered it was one, tho' not the greatest and easiest way into the Streight.

You also observe, if there be a communication between the bay and the western American ocean, or a passage through islands and broken land as in the Magellanic Streights, the tide will continue to rise until we have got half-way through, and then meet the ocean tide. This I thought of when there, and made several trials of, and also ordered my Officers to observe the course, direction and height of the tides at the farthest they went

CHAP.
VII.

CHAP.
VII.

went up, as you will find in the inclosed order. Now, as it flowed at Savages Sound 15 feet, the same day and tide that it flowed but 10 feet at Deer Sound, and 15 leagues above Deer Sound on the west-side but six feet, the tides kept their regular course as high up as I was myself, which was five leagues above Deer Sound, that is about seven hours ebb, and five hours flood, 20 leagues up; whereas if there had been a tide from the westward to have met this, it must have raised the tide higher the further we went up, as you say it does by NARBOROUGH's account of the fore-mentioned Streights, and the flood would have run not above two hours, as he found it there. All these observations confirmed me, that it could not be a Streight as you seem to think.

You speak of many Whales that we saw on the coasts, and in Wager River, some of which certainly came in at where our ships entered; for I saw several in the Welcome, and some off Cape Dobbs, after we came out, and before we went in. The high land and deep water gave me great hopes, before I tried the above-mentioned tides. Brook Cobham was covered with snow when we went out; but in our return home, there was none upon it; the snow on the land in the River Wager, was much wasted before we got out of it upon the tops of the mountains, but in the vallies it lay very thick, and hard enough to bear waggons and horses.

As to any passage or broken lands between River Wager and $62^{\circ} 40'$, I am certain I searched that coast very narrowly all the way, and stood into every bay so near, that the Indians I had on board knew all the coast, and would have had me set them on shore at Cape Fullerton; for they knew the way to Churchill, and had travelled that way several times in the summer; which they could not have done if that Cape were an island, or any large river there, for they have no canoes, neither is there any wood there to raft over with, as to the southward.

The copy of the Lieutenant and Master's report, I have here inclosed; but what is wanting there, I shall mention here; the river five leagues above Deer Sound, is eight or nine leagues broad; the channel is 70 or 80 fathoms deep in the middle, and lieth near N. W. by true chart; as far as they went up, they met with as much ice or more than below, where the ships lay; when I was up, I could go no further for ice than I did, and could not get over to the west-shore but once for ice all the time we were in the river; so my real opinion is, that this river cannot be above one week or two, at most, clear of ice in a year, and many years not clear at all.

For the reasons I mention in my observations on the effects of cold, when the winds blow from the N. W. quarter, there must certainly be much land to the westward, covered with perpetual snow, and the land from the water's side ascends gradually up into the country, and is very high, as I saw from off the high land above Deer Sound. This is all I have time to think upon at present. I am, with great respect,

your most obedient,

humble servant,

C. MIDDLETON.

CHAP.
VII.

A summary state of Mr. DOBBS's Objections, and Capt. MIDDLETON's Answers.

The only places where Mr. D— presumes there may be a passage from Hudson's Bay to the western ocean of America, are on the coast, betwixt Brook Cobham, in latitude 63° , or through Wager River, by him supposed to be a Streight.

From Brook Cobham to Whalebone-Point, has been so frequently and so carefully coasted and searched, that all hopes of meeting with any inlet, that may lead to a passage any where throughout all that extent, has been given up for at least an hundred years past. However, Captain MIDDLETON, in his return back from the Frozen Streight to Brook Cobham, very carefully re-examined all this shore, keeping as close into it as the islands and rocks would permit him with safety; and saw all the main land, and bottoms of the bays, as is explained in the log-book, which shews the coast and distance sailed every hour, in halling off or on to deepen or shoalden the water, which his journal expresses less particularly, especially from Whalebone-Point to Brook Cobham, (for the rest of that course northward he had traversed outward bound.) He had very little hazy weather, except in the night, and then he lay by till day-light, and halled in as near the shore as he durst; so that it was impossible for him to miss any inlets, where there could be any hopes of a passage. Off Cape Fullerton, he met with rocks and broken ground five leagues distant, which forced him to hally further off to deepen his water, and lay to for moderate clear weather between the shores. But when it cleared up, he stood in N. and N. by W. into 40 odd fathoms: If he came within that depth, he fell into broken ground, sudden shoaldings, riplings and over-falls. Between latitude 64° and 63° , he had better soundings, and came near the land, though at night he was obliged to keep a league or two further out, and drive, standing in shore again by day. He was never more than four or five leagues from shore but once, and that was towards morning in expectation of day-light. In most other places, he was not above two or three leagues from land, and in nine fathom water off the head-land in $63^{\circ} 20'$. He observed all the north-side of the Welcome to be high land, and it appeared very near at four or five leagues distance, as far as Brook Cobham. The reason why he did not send his boat a shore to try the tides, was because most of his men had lost the use of their limbs, or were otherwise so sick, that if he had mann'd the boat, the remaining hands would have been insufficient to have worked the ship, and handed the sails. However, the tides were so far from being neglected by him, that he tried them frequently, and almost every hour; as also the currents, which he could do as well on board, or in a boat near the ship, in the channel, and much better than within head-lands, or near islands, which by forming eddies produce an irregularity in them.

This account of Captain MIDDLETON's examination of the aforefaid coast, does not only appear from the log-book to be true, but is further circumstantially confirm'd as to particulars by the Master, in his answer to queries 12 and 13, and by the affidavits of T. TOWNS, V. VON SOBRIEK, and G. GRANT, though it be contradicted by Mr. DOBBS's three evidences; one of which, viz. the

CHAP. VII. the Lieutenant, acknowledges it all in his journal.

Now it is just to remark, that though Mr. DOBBS had himself the drawing up of Captain MIDDLETON's instructions, yet they do not mention a single word about looking for a passage, or examining the tides all along this coast. Is it not then a strong argument, that Captain MIDDLETON had the discovery very much at heart, that, at a time, when, on account of the very sick and helpless condition of most of the hands, it had otherwise been both desirable and prudent for him to have made home-wards as fast as he could, he should, as appears from the Council held the eighth day of August, himself propose a re-search of this coast for a passage, which had been so often attempted in vain by others, and perform it so carefully too as is set forth above, when he was not otherwise in point of duty held to it at all.

This point being discuss'd, it remains now only to examine, whether a passage may be reasonably presumed upon through Wager River or not?

Mr. DOBBS's Reasons that Wager River is a Streight, and no fresh water river.

REASON I.

From its increase and depth in advancing from its entrance.

ANSWERED.

This is frequent in fresh Water Rivers, as all those, especially, know, who are acquainted with the Swedish and Norwegian coasts, where the fresh rivers, or ferries, as they call them, are often not above ten or twelve fathoms at the entrance, and yet they extend to vast breadths, and discover no ground even with lines of two or three hundred fathoms.

REASON II.

From the height of the neighbouring lands.

ANSWERED.

The lands about the aforesaid ferries are full as high as any Captain MIDDLETON saw near Wager River.

REASON III.

From the want of trees and shrubs on any lands near it, though such are always found in the same or more northerly latitudes upon fresh water rivers.

ANSWERED.

All those who have travelled this country between latitude 58° and $66^{\circ} 30'$ by land, agree, that higher than 61° they saw neither tree nor shrub, but only moss; even among fresh rivers and lakes.

REASON IV.

From its being full of black Whales, Seals and Sea-horses, at twenty leagues above the entrance, with numbers of Whales at the west-end, where none were seen below Deer Sound, or without the mouth of the river, or in any part of Hudson's Streight or Bay, except about Brook Cobham, being an indication that they all came out of the sea from the westward.

ANSWERED.

It does not appear from any journals, reports, or answers, that one Whale was seen higher than Deer Sound, which is but fifteen leagues up; whereas

the westward is above 30 leagues; or that one Sea-horse or Seal was seen in any part of the river. But that several were seen just without the mouth of the river in the Welcome, is attested by the log-book, and by the affidavits of TOWNS, VON SOBRIER, and GRANT. And Captain MIDDLETON has traded fresh Whalebone in all parts of the Bay and Streights, where the Eskimaux frequent; which could not be, if the Whales, from whence they get it, were not killed there; because, in ten or twelve days after they are dead, the bone all drops from their mouths; all which amounts together to almost a demonstration, that the Whales, both in the Bay and Wager River, come from the north-east, which is also somewhat confirmed from the great number of Indian store-houses of oil, fin, and blubber, not above eight leagues up, on the north-east coast of the river; whereas their proper habitations are on the main, on the other side the river. Moreover, if these Whales came out of any sea from the westward, they would have been seen in plenty the higher they had gone up, which was not so. However, conclusions drawn from Whales being seen in any place, are at the best but very precarious.

REASON V.

From broken lands north-westwards, and a great collection of waters seen at a distance, full of islands, on the south-west-side.

ANSWERED.

It is most likely, that these watery spaces seen at a distance, are the same sort of lakes of melted snow from the mountains, as were every where seen from the eminencies they ascended in that country, to overspread the vallies. But be that as it will, there was no coming near them for the rapidity of the water-falls, that hindered the boat from going higher up than she did, and the immense quantities of ice along the south-west shore.

Captain MIDDLETON's reasons why Wager River has no communication with the sea westward.

REASON I.

Because the tide of flood comes in at its mouth from the eastward.

REASON II.

Because it flowed eighteen feet at the entrance; but thirteen at Deer Sound; and the highest the boat could go for water-falls, no more than five or six feet.

REASON III.

Because the water was found to be so fresh in the mid-channel above Deer Sound, that the men freely drank it along-side the boat instead of beer; and the higher they went they found it the fresher.

REASON IV.

Because no Whales were seen there but at the entrance of the river, and at Deer Sound, this being an argument that they came not from any sea to the westward; but entered by some inlet from the north-east.

REASON V.

Because travellers, which have gone from Churchill by land, as high as the Arctic circle, affirm, that they met with neither salt water river, nor sea, in any part of their journey.

Further

Further objections of Captain MIDDLETON
to a north-west passage.

If there were any passage between Churchill and Whalebone Point, near latitude 65° , it would have been long enough ago found out, by one or another of all those who have been that way; some of them several years together; as Sir THOMAS BUTTON and FOX; Governor KELSEY, three or four voyages, the last in my memory; NAPPER, HANDCOCK, Governor KNIGHT, VAUGHAN, and SCROGGS; who went to trade and make discoveries in all the bays, coves, and creeks along shore, several of whom harboured every night; and Governor KELSEY exchanged two of his own Indians for two Eskimaux, kept them at Fort York a whole year, learned them some English and then returned them to their friends. Afterwards, as he went along that coast, he saw and spoke with them several times, but could get no intelligence from them which afforded him the least probability of a passage.

All the Indians I have ever conversed with, who were at the Copper-mine, agree in this; that they were two summers going thither, pointing towards the north-west and Sun-setting, when at Churchill; and that where this Mine is, the Sun, at a certain season of the year, keeps running round the Horizon several times together, without setting. Now we know from the principles of Cosmography, that this cannot be true of any place, whose latitude is less than 67 or 68 degrees, even allowing for the effects of refraction; and if the credibility of the testimony of these simple Indians be called in question, I can mention that of Mr. NORTON, who was Governor at Churchill above twenty years, and had travelled almost a year north-westward by land with his country Indians. This Gentleman has often affirmed the same thing of the Sun; and that in his whole journey he met with no salt river, nor tree, nor shrub, but only moss; and that he and his retinue were reduced to such extremity as to eat moss several days; having nothing else that could serve them for sustenance, but their leather breeches, which they eat up also. Now it will appear, from a just trigonometrical computation, that Churchill being in latitude 59° , and the Mine in latitude 67° , and the bearing N. W. the difference of longitude between Churchill and the Mine is $17^{\circ} 45'$. But Wager river's entrance being in latitude $65^{\circ} 20'$, and 10 degrees of longitude east of Churchill, the difference of longitude between the mouth of the river and the Mine is $27^{\circ} 45'$, and their distance in the arch of a great circle, or their nearest distance, no less than 700 miles. From what I have here made out concerning this Mine, and the way to it, upon the report of the Indians and of Governor NORTON, it follows, even to demonstration,

1st. That neither Wager river, nor any other river or sea does extend so far westward, from any part of Hudson's bay, in less than latitude 65° , as to cross the rout that lies between Wager river and the Mine. And, 2^{dly}, that if there be any passage at all, it must run up so high northward, as to cross the parallel of 67° , on the east side the Mine, and consequently must be frozen up, and absolutely unnavigable the whole year.

Many years we cannot pass the strait outward-bound before the latter end of August, and then with incredible fatigue and perpetual danger of losing lives and ships. Two out of three were lost

within these sixteen years. After passing the strait, there is still the bay to cross, in which I was detained no less than six weeks in ice, the last voyage I undertook for the company. I never was able to arrive at the factory above five or six times before the 20th of August, in three and twenty voyages I have made thither: And it is a standing order not to attempt to come back the same year, unless we can sail from the forts by the tenth of September. Till a little above twenty years ago, a voyage was seldom made without wintering.

Now supposing there were another strait on the western coast of Hudson's straits, or between latitude 61° and 63° , and that this strait were about as long and as wide as that.

In the first place, there could be no entering it before the latter end of August for ice, whether from England or your wintering place in the bay: For though we got at Churchill river by the first day of July last year, yet the like has not been known these twenty years, by a fortnight at least. But notwithstanding so favourable a winter, and early a spring, had we not worked night and day tides, from the beginning of April to the middle of June with infinite labour in cutting out our ships, which were bedded twenty three feet in the ice and hard frozen snow, as may be seen in the journals, we should not have got out so soon by a month. After all, this was of no service in forwarding us; for being got into a bay, we found all the shores lined with ice for many leagues, so that no opening could be entered; and the great rivers and straits, beyond 61 degrees, are full of it until the middle or latter end of August, and many years not clear at all. I have been fast my self in Hudson's straits for some days in September, till a north-west wind happened to set me and the ice a going together. Of all the sloops in my time which the company have sent, almost every year along the coast towards the Welcome, either upon trade or discovery, none but Scroggs could ever get beyond latitude 64 for ice; and since the year 1718 they have lost two sloops and a ship that way.

Many of them could not get beyond $62^{\circ} 20'$. Now all this well weighed, what chance have ships for passing such a strait as we have supposed.

But grant there was no ice to prevent a ship's passing about the latter end of August, yet at that season the winter begins to set in here, with hard gales and such quantities of drifting snow, that it is out of all human power to handle a sail, or keep the deck.

Of all this I furnished Mr. DOBBS with the most exact and particular account I was able to give him several years ago: But no matters of fact have power to convince him; and his scheme rests entirely upon presumptions, which all observations and experience directly contradict. I have perused all the company's journals about this discovery, as well as all others I was able to procure, whether in print or manuscript, from the year 1615 down to the present time. My inclination has led me that way these many years, as much or more than his, or almost any man's living, as all my acquaintance, and himself too, know very well. I wintered at Churchill for this purpose in 1721, and made all possible enquiry then, as well as the last year, among all the Indians and English who had travelled inland to the northward; and I am thoroughly satisfied that any further search must be fruitless, either by sea or land.

Mr. DOBBS's description of Hudson's bay, with the advantages that would accrue to Great-Britain, by encreasing and strengthening our colonies and settlements on that coast, and the probability there still is of discovering a north-west passage through the bay.

Hudson's bay is situate between 51 and 65 degrees north latitude, and from 78 to 95 west longitude from London, being in length from Nodway and Moose rivers, in the bottom of the bay, to Whalebone point, 14 degrees; which, at 69 English miles to a degree, is about 970 miles; and in breadth to Diggs's isle, the east entrance of the bay, to the land westward of Churchill-river, 200 leagues, of 20 to a degree, 690 miles, surrounded by a great continent, except the opening of Hudson's freight, and the north-west side of the bay, which appears to be all broken land, the surrounding coast being above 3000 English miles.

These countries, though most of them are in cold climates, yet in the coldest parts, even north of the polar circle, are inhabited by the Eskimaux Indians; and by the Whalebone and oil, skins and furs got there at present, are of considerable advantage to those who are concerned in that trade; and if the trade was laid open, would be of vastly greater benefit to Britain, by affording a considerable market for our coarse woollen and iron manufactures; and by forming proper settlements in healthy and sheltered situations, out of the swampy grounds, there might be comfortable settlements made in most places, and very tolerable, even in the worst and coldest parts of that continent, which are the north-east and north-west sides of the bay; but in the southern and western sides of the bay, there might be made as comfortable settlements as any in Sweden, Livonia, or the south side of the Baltick; and farther into the country south-west, the climate is as good as the southern part of Poland, and north part of Germany and Holland, nothing being wanted to make it so, but the building convenient houses with stoves, such as are used in the same climates in Europe.

The coast, from Hudson's freight to 57°, is pestered with ice in the beginning of summer, occasioned by the quantity which comes out from the several inlets there, as well as that which comes from Hudson's and Davis's freights; these islands of ice being frequently carried as far as the banks of Newfoundland, before they are dissolved; but the rest of the coast to the southward, from 57 to 52°, is free from ice.

Along that coast a very fine fishery might be carried on, there being as fine and large fish there as any upon the coast of Newfoundland, and at the same time a trade for furs might be introduced with the natives, the furs upon the east main being as fine as any in America, and richer than those to the southward. The French from Canada get the most of these at present, there being none to interfere with them in that trade, it being too far from the factories in the bay, and at present it is open to any who should go there to trade or fish; and it would prevent the natives, by getting a market nearer home, from going so far to trade with the French; our goods also could be afforded cheaper than the French goods from Canada.

Nelson river, called by the French the river Bourbon, lies in 57 degrees north latitude. In Hays island upon this river, is York Fort. The winter, which begins about Michaelmas, and ends in May

here, is very cold, but they seldom want provision, for the sportsmen kill as many hares and partridges as they please: One year when the French had eighty men in garrison, they killed ninety thousand Partridges and twenty five thousand Hares.

At the end of April, the Geese, Bustards, and Ducks, return in such numbers, that they kill as many as they please; they also take great numbers of Cariboux or Rain-Deer, in March and April they come from the north to the south, and extend then along the river 60 leagues; they go again northward in July and August; the roads they make in the snow are as well padded, and cross each other as often as the streets in Paris; the natives make hedges with branches of trees, and leave openings in which they fix snares, and thus take numbers of them. When they swim the rivers in returning northwards, the natives kill them in canoes with lances, as many as they please. In summer they have the pleasure of fishing, and with nets take Pike, Trout, and Carp, and a white fish something like a Herring, by much the best fish in the world; they preserve those for their winter provision, by putting them in snow, or freezing them, as also the flesh they would preserve: They keep thus also Geese, Ducks, and Bustards, which they roast with the Hares and Partridges they kill in winter.

The country about fort Nelson is very low, it is filled with woods of small trees, and is very marshy. The natives live by hunting and fishing; Seals abound there, which are larger than those of Canada; they sell the oil extracted from them at the fort, which is better and clearer than nut oil. They have Bustards and wild Geese in great numbers, and sell the feathers at the fort. The white Partridges are as large as Capons. They have white Foxes and Martin Zobelins fairer than those in Muscovy.

There comes down generally to port Nelson annually to trade with the English, about one thousand Indian men and some women, in about six hundred canoes.

There are eight kinds of Beavers received at the Farmer's office

The first is the fat winter Beaver, killed in winter, which is worth 5 s. 6 d. per pound.

The second is the fat summer Beaver killed in summer, and is worth 2 s. 9 d. per pound.

The third is the dry winter Beaver, and fourth the Bourdeau, is much the same, and are worth 3 s. and 6 d. per pound.

The fifth the dry summer Beaver, is worth very little, about 1 s. 9 d. per pound.

The sixth is the coat Beaver, which is worn till it is half greased, and is worth 4 s. 6 d. per pound.

The seventh the Muscovite dry Beaver, of a fine skin, covered over with a silky hair, they wear it in Russia, and comb away all the short down, which they make into stuffs and other works, leaving nothing but the silky hair; this is worth 4 s. 6 d. per pound.

The eighth is the Mittain Beaver, put out for that purpose, to make Mittains to preserve them from the cold, and are greased by being used, and are worth 1 s. 9 d. per pound.

Mr. BURNET, when he was appointed Governor of New-York in 1727, finding that the French in Canada were in possession of all the Indian fur trade, through all the countries adjoining to the Canadese lakes, except what trade the English carried on with the six Iroquese nations, (the Tuskeruro nation

CHAP.
VII.

on now united to the others, making the 6th tribe) and knowing that the chief support of the colony at Canada was the benefit they made by their Indian fur trade, thought it of great moment to gain that trade to our colony of New-York from the French; upon enquiring into the nature of that trade, and manner of carrying it on, he found, that the French at Quebec and Montreal, were chiefly supplied with European goods from the merchants at New-York, where they had them at much easier terms than they could have them from France; by which he found we could trade upon much better terms directly with the Indians, than with the French, and would by that means make all the Indians our friends; and consequently by our giving them our goods cheaper at the first hand, we might gain most of that trade from the French, and by that means weaken their colony at Canada, whose chief support is from that trade; accordingly, he prohibited the trade from New-York to Canada, by an act he got passed in the assembly there; and being opposed in it by the merchants trading to Quebec, who appealed against it to the council in England, at last got the act confirmed by the council; by this means a trade was opened directly with the western Indians through the Iroquese country, and an intercourse and familiarity, of consequence, betwixt all these nations and our colonies; the assembly was at the expence to build and fortify a trading house at Oswego, on the Cadarakui or Frontenac lake, in the neighbourhood of the Iroquese, near the Onontagues, and have from that time maintained a garrison there; by this means they have gained a considerable part of the trade which the French formerly had with the western Indians, and all the allies of the Iroquese now trade with us, as well as those on the Illenese lake, Missilimakinae, and Saut St. Mary. Before that time a very inconsiderable number were employed in that trade; now above 300 are employed at the trading house at Oswego alone, and the Indian trade since that time has so much increased, that several Indian nations come now each year to trade there, whose names before were not so much as known to the English.

The Indians in their voyages being obliged to go ashore every day to hunt for provisions, delays them very much; for their canoes are so small, holding only two men and a pack of 100 Beaver's skins, that they can't carry provisions with them for any time; if they had larger canoes they could make their voyages shorter, and carry many more Beavers to market, at least four times as many, besides other skins of value, which are too heavy for their present canoes; this, and the high price set upon the European goods by the company in exchange, discourages the natives so much, that if it were not that they are under a necessity of having guns, powder and shot, hatchets, and other iron tools for their hunting, and tobacco, brandy, and some paint for luxury, they would not go down to the factory with what they now carry; at present they leave great numbers of furs and skins behind them. A good hunter among the Indians can kill 600 Beavers in a season, and can carry down but 100, the rest he uses at home, or hangs them upon branches of trees, upon the death of their children as an offering to them, or use them for bedding and coverings; they sometimes burn off the fur, and roast the Beavers like pigs, upon any entertainments, and they often let them rot, having no further use of them. The Beavers, (according to LA FRANCE) are of three colours; the brown red-

dish colour, the black, and the white; the first is the cheapest, the black is most valued by the company, and in England; the white, though most valued in Canada, giving 18 shillings, when others gave 5 or 6 shillings, is blown upon by the company's factors at the bay, they not allowing so much for these as for the others; and therefore the Indians use them at home, or burn off the hair, when they roast the Beavers like Pigs, at an entertainment when they feast together; he says these skins are extremely white, and have a fine lustre, no snow being whiter, and have a fine long fur or hair; he has seen fifteen taken of that colour out of one lodge or pond. The Beavers have three enemies, Man, Otters, and the Carcajon, or Quequachatch, which prey upon them when they take them at an advantage; the last is as large as a very great Dog, it has a short tail like a Deer or Hare, and has a good furr, valued at a Beaver and half in exchange. The Beaver's chiefest food is the Poplar or Tremble, but they also eat Sallows, Alders, and most other trees not having a resinous juice; the middle bark is their food; in May, when the wood is not plenty, they live upon a large root which grows in the marshes, a fathom long, and as thick as a Man's leg, the French call it Volet; but the Beavers are not so good food as when they feed upon trees. They will cut down trees above two fathoms in girth with their teeth, and one of them observes when it is ready to fall, and gives a great cry, and runs the contrary way, to give notice to the rest to get out of the way; they then cut off all the top twigs and smaller branches two or three fathoms in length, and draw them to their houses which they have built in their ponds, after having raised or repaired their pond head, and made it staunch, and thrust one end into the clay or mud, that they may lie under water all the winter, to preserve the bark green and tender for their winter provision; after cutting off the small branches, they cut and carry away the larger, until they come to the bole of the tree. The Beavers are delicious food, but the tongue and tail the most delicious parts of the whole; they are very fat from November until the end of March; they have their young in the beginning of summer, at which time the females are lean by suckling their young, and the males are lean the whole summer, when they are making or repairing their ponds, and houses, and cutting down and providing timber and branches for their winter store. They breed once in a year, and have from ten to fifteen at a litter, which grow up in one season; so that they multiply very fast, and if they can empty a pond, and take the whole lodge, they generally leave a pair to breed, so that they are fully stocked again in two or three years.

The Loup Cervier, or Lynx, is of the Cat kind, but as large as a great Dog; it preys upon all beasts it can conquer; as does the Tyger, which is the only beast in that country that won't fly from a man.

The American Oxen, or Beeves, have a large bunch upon their backs, which is by far the most delicious part of them for food, it being all as sweet as marrow, juicy and rich, and weighs several pounds.

The Indians west of the bay, living an erratic life, can have no benefit by tame fowl or cattle; they seldom stay above a fortnight in a place, unless they find plenty of game. When they remove, after having built their hut, they disperse to get game for their food, and meet again at night, after having

CHAP.
VII.

CHAP.
VII.

having killed enough to maintain them for that day; they don't go above a league or two from their hut. When they find scarcity of game, they remove a league or two farther, and thus they traverse through these woody countries and bogs, scarce missing one day, winter or summer, fair or foul, in the greatest storms of snow, but what they are employed in some kind of chase. The smaller game, got by traps or snares, are generally the employment of the women and children, such as the Martins, Squirrels, Cats, Ermins, &c. The Elks, Stags, Rain-Deer, Bears, Tygers, wild Beeves, Wolves, Foxes, Beavers, Otters, Corcajeu, &c. are the employment of the men. The Indians, when they kill any game for food, leave it where they kill it, and send their wives next day to carry it home. They go home in a direct line, never missing their way, by observations they make of the course they take upon their going out; and so judge upon what point their huts are, and can thus direct themselves upon any point of the compass. The trees all bend towards the south, and the branches on that side are larger and stronger than on the north side, as also the Moss upon the trees. To let their wives know how to come at the killed game, they from place to place break off branches, and lay them in the road, pointing them the way they should go, and sometimes Moss, so that they never miss finding it.

In winter, when they go abroad, which they must do in all weathers, to hunt and shoot for their daily food, before they dress they rub themselves all over with Bears grease, or oil of Beavers, which does not freeze, and also rub all the fur of their Beaver coats, and then put them on; they have also a kind of boots or stockings of Beaver's skins well oiled, with the fur inwards, and above them they have an oiled skin laced about their feet, which keeps out the cold, and also water, when there is no ice or snow; and by this means they never freeze, nor suffer any thing by cold. In summer also when they go naked, they rub themselves with these oils or grease, and expose themselves to the Sun, without being scorched, their skins always being kept soft and supple by it; nor do any Flies, Bugs, or Musketoos, or any noxious insect ever molest them. When they want to get rid of it, they go into the water, and rub themselves all over with mud or clay, and let it dry upon them, and then rub it off; but whenever they are free from the oil, the Flies and Musketoos immediately attack them, and oblige them again to anoint themselves.

The Indians make no use of honey; he saw no bees there but the wild Humble Bee; but they are so much afraid of being stung with them, they going naked in Summer, that they avoid them as much as they can; nor did he see any of the Maple they use in Canada to make sugar of, but only the Birch, whose juice they use for the same purpose, boiling it until it is black and dry, and then using it with their meat. They use no milk from the time they are weaned, and they all hate to taste cheese, having taken up an opinion that it is made of dead men's fat. They love Prunes and Raisins, and will give a Beaver skin for twelve of them to carry to their children, and also for a Trump or Jew's-Harp. He says the women have all fine voices, but have never heard any musical instrument. They are very fond of all kind of pictures or prints, giving a Beaver for the least print, and all toys are like jewels to them.

When he got to the natives, southward of Pachegoia, he had about thirty Cowries left, and a few small bells less than Hawk's bells; when he shewed one of them, they gave him a Beaver skin for one, and they were so fond of them, that some gave him two skins, or three Martin's skins for one, to give their wives to make them fine. The Martins they take in traps, for if they shoot them, their skins would be spoiled; they have generally five or six at a litter.

He says the natives are so discouraged in their trade with the company, that no Peltry is worth the carriage, and the finest furs are sold for very little. When they came to the factory in June 1742, the prices they took for the European goods were much higher than the settled prices fixed by the company, which the Governors fix so, to shew the company how zealous they are to improve their trade, and sell their goods to advantage. He says, they gave but a pound of gunpowder for four Beavers, a fathom of tobacco for seven Beavers, a pound of shot for one, and ell of coarse cloth for fifteen, a blanket for twelve, two fish-hooks, or three flints for one, a gun for twenty-five, a pistol for ten, a common hat with white lace for seven, an ax for four, a bill-hook for one, a gallon of brandy for four, a check shirt for seven; all which are sold at a monstrous profit, even to 2000 per cent. Notwithstanding this discouragement, the two fleets which went down with him, and parted at the great Fork, carried down 200 packs, of 100 each, 20000 Beavers; and the other Indians who arrived that year, he computed carried down 300 packs of 200 each, 30000, in all 50000 Beavers, and above 9000 Martins.

The furs there are much more valuable than the furs upon the Canada lakes, sold at New-York; for these will give five or six shillings per pound, when the others sell at three shillings and six-pence. He says, that if a fort was built at the great Fork, sixty leagues above York Fort, and a factory with European goods were fixed there, and a reasonable price was put upon European goods, that the trade would be wonderfully increased; for the natives from the southward of Pachegoia, could make at least two returns in a summer, and those at greater distances could make one, who can't now come at all; and above double the number would be employed in hunting, and many more skins would be brought to market, that they can't now afford to bring for the expence and low price given for them. The stream is so gentle from the Fork to York Fort, on either branch, that large vessels and shallops may be built there, and carry down bulky goods, and also return again against the stream; and the climate is good, and fit to produce grain, pulse, &c. and very good grass and hay for horses and cattle.

As to the trade at Churchill, it is increasing, it being at too great a distance from the French for them to interfere in the trade. In the year 1742 it amounted to 20000 Beavers: There were about 100 Upland Indians came in their canoes to trade, and about 200 northern Indians, who brought their furs and peltry upon sledges; some of them came down the river of Seals, 15 leagues northward of Churchill, in canoes, and brought their furs from thence by land. They have no Beavers to northward of Churchill, they not having there such ponds or woods as they choose or feed upon, but they have great numbers of Martins, Foxes, Bears, Rain-Deer, Buffaloes, Wolves, and other beasts of rich furs, the country being mostly rocky, and covered

CHAP.
VII.

CHAP.
VII.

CHAP.
VII.

covered with a white moss, upon which the Rain-Deer or Caribou feed. There is a great deal of small wood of the Spruce or Fir kind near the old factory, but the wood improves as it is further up the river from the bay, where they have Juniper, Birch and Poplar, and more southerly the timber is larger, and there are greater variety of trees. They are under great inconveniences at the New Fort, which is upon an elevated situation, upon a rock without shelter, close by the shore, surrounded with snow and ice for eight months in the year, exposed to all the winds and storms that happen, where they can have no conveniency of grafs, or hay, or gardening, and yet they had four or five Horses there, and a Bull and two Cows near the factory; but they were obliged to bring their hay from a marshy bottom some miles up the river, to feed them in winter; but if a settlement were made higher up the river southward, some leagues from the bay, in shelter, without the reach of the chilling winds, they would have grafs and hay sufficient, and might have also gardens and proper greens and roots propagated there.

The soil and climates are vastly different in the several countries adjoining to the bay. The east main from Slude River to Hudson's Streight, is least known, there being no factories fixed there for trade, although the best sable and black Fox skins are got there. Here the Nodway or Eskimaux Indians live, who are in a manner hunted and destroyed by the more southerly Indians, being perpetually at war with each other. They seem not to be natives of America, but rather Europeans from Greenland. The French imagine they are descended from Biscayners, they having beards up to the eyes, which the Americans have not; they are of a white complexion, not copper coloured like the other Americans, having black, strong hair. They live in caves under the snow in winter, feeding upon Seals flesh and dried fish, drinking the oil, and using it for their lamps, with which they also greafe their bodies, which defends them from the piercing icy particles in the air. If, when travelling, a storm of snow is too violent for them to withstand, they dig a hole in the snow five or six feet deep, and cover the hole with skins or branches, and so lie warm under the storm. Upon this coast, in latitude 59° , near Cape Smith, is a passage lately discovered into an inland sea, 300 leagues in circuit, which, if a proper use was made of it, would open a considerable trade for furs into the heart of the Terra de Labarador, which the company now neglects for fear of expence, as they do all the coast on the east main, having only a house with seven or eight servants, at Slude River, in latitude $52^{\circ} 30'$. It is near the south side of this sea that the rich Lead Mine has been lately discovered, which would also turn to very good account, if a settlement was there in about lat. 56° or 57° ; it would be in as good a climate as at York Fort or New Severn, which is in a climate equal to the middle part of Sweden or Livonia, being in the latitude of Edinburgh; and if one was made in 59° near Cape Smith, it would be equal to that now at Churchill.

Rupert River, in about latitude 51° is in a very good climate, and is a fine river, well wooded, having eight feet water at the entrance, and the tide rises eight feet; the river is a mile over, and cometh from the southward of the east; it is about 150 leagues from St. Margaret's River, which falleth into St. Lawrence in Canada. A little to southward of Rupert's is Frenchman's and Nod-

V O L. III.

way rivers; these run from S. E. and S. S. E. from sources a great way up in the country; the last is five miles broad to the falls. These, though in so good a climate, are all neglected by the company, upon account of the neighbourhood of the French, who have encroached upon them, and have a trading house upon the head of Rupert's River, by which they have engrossed almost all the trade of the east main. To avoid expence they will not fix a sufficient factory there to recover so great a trade, nor will allow any other from Britain to settle there and trade, choosing rather to give it up to the French than to their countrymen; that they may preserve their present monopoly to themselves. The factories at present on Moole River, in latitude $51^{\circ} 28'$, and in Albany, in latitude 52° on the south-west of the bay, are at present in a very tolerable climate, being the same with these already mentioned, but would be in a vastly better climate, if they were fixed some miles higher up, at some distance from the chilling winds in the bay, where it appears all sorts of grain and pulse would grow to perfection, and most kind of European fruits. Here they may have Horses, Cows, Sheep, and all domestick animals, here being excellent grafs, and very good hay may be made of it, which would improve by feeding and cutting it for their use in winter; and all sorts of grain may be had for their use, as well as for the inhabitants, wild oats or rice growing in abundance spontaneously farther up the rivers to the southward, at some distance from the bay. The Moose River is a noble, large river, which cometh from two branches, southward and south-westward of the bay, for some hundred miles from the mountains above the Huron, and upper lakes, to near latitude 48° . There are several falls upon it, but above the falls it is again navigable a great way into the country, from whence the natives come down some hundreds of miles in their canoes to trade at the factory; yet, from the avarice of the company, they have in a manner left that southern trade to the French, having allowed the French to have a trading house upon, or near the southern branch of Moose River, within three days journey, not 100 miles from that factory; who, at so many hundred miles from Canada, undersell the company, and carry away all the valuable furs, leaving only the refuse to them, because of the exorbitant prices they take for their goods from the natives in exchange. If the trade was opened, and these rivers on the bottom of the bay were settled farther up in the country, they would have a very temperate, fine climate, with all necessaries for life, and even for luxury. Here are very fine woods of all kinds of large timber for shipping or building, where they have all sorts of fruit, and grain, tame cattle and fowl. The rivers abound with excellent fish, and the woods with wild-fowl, and most kind of wild beasts for profit or pleasure. Gooseberries, Raspberries and Strawberries, grow wild in the woods, every thing in gardens would grow with proper culture. In the country the snow and frost breaks up in March, and does not begin again until about November.

Albany River is also very considerable, in latitude 52° , and cometh from W. S. W. and within land has the same climate and other advantages; at present the situation of the factories of Moose and Albany are very unhappy; being placed in the swamps, at the mouths of the rivers; for the company's chief aim being trade, they don't regard the soil, aspect, or situation, where they fix them, provided they are upon navigable rivers, where their ships

24 Z

can

CHAP.
VII.

can approach them, and where the natives can come in their canoes; so that their factories there are placed in a low swampy ground, which is overflowed by the rivers upon the breaking up of the ice, which makes them much moister and warmer in summer, and colder in winter, from the quantity of ice there is in winter in the rivers and bay: If they had fixed them higher up in the country, where the thaw begins much sooner than at the bay, they would have had a happier situation, and a quite different climate and soil. How can it be expected that any thing can thrive in their garden, or be brought to perfection? when the floods in the latter end of April leave flakes of ice several feet thick in their gardens, which are not dissolved until the latter end of May; and yet after that time, when they dig their gardens, they have very good coleworts and turnips, green peas and beans, when if they had been situate higher up in the country from the bay, they might have had all sorts of fruit, grain and roots in perfection, and tame cattle and fowl for their use; at present the company's servants depend upon the fish and wild-geese they take for their winter store. They have Pike, Trout, Perch, and white Trout in great perfection in all their rivers; but the principal fish they take is a little larger than a Maekarel, of which 13 or 14000 are taken at Albany in a season, which supplies them and their Indian friends in winter, these they take after the rivers are frozen over, keeping holes open in the ice in a strait line, at proper distances, through which they thrust their nets with poles, and the fish coming there to breathe, are maul'd or entangled in the net; these they freeze up for winter without salt. The wild-geese come to these rivers from the southward in the middle of April, as soon as the swamps are thawed, at which time they are lean; they stay until the middle of May, when they go northward to breed; they take at Albany in that season about 1300 for present use; they return again with their young about the middle of August, and stay until the middle of October, when they go farther southward; they save generally about 3000 of these, which they salt before the frost begins, and what they take afterwards they hang up in their feathers to freeze for winter store, without salt; the natives shoot them in the swamps. There are three kinds, one a grey Goose, which, without giblets, weighs from six to ten pounds, another which they call Whaweys, are from four to six pounds; they have also Swans, grey Plover exceeding fat, white Partridges as big as Capons in abundance, all winter and spring, which feed upon the buds of Spruce, Birch, and Poplars.

All the eastern and southern trade is in a manner lost to the French, and a considerable part of the south-western trade, they scarce preserving the trade at York Fort and Churchill River to themselves; so that were the trade laid open, and the southern and western countries settled, we might not only regain that trade from the French, which would probably increase our profit from 40,000 l. which the company gain at present upon their trade, to 100,000 l. but we might in a short time increase it to 200,000 l. by supplying the natives with woollen-goods, iron tools, guns, powder and shot, at reasonable rates; for by this treatment, and fixing factories for goods higher up the rivers, upon Rupert's, Moose, Albany, and Nelson rivers; by having markets nearer them and cheaper, the number of hunters would increase, and would bring four times as many furs, besides other valuable skins,

not worth the carriage at present, and they would make two returns for one, and many come from greater distances, which don't now come at all; and we should have all that now perish and rot, and they use at home, by getting better and cheaper European goods in return, and a shorter and quicker carriage to market; this would make them more industrious, and would preserve the lives of many of them, who can't subsist now without fire-arms and iron tools, having in great measure lost the use of arrows; and instead of our exporting to the value of 2 or 3000 l. which is the most the company exports in one season, we might export to the value of 100,000 l. in coarse woollen and iron manufactures, powder, shot, spirits, tobacco, paint, and toys, which would afford subsistence and employment to our industrious poor, and yet the merchant might gain near Cent. per Cent. upon his trade. By increasing our settlements to the southward, in the bottom of the bay, we should by this encouragement make all the natives our friends, by underselling the French, and securing the trade, and force the French out of their trade upon the east main, and countries north of Huron, and the other Canada lakes, and become so powerful, as not to fear the French in case of a war; whereas at present, if a war should commence, the company in a few weeks would loose all their factories in the bottom of the bay; and York Fort, where they have but twenty-five men, would soon after fall into their hands; for they have none but the Prince of Wales's Fort at Churchill that is in a state of defence, and even there they keep but twenty-eight men to defend a fort in which they have forty guns mounted. Such is the melancholy situation of our factories and trade in so extended a country at present, from the monopoly and covetousness of the company, who have been in possession of part of these countries to the southward from the time of their charter in 1670, above seventy years; and have enjoyed the rest uninterrupted from 1714, near thirty years; yet, though they have had the most extensive powers granted to them that were ever granted to any company, the whole property and exclusive trade of all these countries, and all others they should discover from thence not possessed by any Christian power, with a power to make war, raise troops, and fit out ships of war to preserve their possessions, to induce them to discover, plant, and improve these countries, and to extend the British trade, by finding out a passage to the western ocean of America; yet they have been so base to their country, as not only to neglect it themselves, but to prevent and discourage any attempt to find out so beneficial a passage, and have also prevented any persons from settling in those countries, which would have effectually secured all their factories, and put them out of danger of being insulted by the French in case of a war; and this with a view only of keeping a monopoly and exclusive trade to themselves from the rest of the British merchants, which they have no right to by law, it being only granted by charter, without act of parliament. But supposing they had a legal right, they have forfeited their right by not settling these countries, and preventing any of his Majesty's subjects from settling there; so that they have forfeited their right to all these countries except their present factories, upon account of their not taking in and settling upon those lands: Besides, they have not only neglected to find a passage to the western ocean, but have also refused to look for it, and have discouraged and endeavoured to seduce others

CHAP.
VII.

CHAP.
VII.

others from finding it, by offering rewards or bribes to Captain MIDDLETON, who was employed by the government to make that discovery, as he informed me; though the attempting that discovery was the chief prayer for their patent, and the principal motive which induced King CHARLES to grant them their charter, which was then given to some of the most considerable noblemen, gentlemen and merchants, in England; but now is confined to eight or nine private merchants, who have engrossed nine tenth's of the company's stock, and by that means are perpetual directors; the small proportion of stock which is in other hands, when sold, being purchased by those who have in a manner engrossed the whole, it not being allowed to go to a publick market.

Churchill river in latitude 59° a noble river, navigable for 150 leagues, and after passing the falls, navigable again to far distant countries, abounding in mines of copper, and other rich commodities, even to the western sea; so that the southern and western parts of the bay would, in some time, afford an inexhaustible fund for trade; nor is the east-side of the bay despicable, about the new discovered inland-sea, where there are rich furs, and mines of lead. What an immense trade might be begun and carried on from these countries; for the natives, being numerous, and of a humane disposition, inclined to trade, upon having an equitable trade with us, would be soon civilized, and become industrious, in such rich and delightful climates? What a vent might be had in those countries for our woollen, iron and other manufactures, may be easily conceived: So that by opening the trade, and settling these countries, the French in time would be confined to the rivers which fall into the river St. Lawrence, and be deprived of all their north-western trade.

To the making such settlements some objections have been made by the friends of the company; as the great difficulty of getting people to go to settle and plant in so cold a country, and the difficulty and danger attending the making settlements higher up upon the rivers, and navigating them, they being so full of falls and rapids, that can only be navigated by the natives in small canoes made of Birch bark, which cannot contain above two men with any cargo; and in these they are often over-set, and in danger of being drowned, and of spoiling their goods; that they are often obliged to carry their canoes and cargo from place to place, which obstructs greatly, and delays the navigation, and that scarce five men out of 120, which the company now have in the bay, will venture themselves in, or can conduct such canoes, without imminent danger of being drowned, and consequently these hardships and difficulties will counterbalance the profit to be made of settling higher up in the country, upon the rivers in pleasanter and warmer climates.

To this we may answer, that by the accounts already given here of these climates and countries by impartial persons, who do not want to disguise the truth, it appears that the cold is tolerable even at these disadvantageous settlements at present in the bay, and that upon passing only five or six leagues up the rivers into the country, the climate is so altered, as to be equal to those of the same latitudes in Europe; and that these prodigious accounts of the effects of cold are calculated only to serve the company, in order to prevent people from going there to settle, and encroach upon the company's monopoly of trade.

CHAP.
VII.

As to the difficulty they make about navigating these rivers in those small canoes, and the small number of those employed by the company, who will venture in them, or can conduct them, we answer, that their servants, being at present no gainers by trade, will not endeavour to learn to navigate these canoes, where there is any risque, and care necessary to prevent the danger; besides, the company allows them no time to learn, by confining them to their factories whilst the Indian trade continues, and the navigation is open; and at other times keep them employed in cutting wood for firing, bringing it home, and in shooting, fishing, and digging in their gardens, to supply themselves with provisions, to lessen the company's expence; so that they are allowed no time to learn to navigate these boats, or to go up the rivers to observe the soil and climate, or what improvements might be made in the country: But if they were masters of their own time, and could advance their wealth by trade, and found a considerable profit to arise to them by their dexterity in managing these canoes, and the great pleasure and satisfaction they would have, by living in a fine climate among these lakes and rivers, they would be as enterprising and dexterous as the Cureur de Bois, and be as able to navigate among these water falls as the French. Neither is it impracticable to prevent even these canoes from over-setting, by out-lagers or blown bladders fixed to their sides; or other kinds of boats may be used, such as are made at Torneo, in Sweden, upon the rivers falling into the Bothnic gulph.

Another objection is, that it is a difficult and dangerous navigation into the bay, and the trade is not worth the risque.

To this we answer, that the navigation is not so dangerous as it is apprehended to be, but appears to be more so by the insinuations and report of the company and their friends, who give it out in order to deter others from venturing and interfering in their trade; and for that reason they oblige their captains, under a penalty, not to publish any charts of the bay and streight. Captain MIDDLETON, who was in their service, made above twenty voyages to different parts of the bay, and never lost a ship, nor had any accident in these voyages; nor have I heard that the company, in about 23 years, have lost any ships in that trade but two; and the men and cargo were saved by Capt. MIDDLETON. Where Captains are careful in the ice, there is not much danger; it is of great advantage to them that there is no night at that season they enter the bay, where the quantity of ice is greatest; and when they return in September, or even in October, all the ice is in a manner dissolved, or passed out of the streight into the ocean, and none seen that can obstruct their passage.

It is probable that during the whole winter, from October to March, there is no ice in the streight to obstruct their passage into, or out of, the bay; for a ship which chanced to be closed up with ice in an inlet, by the breaking of the ice got out, and came through the streights at Christmas, without finding any ice in the streight to prevent her passage: For the ice which is formed in bays and rivers in winter, does not break up and get into the channel or streight, until it begins to thaw upon the shores in March and April; at which time it is carried by the winds and tide into the streight, and obstructs the passage in May and part of June, until it is dissolved; yet even then good pilots know how to avoid it, and get into the eddy tide, out of the current, where the ice is more open, and not drove

CHAP.
VII.

drove together by the winds and current, as it is in the channel; but these difficulties would lessen every day, if the trade were opened, and the voyages were more frequent by the greater number of ships, which would make many more experienced pilots; and as there is now a more accurate chart published of the strait and bay by Captain MIDDLETON, with the islands, soundings, tides and variation, the navigation will become less dangerous daily, and coves and places of shelter for ships will be found out by the numbers of ships which would then pass, and be trading in these seas, which are now unknown.

We may therefore apprehend, that the danger from the ice is more in imagination than reality, when care and judgment are employed; for ships are mostly inclosed in ice in calm weather and fogs, when the ice prevents the motion of the sea, stormy weather disperses and breaks the ice and blows off the fogs, and ships keep a good offing from the ice, unless they get under the lee of a large island of ice, and then they fasten to it and drive along with it, whilst the smaller ice to leeward is drove from them by the wind; and the large islands being many fathoms deep in the water, come on ground before the ships are in danger of being forced on shore in shallow water.

The greatest danger and delay from the ice is in the entrance into the strait; for the first 40 leagues from thence the quantity is less, and they pass on with less difficulty, and after getting into the bay, the north-west side is free from ice, the bottom of the bay is full of low flat ice, which is all dissolved in the latter end of summer.

Upon the whole, except two ships which were lost in King WILLIAM's reign, and a French ship, after an engagement with our ships, when they attacked Fort Nelson, we have heard of none but the ships already mentioned which have been lost in that voyage. The two ships which went with BARLOW in 1719, to find the north-west passage, contrary to the inclinations of the company, if they did not make the passage, were probably in the winter surprized by the natives, and were not lost in the ice; for they say that the natives in about latitude 63°, where they suppose they were lost, are shyer since that time, in trading with the company's sloops, which they apprehend to be from a consciousness of guilt, fearing that it might be known, and they should be punish'd for it.

THE Arguments produced by Mr. DOBBS and Capt. MIDDLETON, for and against a north-west passage, carry each of them such an air of probability, that it is difficult to know what to determine; but one thing seems very certain, namely, that if there be a passage that way into the Pacifick ocean, the voyage is so exceeding hazardous that few people will ever attempt it. Neither would it turn to account if we could penetrate that way into this ocean, for we have already more colonies and settlements in America than we can cultivate and improve. Thus far indeed Mr. DOBBS is infinitely in the right, that we ought to extend our commerce and establish more colonies in Hudson's Bay, and support them by strong forts and garrisons against the encroachments of the French in Canada; for the Indians in this part of the world take off our woollen and iron manufactures, and

send us their skins and furs, whalebone and oil in return, upon more advantageous terms than we can traffick with any other people. It is evident also, that here might be a Whale fishery and Cod fishery established to very great advantage, on these extensive coasts in the neighborhood of the bay, from both which the nation might reap great advantages, if the adventurers were encouraged and supported by the government. And 'tis probable, either the ministry or the parliament, or both, will be apply'd to e'er long upon this head; but when the adventurers shall have demonstrated how beneficial this traffick and these fisheries may be to the nation in general, and to the undertakers in particular, what may we expect will be the consequence? why, probably, the present company, or some other select merchants, will offer the government to lend them a sum of money, on condition of their being incorporated to the exclusion of all other subjects of Great-Britain; so that instead of an illegal precarious patent, this monopoly will probably be established by act of parliament, as was the case of the East-India company about forty years ago.

Great complaints were made against the East-India company's monopolizing that trade; it was look'd upon as a great grievance that the rest of the subjects of Great-Britain, should be excluded from trafficking thither, and the patent was therefore adjudged void; but upon the company's lending the government a sum of money, this very monopoly that was universally exclaimed against and allowed to be a grievance, was established by act of parliament; but possibly we have nothing of that nature to fear at this day, while publick spirit reigns so conspicuously among the present ministry.

It has been observed already, that further discoveries, especially to such remote regions as may be found in the Pacifick ocean, can be of little advantage to this nation; and the reason is, that the plantations we have already, do, or may produce every thing we can want (except the fine spices which the Dutch have monopolized and usurp'd the dominion of.)

If Carolina was cultivated and the planters encouraged and supported by the government, this colony would in a few years produce wine, oil, and silk; and the more northern provinces would (and do in some measure already) furnish us with pitch, tar, masts, yards, and all other naval stores; whalebone whole, oil, furs, skins, &c. and were the coasts of Hudson's Bay and the Terra Labrador planted and improved, as they ought, we should be furnished with all these articles in greater plenty than any nation in Europe, which would not only prevent our sending vast sums abroad for them to foreign nations, but if these colonies were peopled and improved, they would themselves take off most of our home manufactures; and as we find the German, Swiss and other nations, ready to embark and settle in our plantations, there will be no need of depopulating Old-England to plant them. The King would acquire a great increase of subjects, on inviting foreigners to settle there, and our plantations would be so strengthened as not to fear the insults or attacks either of the French or Spaniards. It is highly probable the English would maintain their superiority in North-America, and even subdue their rivals in that part of the world.

The only new acquisitions I could wish the English would make during this war, are those of St. Augustin and Quebec, which would render the

CHAP.
VII.

CHAP. VII. British dominions in the continent entire, and make us masters of the navigation of the gulph of Mexico and the river of St. Lawrence: Our plantations contiguous on the continent, would then extend two thousand miles in length; and were the south of Florida well peopled and fortified, we might bid defiance both to the French and Spaniards in that part of the world.

And as St. Auguftin and Quebec are of fuch confequence to the traffick of Great-Britain, and the fecurity of her plantations, it is amazing to me, when we had fuch formidable land and naval forces in America

for two years together, they were never employed in the reduction of thofe fortrefses, but on the contrary, Mr. OGLETHORPE was allowed only a fingle regiment to attack St. Auguftin, where the garrifon was more numerous than the befiegers; and nothing but a repulfe could be expected, while our troops lay rotting on the ifland of Cuba; the greateft naval armament that ever was known in thofe feas, remained perfectly unactive, without attempting or even defigning any thing for the honour or fervice of the nation, that ever I could learn.

THE PRESENT STATE OF NEW-YORK, NEW-JERSEY, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

Of New-York, New-Jerfey, and the Indian nations under their protektion.

CHAP. VIII. I MAY properly throw New-York and New-Jerfey together, upon feveral accounts: 1. Because they have ufually the fame Governor.

2. The constitutions of their refpective governments do not differ in any particular. 3. Because they lie contiguous; and, 4. The climate, foil, and produce are pretty near the fame.

The Iroquois, or five nations. It may be proper alfo to comprehend the whole country of the Iroquois, or five nations, with all the lands which lie north of them as far as the river of St. Lawrence or Canada, within the limits of New-York, thefe being all under its protection, and included within the patent granted to the Duke of YORK by King CHARLES II. tho' it muft be confeffed the French have made large encroachments on thefe limits.

Situation and extent of the whole. I fhall therefore bound the provinces of New-York and New-Jerfey, with their dependencies, by the river of St. Lawrence, which feparates them from Canada or New-France on the north-west and north, by New-England, New-Scotland, and the Atlantick-Ocean on the east, by

the fame Ocean on the fouth, by Penfylvania and Maryland on the fouth-west, and by the lakes of Erie and Ontario on the west; and fhall extend thefe united countries from 39 to 47 degrees north latitude, and from 74 to 80 degrees of western longitude, exclusive of Long-Ifland, the east end whereof lies in 72 degrees of western longitude.

New-Jerfey and the fouth part of New-York are generally low level countries, but afcending fifteen or twenty miles up Hudfon's River to the northward the country becomes rocky and mountainous; and whatever has not been cultivated by the Englifh, is covered with woods, fo clear however from underwood, that travellers eafily pafs through them with Horfes and carriages.

The Atlantick Ocean washes its fouthern shores, in which are feveral capacious harbours, efpecially near the mouths of Hudfon's River, and the rivers Raritan and De la War, and on the coasts of New-Jerfey and Long-Ifland, the chief capes or promontories being that of Cape May, at the entrance of De la War Bay, and that of

CHAP. VIII. Sandy-Point, or Sandy-Hook, before the entrance of Raritan-River.

Lakes. On the north and west of the five nations lie several spacious lakes, the most considerable whereof, are those of Champlain, Ontario, and Erie.

Champlain or Corlaer Lake. The lake Champlain, or Corlaer, extends itself from north to south, between Montreal and Albany, being about two hundred miles in length; and, by a stream which falls into the great river St. Lawrence, has a communication with that river on the north, while the southern part of the lake, on which the French have built the fort called the Sacrament, extends almost to Hudson's River, on which Albany stands, and would give the French an easy access to New-York and New-England, if some forts had not been built by the English further north to cover those frontiers from their invasions, of which the chief is fort Nicholson.

Ontario Lake. The second lake is that of Ontario, called by the French Frontenac, and by some Cataracui, while others give it the name of The Lake of Canada, because the river Canada or St. Lawrence, issues out of it: But the first and most proper name that was given to it was that of Iroquois, the shores of it on the south and east at least being inhabited by the Iroquois or five nations. This lake is about an hundred leagues in length, and forty in breadth, abundance of rivers falling into it on the south-east especially; but the greatest bodies of waters fall into it from the river Niagara or Oniagara, being a streight or chanel between the lake of Erie and this lake, in which is one of the most remarkable cataracts or waterfalls in the world, which prevents both ships and boats passing from one lake to the other.

Niagara cataract. This cataract, according to father HENNEPIN, falls from a precipice one hundred fathom, or six hundred feet high. He adds, that the cataract makes such a prodigious noise that people cannot hear one another speak at some miles distance; and it is said that the waters throw themselves over the precipice with such a force, that they form an arch under which men may ride on horseback.

But Mr. VANDREIL, Governor of Canada, who ordered his son, with some skilful people, to measure the height of the cataract, in the year 1721, found father HENNEPIN egregiously mistaken in several particulars. They informed the Governor that the cataract was occasioned by a vast ledge of rock which lay quite across the chanel a little before the stream enters the lake Ontario; and that the waters did not fall perpendicularly more than twenty six fathom, or an hundred and twenty six feet, but below this cataract there were numbers of small ledges or stairs across the river, which lowered it still more till it came to run more level; and if all the descents were put together, the difference of the water above the cataract, and those on the level below, might be as much as father HENNEPIN makes it, tho' the cataract, upon a perpendicular, was no more than twenty six fathom.

They observed also, that the noise of the waters was not so great as the father makes it, for people might converse together close by; nor did the stream form an arch that people could pass under it, for the waters fall in a manner downright. But they observed with him that the mist or shower which the fall creates, is so extraordinary as to be seen at five leagues distance, rising as high

as the common clouds, and when the sun shines, forms a glorious rainbow. CHAP. VIII.

Those gentlemen add, that the stream is much narrower and deeper at the falls than either above or below them, being here but a quarter of a mile over; and that from below there is no coming nearer the falls by water than about six miles, the torrent is so rapid, and has so many whirlpools in it.

The French formerly built two forts on the lake Ontario, the one on the north east part of it, where the river of St. Lawrence issues out of it, called by the Indians Cataracui, and by the French Fort Frontenac, and the other on the south-west part of the lake near the abovesaid cataract, called Fort Niagara, but the Iroquois blocked up the latter, and starved that garrison. They obliged them also to abandon Fort Frontenac, and demolished both about the year 1688; but I am informed the French have wheedled the Iroquois by their priests to permit them to erect those forts again under the notion of warehouses for the security of their goods. Afterwards abandoned.

The third lake I mentioned is that of Erie, separated from the lake Ontario by the streight or river of Niagara. This lake extends from the country of the Iroquois to the westward, about four hundred miles in length, and is near an hundred miles broad. From the lake of Erie there is a passage through the lake St. Clair into that of the Hurons, and so into the lake Illinois, near which rises a river which falls into the Mississippi; but from the best information I can get, there is no continued navigation from the lake Erie to the Mississippi, nor is Mississippi River navigable in all parts of it, as the French once flattered themselves, there being several cataracts or steep falls in it. Erie Lake.

The chief rivers in these countries are, 1. Hudson's River. 2. The Mohawk River. 3. Onandaga, or Orswego River. 4. The Raritan. 5. Maurice River: and, 6. De la War River.

1. Hudson's River, rising from a small lake between the lakes of Ontario and Champlain, and running south-east before it reaches Albany, then turns directly south, from whence it continues its course due south an hundred and fifty miles to the city of New-York, and afterwards falls into the sea between Long-Island and States-Island. Hudson's river.

2. The Mohawk River, which rising in the Mohawk country of the Onandagas, runs almost due east till it falls into Hudson's River, near the town of Albany.

3. The River Onandaga, which runs from east to west through the country of that name, and falls into the lake Ontario, at Oswego town. Onandaga river.

4. The River Raritan, which rising on the north of Jersey, runs to the south-east, falling into the sea near Perth Amboy. Raritan river.

5. Maurice river, which rising also in Jersey runs south, falling into the mouth of De la War Bay, not far from Cape May. And, Maurice river.

6. The River De la War, which forms the western boundary of the province of Jersey, rises in the country of the Iroquois, and running almost due south falls into the ocean between Cape May and Cape Hinlopen, being navigable two hundred miles and upwards for ships of two or three hundred tons. De la War river.

The air of these countries is colder in winter and warmer in summer than in Old-England, the north part of them differing very little from New-England. The north and north-west winds are exceeding

CHAP
VIII.

exceeding cold, but the air both in winter and summer more settled and serene than with us: And indeed the weather is always more variable in islands than on the continent, and usually warmer in winter. It is to be ascribed to the winds blowing over a long tract of snow from the north-west, that makes these countries colder than islands and some other continents that lie much further north.

The situa-
tion of the
five na-
tions.

Of the three grand divisions of the country to be described, I shall begin with that inhabited by the five nations and their allies, who anciently possessed the whole. This is bounded by Canada on the north, by New-York proper on the east, by Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia on the south, and by the lakes of Erie and Ontario on the west. Great part of the country for many hundred miles beyond those lakes also hath been conquered by the five nations; and several more have courted their alliance and that of the English, and actually entered into a confederacy with both, particularly the Tuscaroras, who lie between the Onandagas and the Oneidos, and are now reckoned a sixth nation. The Nicariages of Missilimakinac, situated on the further part of the Huron's Lake, were also at their request received to be a seventh nation in this alliance at Albany, on the 30th of May 1723, eighty men of that nation being present at their admission, as representatives of that people, and acknowledging the King of Great-Britain their Sovereign.

Two other
nations in
the confe-
deracy,

The at-
tempts of
the
French to
make
themselves
masters of
the lakes.

The chief trade with the distant Indians being at Oswego, where the river Onandaga discharges itself into the lake of Ontario, the French might entirely deprive the English of that trade, if they were masters of the lakes of Ontario and Erie, as they flattered themselves they were when they had built the forts of Cataracui or Frontenac, and Niagara already mentioned, but the Iroquois obliged the French to abandon them; and tho' they may have rebuilt and repossessed those forts, and erected more since they were driven from thence by the five nations, they find it their interest however for the present to suppress their native insolence, and treat the Indians as well as the English with more humanity than they did formerly: They have been convinced by experience that they are not yet strong enough to reduce the five nations and their Indian allies supported by the English; and therefore suffer the natives to trade with us pretty quietly. But as they are continually increasing their forces in Canada, and by their missionary priests daily proselyting the Indians to their religion, and intermarrying with them, they will, it is presumed, in time be powerful enough to expel us entirely from those lakes, and monopolize the trade of the country; unless we reduce those forts, or erect other ourselves, and keep armed vessels on the lakes of Ontario and Erie: For it seems the country of the five nations, which lies contiguous to New-York, has but few wild beasts in it; and consequently affords scarce any skins or furs. The Iroquois therefore hunt in the countries beyond the lakes, where skins are more plentiful; and the riches those people possessed of this kind were the principal inducements to the Iroquois to make a conquest of some of them, and enter into alliances with others, who were content to admit the Iroquois to hunt in their country on the west side of the lakes, upon condition they would permit those distant Indians to pass through the country of the Iroquois, and trade with the English and other Europeans;

which trade, as has been intimated, must be entirely lost to Great-Britain, if we suffer the French to continue their fortifications on the lakes of Erie, Ontario, Champlain, which in reality belong to the Iroquois our confederates. The French are wise enough at present indeed to give us but little disturbance, lest they should alarm us before their designs are ripe for execution; but I wish we do not neglect the erecting forts and armed vessels to protect that trade till it is too late to endeavour the recovery of it.

There are five grand articles which weigh very much with the Indians in determining them what European nation they shall adhere to. 1. A beneficial trade, or the being supplied on fair and reasonable terms with cloathing, strong liquor, arms, ammunition, and other European merchandise. 2. A mild administration, without oppression or tyranny. 3. A religion that gives them but little trouble or disquiet. 4. The suffering their tribes to marry and incorporate themselves with the Europeans. 5. And lastly, an assurance that the nation that they enter into an alliance with is both willing and able to protect them against their enemies, whether Europeans or Indians.

The mo-
tives of the
Indians to
enter into
an alliance
with any
European
nation.

1. In the first of these articles we have the bet-1. Trade.
ter of the French and Spaniards. Our colonies can supply the Indians with goods cheaper and in greater quantities than they can, and we generally deal fairly and upon the square with them.

2. In the second also we have the advantage, 2. Libe-
the Indians being treated as our brethren and fel-
low subjects almost every where (except in New-England;) which has occasioned their having been more frequently in a state of war with New-England than with any other British Colony.

3. But as to the third article, that of religion, 3. Reli-
the French succeed much beyond our missionaries; gion.
for the popish fathers are not only much more numerous in that part of the world, but they are abundantly more artful and more indulgent to their converts; they press nothing with rigour, but accommodate themselves to the dispositions, and even superstitions of their proselytes, gaining them by degrees, and persuading them to part with one beloved vice or custom after another; whereas the New-England independents, who have dressed up the Christian religion in the most frightful form that ever it put on, expect their proselytes should conform to their absurd and rigid rites all at once, and in a manner compelled the Indians to be of their sect in the islands on the coast, and in settlements where the Indians were in their power, which gave the remoter Indians an abhorrence of their religion: And as for the rest of our colonies, they have made but very feeble attempts towards the conversion of the Indians. They are so destitute of clergymen in some provinces, that the very planters are become heathens, or at least as ignorant of christianity as the Indians themselves.

The French priests on the contrary have been so successful in their missions, even among the five nations, that they have persuaded part of the nation of the Mohawks, once esteemed the firmest friends of the English, to remove their habitations from the neighbourhood of Albany to Canada: And indeed we are in much more danger of the French missionaries than of the French arms on that side. If their future success be answerable to the past, they may possibly in time gain over the several tribes of Indians from us without the assistance of a military force. We ought to insist therefore

CHAP.
VIII.

therefore, that the Indians in alliance with us expel the jesuites and priests their country, if we hope for their friendship long. It does indeed put some stop to these conversions that the Indians cannot be supplied with goods upon such easy terms from the French as from us, on which account they seem divided between their temporal and spiritual interests; and unless they prove more zealous catholicks than their brethren on this continent we shall not lose them suddenly; especially if we consider how vast an extent of country the several Indian nations inhabit that trade with our colonies, some of which are scarce yet known to the French.

4. Inter-
marriages.

As to the fourth article of marrying and incorporating our people with the Indians, here the French and Spaniards have a vast advantage of us. The English are unaccountably squeamish in this particular, and the colonies, especially those of New-England, seem to prohibit it; which raises in the natives a disgust and aversion of our people. It is natural for men to slight those who seem to despise them, and the Indians are not so dull of apprehension as not to discern we treat them in this instance either as a species below us, or at least less perfect than our selves. Besides, we lose all the interest in them that such alliances would give us. The relation of husband and wife, fathers and children, are the strongest ties in nature, and in a few years must make the Indians one people with such European nations as promote these alliances; of which the French are so sensible that they oblige every male planter, sent over at the charge of that government (and these are very numerous,) to take an Indian wife on his arrival.

5. Protec-
tion.

As to the fifth article, that of protection, there is no doubt but we are as yet able to protect our Indian allies as either the French or Spaniards are, especially if the forces of our colonies were united, and under a uniform direction: But if we continue to suffer the French to encroach upon our territories, build forts and armed vessels upon the several lakes, and take all the passes that command the country, the Indians will have but too much reason to conclude that they will one day be masters of their country, unless the English exert themselves in like manner, and oppose their invasions, and consequently will be induced to abandon our interest by way of self preservation. They will infallibly go over to those they find better able to protect them. It might make them cautious indeed how they put themselves in their power, if they were acquainted with the tyranny and oppression of the French government; but as their missionaries set every thing of this kind in the most favourable light, and treat their disciples with kindness and condescension at present, in order to gain them over to their party, they are in a great measure ignorant what they must submit to when the French have established their dominion in North-America.

Persons of
the Iro-
quois.

As to the towns and buildings of the Iroquois, their stature, complexion, shape, and habits, they so much resemble the neighbouring Indians already described in these particulars, that it is perfectly unnecessary to say any thing on these heads; however, as the French generally represent them in Europe as the most barbarous people on the face of the earth, affirming that they are devourers of their own species; it may be proper to observe what character others have given of them, and even some more impartial writers of their own.

Monseigneur DE LA POTERIE describing the five nations in his history of North-America, says, when we speak of the Iroquois in France, we represent them by a common mistake as mere barbarians thirsting after human blood, but their true character is very different. They are indeed the bravest and most formidable people of North-America, but at the same time as polite and judicious as can well be conceived; which appears not only from the management of their affairs with the French and English, but with almost all the Indian nations of this vast continent.

CHAP.
VIII.The ge-
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the five
nations.

Mr. COLBEN, an Englishman, who wrote their history says, notwithstanding the five nations live under the darkest ignorance, yet a bright and noble genius shines through those black clouds. The most celebrated Roman heroes have not discovered a greater love for their country, or a greater contempt of death in the cause of liberty. I think (says he) they have outdone the Romans, especially those who murdered themselves to avoid shame or torment; for our Indians have refused to die meanly by their own hands when they thought their country's honour at stake, and have given up their bodies willingly to the most cruel torments their enemies could inflict; to shew that the five nations consisted of men whose courage and resolution could not be shaken. They fully, however, these noble virtues by that cruel passion of revenge, which they think (according to COLBEN) not only lawful but honourable to exert without mercy on their country's enemies. And in this only, says he, they deserve the name of Barbarians.

Another gentleman of English extraction, tho' a native of this country, and Resident a considerable time among the Iroquois at Albany, assures me they are an exceeding hospitable good-natured people, not given to revenge, unless when they are drunk; and the instances that have been given of it are no evidence of a vindictive temper, for the cruelties they inflicted on some French prisoners and their Indian allies were by way of retaliation of the like cruelties first exercised by the French on their people. It is observed that the French in the first wars they had with the Iroquois, when they imagined that people were not able to resist the force of their arms, used them in this barbarous manner, and taught the Indians those cruelties they now complain of; and which gave the Iroquois such an abhorrence of that nation as has been very advantageous to the English interest ever since.

The French missionaries probably find no small difficulty at this day in removing the just prejudices the Iroquois entertain of the French when they come to make proselytes among them; the conduct and behaviour of the French in America having been directly opposite to the principles of the Christian religion, which they pretend to instruct the Indians in.

As to the government of the Iroquois, Mr. GOVERNMENT COLBEN informs us that every nation is a distinct republick, but that they have for time immemorial been united in a confederacy against all other Indian nations; that they are governed by their respective Sachems or civil Magistrates in time of peace, and by their warriors or Captains in their wars; and that the authority both of the one and the other is obtained and continued only by the opinion the rest of their nation have of their conduct or valour; and that they are laid aside when

CHAP.
VIII.

when they cease to merit the esteem of their countrymen. That their Sachems and Captains are usually poorer than the common people, giving away and distributing all the presents and plunder they get among the people, so as to leave themselves nothing: For, says COLBEN, if they are once suspected of selfishness, they grow mean in the opinion of their countrymen, and consequently lose their authority; from whence one would be apt to conclude that their Chiefs were elective, and their dignities not hereditary; which is directly contrary to all other accounts I meet with of their constitution, most writers agreeing that the post of Sachem is hereditary: And my Albany correspondent confirms this opinion, adding, (as other American historians do,) that the next male-heir by the mother's side succeeds the preceding Sachem: Which is certainly true, not only here but in several other parts of North-America. But so far these nations may have the appearance of Republicks, that the chief Sachem, or King, seldom determines any thing of consequence without the concurrence of the several inferior Sachems or Lords of his nation; and his influence on his people vanishes when he loses their esteem.

My Albany friend also observes, that every nation of the Iroquois is divided into three tribes, which take their names from three animals, viz. 1. The Turtle or Tortoise. 2. The Bear; and 3. The Wolf; and that each of these three tribes has its Chief or Aquajander. The Aquajander of the Turtle tribe being superior to the other two; and the Aquajander of that tribe in the Mohawk nation (called the Carihoge) is the Sovereign or Emperor of all the six nations; here he does not comprehend the seventh nation of distant Indians situated beyond the lakes.

He observes further, that these Chiefs have some honours paid them by their subjects, but their authority he thinks is very inconsiderable, and their revenues nothing: That there are no courts of judicature in the six nations or any other law but custom; and in case of murder the nearest relation is the avenger of blood.

Their for-
ces and
war.

They have no standing forces, but every able-bodied man takes up arms when honour or the defence of his country calls him out. Before they march, their Captains and warriors assemble at a feast, and whoever partakes of it thereby enlists himself for that service. On this occasion they paint themselves and appear in their best apparel; the old men rise up by turns in the assembly and make speeches, setting forth the noble actions, the valour and courage of themselves and their ancestors, together with the cowardice and weakness of their enemies, to animate the warriors. After supper they have a war dance, and the next day they march out and discharge their pieces as they leave the town, their leader singing the war song. When they meet their enemies, every one shelters himself behind a tree, from whence as opportunity offers he fires at the foe.

They take off the scalps of those they kill, and bring them home, preserving them as trophies of their victories. When they take a prisoner they present him to some family which hath lost a relation in the war; if they receive him, he is immediately admitted to all the honours and estate of the deceased, and he takes his name and titles; but if rejected, the poor wretch is condemned to some cruel death. But this piece of barbarity they are said to have learned from the French,

VOL. III.

who to strike a terror into the natives, used to treat their Indian prisoners in this inhuman manner in their first wars.

CHAP.
VIII.

Other writers observe, that they adopt all their young captives into their families, by which means they supply the losses they sustain in their wars; so far are they from torturing or putting them to death, unless provoked by tortures first inflicted on their friends.

As to their marriages, children are entirely at their parents disposal; and when both parties are agreed, the lover presents his mistress with a mantle as a pledge of his affection. Some time after the parents present the parties to their Chiefs, and declare the intended marriage; after which they go to feasting and dancing, and the marriage is consummated; the man continues with his parents and the woman with hers till they have children. He visits his wife every night, and is admitted to conjugal embraces, but returns home in the morning. Whatever he takes in hunting he brings to his wife and leaves to her disposal.

Marriages
and wo-
men.

They do not allow a plurality of wives, but divorces are common. They appear very modest, and are never seen to commit indecent familiarities, or even to kiss before company. The women are delivered with great ease, and without the assistance of a Midwife or any other woman; and immediately after their delivery go to hard labour, which they esteem the best means to a speedy recovery. They are all extremely fond of their children, and think a numerous offspring one of the greatest blessings.

As to the religion of these people, as far as I can learn (says my Albany friend) they acknowledge a supreme being, whom they style the preserver of the universe; but seldom pay any religious worship to him unless in public calamities, and then they offer sacrifices of every thing they possess, and pray for deliverance from their calamities. They also offer thank-offerings for any public blessing. I cannot learn that they have any idols or representations of the Deity among them. When it thunders, they take it to be a sign of God's displeasure, and will say to one another, how angry he is! and often cry out, it is enough, have done. They believe a future state of rewards and punishments, but they have very obscure notions of it; and seem to think that the rewards of the good will consist in the enjoyment of those pleasures he was most fond of in his life. At their funerals they furnish the deceased with all necessaries, as meat, drink, cloathing, arms, and ammunition. They make great lamentation for the dead, and constantly go morning and evening to the graves of their deceased friends and relations, and howl most hideously, and never fail to leave some provision on the grave.

Funerals.

Various attempts have been made to convert these people to christianity, especially by the French priests, who by the negligence of our own people and their great zeal to gain converts to popery have met with too great success; having drawn off great part of the Mohawk nation from their alliance with the English, and even persuaded them to leave their native country and settle in Canada; where they have built them a stately church, and have three or four priests residing constantly among them. Those who remain true to the English (on account of their nearness to the English settlements) have been instructed by the Dutch and English Ministers occasionally as they

Of mak-
ing profe-
lytes a-
mong
them.

CHAP.
VIII.

came to trade, and have always shewn a disposition to embrace the gospel; yet their instructions being transient and but seldom repeated, are soon forgot, and indeed but lamely administered by the help of an ignorant interpreter. About twenty years ago the society for propagating the gospel sent over a missionary, who resided among them six or seven years, but being a gentleman advanced in years, he made a very slow progress in their language, and was not able to bear the fatigues of such an undertaking, which obliged him to leave them; since which time they had no instruction but what they occasionally received from the English and Dutch Ministers at Albany. A good foundation however was laid by the society's missionary, and those other gentlemen at Albany: They are all brought to the profession of christianity and almost all baptized, and some of them seem to have a tolerable notion of it, and have earnestly desired a missionary to be sent among them. To encourage this good disposition in them, the society two years ago appointed a catechist among them, a native of America, by the recommendation of the clergy of New-York, who has resided among them, applied himself to the study of their language, and has met with very good success. He is since come to London for holy orders, and appointed missionary among them.

They be-
come trac-
table of
late.Drinking
their chief
vice.

He has taught several of the natives to read and write their own language; and finds them very desirous of instruction, and is much beloved by them.

The only vice which appears to reign among the Iroquois is drunkenness; but they are very much reformed since they have had a missionary residing among them. They have forsaken their old superstitions and barbarities, and seem to be much more civilized than their more distant neighbours; they constantly attend the public worship, and never fail addressing their Creator morning and evening in their families; and abstain from all labour on the Lord's day. I doubt not (says my correspondent) were provision made, and encouragement given to missionaries to undertake this work, many more of them might be civilized and become proselytes to the protestant religion; which would prevent their being corrupted and seduced by the enemies of our nation to desert the British interest.

Missionaries of the Church of England seem much more acceptable to the Indians than those employed by the people of New-England, who are rigid dissenters, and make more use of force than persuasion in their intercourse with that people; and this has occasioned the Indians on the frontiers of New-England to adhere so constantly to the French, and hearken to the popish missionaries.

Wars be-
tween the
Iroquois
and the
French.

The Iroquois have been at war with the French almost ever since their arrival in Canada, and suffered very much at first by their fire-arms, having never before seen such instruments of destruction: The French also had the advantage of being assisted by the Adirondacks, the ancient enemies of the Iroquois, in their encounters with the five nations: but the Iroquois entering into an alliance with the English, and being furnished with fire-arms and ammunition, defeated the French in their turn, carried the war into Canada, burned and plundered Montreal, killed several thousand of the French and their Indian allies, and obliged them to abandon their forts on the lakes of Ontario and Erie, as has been related already; which has made the

French very cautious how they provoke the five nations of late years, especially as they find them no less celebrated for their conduct and stratagems in war than for their bravery.

CHAP.
VIII.Maxims
in war.

These people make it a constant rule in war to leave as little to chance as possible; and notwithstanding they know themselves superior in strength and number to their enemies, never engage them in a fair field as we call it, but lay ambuscades, and make use of their wits to surprize them unprepared; by which means they do not only save their own forces, but take more prisoners than they could in an equal engagement; and as they incorporate the younger captives in their families, their very prisoners prove an additional strength to these confederated nations.

While they were at war with the Adirondacks and Hurons (allies of France) in order to amuse the French, they sent and desired peace; which was consented to, on condition the Iroquois would receive some missionary priests and jesuits amongst them, and be instructed in the Christian religion. This the five nations promised to comply with; but the fathers were no sooner arrived amongst them than they made them close prisoners, threatening to cut their throats if the French did not stand neuter in this war; after which they fell upon the Hurons and Adirondacks with such fury, that those nations were in a manner extirpated. And this may have given occasion to some of those exclamations of the French against the Iroquois as a perfidious and barbarous people; however, it appears the popish missionaries have not been altogether deterred by such examples from attempting to make proselytes amongst them, tho' they proceed possibly with more caution than heretofore; for we find they have not only wheedled part of the Mohawk nation to desert the English interest, but have frequently prevailed with the other nations to invade the frontiers of New-England, Virginia, and Maryland, when they could not persuade them to disturb the colonies of New-York or Pennsylvania.

A strata-
gem of
the Iro-
quois.

However, the Indians have been frequently brought to acknowledge their offences of this kind, and promise to live peaceably with Virginia and the rest of the British Colonies. A speech of one of their Sachems on such an occasion may be a curiosity worth the reader's perusal: The Sachem first addressing himself to the Governor of New-York, said,

Brother CORLAER, (the name they give that Governor.)

"Your Sachem is a great Sachem, and we are
"but a small people; but when the English came
"first to New-York, Manhattan, Virginia, Ara-
"giske, and to Maryland, Yakokranagary, they
"were then but a small people, and we great:
"Then because we found you a good people, we
"treated you civilly, and gave you land: We
"hope therefore now that you are great, and
"we small, you will protect us from the French;
"if you do not, we shall lose all our hunting
"and Beavers. The French will get all the Bea-
"ver. They are now angry with us, because
"we carry our Beaver to our brethren, the Eng-
"lish.
"We understand that because of the mischief
"which has been done to the people and cattle of
"Virginia and Maryland, we must not come
"near the heads of your rivers, nor near your
"plantations, but keep at the foot of the moun-
"tains; for tho' we lay down our arms as friends,
"we

A speech
of a Sa-
chem of
the Go-
vernor of
New-
York, &c.

CHAP. VIII. "we shall not be trusted for the future, but looked upon as robbers: We agree however to this proposition, and shall wholly stay away from Virginia; and this we do in gratitude to Corlaer, who has been at so great pains to persuade you, great Governor of Virginia, to forget what is past.

"We thank the great Sachem of Virginia, that he has so readily forgiven and forgot the evil that has been done; and we on our parts gladly catch at, and lay hold on the chain." Then each of them delivered an ax to be buried, and gave a belt.

"Let your friend the great Sachem that lives on the other side the great lake know this, that we being a free people, tho' united to the English, may give our lands, and be joined to the Sachem we like best. We give this Beaver to remember what we say."

The English have from time to time, once in two or three years, constantly renewed and confirmed their treaties with the five nations, particularly in the year 1722. We find that the Governors of New-York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, met the Sachems or Kings of the five nations, with the Sachems of the more distant Indians, their allies at Albany, and renewed all former leagues and ties of friendship. Those Indian Princes giving the usual presents of Furs and Wampum as pledges of their fidelity and resolution to observe the articles agreed on; but we scarce ever meet with the Governors of New-England at these treaties; the reason whereof seems to be, that New-England seldom hath a good understanding with the Indian nations; but whenever it is in their power, treat them rather as a conquered people than as friends and confederates: There are some instances however where New-England has been comprehended in such treaties, and indeed all the rest of the British Colonies, tho' their Governors have been absent from the congress.

It may be necessary to observe here that the reason the Iroquois give the Governor of New-York the name of CORLAER is, that one CORLAER, a Dutchman, was the first European employed to treat with them as allies and confederates. And the same CORLAER being drowned in passing the lake that lies between New-York and Canada, that lake is called by them Corlaer also; though the French gave it the name of Champlain, from a French Officer of that name, who put them upon erecting forts on this lake, which has made the French very near and troublesome neighbours to the British Colonies.

New-York Pro-
per.
The situa-
tion.

The second grand division of the province of New-York to be described is that of New-York Proper, which is bounded by Canada on the north, New-England on the east, the ocean on the south, and the five nations and New-Jersey on the west; and is about two hundred miles in length from north to south (that is) from the mouth of Hudson's River to the lake of Champlain or Corlaer; and it might be extended two hundred miles farther north if we possessed all the country we claim as far as the river St. Lawrence: But the French having built forts on the lake Champlain have in a manner expelled us from the north part of this country. The English only possess the country south of that lake at present, and this is exceeding narrow in most places, particularly between Connecticut Colony on the east and New-Jersey on the west, it is scarce twenty miles broad. But to this we must

add the island of Manhattan, which the city of New-York stands upon, Staten-Island, and Long-Island, all which lie before the mouth of Hudson's River, and are comprehended in New-York Proper.

This province is divided into ten counties, which going from north to south down Hudson's River are, Albany, Ulster, Dutchess, Orange, King's County, Chester, New-York County, Queen's County, Suffolk County, and Richmond County, which are pretty well replenished with plantations and farms, but have not many great towns in them. The chief towns are New-York City, Schenectida, Albany, Westchester, Jamaica Town, Hempstead, Oyster-bay Town, Huntington, Richmond, Rye, New-Rochel, North-castle, Southampton, and Brook-haven; in all or most of which towns are missionaries, either Ministers, School-masters or Catechists, sent over and maintained chiefly by the society for the propagation of the gospel, as will appear by the list hereafter inserted.

New-York City is situated in 40 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and 74 degrees 4 minutes western longitude, at the south end of York County, being an island in the mouth of Hudson's River, about fourteen miles long and two or three broad. As this town stands upon an eminence, and contains upwards of a thousand houses well built with brick and stone, with a wall and forts, which serve as well for ornament as defence, there is scarce any town in North-America that makes a better appearance. It is also an excellent harbour, furnished with commodious keys and warehouses, and employs some hundreds of ships and vessels in its foreign trade and fisheries.

The publick buildings are the several churches belonging to those of the church of England, to the Swedes of the Lutheran persuasion, to the Dutch Calvinists, the French Refugees, and the English Sectaries; but the church of England may well be looked upon as the established religion, because the constitution of the government is the same as in England; the rest, however, are tolerated, and capable of posts in the government, and of sitting in the house of representatives, as I apprehend.

The other publick buildings are the town-house, and that where their general assemblies and courts of justice are held. As to their fortifications, they are not, I doubt, capable of defending them against an European enemy any more than those in the rest of the plantations, for this unanswerable reason, because they were lately confessed to be so bad that it was not fit to enquire into the state of them, lest foreigners should be acquainted with our weakness on that side. There are indeed four hundred regular troops sent from England to garrison this and some other towns of this province, of which two companies always are, or ought to be, upon duty in this city; but admitting they were always complete, and never so well disciplined, this seems to be but a very inconsiderable force to defend a province of this importance against an invasion, unless their country militia be more to be depended on than that of Great-Britain.

As New-York may be looked upon to be the frontier garrison in the south against an invasion from any maritime power, so Schenectida Town and Fort, in the county of Albany, twenty miles north of the town of Albany, may well be deem-

CHAP. VIII.

Subdivi-
sion into
counties.Chief
towns.New-York
City and
County.New-York
County.Schenec-
tida town.

CHAP.
VIII.

ed their frontier on the north against the French of Canada and their Indian allies, who, in the year 1688, surprised and almost demolished the town with the works about it, but they have since been repaired and enlarged, and fort Nicholson and some other forts erected; in which and in Albany the rest of the regular troops are quartered for the defence of that frontier.

Albany
Town.

Albany is a considerable town, situated on Hudson's River, an hundred and fifty miles north of New-York, having a fort erected for its defence: And here it is that the Sachems or Kings of the five nations meet the Governors of our northern Colonies to renew their alliances, and concert measures for their defence against their common enemies, as has been intimated already.

Staten-
Island.

South-west of the island and county of New-York lies Staten-Island, being about ten miles in length and six in breadth, and in it are a great many good farms and plantations, but not one town that I can meet with.

Long-
Island.
Counties
and chief
towns in
Long-
Island.
Jamaica.
Hemp-
stead.
Oyster
Bay.
Rich-
mond.
North-
castle.
New-
Windfor.
Salisbury
Plain.

Long-Island lies east of Staten-Island, and south-east of that of New-York, opposite to the colony of Connecticut, being an hundred and fifty miles in length, and generally about twelve in breadth, and contains three of the counties above-mentioned, viz. Queen's County, Suffolk County, and Richmond County. The chief towns in Queen's County are Jamaica and Hempstead. In Suffolk County the chief town is Oyster-Bay. The town of Richmond gives name to Richmond County, in which also is the town of Southampton, in the south-east part of the island; and there also are situated the towns of North-Castle and New-Windfor.

There is a celebrated plain in the middle of Long-Island sixteen miles long and four broad, to which they have given the name of Salisbury Plain, having (as it is said) as fine a turf as that on Salisbury Plain in Old-England; and there being an excellent breed of Horses in the island they have races here every season; to which the gentlemen of New-England and New-York resort, as they do to New-Market with us.

West-
chester.
Rye.
Govern-
ment.

There are still some good towns which lie in the county of Westchester on the continent, east of the mouth of Hudson's River; the chief whereof are Westchester and Rye.

This is one of those colonies denominated a royal government, the legislative power being lodged in the Governor, council and assembly; the Governor, council, and Officers of state being appointed by the crown.

Produce
and trade.

As to the produce and trade of this country, these articles being much the same here as in New-England, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, I shall treat of them all together in the description of Pennsylvania: And there also the reader will meet with the abstract of the history of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania; their story being so interwoven that it is scarce possible to speak of one without including the other.

New-Jer-
sey.
Situation
and extent.

The third and last grand division I proposed to describe is that of New-Jersey, bounded by an imaginary line drawn from the river De la War to Hudson's River, in 41 degrees north latitude on the north, by Hudson's River, which separates it from New-York, and by the Atlantick-Ocean

on the east, by the same ocean on the south, and by De la War Bay and River, which separates it from Pennsylvania, on the west, lying between 39 and 41 degrees of north latitude, and between 74 and 76 degrees of western longitude; and is about an hundred and forty miles in length from north to south, and between three and four-score in breadth from east to west.

CHAP.
VIII.

It was heretofore divided into two parts by a line drawn almost through the middle of it from north to south, and distinguished by the names of East and West-Jersey, being granted to different proprietors; but the proprietors of both having thought fit to surrender their charters to the crown, the whole now constitutes one royal government. The Jerseys have now but one council and one house of representatives, and the Governor of New-York is usually Governor of the Jerseys by a different commission, the Governor, council, and Officers of state being appointed by the King, as in New-York Proper.

Divisions
and subdivi-
sions.
Govern-
ment.

This county is subdivided into the counties of, 1. Berghen. 2. Essex. 3. Middlesex; and, 4. Monmouth on the east. 5. Burlington. 6. Gloucester. 7. Salem; and, 8. Cape May, counties on the west. The chief towns are, 1. Perth-Amboy, the capital of the county of Middlesex, and of all East-Jersey, pleasantly situated at the mouth of Raritan River; and had it been built according to the intended model, would have been one of the finest towns in North-America; but planters have not resorted to it, as was expected, notwithstanding it is so commodiously situated for trade that ships of three hundred tons may come up in one tide and lie before the Merchants doors; but the town of Elizabeth, situated to the north-ward of it, flourishes much more, and may still be deemed the most considerable town in the province. 2. Berghen, the capital of the county of the same name. 3. Elizabeth Town, already mentioned, capital of the county of Essex. 4. Middleton. 5. Shrewsbury; and, 6. Freehold, in the county of Monmouth. 7. Burlington, or Bridlington, the capital of the county of Burlington and of all West-Jersey.

Counties.

Chief
towns.
Perth-
Amboy.Berghen.
Elizabeth
Town.
Middle-
ton.
Shrews-
bury.
Burling-
ton.

This town is situated in 40 degrees 40 minutes of north latitude, on an island in the middle of the river De la War, to the northward of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, and on the opposite side of the river. The houses are handsomely built of brick, and laid out into spacious streets with commodious keys and wharfs, to which ships of two or three hundred tons may come up. It has also an handsome market-place, a town-house or guild-hall, where the courts of justice were heretofore held, and two good bridges over the river, the one called London-Bridge, and the other York-Bridge; and having an easy communication with Philadelphia and the ocean by the river De la War, carries on a brisk trade. 8. Gloucester, the capital of the county of the same name; and, 9. Salem, capital of the county of Salem, and situated on the river Salem, which falls into De la War Bay. This is said to be one of the best towns in West-Jersey, whether we consider its situation, buildings or trade.

Glou-
cester.
Salem.

The produce of this province, its trade and history will be found in the description of Pennsylvania.

THE PRESENT STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

CHAP. IX.

Of Pennsylvania.

CHAP.
IX.
Situation
and extent.

PENNSYLVANIA lies between 39 and 42 degrees of north latitude, and between 75 and 79 degrees of western longitude, being bounded by the country of the five nations or Iroquois on the north, by New-York and New-Jersey, from which it is separated for the most part by De la War Bay and River on the east, and by Maryland on the south and west, being about two hundred miles in length from north to south, and almost of equal breadth in the three northern counties, but the three southern counties are not more than twenty or thirty miles broad from east to west, that is, between De la War Bay and Maryland, from which the three southern counties are divided by an imaginary line drawn from north to south: But these limits are not yet entirely settled, I find, the Lord Baltimore and the family of the Penns being at this day engaged in a suit of chancery about them.

Rivers.
De la War
River.

The chief rivers in Pennsylvania are, 1. The river De la War, which rising far north in the country of the Iroquois, takes its course to the southward, and dividing this province from that of New-Jersey, falls into the Atlantick-Ocean, between the promontories of Cape May and Cape Hinlopen, being navigable for two hundred miles and upwards with large vessels; but has a cataract or steep fall in it above Bristol, which renders the navigation impracticable to the northward of the county of Bucks.

Sasqua-
hanna
River.

2. The second river in this province is that of Sasquahanna, which rising likewise in the country of the Iroquois, runs south through the middle of Pennsylvania, and falls into the bay of Chesapeake, being navigable also for large ships.

School-
kill River.

3. The third river is that of Schoolkill, which having its source also in the country of the Iroquois, runs south, almost parallel to the rivers De la War and Sasquahanna, and at length turning to the eastward falls into the De la War at the city of Philadelphia: This river also is navigable for large ships as far as the city of Philadelphia, and

V O L. III. Numb. CXXXIX.

for boats an hundred miles higher. These rivers and the numerous bays and creeks in the bay of De la War, capable of harbouring the largest fleets, render this country admirably situated to carry on a foreign trade.

The east side of the province of Pennsylvania the west being still uncultivated) is divided into six counties, which taking them from north to south are, 1. Buckingham. 2. Philadelphia County. 3. The county of Chester. 4. Newcastle County. 5. The county of Kent; and, 6. The county of Suffex.

In the county of Buckingham, the most northerly of any in this province, the chief town is Bristol, situated on the river De la War, opposite to Burlington in New-Jersey, and twenty miles north of the city of Philadelphia. In this county also lies the manour house of Pensbury, elegantly built by PENN the first proprietor, and situated on an eminence which commands the county, being almost surrounded by the river De la War.

The county of Philadelphia lies south of that of Bucks, and in it is the celebrated city of Philadelphia, the capital of the province, situated in 40 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, being one of the finest plans of a town that ever was formed. It is an oblong of two miles, extending from the river De la War to the river Schoolkill, the east end fronting the river De la War, and the west the river Schoolkill, each front being a mile in length. Every owner of a thousand acres hath his house in one of the two fronts facing the rivers, or in the high street running from the middle of one front to the middle of the other: And every owner of five thousand acres has an acre of ground in the front of his house, and the rest half an acre for gardens and court yards. In the centre of the town is a square of ten acres, surrounded by the town-house and other publick buildings, and in each quarter of the city is a square of eight acres. The high street, which runs the whole length of the town, is an hundred feet wide, parallel to which run eight streets,

CHAP.
IX.

Counties
and chief
towns.

Bristol.

Pensbury.

Philadel-
phia
County
and City.

CHAP.
IX.

streets, which are crossed by twenty more at right angles, all of them thirty feet wide; and several canals are let into the town from each river, which add to the beauty and conveniency of the place. There is also a fine key two hundred feet square, to which ships of four or five hundred tons may come up; with wet and dry docks for building and repairing of ships, magazines, warehouses, and all manner of conveniences for importing and exporting of merchandize. There are already fourteen or fifteen hundred houses in the city, most of them well built with brick, but there are still a great many more wanting to complete the plan: However, more could not have been expected than has been done in so short a time, the ground not having been laid out much above fifty years.

Oxford
Town.German
Town.Radnor
Town.Chester
Town and
County.Chichester
Town.Newcastle
County
and Town.Apoqui-
nemink
Town.The county
of Kent.
Dover
Town.The county
of Sussex.
Lewes
Town.The several
kinds of govern-
ment in
English
America.Royal
Govern-
ments.Charter
Govern-
ments.

The town of Oxford also is situated in the county of Philadelphia, but I meet with no description of it; however, I take it to be a considerable place, inasmuch as a missionary is maintained here by the society for the propagation of the gospel. German Town, situated to the northward of the city of Philadelphia, also is said to be a thriving populous place, inhabited chiefly by the Dutch, or those of Dutch extraction. In this county is the city of Radnor, situated on the south-west side of Schoolkill River, being the capital of a large country planted by the Welch, and extremely well improved by them.

To the south of the county of Philadelphia lies that of Chester, the capital whereof is the town of Chester, situated on the river De la War, which is about three hundred miles broad at this place; and to the southward of Chester lies the town of Chichester. Either of these ports are capable of receiving and harbouring the largest fleets secure from storms.

The county of Newcastle lies south of that of Chester, the capital town being of the same name. This is said to be a town of the briskest trade in the province next to that of Philadelphia, and has an iron mine in the neighbourhood of it. The town of Apoquinemink lies upon the river De la War also, south of Newcastle, and is a place of good trade.

The county of Kent lies south of that of Newcastle, the chief town whereof is Dover, being a commodious port.

The most southern county is that of Sussex, the capital town whereof is Lewes, being a secure harbour and a town of trade.

Pennsylvania and Maryland are now the only proprietary governments of all our American Colonies; for, as has been intimated already, there were originally three sorts of government established by the English on the continent of America, viz. 1. Royal Governments. 2. Charter Governments; and, 3. Proprietary Governments.

1. A Royal Government is properly so called because the colony is immediately dependent on the crown, and the King remains Sovereign of the colony: He appoints the Governor, council, and Officers of state; and the people only elect their representatives, as in England. Such are the governments of Virginia, New-Hampshire, New-York, New-Jersey, and both Carolina's, tho' the Carolina's were till very lately Proprietary governments.

2. A Charter Government is so called, because the company incorporated by the King's charter were in a manner vested with sovereign authority to establish what sort of government they saw fit: And these companies have generally thought fit,

(as I apprehend) to transfer their power to the populace; for in these governments the freemen do not only chuse their representatives, but annually chuse their Governor, council and Magistrates, and make laws without the concurrence, and even without the knowledge of the King, and are under no other restraint than this, that they enact no laws contrary to the laws of England; if they do, their charters are liable to be forfeited. Such is the government of Rhode-Island, and I think of the colony of Connecticut in New-England; and such was the government of the Massachusetts, Maine and Plymouth formerly; but their first charters being adjudged forfeited in the reign of King CHARLES II. the charter granted to the Massachusetts by King WILLIAM III. has reserved the appointment of a Governor to the crown: But the house of representatives chuse the council with the Governor's concurrence, and the Governor and council appoint the Magistrates and Officers of state; from whence it appears that the government of the Massachusetts, in which the colonies of Maine and Plymouth are now comprehended, is in some instances different from either of the two former species of government, or rather a mixture of both.

3. The third kind of government I proposed to describe is the Proprietary Government, properly so called because the proprietor is vested with sovereign authority: He appoints the Governor, Council and Magistrates, and the representatives of the people are summoned in his name, and by their advice he enacts laws without the concurrence of the crown; but by a late statute, the proprietor must have the King's consent in the appointing a Governor when he does not reside in the plantation in person, and of a Deputy-Governor when he does: And all the Governors of the plantations are liable to be called to an account for male-administration by the court of King's-Bench in England by another statute. But the only Proprietary Governments now in being, as has been observed already, are that of Maryland and this of Pennsylvania; and the family of the PENNS, descendants of WILLIAM PENN, the original proprietor of Pennsylvania, being at present pretty numerous, the administration of the government in this colony seems to be lodged in the Deputy-Governor, who is from time to time appointed by the heirs of PENN with the concurrence of the crown.

As to the right Great-Britain hath to these countries which now go under the names of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, it appears they were discovered with the rest of the continent of North America, in the reign of HENRY VII. by SEBASTIAN CABOT for the crown of England, and have ever since been claimed by the Kings of England as part of their dominions: But Sir WALTER RALEIGH was the first that attempted to plant colonies on these shores in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, and in honour of that Princess gave the eastern coast of North-America the name of Virginia. Two companies being afterwards erected by charter in the reign of King JAMES I. and authorized to make settlements in Virginia, the first company sent colonies to that part of the continent which still bears the name of Virginia, and the other made settlements in New-England, then called North-Virginia, as has been related already.

In the mean time Mr. HUDSON, an Englishman, having discovered that part of the coast which lies between Virginia and New-England, and

CHAP.
IX.

The Massachusetts a mixture of the two former.

Proprietary Government.

The history of the plantation of the colonies of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

CHAP.
IX.

and being about to make a settlement at the mouth of that river which now separates New-York from New-Jersey, and to which he gave the name of Hudson's River, the Dutch pretended to purchase this country of him; and about the year 1608 began to plant it, and by virtue of that purchase laid claim to all those territories which now go under the name of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania: But there remaining some vacant spaces on the coast which were not actually possessed by the Hollanders, the Swedes sent a fleet of ships thither, and planted part of it with their countrymen. However, the Dutch proved too powerful for the Swedes, and compelled them to submit to their dominion, allowing them however to enjoy the plantations they had settled, and the privileges of the rest of their subjects.

But the English not admitting that either the Hollander or the Swede had any right to these countries which were first discovered for the crown of England by CABOT, and a part of them afterwards planted under charter from Queen ELIZABETH and King JAMES, which, 'twas presumed, gave the English a right to all the countries included within the limits granted by those patents, as these of New-York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania actually were. King CHARLES II. in the first Dutch war, anno 1684, transferred all those countries, then in possession of the Dutch, viz. New-York, the Jersey's, and the northern part of Pennsylvania, to his brother JAMES Duke of York, afterwards King JAMES II. and Sir ROBERT CARR was sent over with a squadron of men of war and a body of land forces to reduce them; and on his appearance before the city of Amsterdam, now New-York, the Dutch Governor thought fit to surrender that capital; and the rest of the towns in the possession of the Hollanders, and the Swedes followed his example; and tho' some relate that the Dutch recovered the possession of them again, yet certain it is, all these countries were yielded and confirmed to the English by the treaty of peace between England and Holland that followed soon after.

The Duke of York parcelling out these countries to under-proprietors, among whom WILLIAM PENN, Esq; son of Sir WILLIAM PENN, Admiral in the Dutch wars, was one: All the rest of the proprietors sometime after surrendered their charters again to the crown, whereby New-York and New-Jersey became royal governments, while PENN remained proprietor of that part of the country which had been granted to him; and King CHARLES II. making him another grant, in the year 1680, of that part of the country which now constitutes the rest of Pennsylvania, in consideration of money due to his father, Sir WILLIAM PENN, from the government, PENN the son united the countries he possessed by both grants into one; and giving them the name of Pennsylvania proceeded to the planting colonies there in the year 1681, the Dutch and Swedish inhabitants chusing still to reside here, as they did in New-York and the Jerseys: And they and their descendants enjoy the same privileges as the rest of his Majesty's subjects in these plantations do; and are now in a manner become the same people with the English, speaking their language, and governed by their laws and customs.

But Mr. PENN, notwithstanding the grants he had obtained from the crown and the Duke of York, did not look upon himself, it seems, to be the real proprietor of the lands granted him, till

he had given the Indians what they esteemed a valuable consideration for their interest in them; and disclaiming also the use of the carnal weapon according to the principles of his sect, he could never propose entering upon the country, which had been so granted him, by force.

The first thing therefore he did after his arrival on the coast of America in the year 1681, was to procure a conference with the Indian Sachems or Kings, in order to treat with them for the purchase of their lands; and the natives, being few in number, and making scarce any other use of their country than to hunt in it, readily hearkened to his proposals; and he purchased countries of many miles extent at a very moderate price, paying for them in cloathing, tools, utensils, and toys, to the entire satisfaction of the natives.

Mr. PENN, in a letter to his friends in England on the situation of his affairs at that time, relates, "That he had attended the Indian Kings and their Councils in several treaties for the purchase of their lands, and for adjusting the terms of trade between them; and that their order was thus: Their King (says Mr. PENN) was seated in the middle of an half moon or semi-circle; his Council, the old and wise, sitting on each hand; behind them, at a little distance, sat the younger men in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King commanded one of them to speak to me: He stood up, and came to me, and in his King's name saluted me, taking me by the hand, and telling me, he was ordered by his King to speak to me; and that now it was not he, but the King, that spoke, because what he should say was the King's mind. He first prayed me to excuse them that they had not complied with me in a former meeting: He feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate before they resolved; and that if the younger people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay. Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of and to the price. During the time this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile. The old were grave, the young reverend in their deportment; when they spoke, which was but seldom, it was warmly and elegantly. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise, that is too hard for them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the Indian and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light. After which, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachems or Kings; first to tell them what was done; next to charge and command them to love the Christians, and particularly to live in peace with me, and the people under my government: That many Governors had been in the river; but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay there before; and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted, and said amen in their way."

CHAP.
IX.

By

CHAP.
IX.

By governor living himself among them, they meant proprietary; for they had had several Dutch and Swedish Governors in De la War River. The land thus bought was entered upon by the under purchasers, who purchased by the hundred or the thousand acres what the proprietary bought by miles.

So prodigiously did this colony increase in a very few years, that the same Mr. PENN, in another letter to his friends in England, says, "We consume eighteen thousand Pounds yearly of English growth, and return of our productions what augments the revenues of the crown of England thirty thousand Pounds"; which is but a trifle to the returns they make at this day. Their success was chiefly owing to their human and friendly treatments of the Indians, with whom the Pennsylvanians scarce ever had a quarrel: This good understanding continuing even to our times, as appears by the Indians of the five nations agreeing with Sir WILLIAM KEITH, Governor of Pennsylvania in the year 1722, to remove still further back into the wood with their families, and to leave a tract of one hundred thousand acres of land and upwards to be cultivated by the English; at which congress one of their Sachems made the following speech, in the name of the rest:

Brother ONAS. [The title they give the Governor of Pennsylvania.]

They acknowledge Pennsylvania has always observed its treaties with them, as they have done on their part, and promise to do for the future.

"You have told us how WILLIAM PENN, that good man, did, on the first settlement of the province of Pennsylvania, 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 the people of Pennsylvania, that they should always 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 people have always kept the same honestly and truly to this day. So we on our part, always have kept, and for ever shall keep firm peace and friendship with a good heart to all the people of Pennsylvania. We thankfully receive and approve of all the articles in your proposition to us, and acknowledge them to be good, and full of love: We receive and approve of the same with our whole hearts, because we are not only made one people by the covenant chain, but we also are people united in one head, one body, and one heart, by the strongest ties of love and friendship.

Brother ONAS.

"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 parts desire that the covenant and union, made with a clean and true heart between you and us, may last as long as the sun and moon shall continue to give light; and we will deliver this in charge to our children, that it may be kept in remembrance with their children and children's children to the latest ages: And we desire, that the peace and tranquillity that is now established between us may be as clear as the sun shining in its lustre, without any cloud or darkness, and that the same may continue for ever.

Brother ONAS,

"We have well considered all you have spoken, and like it well, because it is only the renewing of former leagues and treaties, made between the government of Pennsylvania and us of the five nations, which we always believed we were obliged to keep; and as to the accident of one of our friends being killed by some of your people, which has happened by misfortune, and against your will, we say, that as we are all in peace, we think it hard, that the persons who killed our 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 and set at liberty, to go whither they please; and we shall esteem that as a mark of regard and friendship for the five nations, and as a further confirmation of this treaty."

They desire the Englishmen may be pardoned, who killed one of their people by accident.

The next article I proposed to treat of was the province and traffick of the colonies which lie north of Virginia and Maryland, viz. New-England, New-York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania.

The produce and traffick of the northern Colonies.

Mr. DUMMER, in his apology for New-England, endeavouring to shew the importance of those colonies to Old-England, observes, "That there is no sort of British Manufacture but what the people of New-England take off in great or less proportion, as they have ability to pay for it; every thing for use, convenience, or ornament, and (I say it with regret) for the luxury and pride of life, they receive from Great-Britain.

Of New-England.

"Some of the oldest and most experienced traders to those parts make their imports from Old-England arise to the value of three hundred thousand Pounds, and exports from thence to Great-Britain are equally beneficial to this kingdom; they brought bullion hither as long as they had any left, and now they are so exhausted, that they can no longer send Silver directly to Old-England, they continue to remit it thither by the way of Spain, Portugal, and the Streights: It is there they sell their fish, and the produce of it comes hither in Gold or Silver, or bills of exchange, which is the same thing.

"Other and better returns than money itself they make in masts, the fairest and largest in the world; besides Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Rosin, Plank-knees for ships, and other species of timber for various uses. These, especially Pitch and Tar, were formerly purchased of the Swede with Crown-peices at intolerable prices; but since the encouragement given for their importation from New-England, they have fallen to half the value. It is to be farther considered, that what we take of these commodities from our plantations is brought home in our own ships, and paid for with our manufactures.

"New-England also imports logwood, for the dying our Woollen goods, in quantities sufficient for our own use, and a surplus, with which we furnish Holland, Hamburg and other markets in Europe. It is wholly owing to the industry of the people of New-England that this useful commodity is reduced from 30 and 40l. per ton, which we used to pay for it

CHAP. IX. it to the Spaniards, to 12 l. per ton, which is the present price; and out of this 12 l. there is 4 l. 5 s. paid to the crown for custom.

"Other articles might be mentioned; as, Whale-Oil and Finns, which are yearly imported from New-England in no contemptible quantities. They are useful in several manufactures; and if not had from thence, must have been purchased of the Dutch with ready money, and at excessive prices.

"It is true, New-England makes no Sugar, but it afflicts the islands that do; without which assistance they could not make it, at least not cheap enough, and in sufficient quantities to answer the markets in Europe. For if the sugar islands were obliged to sow wheat, and plant as much Indian Corn as they wanted, they must needs plant the fewer canes, and by consequence make the less Sugar. From thence they are also supplied with Horses for their mills, timber for their sugar-works, staves for their casks, and what is more considerable, with Barrel-Pork, Mackerel and refuse Cod-fish for their Negroes; without which their labour would yield nothing to their owners; for were they to feed their slaves with beef, and other provisions from Great-Britain and Ireland, the expence of a plantation would devour the whole produce of it. There are now such great quantities of Sugar made in the French and Dutch plantations, and so much imported from Brasil by the Portuguese, that our Sugar Islands need all advantages to make this commodity cheap and in plenty, that we may be able to out-do, or at least equal our neighbours in the foreign markets.

"It may be added, that New-England is a good nursery of seamen for the navy. I believe, I may affirm, that there was hardly a ship during the last war in the royal navy without some of their sailors on board; which so distressed the New-England Merchants, that they were obliged to man their ships with Indians and Negroes.

In another part of the same apology Mr. DUMMER adds, "It were no difficult task to prove, that London has risen out of the plantations, and not out of Old-England. It is to them we owe our vast fleets of Merchant ships, and consequently the increase of our seamen, and improvements of our navigation: It is the tobacco, sugar, fish, oil, logwood, and other commodities, which has enabled us to support our trade in Europe; to bring the ballance of some countries in our favour, which would otherwise be against us, and to make the figure we do at present, and have done for near a century past, in all parts of the commercial world."

Of New-York.

The President and council of New-York, in an address to his Majesty, speaking of their importations from Great-Britain, affirm, that this colony alone consumed more of our Woollen manufactures than all the Sugar Colonies: That the product of this, and of the neighbouring colonies of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, was chiefly provisions; namely, all kinds of British and Indian corn and grain, salted pork, beef, fish, and strong beer, which they export to the British and other foreign Sugar Colonies; and in exchange for them received Rum, Sugar, Molasses, Cacao, Indigo, Cotton, Wool, &c. Whereof the Rum and Molasses were chiefly consumed in these colonies, and the money and other merchandize applied

for the most part to make good the ballance of their trade to Great-Britain; and that so great a part of that ballance was paid in money, that they had reason to believe that all the British Sugar Colonies together (except Jamaica) did not import so much Silver into Great-Britain as this single colony of New-York.

Another writer, speaking of the produce and traffick of Pennsylvania, says, their merchandize consists of Horses, pipe-staves, pork, beef, and fish, salted and barrelled up, skins, and furs, all sorts of grain, viz. Wheat, Rye, Pease, Oats, Barley, Buck-Wheat, Indian Corn, Indian Pease and Beans, Pot-ashes, Wax, &c. And that in return for these they import from the Carribbee-Islands, and other places, Rum, Sugar, Molasses, Silver, Negroes, Salt, and Wine; and from Great-Britain, household-goods and cloathing of all kinds, hard-ware, tools, and toys.

They have also some Rice, but no great quantities, and a little Tobacco of the worst sort. These colonies also appear extremely proper to produce Hemp and Flax, where they are cultivated: Their trade with the Indians consists but in a few articles; they receive of the natives chiefly skins and furs of their wild beasts, for which they give them cloathing, arms, ammunition, Rum, and other spirits, in return.

The northern Colonies have also a clandestine trade with the Spaniards upon the coast of Terra-Firma, &c. furnishing them with European goods and merchandize, for which they receive chiefly Dollars in return; and they also trade to the bays of Honduras and Campeachy for logwood, by connivance, as the Spaniards say; but the subjects of Great-Britain insist, that they have a right to that trade; and there is a trade carried on both with the French and Dutch Islands and Surinam by the northern Colonies not at all to the advantage of Great-Britain, and very destructive to the Sugar Colonies; for they take Molasses, Rum, and other spirits, with a great many European goods, from these foreigners; carrying them Horses, provisions and lumber in return, without which the French could not carry on their Sugar manufacture to that advantage they do: But on this article I shall have occasion to enlarge, when I come to treat of the controversy between our Sugar Colonies and the northern Colonies.

Nor is there any doubt to be made but the northern Colonies have set up a great many manufactures, which interfere with those of Great-Britain: They make Woollen Cloth, Hats, hard-ware, and Linen, for their own use, if they do not export them: They have also a pretty many Still-houses and Sugar-bakers, particularly in New-England; and the building of ships not only for the subjects of Great-Britain, but for the French and Spaniards, is become a very considerable employment; and with these ships they pay in part for the Molasses, Rum, and European goods they take of the French. Their enemies represent them (especially the people of New-England) as rivalling Great-Britain in the most considerable branches of the trade, as well as in her fisheries, and threatening destruction to their mother-country; while her friends, on the other hand, suggest, that these colonies take off vast quantities of British manufactures, for which they pay ready money, or merchandize as valuable in return; and affirm, they export no manufactures that are made in England. Great artifice seems to have been used to conceal their manufactures on

CHAP.
IX.

one hand, and to magnify and multiply them on the other; but, upon the whole, I am of opinion, that the northern Colonies still conduce very much to the strengthening and enriching their mother-country, and will do more every day, as they increase in numbers and traffick; nay, I believe, it may be made appear, that our traffick with these and the rest of the British plantations, if we take care to regulate it (as it is our own faults if we do not, when the British legislature commands the whole) is or may be of greater advantage to Britain than all their commerce besides; and, indeed, some acts have already been made for the regulation of this trade, of which I shall give a short abstract hereafter; and, in the mean time, proceed to enquire into the strength and forces of these northern Colonies.

The
strength
and forces
of the northern
colonies.

From one of the representations of the board of trade, already mentioned, they inform the privy-council, that in the colony of the Massachusetts only there were upwards of ninety-four thousand souls, and that their militia consisted of six regiments of foot, and of fifteen troops of Horse, of an hundred men in each troop; and a gentleman of New-England, who understands their circumstances perfectly well, assured me, they could raise twenty-four or twenty-five thousand men, in case of necessity. The same representation shews, that they employed near five hundred sail of ships and

four thousand seamen annually in their trade; and if this calculation be right, it must be allowed, that the rest of the colonies, north of Virginia, and Maryland, viz. Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania, can raise at least as many as the Massachusetts; but as this computation seems to be exceeding short, and we may well add a third more to the whole, I conclude, that the British Colonies which lie north of Virginia and Maryland are able, upon an emergency, to raise three or fourcore thousand landmen, and fit out fifteen hundred sail of such Merchant ships as they use in their trade; and though these ships are too small, and unprovided to resist European ships of war alone, and defend their coasts from invasions from thence, yet they must add great strength to an English squadron in those seas, whenever we happen to be at war with any European power in that part of the world. All that seems wanting, in order to render these forces useful and capable of opposing an invasion, is a Vice-roy or Generalissimo, empowered, on such exigencies, to require every colony to raise their respective quota's of supplies and troops, and to command them, when assembled in the field; for these are particulars, which it is never to be expected the colonies should agree on among themselves, or at least time enough to prevent the ravages of a potent enemy.

CHAP.
IX.

THE PRESENT STATE OF CAROLINA.

CHAP. X.

Of North and South-Carolina, and Georgia.

CHAP.
X.
Situation
and extent.

UNDER this general title of Carolina are comprehended the several colonies of North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia. The whole is bounded by Virginia on the north, the Atlantick-Ocean on the east, Spanish-Florida on the south, and by that part of Florida which is still in possession of the Indians on the west, extending from 30 degrees 30 minutes, to 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude;

and this, upon due consideration, seems to be the true extent of Carolina from north to south; and consequently this country, reckoning 70 miles to a degree in a direct line from south to north, must be 420 miles long; but as the coast tends or stretches from the south-west to the north-east, we may compute it to be about 500 miles in length; though I must confess I have formerly laid it down between 31 and 36 degrees, and then it

CHAP.
X.

CHAP. X. it would have taken up but 5 degrees of latitude. How far the British dominion is to be extended from the Atlantick-Ocean westward, may be still more difficult to determine: If we carry it no farther than the countries actually possessed and cultivated by the English, we must not extend it an hundred and fifty miles west of the sea; but if we comprehend all those nations of Indians which have at one time or other acknowledged the King of Great-Britain their Sovereign, and put themselves under the protection of the Governors of these provinces, particularly the Creeks, the Charokee Indians, and some more distant nations their neighbours, who sent, in the year 1731, seven of their Chiefs to England with Sir ALEXANDER CUMMINS, to do homage in person to King GEORGE II. If we include all these nations, we must extend the British dominions westward as far as the river Mississippi, which is 500 miles at least from the ocean, and then we shall take in one moiety of what the French claim, and have given the name of Louisiana to in their maps; and our map-makers, without the least shadow of reason have copied after them; but if ever they dipped into the history of this part of the world, they must have learned that the English were not only possessed of the eastern side of Florida long before the French discovered the river Mississippi, but have obtained the strongest title to it that any European power can have; namely, the voluntary cession of that country by the Indian Princes and their people to the crown of Great Britain, upon condition of being taken into our protection.

The face of the country.

As to the face of the country, Captains that have gone this voyage assure me, that it is a low level coast, not a hill to be seen from St. Augustine to Virginia, and a great way beyond; and it is generally covered with wood, where the English have not cleared it for their plantations. But it rises into hills about an hundred miles to the westward, and continues rising gradually till we ascend the Apalathian Mountains, as they call the whole chain of hills, which run through Florida from the south-west to the north-east, at about an hundred and fifty miles distance from the ocean. And indeed the natives called all that country Apalach, to which the Spaniards gave the name of Florida, in which is comprehended most of the British Plantations on the continent.

The ancient name Apalach.

A bad coast for navigation.

The sea-coast being low and flat, the sea itself is proportionably shallow, insomuch that a ship of any great burthen cannot approach the shores, except in some few places. There has not yet been found one good harbour on the coast of North-Carolina; the best they have is at Roanoke, at the mouth of Albemarle River, and at Pimlico; and here ships are far from being secure: But I am informed, a frigate is employed at this time to sound the coast, in order to find better harbours, the planters and merchants of North-Carolina being obliged to send great part of

Sea-ports.

their goods either to Virginia or South-Carolina, in order to transport them to England; for there are some good ports in South-Carolina, of which the chief are, Winyaw or George Town, Charles Town, and Port-Royal, which will be described hereafter: The most remarkable promontories I meet with on this coast are, Cape Hatteras in 35 degrees south latitude; Cape Fear to the south of it in 34 degrees, and Cape Carteret to the southward of Cape Fear.

Capes.

CHAP. X. This country is well watered with lakes and springs, as also with rivers, some of them considerable streams, but few of them navigable for large vessels, being choaked up with sands at the entrance: Of these (beginning from the north) the chief are, 1. Albemarle River. 2. Pentegoe River. 3. Neuse River. 4. Cape Fear, or Clarendon River. 5. Wateree River. 6. Santee River. 7. Ashley River. 8. Cooper River. 9. Colliton River. 10. Cambahe River. 11. Savannah River. 12. Alatomaha River, the southern boundary of Georgia: Almost all these rivers rise in the mountains on the north-west, and taking their course to the east or south-east, fall into the Atlantick-Ocean: Those of Savannah and Alatomaha being navigable some hundreds of miles to the westward, and are said to equal the Rhine in magnitude.

Carolina is happily situated between the extremes of heat and cold, but the heat is more troublesome in summer than the cold in winter; their winters being very short, and their frosty mornings frequently succeeded by warm days: Tho' a gentleman that resided there some time observed to me, that once in eight or ten years they have very severe and long frosts. He himself knew the largest rivers frozen, and a great many of their cattle die, for they never house them; but this is more unusual there, than to have the Thames frozen over with us. The air is for the most part serene and clear both in summer and winter, yet I find they have their winter rains and very heavy showers about midsummer: And the wind sometimes changes suddenly from the south-east to the north-west, and blows exceeding cold, which brings distempers on those who do not take care to guard against it; but the country is generally healthful where people live regularly, and use any precaution. Those indeed who after a hot day expose themselves to the cool breezes of the evening, usually feel the ill effects of it; as others do that indulge their appetites in eating fruit and drinking pernicious liquors to excess.

Climate rather hot than cold.

Generally serene weather.

Healthful generally.

They are subject to hurricanes as well as the Caribbee-Islands; but those do not happen every year, and sometimes are so favourable as not to do much mischief in seven years. That was a very terrible one which happened in the year 1729, of which we received the following account.

Hurricanes.

On the first of August, a dreadful hurricane began here, the wind N. and N. by E. and by seven the next morning increased so, that 23 ships then in our harbour, were forced on shore, the wind coming more easterly, and from that time till three hours after, the wind was most violent: Of all the ships in our harbour, only the Fox and the Garland men of war rode out of this hurricane. The Rice near the sea coast was all spoiled by being overflowed with the salt-water; and it is thought this town would have been destroyed, had it been spring tides. It is computed, that about fifteen hundred barrels of Rice, besides skins, were lost. On the second, about eleven at night the wind gradually ceased; yet many sea-faring men were drowned: On the twelfth past, we had a tornado which did much damage to the Rice and Corn in the country, but little or none to the shipping.

The three grand divisions of this country are, 1. North-Carolina. 2. South-Carolina; and 3. Georgia. North Carolina is bounded by Virginia Situation.

The three grand divisions. North-Carolina. South-Carolina. Georgia Situation.

CHAP.
X.

ginia on the north, the ocean on the east, by a line drawn in 34 degrees from the ocean to the mountains on the south; and by that part of Florida possessed by the Indians on the west; and is subdivided into fourteen or fifteen townships or parishes; but there is not one town or church as I can learn in the country, and it is but very lately that the society for the propagation of the gospel has sent one itinerant preacher amongst them.

South-
Carolina.

South-Carolina is divided from North-Carolina by the abovesaid imaginary line on the north, by the ocean on the east, by the river Savannah, which separates it from Georgia on the south, and by the country of the Indians on the west; being subdivided into fourteen parishes or townships, each of them having a good church of brick or timber.

Charles-
Town.

But the chief and almost the only town in both Carolina's is Charles-Town, situate in 32 degrees, 45 minutes north latitude, on the point of a peninsula formed by Ashley and Cooper Rivers; the former of which is navigable for ships twenty miles above the town, and for boats and pettyagers, (large canoes) near forty miles. The other river is not navigable for ships so far, but for boats and pettyagers much farther. The bar before the harbour has sixteen foot water at a low tide, and there is good riding when a ship is got close to the town: The harbour being secured by a fort, called Johnson's Fort, which has about twenty guns in it, level with the surface of the water. The town was regularly fortified some years ago, and several of the bastions next the water are still in being and in good repair; but the bastions, pallisades, and fosse next the land being much damaged by a hurricane, and deemed of too great an extent to be defended by the inhabitants, General NICHOLSON caused them to be demolished. The town now contains upwards of six hundred houses generally well built, some of them of brick, but more of timber, and most of them fashed, forming regular and spacious streets; and their church is much the most magnificent in English America, having three isles, an organ, and gallery all round the church. There are also four handsome meeting-houses in the town belonging to the presbyterians, anabaptists, quakers, and French refugees; and if you survey the adjacent country, says Mr. PURRY, you will see stately buildings, noble castles, and the fields covered with infinite numbers of cattle of all kinds.

Beaufort
Town
and Port-
Royal.

The town of Beaufort is situated on the island of Port-Royal, in 31 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, an hundred miles south of Charles-Town; the continent and island forming a fine capacious harbour, capable of receiving the royal navy of England, if it can get over the bar, as ships of good burthen may; there being eighteen foot water at low water. The island on which the town stands consists of near one thousand acres, and is navigable all round for boats and pettyagers, and one half of it for shipping, having four fathom water close to the high bluff; so that ships may load and unload from the shore without the assistance of boats. The harbour is secured by a fort built about five years since, on which twelve culverins are mounted, but the town and island have no fortification (unless erected very lately); nor is the harbour so well fortified as a place of this importance deserves, especially as it lies so near Spanish Florida, and is said to be demanded by

the Spaniards as a part of their territories. There is not indeed above fifty or threescore houses in the town of Beaufort at present; but from its advantageous situation, and the goodness of its harbour, it is expected that this town will one day be the capital of Carolina: It is already the station for the British Squadron in those seas.

There is another port-town lately erected at Winyaw, about fifty miles to the northward of Charles-Town, to which they have given the name of George-Town, and the society for the propagation of the gospel have a missionary here; but I meet with no further description of it.

The third grand division of Carolina is the new province of Georgia, separated from South-Carolina by the river Savannah on the north, by the ocean on the east, by the river Altamaha, which separates it from Spanish Florida, on the south, and by Indian Florida on the west; nor has any European power so good a claim as the English to this country as far westward as the river Mississippi, since most of the Indian Chiefs between Carolina and that river have acknowledged the King of Great-Britain their Sovereign, and put themselves under his protection, as has been observed already.

The chief towns in Georgia are, the town of Savannah, and the town of Purrysburgh.

The town of Savannah is situated in 31 degrees 20 minutes, about one hundred and thirty miles to the southward of Charles-Town, and thirty miles south of Beaufort and Port-Royal, and about fifty or threescore miles north of the Spanish fort of St. Augustin. Governor OGLETHORPE, in a letter to the trustees of the colony of Georgia, dated the 10th of February, 1732-3, tells them, that he had fixed upon a healthful situation on the river Savannah to build this town upon, about ten miles from the sea; that the river here formed a half-moon, along the south side of which the banks were forty foot high, and on the top a flat, which they call a bluff; that this plain high ground extended into the country five or six miles; and along the river side, about a mile, ships that draw twelve foot water, may ride within ten yards of the bank.

That upon the river side, in the center of this plain, he had laid out the town, and that over against it was an island of very rich land fit for pasture, which he thought ought to be kept for the trustees cattle.

That the river was pretty wide, the water fresh, and from the key they might see its whole course to the sea with the island of Tybe, which lay before the mouth of the river; that the other way they might see the river for six miles up into the country; the landskip was very agreeable, the stream being wide, and bordered with high woods on both sides.

By another letter dated from Georgia the 14th of February 1735-6, they inform us, that above two hundred houses were then regularly built in the town of Savannah.

Purrysburgh also is situated on the river Savannah, about thirty miles from the mouth, and twenty to the westward of the town of Savannah, seven miles above the highest tide. It was formerly called the Yamacree-Port, and stands in a pleasant fruitful plain, being inhabited by a colony of a thousand Swiss, which were carried over by Monf. PURRY at the charge of the trustees of Georgia. But as this town lies on the north side

CHAP.
X.George-
Town.Georgia
situation.Chief
Towns.Savannah
Town.Purrys-
burgh
Town.

CHAP.
X.

of the river Savannah, it is in reality in South-Carolina, and not in Georgia. The same letter gives an account of several other towns built; particularly, Buery, Thunderbolt, Fort-Argyle and Westbrook, but does not ascertain their situation; they also relate that Mr. OGLETHORPE was going fourscore miles farther into the country to erect another town and a fort near it on the river Alatomaha; two forts have been erected also on the river Savannah, the one fourscore miles west of the town of Purrysburg, and the other upwards of two hundred miles beyond it: And probably they have erected several other towns and fortresses by this time; for since the King has purchased the propriety of Carolina, I find the following orders have been given for building eleven towns in Georgia and Carolina, viz. two on the river Alatomaha, two on the river Savannah, one at the head of the river Poupon, two at the river Santee, one at the river Watereg, one at the Black River, one at the river Wacomau, and one at the river Pedee.

Eleven towns ordered to be built in Georgia. The lands laid out to each town.

The district of each of these towns is to contain the extent of twenty thousand acres of land, formed into a square, bordering on one of these rivers, and is to be divided into shares or fifty acres for each man, woman, or child of one family; which may be augmented as the planters shall be in a condition to cultivate a larger quantity of ground; and every one of them was to have an equal share of the better and worse lands, and also the same right on the river.

Extent of each town.

Each town was to be formed into a parish, the extent whereof was to be about six miles round the town on the same side of the river; and as soon as the parish contained an hundred masters of families, they were authorized to send two members to the assembly of the province, and were to enjoy the same privileges as the other parishes of the province.

Assembly.

The ground of each town being marked out, was to belong in common to all the inhabitants, till distributed in particular shares to each of them. There were to be three hundred acres of land near each town to be common for ever, without being charged with rent; and no person by any former grant, was to take possession of any land within six miles of each town.

A common to each town.

Indian towns of Keowee.

As to the Indian towns belonging to the Cherokee nation, under the protection of the English, the first I meet with is called Keowee, three hundred miles west of Charles-Town; and Tanassie their capital is an hundred and fifty miles farther west; all the country between the English Plantations, and the Cherokees being an uncultivated desert, part of it claimed by the Creek nation, and the rest by the Cherokees and their allies; but they make no other use of it than to hunt wild beasts, being the only constant inhabitants of these forests. As to the model of the Indian towns and building in Florida, I must refer the reader to those described in Virginia and Maryland, from which these do not differ. Their animals and vegetables also are the same as in Virginia, only I do not remember the mentioning Buffaloes in that country, which are found in Florida. This is a heavy sluggish animal that resembles an Ox, but is less, and his flesh of a much coarser grain.

Animals and vegetables the same as in Virginia.

Monlieur PURRY, who carried over the Swiss Colony to Georgia in the year 1733, gives the following account of the soil, productions, &c.

V O L. III.

manufactures, and traffick of Carolina; with a short abstract of the history and success of that colony.

CHAP.
X.

He observes, that all sorts of trees and plants will grow there as well as can be wished, particularly Vines, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Pease, Beans, Hemp, Flax, Cotton, Tobacco, Indigo, Olives, Orange-Trees and Citron-Trees; as also white Mulberry-Trees for feeding of Silk-Worms; and that the lands will not be difficult to clear, because there is neither stones nor Brambles, but only great trees, which do not grow very thick; so that more land may be cleared there in one week, than could be done in Europe in a month. The custom of the country is, that after having cut down these great trees, they leave the stumps for four or five years to rot, and afterwards easily root them up, in order to manure the land.

Trees and plants.

It is very certain that Carolina is in general an excellent country; it is true the ground is sandy, but then it is a sand impregnated with salt or nitre, so that it brings forth in great abundance, as the like soil does in divers parts of Europe: But what is more particular to Carolina, there are a great number of plantations that have been continually cultivated for near sixty years, which yet still produce great plenty, without ever being manured by the least dung, for they never lay any on their grounds; the planter only turns up the superficies of the earth, and all that he plants and sows therein quickly grows and thrives: Those who understand ever so little of agriculture will be obliged to own, that if the lands of Europe were not constantly manured, their strength would be so exhausted, that at length the crops would not pay for their seed. But a man who shall have a little land in Carolina, and who is not willing to work above two or three hours a day, may very easily live there.

Nature of the soil in Carolina.

Wants no dung. Husbandry.

Another consideration deserving our notice is the progress of the first colonies, their sudden advancement, the riches of the present inhabitants, the great number of publick expences for which they provide, the great trade which they carry on at present; and lastly their misfortunes and losses, which are entirely repaired. The better to comprehend these matters, we shall only make the following observations, 1. That there were no people in Carolina, till near seventy years ago; for the English did not begin to send any thither till the year 1670. 2. That they had at first a very fatal beginning, being afflicted with sicknesses; and even the plague, which daily diminished the number of the people. 3. The cruel destructive divisions sprung up among them. 4. That they had a very bad government under the Lords proprietors, being almost without justice, order or discipline. 5. That at a certain time the Pirates interrupted their trade and navigation. 6. That they have often had great droughts. 7. That a terrible fire consumed almost all Charles Town. 8. That they have been at great expence in fortifications, publick edifices, churches, &c. 9. That they have often sustained long wars with the French, Spaniards, and particularly with the Indians, who once united all together to destroy the whole province. 10. That notwithstanding all these misfortunes, the people of Carolina, except those who give themselves up to debauchery, are all rich, either in slaves, furniture, cloaths, plate, jewels, or other merchandizes; but especially in cattle; which

The quick improvements made in this colony.

Planted but sixty years ago.

The plague there.

Divisions. Bad government under the Lords proprietors.

Plundered by the Pirates.

Droughts. Fire.

Expences of fortifications, &c.

Wars with Indians and Spaniards.

Rich, notwithstanding these calamities.

CHAP. X. which shews the goodness of the country they inhabit.

The most part of those, who came first thither were very poor and miserable. Several of those, who are most considerable, went but as servants.

Load two hundred ships annually. Ships of war. Exports. Rice. Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine. Skins. Corn. Flesh. Timber. Trade with the Indians. Slaves. Artificers wanted. High wages. One Pound sterling worth four Pounds Carolina money. Shoes. Tanning. Two hundred thousand Deer-skins exported. No Glass or earthen ware.

The trade of Carolina is now so considerable, that of late years there have sailed from thence annually above two hundred ships, laden with merchandizes of the growth of the country, besides three ships of war, which they commonly have for the security of the commerce; and last winter they had constantly five, the least of which had above an hundred men on board. It appears from the custom-house entries, from March 1730 to March 1731, that there sailed within that time from Charles-Town two hundred and seven ships, most of them for England; which carried among other goods forty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven barrels of Rice, about five hundred pound weight per barrel; ten thousand seven hundred and fifty-four barrels of Pitch; two thousand and sixty-three of Tar, and eleven hundred and fifty-nine of Turpentine; of Deer-skins, three hundred casks, containing eight or nine hundred each; besides a vast quantity of Indian Corn, Pease, Beans, &c. beef, pork, and other salted flesh; beams, planks, and timber for building, most part of Cedar, Cypress, Sassafras, Oak, Walnut, and Pine.

They carry on a great trade with the Indians, from whom they get these great quantities of Deer-skins, and those of other wild beasts in exchange; for which they give them only Lead, Powder, coarse Cloth, Vermillion, Iron-ware; and some other goods, by which they have a very considerable profit.

The great number of slaves makes another part of the riches of this province; there being above forty thousand Negroes, which are worth one with another an hundred Crowns each.

Artificers are so scarce at present, that all sorts of work is very dear; Taylors, Shoemakers, Smiths, &c. would be particularly acceptable there. A skilful Carpenter is not ashamed to demand 30 s. per day, besides his diet; and the common wages of a workman is 20 s. per day, provided he speaks English, without which he cannot be understood, and consequently not so useful as others; and when a workman has but 10 s. per day, he thinks he labours for almost nothing, tho' he has his maintenance besides. But this is Carolina money.

Most of their shoes are brought from England, and generally sell for 40 s. per pair; not but that they have hides enough, and very cheap, an Ox's hide being sold for 20 s. neither are they destitute of the means to tan them, for they make very good Lime with Oyster-shells; and the bark of Oak-Trees is so plentiful, that it costs nothing but the trouble of gathering. They want only therefore a sufficient number of good Tanners and Shoemakers.

I might say the same of Leather-dressers, since they send every year to England above two hundred thousand Deer-skins undressed; yet Carolina produces Oker naturally, and good fish-oil may be had from New-York or New-England very cheap, so that they might be dressed and made up into breeches in the country; for which those skins are very proper, being cool in summer and warm in winter.

There is not one Potter in all the province, and no earthen ware, but what comes from England,

nor glass of any kind; so that a pot-house, and a good glass-house, would succeed perfectly well, not only for Carolina, but for all the colonies in America. There is a kind of sand and earth, which would be very proper for these purposes; as also wood and fern in abundance, had they but workmen to make use of them.

The woods are full of wild vines, bearing five Vines or six sorts of Grapes naturally; but for want of Vine-dressers, &c. scarce any Wine is drank there but what comes from Madeira; which is indeed cheap, for a bottle of excellent Wine cost last winter but 2 s. Carolina money, to those who bought it by the hoghead.

The cattle of Carolina are very fat in summer, Cattle. but as lean in winter, because they can find very little to eat, and have no cover to shelter them from the cold, rains, frosts and snows, which last sometimes three or four days; only the cattle designed for the butchery are fed, and they had enough, with potatoes, straw and grain; but they always lie in the open field, for there is not one hovel in all the country either for Oxen or Cows. If you object this to the planters, they answer, that such houses or hovels would do very well, but that they have too many other affairs to think of that. The last winter being very severe, about ten thousand horned cattle died of hunger and cold; notwithstanding this, the people will not change their conduct, because they do not understand the manner of ordering cattle, nor even know how to mow the Grass, in order to make it Hay, of which they might have great plenty for fodder. Their ignorance in this respect is very great, which is the reason that Butter is always very dear, being sold last winter for 7 s. 6 d. per pound; and in January and February last, it was sold at Charles-Town for 12 s. per pound; in a word, nothing would be more easy than for persons, who understand country affairs, to grow rich in a little time. There is so great a number of cattle, that a certain planter had last spring two hundred Calves marked, which he let run in the woods with other cattle. Nobody looks after them, or takes any other care, but to bring them together in the evening to lie in a park near the house.

At certain times they kill a great many to send the flesh salted to several other colonies where there is little pasturage; particularly to the Isles of Antilles, the Sugar Islands, and in general to all those of the Torrid-Zone.

Horses, the best kind in the world, are so plentiful, that you seldom see any body travel on foot, except Negroes, and they oftner on horseback; so that when a Taylor, a Shoemaker, or any other tradesman, is obliged to go but three miles from his house, it would be very extraordinary to see him travel on foot.

There is likewise in this country a prodigious number of Swine, which multiply infinitely, and are kept with very little charge, because they find almost all the year Acorns, of which there are five or six sorts; as also Nuts, Walnuts, Chestnuts, herbs, roots, &c. in the woods; so that if you give them never so little at home, they become fat; after which you may salt, and send great quantities of them to the Isles of Barbadoes, St. Christopher's, Jamaica, &c. which produce very good returns either in money or merchandizes.

Of all animals in that country, none are a less charge than Sheep, for they subsist only on what they

No Hay.

Butter.

Cattle.

Salted

flesh sent

to the

islands.

Horses.

Hogs.

CHAP.

X.

Wool.

Flax.

Cotton.

Hemp.

Rice.

Indian

Corn.

Poultry.

Pigeons.

Wild Tur-

keys, and

other wild

fowl.

Mulber-

ries.

Silk.

Rice,

Pitch, and

Tar.

Trees.

Situation.

they find in the fields, yet are always in good case and bring forth their Lambs regularly; and there is a particular sort, whose Wool is not inferior to the finest Spanish Wool.

Flax and Cotton thrive admirably, and Hemp grows to thirteen or fourteen foot in height; but as few people know how to order it, there is scarce any cultivated; besides, they want dung, which is very necessary for that purpose, few plants weakening land so much as Hemp does: However, this is one of the articles which would produce most profit, because the parliament has allowed so much per tun upon all Hemp which comes from the English plantations in America, in order, that in time of war they may have no need of Hemp from Russia and Poland. Besides this encouragement, which is to last above twenty years longer, there is an exemption from some other duties on importation, which, joined together, makes an advantage of about 40 l. per cent. over that of Hemp from other parts.

Rice and Indian Corn produce at least an hundred fold, and would much more, if the land was better cultivated. The easiness of procuring such a plenty of grain, is the reason that the planters have, or may have at all times a yard filled with Cocks, Hens, Turkeys, Geese, Ducks, &c. also a good Pigeon-house, without being at any expence. There is great plenty of game of all sorts, but especially wild Turkeys, some of which are thirty pound weight; and those who love fowling may easily take them. With Indian Corn they make pretty good bread, because it is much finer and better than in Switzerland, or in any other part of Europe; where it is commonly called Turkey Corn. (This seems to be a mistake; Turkey Wheat is a very different thing.)

Persons may grow rich in Carolina without being at much expence or labour, by planting white Mulberry-Trees for feeding of Silk-worms, there being perhaps no country in the world where those trees grow better, nor where the Silk is finer than in Carolina; they grow so much in so short a time, that we dare scarce mention it. Captain SCOTT had one at the back of his house at Port-Royal not above seven or eight years old, the body whereof was above two foot round. It would be difficult to believe this if it was not confirmed by other Mulberry-trees of four or five years old at Port-Royal, Westmesa, Gouscrick and other plantations, the trunks whereof are near a foot diameter; but as all the planters apply themselves chiefly to the production of Rice, Pitch and Tar, there is very little use made of them. However, those who have been in Provence and Languedoc, know that the shipping of a Mulberry-tree, that is, the leaves of a summer, are commonly sold for a Crown, and sometimes two, altho' the Silk of those two provinces is but very indifferent; from whence it may easily be conjectured what riches Carolina would produce if this affair was well managed. All other trees grow there in the same proportion, and much faster than in Europe, but particularly the Peach-tree; for the third year it is commonly loaded with fruit, and is a great tree the fourth year.

Those that have any desire to go and settle there may farther take notice of three or four observations.

1. That South-Carolina is not only situated in the same degree of heat, fertility and temperature of air (which is about 33 degrees latitude) as Barbary, the Isle of Candia, Syria, Persia, Mogolistan,

China, and in general all the best countries in the universe; but it is also the only country of all those the English possess that is situated in that degree; and there is all the reason in the world to believe, that if there be now an opportunity to have lands there for nothing, this advantage will not continue long; at least it is very certain, that those who shall come first will have the choice of lands, as also the proximity of rivers, much better than those that shall come afterwards.

2. That by means of the Wool, Cotton, Flax, and Hemp, it will be easy to procure all Linen necessary, as also good Cloth and Stuffs for cloathing, without being forced to purchase them at a very dear rate from the shops, as most of the planters are at present; and what is still an article very considerable, there will be no danger of wanting provisions in a country so plentiful, unless some accidents happen, which cannot be foreseen by human prudence: We may be assured that hail-stones will not deprive the inhabitants thereof.

3. That Carolina being of all the neighbouring provinces, which the English possess on the continent of North-America, from 29 to 49 degrees of latitude, not only the largest and most productive of necessaries, but also the most southward and nearest to Jamaica, Barbadoes, and all the islands of the Antilles, which have occasion for salted provisions, bread, wine, fruits and roots, and several other things, we need not hesitate a moment to prefer it to all the other Colonies on the north-side. And besides the great advantages which may accrue to the inhabitants by the fertility of the land and the temperateness of the climate, the situation thereof, for trade, will always draw ships into its ports, which there finding at a reasonable price and in good order all that the other most distant provinces can have, will hardly go so far whilst any thing is to be had in Carolina.

4. And lastly. And what is of greater importance than all is, that there is an entire liberty of conscience and commerce for all that come thither, without paying any thing for it. Justice is duly administered to all, and every body can say, that what he possesses lawfully belongs to him in full propriety. There are no tenths, imposts, tallies, nor capitation taxes, nor any of those burthens which render so many other people unhappy. In a word, you have all the laws, liberties and privileges there which are enjoyed in England. It is the lower house that has the disposal of the money of the province, and who vote the taxes necessary for the publick service; however, with the approbation of the upper house, and that of his Majesty represented by the Governor.

We whose Names are hereunto subscribed, do attest, that all which is contained in this account of South-Carolina, is the real truth, having been eye-witnesses of most part of the particulars therein mentioned. Done at Charles-Town the 23d of September, 1731.

JOHN PETER PURRY of Neufchatel.

JAMES RICHARD of Geneva.

ABRAHAM MEURON of St. Sulpy in the county of Neufchatel.

HENRY RAYMOND of St. Sulpy.

Notwithstanding the solemn attestation of these gentlemen, their account of Carolina must be read with grains of allowance. It was evidently their intention to represent the country in the fair-
Remarks on Mr. PURRY's account of Carolina.

CHAP.

X.

Planters

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Justice.

Property

secured.

Constitu-

tion.

CHAP.
X.

est light to invite planters to go over and settle there; but it was my good fortune to correspond with another gentleman of figure, who resided in Carolina a considerable time, that has set several matters right, which Mr. PURRY and his friends endeavoured to disguise, or were not sufficiently informed in.

Corn.

He admits that English Wheat will grow in Carolina, but says it is apt to mildew, and produces but a small grain, the heat drawing it up to a great height, so that there is much straw and little grain; they have therefore their flour from Pennsylvania and New-York, which per hundred weight seldom exceeds the value of an hundred weight of Rice, which growing so much better, is the only grain they propagate there to speak of; altho' some Barley and Oats they have, but they also do as the Wheat run into straw, and produce but a light grain, nor will they keep for the Weevil or Bug.

Grapes.

The European Grapes which have been transplanted thither, produce their ripe fruit the latter end of June, at which time the heats and rains are so violent and frequent, that they do not ripen kindly, but are mostly rotten before ripe; besides that, the juice, I am apt to think (at that time) would ferment away all the spirits; for in Portugal, where you know I lived many years, their vintage is in October, when the heats are over; probably they will some time make wine from the Grapes of the country, of which they have great abundance and no small variety, and they ripen at a proper season; but at present the people's fortunes will not admit of going out of the common and beaten road, so that very few, if any, have tried them.

Silk.

Silk does mighty well, and is as good (as Mr. LOMBE, now Sir THOMAS, one of the Aldermen of London, told me) as any of the Italian Silk; but it requires many hands, and the busy time of feeding the worms, which lasts about five weeks, and begins the latter end of March, is just when they are planting and hewing their Rice: As for Hemp or Flax, they were beginning to try them when I left the country, but I am told they do not grow well there: The excessive heats must be the occasion of it; therefore North-Carolina, I should think would do better, Georgia worse. I have seen a single plant of Hemp as thick as my leg.

Hemp and
Flax.

Coffee.

Coffee has been tried, but will not bear the winter in South-Carolina; what it will do in Georgia I know not; that place is a degree and half to the southward of Charles-Town. As for Tea we know nothing of it, there never was a plant of it there; but it is in the same latitude as Peking in China, so that it is judged it will thrive there; but that is all that we know.

Exports.

Rice.

Skins.

Tar.

Pitch.

Turpen-
tine.

They produce and ship off yearly about 60,000 barrels of Rice, each containing about four hundred weight neat; they have shipped off about 70,000 Deer-skins at a medium for these ten years past; they did make great quantities of Tar, yet now they send little of that, but chiefly Pitch, the English of late having most of their Tar from Norway; but we send about 20,000 barrels of Pitch a year, and our Tar has reduced the price of that of Norway from fifty Shillings and three Pound a barrel, to twelve and fifteen Shillings; and if something did not bias our people at home more than their judgment, our Tar would still be in demand, and esteemed as good as that of Norway. We have sent home 70,000 barrels in a year; and

probably send home 10,000 barrels of Turpentine, and could send more if there was any demand for it. Our yellow or Pitch-pine, is as good for masts and planks as any in the world; and our live Oak the best (not excepting the English) for knees, or what the Carpenters call compass timber for shipping; but none has been yet sent home. We have many other sorts of Oak better than that of New-England.

They have very little shipping of their own in Carolina, having never built above four or five ships there, but more sloops; however, they load about two hundred sail of ships yearly at Charles-Town, and some at Port-Royal and Winyaw. They traffick with the natives for Deer-skins, and Bear and Buffalo-skins; for which they give them Guns, Powder, Knives, Scissars, Looking-glasses, Beads, and many other trifles, and some coarse Cloths, Strouds, Duffels, and coarse Calicoes, &c. for their women; and they carry them on Pack-horses for five or six hundred miles to the westward of Charles-Town, as far as the Chockaw nation, and the Chikisaws: Tho' they go so far but sparingly, the most of the trade being confined within the limits of the Creek and Charokee nations, which is not above three hundred miles.

It may be proper to observe here, that North-Carolina produces a good quantity of Tobacco, and but little Rice; and South-Carolina, on the contrary, produces vast quantities of Rice, and little Tobacco; but as to the rest of their vegetables and produce, they are much the same.

Carolina being justly looked upon as part of the ancient Virginia, since it was hither the first colonies were sent by Sir WALTER RALEIGH, in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, it was thought fit, after the restoration of King CHARLES II. to revive the British claim to this country, in which no European power had then any settlements; for both the Spaniards and the French, who had sent colonies to this coast (after those misfortunes which drove the first English planters from thence) had abandoned them again for a great many years.

King CHARLES therefore, well apprized of the happy situation of this country, and that there was a prospect of raising Wine, Oil and Silk, and almost every thing that Great-Britain wanted there, granted a patent, bearing date the 24th of March 1663, to EDWARD Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England, GEORGE Duke of Albemarle, WILLIAM Lord Craven, JOHN Lord Berkeley, ANTHONY Lord Ashley, Sir GEORGE CARTERET, and Sir WILLIAM COLLITON, to plant all those territories in America, between St. Matheo in 31 degrees, and Luck-Island in 36 degrees, north latitude; and between the Atlantick-Ocean on the east, and the South-Sea, or Pacifick-Ocean on the west: Indeed the Clerks that drew the patent seem to have been mistaken in the latitude of St. Matheo, making it lie in 31, whereas it lies much nearer 30 degrees. However, it is evident, that Prince looked upon his territories to extend as far southward as St. Matheo, and consequently that not only Port-Royal, but the new province of Georgia, and several miles beyond, belonged to Great-Britain; and probably the mistake of the latitude in the above-said patent, was one reason the patentees procured another two years afterwards, viz. 17 CAR. II. extending the bounds of Carolina to Carotock River, or Inlet, in 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude;

CHAP.
X.Masts.
Oak.

Shipping.

Buffaloes.
Trade
with the
Indians.

Carriage.

Different
product of
North and
South Ca-
rolina.The histo-
ry of the
plantation
of this
colony.The first
patent
granted
to the pro-
prietors.CAR. II. Second
patent.

CHAP. X. titude; and as far as 29 degrees south. If his present Majesty therefore has been pleased to bound his dominions in America on the south, by the river Alatomaha or May, he has expressed great moderation with regard to the Spaniards. The last patent of King CHARLES II. being a sufficient authority to extend them even beyond St. Matheo, and St. Augustins, which lies within the limits of that patent.

The proprietors did little towards planting Carolina till the year 1670, when they agreed upon a form of government for their colonies, said to be struck out by ANTHONY Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftsbury, one of the proprietors, whereby it was provided, that a Palatine should be chosen out of the proprietors, to hold that office during his life, and be succeeded after his death by the next eldest of the proprietors for life; and in like manner the rest of the proprietors and their respective heirs were to succeed to the office of Palatine, according to their seniority. The Palatine, for the time being, was impowered to appoint the Governor of the province; but then, as a check upon him, he was in great part of his administration to act with the concurrence of a council; consisting of seven deputies, appointed by the seven proprietors, seven more chosen by the assembly or representatives of the freemen, and seven of the eldest Landgraves or Caciques; for the proprietors were impowered by their patent to create a certain number of noblemen with the titles of Landgraves and Caciques, (but were restrained from conferring English titles on them, such as Dukes, Earls, Barons, &c.) and these were to constitute the upper house; from whence it appears, that Lord Shaftsbury intended to have a Palatine for chief Magistrate, instead of a King, with an upper and lower house: But then the authority of his Palatine or chief Magistrate was so limited, that he had little more than the name of Palatine: The Lords were to be created by the seven proprietors, and not by the Palatine alone, and consequently would not be in any danger of being creatures of the Palatine, or the Governor appointed by him; but this fine-spun scheme, it seems, never took place in all its projected parts. There were but few Landgraves or Caciques made, nor were they ever summoned to sit in parliament as a house of peers; but the deputies of the seven proprietors, and the great Officers of state, constituted their upper house: And thus did Lord Shaftsbury imagine he had supplied all the defects in the constitution of his mother country. But from hence we may learn how much easier it is to find fault with a constitution, than to mend it; for never did such confusions arise in any government as in this. There were perpetual distractions in these colonies.

The proprietors impowered to create noblemen.

Perpetual distractions in these colonies.

In danger of being destroyed by the natives.

The King purchases Carolina.

The proprietors did little towards planting Carolina till the year 1670, when they agreed upon a form of government for their colonies, said to be struck out by ANTHONY Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftsbury, one of the proprietors, whereby it was provided, that a Palatine should be chosen out of the proprietors, to hold that office during his life, and be succeeded after his death by the next eldest of the proprietors for life; and in like manner the rest of the proprietors and their respective heirs were to succeed to the office of Palatine, according to their seniority. The Palatine, for the time being, was impowered to appoint the Governor of the province; but then, as a check upon him, he was in great part of his administration to act with the concurrence of a council; consisting of seven deputies, appointed by the seven proprietors, seven more chosen by the assembly or representatives of the freemen, and seven of the eldest Landgraves or Caciques; for the proprietors were impowered by their patent to create a certain number of noblemen with the titles of Landgraves and Caciques, (but were restrained from conferring English titles on them, such as Dukes, Earls, Barons, &c.) and these were to constitute the upper house; from whence it appears, that Lord Shaftsbury intended to have a Palatine for chief Magistrate, instead of a King, with an upper and lower house: But then the authority of his Palatine or chief Magistrate was so limited, that he had little more than the name of Palatine: The Lords were to be created by the seven proprietors, and not by the Palatine alone, and consequently would not be in any danger of being creatures of the Palatine, or the Governor appointed by him; but this fine-spun scheme, it seems, never took place in all its projected parts. There were but few Landgraves or Caciques made, nor were they ever summoned to sit in parliament as a house of peers; but the deputies of the seven proprietors, and the great Officers of state, constituted their upper house: And thus did Lord Shaftsbury imagine he had supplied all the defects in the constitution of his mother country. But from hence we may learn how much easier it is to find fault with a constitution, than to mend it; for never did such confusions arise in any government as in this. There were perpetual distractions in these colonies. The people found themselves intolerably oppressed by their Governors; at others, the people became mutinous and seditious, deposed, tried and banished their Governors; and what was still worse, all agreed to enslave the Indians, which provoked them to murder many of the planters, and plunder their settlements; and the Indians at length became so formidable, that it was expected the English would have been totally extirpated, which compelled the planters to implore the protection of the crown, as the only means to restore tranquillity to these colonies, and oppose the outrages of the natives: His present Majesty therefore, in compassion to these colonies, was pleased to purchase the interest of the several proprietors about

the year 1728; whereby the colonies of North-Carolina are not only become Royal Governments, and modelled now like that of England; but his Majesty, as I apprehend, is sole proprietor, or ground-landlord (if I may so term it) of these pleasant and fruitful countries, and thereby possessed of the largest and fairest demesnes at present of any Prince in Europe: They are of a much greater extent than ever were possessed by the greatest of the Kings of England his predecessors; and our posterity (if not the present generation) possibly may see the crown so greatly enriched by this purchase, as to defray all the ordinary charges of the government out of the revenues of the crown-lands; as the Kings of England antiently did, without depending on the benevolence of the subject. But whether his majesty purchased these provinces of the proprietors as King of England, or as a private gentleman, I confess I am not fully apprised: And if he did not purchase them as King of England, the crown may not be much the richer, tho' his Majesty's posterity in a private capacity will. However, let it be one way or other, I shall beg leave to congratulate his Majesty and the nation upon this happy event, it being now the joint interest of Prince and people to encourage these plantations, which, if well managed, will furnish Great-Britain in time with naval stores, Silk, Wine and Oil, and every thing she wants, which we are at present compelled to purchase of foreigners with an immense treasure; and at the same time advance our own manufactures to a very great degree, by the exportation of them to those countries in return for what we receive from thence.

CHAP. X.

The interest of the Prince and people is to encourage these colonies.

The King had no sooner purchased the colonies of North and South-Carolina of the proprietors, as related above, but Sir ALEXANDER CUMMINS, a Scots gentleman, was employed to procure a true state of those countries by his own view of the most distant parts of them: Whereupon he set out from Charles Town on the 13th of March, 1729, accompanied by eight or ten people, traders and others, who had some knowledge of the country; and having travelled as far as Mr. RUSSEL's plantation, an hundred miles to the westward of Charles-Town, Mr. RUSSEL informed him, that the French had been endeavouring for two years passed to bring over the lower Charokees to their interest, and that he had already acquainted the government with the encroachments of the French, who had been building forts in the Creek nation for several years passed.

Sir ALEXANDER CUMMINS takes a view of Florida, 500 miles west of Charles-Town.

French forts there.

Sir ALEXANDER taking leave of Mr. RUSSEL arrived at Keowee, the first town of the Charokees, being about three hundred miles from Charles-Town; where he was informed by Mr. BARKER a trader, that the February before messengers came from the lower Creeks to the Charokees, inviting them to come over to the French interest. Whereupon the Charokees directed the Creeks to go to the French and receive their presents first, and then to return to them with their report: And upon the return of those messengers, he (BARKER) expected the lower Charokees would have risen, for at that time they were so unruly the traders durst scarce speak to them.

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The Charokees acknowledge the King of Great-Britain their Sovereign.

However, Sir ALEXANDER met with some of their Chiefs that night in the town-house, where they were assembled with three hundred of their people, and received their submission to the King of Great-Britain on their knees; he afterwards caused

CHAP. X. caused them to dispatch messengers to all their tribes, requiring the Chiefs of every town to meet him on the 3d of April at Nequassie.

On the 27th of March Sir ALEXANDER arrived at Tassette in the middle of their settlements; and that night there happened such a terrible storm of thunder and lightning as had not been known in the memory of man, at which the Indians were amazed and confounded; and their conjurer (or priest) came the next morning, and told Sir ALEXANDER, he knew he was come to govern their nation, and they must submit to whatever he commanded. On the 29th arriving at Tellico in the upper settlements, two hundred miles west of Keowee, MOYTOY their chief warrior told him, that the several nations intended to make him their head or Generalissimo, but that was now left to Sir ALEXANDER.

On the 3d of April, Sir ALEXANDER returned to Nequassie, where the King's warriors, conjurers and beloved men of all the tribes assembled, according to his summons: Here with great solemnity he was placed in a chair by MOYTOY's orders, MOYTOY and the conjurers standing about him while the warriors stroked him with thirteen Eagles tails, and their fingers sung from morning till night; and, as their custom is on solemn occasions, they fasted the whole day.

After this solemnity of stroking him was over, Sir ALEXANDER, in a speech to them, representing the great power and goodness of his Majesty King GEORGE, who he called the great man on the other side of the great water, said, that himself and all his subjects were to him as children, and they all obeyed whatever the great King ordered; and required MOYTOY and all the head warriors to acknowledge themselves dutiful subjects and sons to King GEORGE, and promise that they would do whatsoever Sir ALEXANDER should require of them (that he might be the better able to answer for their conduct;) all which they did on their knees, calling upon every thing that was terrible to them to destroy them, and wishing they might become no people if they violated their promise of obedience! Sir ALEXANDER then ordered that the head warriors should answer for the conduct of their people to MOYTOY, whom he declared their Chief and Generalissimo, by the unanimous consent of the whole people, and to whom, at Sir ALEXANDER's desire, they all gave an unlimited power over them, provided he were accountable to Sir ALEXANDER for his administration.

April 4th, the crown was brought from Great-Tannassie, which with five Eagles tails, and four scalps of their enemies, MOYTOY presented to Sir ALEXANDER, empowering him to lay the same at his Majesty's feet.

Six of their Chiefs come to England.

Sir ALEXANDER then proposing to take six of their Chiefs to England with him to do homage to the King in person, six of them immediately offered to go with him, and a seventh joined him at his arrival at Charles-Town on the 13th of April, and embarking together in the Fox man of war the 4th of May, they arrived at Dover on the 6th of June, 1730.

The Indian Chiefs having been admitted to an audience by King GEORGE, and in the name of their respective nations promised to remain his Majesty's most faithful and obedient subjects, a treaty of alliance was drawn up, and signed by the six Chiefs on the one side, and ALURED POPPLE, Esq; Secretary to the Lords commis-

sioners of trade and plantations on the other, on CHAP. X. Monday Sept. 7th, 1730; and the treaty was read and interpreted to them.

The preamble whereof recites, that whereas A treaty of alliance with them. the said Chiefs with the consent of the whole nation of Charokee-Indians at a general meeting on the 3d of April, 1730, were deputed by MOYTOY their head warrior to attend Sir ALEXANDER CUMMINS, Bart. to Great-Britain, where they had seen the great King GEORGE; and Sir ALEXANDER, by authority from the said MOYTOY and all the Charokee people, had laid the crown of their nation, with the scalps of their enemies, and feathers of glory, at his Majesty's feet, as a pledge of their loyalty: The great King had commanded the said Lords Commissioners to inform them, that the English every where on all sides of the great mountains and lakes were his people, that their friends were his friends, and their enemies his enemies, and that he took it kindly the great nation of the Charokees had sent them so far to brighten the chain of friendship between him and them, and between their people and his people: That the chain of friendship between him and the Charokee-Indians is like the Sun, which both shines here and also upon the great mountains where they live, and equally warms the hearts of the Indians and of the English: That as there are no spots of blackness in the Sun, so is there not any rust or foulness in this chain, and as the King has fastened one end of it to his own breast, he desires you will carry the other end of the chain and fasten it well to the breast of MOYTOY of Tellico, and to the breasts of your old wise men, your Captains, and all your people, never more to be broken or made loose; and hereupon we give two pieces of blue Cloth.

The great King and the Charokee-Indians being thus fastened together by the chain of friendship, he has ordered his people and children, the English in Carolina, to trade with the Indians, and to furnish them with all manner of goods that they want and to make haste to build houses, and to plant Corn from Charles-Town towards the town of the Charokees behind the great mountains; for he desires that the Indians and the English may live together as the children of one family, whereof the great King is a kind loving father; and as the King has given his land on both sides of the great mountains to his own children the English, so he now gives to the Charokee-Indians the privilege of living where they please; and hereupon we give one piece of red Cloth.

The great nation of Charokees being now the children of the great King of Great-Britain, and he their father, the Charokees must treat the English as brethren of the same family, and must be always ready at the Governor's command to fight against any nation, whether they be white men or Indians, who shall dare to molest or hurt the English; and hereupon we give twenty guns.

The nation of the Charokees shall on their part take care to keep the trading path clean, and that there be no blood in the path where the English white men tread, even tho' they should be accompanied by any other people with whom the Charokees are at war; whereupon we give four hundred pound weight of gun-powder.

That the Charokees shall not suffer their people to trade with the white men of any other nation but the English, nor permit the white men

CHAP. X. of any other nation to build any forts or cabins, or plant corn amongst them, or near any of the Indian towns, or upon the lands which belong unto the great King; and if any such attempt shall be made, you must acquaint the English Governor therewith, and do whatever he directs, in order to maintain and defend the great Kings right to the country of Carolina; whereupon we give five hundred pound weight of Swan-shot, and five hundred pound weight of bullets.

That if any Negroe slaves shall run away into the woods from their English masters, the Charokee-Indians shall endeavour to apprehend them, and either bring them back to the plantation from whence they run away, or to the Governor; and for every Negroe so apprehended and brought back, the Indian who brings him back shall receive a gun and a watch-coat; whereupon we give a box of vermilion, ten thousand gun-flints, and six dozen of hatchets.

That if by any accidental misfortune it should happen, that an Englishman should kill an Indian, the King or great man of the Charokees shall first complain to the English Governor, and the man who did it shall be punished by the English laws, as if he had killed an Englishman; and in the like manner, if an Indian kills an Englishman, the Indian who did it shall be delivered up to the Governor, and be punished by the same English laws, as if he were an Englishman; whereupon we give six dozen of spring-knives, four dozen of kettles, and ten dozen of belts.

You are to understand all that we have now said to be the words of the great King whom you have seen; and as a token that his heart is open and true to his children and friends the Charokees, and to all their people, he gives this belt, which he desires may be kept and shewn to all your people, and to their children and childrens children, to confirm what is now spoken, and to bind this agreement of peace and friendship between the English and Charokees, as long as the mountains and rivers shall last, or the sun shine; whereupon we give this belt of Wampum.

O. K. OUKAH ULAH

By command of their K. SHALCLOSKEN
Lordships, White-KETAGUSTAH
hall, September 9, T. TATHTOWE
1730. C. CLOGOITTAH
ALURED POPPLE. K. KOLLANNAH
U. UKWANEEQUA

These are to certify, MOYTOY of Telliquo, that I have seen, perused, and do approve of all the articles contained in the above agreement, to which the Indians above-mentioned have by my advice given their consent.

ALEX. CUMMINS.

The answer of the Indian Chiefs to the foregoing articles, as it was delivered by KETAGUSTAH, the 9th of September, 1730.

"We are come hither from a dark mountainous place, where nothing but darkness is to be found, but are now in a place where there is light.

"There was a person in our country with us, he gave us a yellow token of warlike honour that is left with MOYTOY of Telliquo, and as warriors we received it. He came to us like a warrior from you, a man he is, his talk is upright, and the token he left preserves his memory amongst us.

"We look upon you as if the great King GEORGE was present, and we love you as re-

presenting the great King, and shall die in the same way of thinking.

"The crown of our nation is different from that which the great King GEORGE wears, and from that which we saw in the Tower, but to us it is all one, and the chain of friendship shall be carried to our people.

"We look upon the great King GEORGE as the sun, and as our father, and upon ourselves as his children; for tho' we are red and you are white, yet our hands and hearts are joined together.

"When we shall have acquainted our people with what we have seen, our children from generation to generation will always remember it.

"In war we shall always be as one with you; the great King GEORGE's enemies shall be our enemies, his people and ours shall be always one, and shall die together.

"We came hither naked and poor as the Worm of the earth, but you have every thing, and we that have nothing must love you, and can never break the chain of friendship which is between us.

"Here stands the Governor of Carolina, whom we know. This small rope we shew you, is all we have to bind our slaves with, and may be broken, but you have iron chains for yours; however, if we catch your slaves, we shall bind them as well as we can, and deliver them to our friends again, and have no pay for it.

"We have looked round for the person that was in our country, he is not here; however, we must say, he talked uprightly to us, and we shall never forget him.

"Your white people may very safely build houses near us, we shall hurt nothing that belongs to them, for we are the children of one father, the great King, and shall live and die together.

Then laying down his feathers upon the table, he added, "This is our way of talking, which is the same thing to us, as your letters in the book are to you; and to you beloved men, we deliver these feathers in confirmation of all that we have said."

The Indian Chiefs were entertained and shewn the publick buildings while they remained in London; and having received several presents from the court and private gentlemen, took their passage home again in one of his Majesty's ships; and a patent passed the seals in 1732, appointing the following Gentlemen trustees for the planters of a new province to be called Georgia, and to be taken out of the south part of South Carolina, viz. The Lord Viscount PERCIVAL, JOHN CARPENTER, GEORGE HEATHCOTE, ROBERT MOORE, ROGERS HOLLAND, FRANCIS EYLES, JAMES VERNON, EDWARD DIGBY, JAMES OGLETHORPE, ROBERT HUCKS, WILLIAM SLOOPER, JOHN LAROCHE, WILLIAM BELITHA, Esqrs; JOHN BURTON, B. D. STEPHEN HALES, M. A. The reverend RICHARD BUNDY, ARTHUR BEDFORD, and SAMUEL SMITH, ADAM ANDERSON, and THOMAS CORAM, gentlemen. The patent recites, that his Majesty having taken into consideration the miserable circumstances of many of his own poor subjects, as likewise the distresses of many foreigners who would take refuge from persecution; and having a princely regard to the great danger

The speech of the Indians on signing the articles.

A patent for erecting Georgia into a province. The trustees.

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CHAP. X. danger the southern frontiers of South-Carolina are exposed to, by reason of the small number of white inhabitants there, hath granted a charter for incorporating a number of gentlemen by the name of the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, in America; and they are empowered to collect benefactions, and lay them out in cloathing, arming, sending over, and supporting colonies of the poor, whether subjects or foreigners, till they can build houses and clear lands. And his Majesty farther grants them all his lands between the rivers Savannah and Alatomaha, which he erects into a province by the name of Georgia, for the benefit of the adventurers.

Lord PERCIVAL President. Their seal.

A colony of Swis sent to Georgia.

Their Minister episcopally ordained at London. Mr. OGLETHORPE sails with a detachment of English for Georgia.

Large sums raised for the Colony.

The town of Savannah founded.

The trustees soon after assembled, and elected the Lord PERCIVAL their President, and ordered a common seal to be made with the following device, viz. On one side the rivers Alatomaha and Savannah, the north and south boundaries of Georgia, and between them the genius of the colony seated with the cap of liberty upon her head, a spear in one hand, and a cornucopia in the other, with this motto, Colonia Georgia Aug. On the reverse, are Silk-worms at work, with this motto, Non sibi sed aliis.—The leader, Minister, and others of the Swis protestants who were going adventurers to Carolina having attended the trustees, they ordered a library of books to be given the Minister for him and his successors, and a sum of money to the planters to subsist them on their voyage, and at their first arrival. For Mr. PURRY on his return from Carolina to Swisserland with the abovesaid description of the country, had prevailed on many industrious persons and their families to the number of four hundred to go with him thither, and while the transports lay in Dover road, Mr. BIGNION their Minister came to London and received episcopal ordination, so that the reflections which some had cast on the religion of these people seem to be unjustly founded.

In the month of November 1732, Mr. OGLETHORPE, one of the Trustees, sailed with several English families to Georgia; the men being Farmers, Carpenters, Bricklayers, and other working trades, they took with them all manner of tools and instruments proper for their respective employments. There was put on board also twelve tun of Alderman PARSON's best Beer, and they were to touch at the Madera's, and take in Wine there for the use of the Colony. The planters were instructed in military discipline before they went by the Officers of the Guards, as all others were ordered to be who were sent thither, and furnished with swords and fire-arms; his Majesty also sent over seventy-four pieces of canon, with a proportionable quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, tools and implements for erecting fortresses in proper places; and the Rev. Dr. HERBERT went over with them as Chaplain: Large sums were afterwards collected among the nobility and gentry, and twenty-five thousand Pounds raised at one time by parliament for the support of the planters: For all the Swis, Saltzburghers, and other foreigners, as well as the British planters, were furnished by the said trustees with necessaries and provisions to subsist them in their voyage, and for a year after their arrival, and till they should be able to provide for themselves by their labour and the produce of the country.

Mr. OGLETHORPE arriving at Port-Royal in Carolina with his people, proceeded to lay out

the town of Savannah already described; and in a letter dated from thence, February 10, 1732-3, tells the Trustees, that the Governor and people of Carolina had given him great assistance; that they had ordered a party of horse and their scout-boats to attend and protect the new Colony, while they were employed in erecting the town and works; and had made them a present of an hundred breeding cattle, besides Hogs, and twenty barrels of Rice.

On the 20th of May, 1733, the Chiefs of the lower Creek nation to the number of fifty persons with their attendants arrived at Savannah, and acquainted Mr. OGLETHORPE that they laid claim to all the lands on the south of the River Savannah; but said, as he who had given the English more wisdom had sent them thither for their instruction, so they freely gave and resigned to them all their right in the said lands which they did not use themselves: And having heard that the Charokee Indians had killed some Englishmen, they offered to revenge their death on the Charokees, if Mr. OGLETHORPE commanded them. After which, articles of commerce were agreed on between the Colony and the Creeks, and a lac'd Coat, Hat, and Shirts were given to each of the Chiefs, with a present of Gunpowder, Irish Linen, Tobacco, Pipes, Tape of all colours, Bullets, and eight cags of Rum to carry home to their several towns, with some Cloth for their attendants.

The first ship that carried goods to Savannah was the James, Capt. YOAKLY Commander, of a hundred and ten tons, which arrived there the 14th of June, 1733; and the prize that was ordered by the Trustees to be delivered to the first ship that unloaded there was given to the Captain.

In the year 1734, an alliance was made with another Indian nation called the Natchees, tending greatly to the security of the Colony, and the same year the planters reaped their first crop of Indian Corn, which yielded them a thousand bushels.

Mr. OGLETHORPE returning to England was accompanied by TOMO CHICHI, one of the Kings of the Creek nation, and SENAUKI his Queen, with TOOANAKOWKI their son, and HILLISPILLI one of their war Captains. TOMO CHICHI had an audience of his Majesty at Kensington on the first of August, 1734, when 'tis said he made the following speech:

This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house, and the number of your people; I am come, for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace which was long ago had with the English; I am come over in my old days, tho' 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 knowledge of the English.

These are the feathers of the Eagle which is the swiftest of birds, and who flieth all around our nations: These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there; and we have brought them over to leave with you, O great King, as a sign of everlasting peace.

O great King, whatsoever words you shall say unto me, I will tell them faithfully to all the Kings of the Creek nations.

To which his Majesty graciously answered,

I am

CHAP. X.

The Creeks confirm the lands to the English.

Articles of commerce.

A present made the Creeks.

An alliance with the natives.

An Indian King and Queen come to England with Mr. OGLETHORPE.

His speech to King GEORGE.

CHAP.

X.

I am glad of this opportunity of assuring you of my regard for the people from whom you come, and am extremely well pleased with the assurances you have brought me from them; and accept very gratefully this present as an indication of their good disposition to me and my people. I shall always be ready to cultivate a good correspondence between them and my own subjects, and shall be glad of any occasion to shew you a mark of my particular friendship and esteem.

TOMO CHICHI afterwards made the following speech to her Majesty.

I am glad to see this day, and to have the opportunity of seeing the mother of this great people.

As our people are joined with your Majesties, we do humbly hope to find you the common mother and protectress of us and all our children.

To which her Majesty returned a most gracious answer.

The war Captain, and other attendants of TOMO CHICHI, were very importunate to appear at court in the manner they go in their own country, which is only with a covering round their waist, the rest of their body being naked, but were dissuaded from it by Mr. OGLETHORPE; however, their faces were variously painted after their country manner; some half black, others triangular, and others with bearded arrows instead of whiskers. TOMO CHICHI and SENAUKI his wife were dressed in scarlet trimm'd with gold.

When they returned they were carried to Gravesend in the King's coaches, and embarked for Carolina on the 30th of October. While they staid in England, which was about four months, they were allowed twenty pounds a week for their table, and were entertained in a most magnificent manner by the court and persons of distinction; whatever was worth their notice in the cities of London and Westminster was shewn them, and nothing was wanting to give them a just idea of the grandeur of the English nation, and their regard for the Creeks. In return for which they promised eternal fidelity. They carried away in presents about the value of 400 l. sterling: and 'tis said Duke WILLIAM, presenting the young Prince with a gold watch, exhorted him to call upon JESUS CHRIST every morning when he looked upon it. There went over with them Sir FRANCIS BATHURST, his son, three daughters, and their servants, with many of the relations of the planters already in Georgia, and fifty six Saltzburghers.

Mr. OGLETHORPE's account of the religion and government of the Creeks.

Mr. OGLETHORPE, speaking of the religion and government of the Creek nation, in a letter from Georgia to a person of honour in London, says, there seems a door opened to our Colony towards the conversion of the Indians. I have had many conversations with their chief men, the whole tenour of which shews there is nothing wanting to their conversion but one who understands their language well, to explain to them the mysteries of religion; for as to the moral part of christianity, they understand and assent to it. They abhor adultery, and do not approve of plurality of wives. Theft is a thing not known among the Creek nation; tho' frequent and even honourable amongst the Uchees. Murder they look upon as an abominable crime; but do not esteem the killing of an enemy, or one that has injured them, murder. The passion of revenge, which they call honour, and drunkenness, which

they learnt from our traders, seem to be the two greatest obstacles to their being truly christians. But upon both these points they hear reason; and with respect to drinking of Rum, I have weaned those near me a good deal from it. As for revenge, they say, as they have no executive power of justice among them, they are forced to kill the man who has injured them, in order to prevent others from doing the like; but they do not think that any injury, except adultery or murder, deserves revenge. They hold, that if a man commits adultery, the injured husband is obliged to have revenge by cutting off the ears of the adulterer, which if he is too sturdy and strong to submit to, then the injured husband kills him the first time that he has an opportunity so to do with safety. In cases of murder the next in blood is obliged to kill the murderer or else he is looked upon as infamous in the nation where he lives: And the weakness of the executive power is such that there is no other way of punishment but by the revenger of blood, as the scripture calls it; for there is no coercive power in any of their nations. Their Kings can do no more than to persuade. All the power that they have is no more than to call their old men and their Captains together, and to propound to them without interruption the measures they think proper; after they have done speaking, all the others have liberty to give their opinions also, and they reason together till they have brought each other into some unanimous resolution. These conferences, in matters of great difficulty, have sometimes lasted two days, and are always carried on with great temper and modesty. If they do not come into some unanimous resolution upon the matter the meeting breaks up; but if they are unanimous (which they generally are) then they call in the young men, and recommend to them the putting in execution the resolution with their strongest and most lively eloquence. And indeed they seem to me, both in action and expression, to be thorough masters of true eloquence; and making allowances for badness of interpreters, many of their speeches are equal to those which we admire in the Greek and Roman writings. They generally in their speeches use similes and metaphors. Their similes were quite new to me, and generally wonderful proper and well carried on: But in their conferences among the chief men they are more laconick and concise. In fine, in speaking to their young men they generally address to the passions; in speaking to their old men they apply to reason only. For example, TOMO CHICHI, in his first speech to me among other things said, here is a little present; and then gave to me a Buffalo's skin painted on the inside, with the head and feathers of an Eagle: He desired me to accept it, because the Eagle signified speed, and the Buffalo strength: That the English were as swift as the bird, and as strong as the beast; since like the first they flew from the utmost parts of the earth over the vast seas; and like the second, nothing could withstand them: That the feathers of the Eagle were soft, and signified love, the Buffalo's skin warm, and signified protection; therefore he hoped that we would love and protect their little families. One of the Indians of the Charokee nation, being come down to the Governor upon the rumour of the war, the Governor told him, that he need fear nothing, but might speak freely. He answered smartly, I always speak freely, what should I fear? I am now among

CHAP.

X.

CHAP.
X.

among my friends, and I never feared even among my enemies.

My Carolina correspondent, already mentioned, speaking of the religion and government of the Florida Indians, says, the natives have no religion that ever I could hear of, but are extremely superstitious, and afraid of an evil spirit without any notion of a good one. Their morals (notwithstanding much has been said in favour of them) in my opinion are very loose. They will cheat you if they can; and when they can't pay their debts they knock their creditors on the head; for which reason the legislature have made it a forfeiture of the debt to trust them; so that they may chuse whether they will pay any debts or not.

They are excessive lovers of drinking, both sexes; and like all the world, except christians, allow of polygamy; and are so charitable to strangers, that they will spare their daughters, or any body but their wives: But adultery they punish by setting a mark of infamy on the woman, and putting her away; and they have been pretty free with some of our countrymen when they have caught them, by putting some to death in a summary way, by a knife or a gun, or cutting off their ears. I have seen one so served. Their government is said to be monarchical; but I own I can't find it out to be so. Their chief commanders, who are honoured by us with the title of Kings, are appointed by our own Governors, by a writing sealed with the great seal of the province; which seal to them is every thing, for they know not a word of the writing. I never heard they did or durst put any man to death for not obeying them; and their conjurors or fortune-tellers, and their war Captains or Generals, are always greater men than their Kings. They pretend to an hereditary succession, and recommend the next in blood, in the male line, to the Governor; but I have been told they often alter that; and I know our Governors have appointed others who have shewn themselves better friends to the English, and these have been obeyed; but indeed very few of their Kings have much power among them. They have something like a council, consisting of about twelve or fourteen, more or less, whom they call beloved men; and those are such as have distinguished themselves in war, and have relations and large families, and consequently some credit and power in the clan they belong to; and by their assistance and concurrence they keep up some face of a government.

Religion
of the
English in
the plan-
tations.

Having mentioned the religion of the Florida Indians, I proceed in the next place to enquire into the state of religion among the English in our Colonies on the same continent, of which Dr. BRAY, who visited most of them, gives but a melancholy account, in the year 1700, in his representation to the Bishops of the want of missionaries: And tho' things are altered for the better in some of our Colonies, it remains much as it was in others.

This reverend Doctor relates, that in Maryland, in the year 1700, after great struggles with the quakers, they had obtained an act for the establishment of the church of England there, and a revenue of about four-score Pounds per annum settled upon the Minister of every parish by a tax on Tobacco; but at that time there were many parishes that wanted incumbents.

That the papists in that province were then about a twelfth part of the inhabitants, but their

priests were numerous: And tho' the quakers boasted so much of their numbers and riches, upon which considerations they moved the government to excuse them from paying their dues to the established church, they did not make a tenth part of the inhabitants, and did not bear that proportion they would be thought to do in wealth and trade.

That in Pefylvania there was then pretty near an equal number of churchmen (or those that were well disposed to the church) and quakers, but there was a great want of ministers; and there were some independents, but not many, nor much bigotted to their sect. There were also two congregations of Swedes, who were Lutherans, whose churches were finely built, and their Ministers lived in very good terms with the Minister of the church of England at Philadelphia; and the King of Sweden had lately made an addition to their library of three hundred Pounds worth of books.

That in the neighbouring colonies of East and West-Jersey there were some towns well peopled, but entirely left to themselves without priest or altar. The quakers were then a majority there; but there were many however well affected to the church, and he thought six missionaries necessary for both the Jerseys.

That at New-York Ministers were much wanted also, there being but one there. In Long-Island there were nine churches, but no church of England Minister then in the island.

In Rhode-Island, for want of clergy, the inhabitants were sunk into down-right atheism.

In North-Carolina there was not one clergyman then, and but one in South-Carolina.

As to Virginia, the church of England was at that time well established there, and the several parishes generally supplied with Ministers, who had a revenue out of the Tobacco and otherwise, of about an hundred Pounds per annum each.

As to New-England, independency was then, as it still is, the prevailing religion in that country; tho' the church of England gains ground there apace, as appears by the number of missionaries lately settled there.

Doctor BRAY concludes his address to my Lords the Bishops in the following manner:

For my own part, I take this to be so happy a juncture to lay the foundation of lasting good to the church of GOD in those provinces, that tho' after the expence already of above a thousand Pounds in its service, and tho' it is likely to be still at my own charge when I go again, yet I shall not make the least difficulty in accompanying your Lordship's missionaries whom from your respective dioceses you shall please to send into those parts. And being therefore so little interested myself in the mission, I hope I may with a better countenance, through your Lordship's patronage, presume to offer the following proposals to the very reverend dignitaries and wealthier clergy, and other well-disposed persons of the church, for a small subscription from each of them, towards the maintenance of those Missionaries their brethren, whom your Lordships shall please to send.

Proposals for the propagation of the Christian religion in the several provinces on the continent of North-America.

Whereas it hath pleased God of late to stir up Dr. the hearts of many people in the American Plan- tations, proposals.

CHAP.
X.

CHAP. IX. tations, who seemed formerly to have forgot religion, now to be very solicitous and earnest for instruction, so as of themselves to call for those helps which in duty they ought to have been prevented in by us from the beginning: And whereas, to our shame, we must own that no nation has been so guilty of this neglect as ours; the papists of all countries having been most careful to support their superstitions wherever they have planted; the Dutch with great care allowing an honourable maintenance, with all other encouragements for Ministers in their factories and plantations; the Swedes, the Danes, and other small colonies being seldom or never deficient in this particular, and we of the English nation only being wanting in this point: And lastly, whereas tho' it be true, that some of our most considerable plantations have set out parishes and allowances for Ministers, yet it is not so in all; and where some provision is made, it is as yet far short of being sufficient to maintain a Minister; and there is a total neglect of informing the poor natives. Out of all these considerations we do not think a more charitable work can be carried on than as much as in us lies to contribute towards the redress of these great failures: And therefore do subscribe to that purpose the several sums to our names annexed.

The occasion of erecting a society for the propagation of the gospel. The charter.

It seems to have proceeded from this gentleman's representation, in a great measure, that a society was erected the following year, viz. in the 13th of W. III. for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, the charter for the establishing whereof has this preamble:

1. Whereas we are credibly informed that in many of our plantations, colonies, and factories beyond the seas belonging to our kingdom of England, the provision for Ministers is very mean, and many others of our plantations, colonies, and factories are wholly destitute and unprovided of a maintenance for the Ministers and the publick worship of God; and for lack of support and maintenance for such, many of our loving subjects do want the administration of God's word and sacraments, and seem to have been abandoned to atheism and infidelity; and also for want of learned and orthodox Ministers to instruct our said loving subjects in the principles of true religion, divers Romish priests and jesuites are more encouraged to pervert and draw over our said loving subjects to popish superstition and idolatry.

2. And whereas we think it our duty, as much as in us lies, to promote the glory of God by the instruction of our people in the Christian religion; and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those ends, that a sufficient maintenance be provided for an orthodox clergy to live amongst them, and that such other provision be made as may be necessary for the propagation of the gospel in those parts.

3. And whereas we have been well assured, that if we would be graciously pleased to erect and settle a corporation for the receiving, managing, and disposing of the charity of our loving subjects, divers persons would be induced to extend their charity to the uses and purposes aforesaid.

Know ye therefore, that we have, for the considerations aforesaid, granted, &c.

Accordingly, several Missionaries were sent to the plantations by the said society.

N. B. The society allow ten Pounds worth of books to each Missionary for a library, and

CHAP. X. (five Pounds worth of small tracts to be distributed among their parishioners; and several other parcels of books as occasion offers, where the society find them wanting.

As to the provinces of Virginia and Maryland, they maintain their own clergy, and the rest of the colonies assign their Ministers glebes, build them houses, and increase their revenues by subscriptions; so that the church of England now makes a considerable figure in most of our colonies, especially in New-England, where the inhabitants, where in a manner all independents formerly: North-Carolina, however, seems to be destitute of a clergy still, there being only Mr. BORN, an itinerant preacher, tho' the country be of between two and three hundred miles extent, and a well peopled flourishing colony; and here the people, now sensible of their misfortune, shew a great disposition for the church of England, and are ever making application for Ministers to be sent amongst them, offering to contribute largely to their maintenance.

It is a melancholy consideration, that it has hitherto been thought more necessary to propagate and support the superstitions of the French hugonots and the Scots presbyterians (the former having an allowance of fifteen thousand Pounds per ann. and the other a thousand Pounds per ann.) than to support and propagate christianity in our own plantations; in some of which, particularly North-Carolina, our people have no opportunity of hearing divine service, or having the sacraments of baptism or the Lord's supper administered to them, and are in a manner become heathens for want of them. It is not to be supposed, that one Minister can perform divine service in every part of that well planted colony, two hundred miles in length, and almost of equal breadth; nor do we trouble ourselves with maintaining Missionaries for the conversion of the neighbouring Indians, who seeing no appearance of religion among the English, and probably as little morality, must naturally conclude we have very little of either.

I shall conclude the state of the British Colonies on the continent of America, with some observations on their minerals.

It was it seems the expectation of meeting with Gold and Silver mines, that first induced Sir WALTER RALEIGH and other English adventurers to send colonies thither; and we find our Princes, in every charter almost, have reserved a fourth or fifth part of all Gold and Silver ore that should be found there for their own use; and it seems highly probable, that such mines will some time or other be discovered in the mountains of Apalach, for the Silver mines in New-Mexico are upon the same continent, and in the same climate; and from these of Apalach, there are frequently washed down glittering sands, which seem to promise something valuable. Sir HANS SLOANE also informs us in his history of Jamaica, that the Duke of Albemarle, then Governor of that island, shewed him a rich piece of Silver ore, which his father had from the Apalathian mountains on the confines of Carolina. The Portuguese were much longer possessed of Brasil than we have been of this part of Florida, before they discovered any such mines, and now we find there are mines wrought there surprisngly rich: We are yet very little acquainted with the Apalathian mountains, we have no towns or settlements upon them (tho' we may when we please, for there are

Of the minerals in the British plantations.

scarce

CHAP. X.

scarce any other inhabitants but wild beasts) our people only pass over them when they go to traffic with the Indians near the banks of the river Mississippi; so that these mountains may be as well furnished with Silver as those in Mexico for any thing we know. But farther, supposing there should happen a rupture between us and the Spaniards, I see nothing that can prevent our passing the Mississippi, and possessing our selves of the mines of St. Barbe, if we make the Indians of those countries our friends, who are frequently at war with the Spaniards. I am apt to think, that neither the forces of the Spaniards or the French would be able to oppose our arms on that side, if our colonies were united in such an enterprize, and well supported by a body of regular troops from Great-Britain.

As to mines of Lead, Iron and Copper, it is evident, our plantations do not want these; for some of them are actually wrought, and these metals manufactured there; which is apprehended may in time prove prejudicial to Great-Britain, since it will lessen the demand for British Iron and Copper, and all manner of manufactures made of those metals: The importation therefore of Iron wrought, or in bars from our plantations, has already been prohibited. But was their Iron and Copper equal to that of Sweden, I cannot see why we might not import them unwrought from our plantations as well as from Sweden, where we pay crown-pieces for them (it is said;) whereas when we have them from our plantations, we purchase them with our manufactures, as we do also Pitch, Tar, and other naval stores; and yet we chuse to take these articles also of our northern neighbours, which I must confess is a mystery to me.

But to return to the Silver and Gold mines, which it is presumed will one day be discovered, or reduced under our power in Florida or New-Mexico; such an event must necessarily make a

considerable alteration in our constitution, if it does not entirely overturn it when it does happen; for as power is the constant attendant on riches, would be in this case the crown will become possessed of any treasures, which will give it a much greater influence than it has at present, and render parliaments much less necessary; whether it would be to the advantage of Great-Britain therefore, that our colonies should be possessed of mines of any kind may be difficult to determine.

However, I must still be of opinion such mines would be much better in our own hands than in the hands of our rivals; and if we suffer the French to build forts and fix themselves on the Mississippi, or in the neighbourhood of the Apalathian mountains, they will not only be in a condition to invade and harrafs our plantations from north to south, but will possess themselves of the mines there, if there be any, which will render that nation more formidable, even in Europe, than it is at present; and if they should meet with no Silver in those mountains, I am inclined to believe, they will seize the mines of St. Barbe in New-Mexico in a few years; which will affect the Spaniards first indeed, but may probably in the end be of pernicious consequence to the rest of the nations of Europe; and particularly England. It were to be wished therefore, that Spain and England would in time understand their mutual interest, and enter into a defensive alliance in America; at least since the French can only be defeated in their ambitious and covetous views by the united forces of Great-Britain and Spain. If they are suffered to establish themselves in Florida on the banks of the Mississippi, it will be in their power in that case to disturb either the British or Spanish settlements from thence when they please; but the Spaniards seem to be in the most imminent danger on account of their Silver mines,

CHAP. X.

Better in our own hands than in the hands of the French.

The interest of Spain and Britain to drive the French from Florida.

Whether the discovery of Silver mines

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C H A P. I.

Of the island of Jamaica.

CHAP.
I.
Jamaica.
The name.

THIS Island was called Jamaica by the natives when COLUMBUS discovered it, and he changed the name to St. Jago; but it soon recovered its primitive name, by which it is called at this day.

Situation.

Jamaica is situated on the Atlantick-Ocean, between 17 and 18 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and between 76 and 79 degrees of western longitude. It lies near five thousand miles south-west of England, about twenty leagues east of Hispaniola, and as many south of Cuba, and upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues to the northward of Porto Bello and Carthage, on the coast of Terra Firma.

Extent.

This island stretches from east to west, being one hundred and forty miles in length, and about sixty in breadth in the middle; but growing less towards each end, the form is pretty near oval.

The whole island has one continued ridge of hills running from east to west through the middle of it, which are generally called the Blue Mountains. The tops of some are higher than others; one of the highest is called Mont Diablo. Other hills there are on each side of this ridge of mountains which are much lower.

Face of
the coun-
try, &c.
from Sir
HANS
SLOANE.

The outward face of the earth seems to be different here (says Sir HANS SLOANE) from what I could observe in Europe; the vallies in this island being very level, with little or no rising ground or small hills, and without rocks or stones. The mountainous part for the most part is very steep, and furrowed by very deep gullies on the north and south sides of the highest hills. The gullies are made here by frequent and very violent rains, which every day almost fall on these mountains, and first making a small trough or course for themselves wash away afterwards whatever comes in their way, and make their channels extraordinary steep.

The greatest part of the high land of this island is either stony or clay; these sorts of soil resist the rains, and so are not carried down violently with

them into the plains, as are the mould proper for tillage, and other more friable earths; hence it is, that in those mountainous places one shall have very little or none of such earths, but either a tenacious clay, or a honey-comb, or other rock upon which no earth appears.

All the high land is covered with woods, some of the trees very good timber, tall and straight; and one would wonder (says my author) how such trees could grow, in such a barren soil, so thick together among the rocks: But the trees send down their fibrous roots into the crannies of the rocks, where here and there they meet with little receptacles, or natural basins of rain-water, which nourish the roots.

It is a very strange thing (says the same writer) to see in how short a time a plantation formerly cleared of trees and shrubs, will grow foul: Which comes from two causes; the one, the not stubbing up the roots, whence arise young sprouts; and the other the fertility of the soil. The settlements and plantations, not only of the Indians but the Spaniards, being quite overgrown with tall trees, so that there would be no footsteps of them left, were it not for old pallisades, buildings, Orange walks, &c. which shew plainly plantations have been there.

There are the same strata or layers of earth one over another, in the fruitful part of the island, as are to be met with in Europe. And the same difference of soil appears here as does in England, on digging of wells, &c.

Most of the savannahs or plains fit for pasture, and cleared of wood, like our meadow land, lie on the south side of the island, where one may ride a great many miles without meeting the least ascent: Some of these plains are within land encircled with hills.

These savannahs, after seasons, i. e. rain, are very green and pleasant; but after long droughts, are very much parched and withered.

The tides here are scarce discernible, there being very little increase or decrease of the water,

CHAP. I. and that depending mostly, if not altogether, on the winds; so that the land winds driving the water off the island, makes a foot, two, or more ebb, which is most apparent in the morning. In the harbour of Port-Royal one may see the Coral-Rock, then sensibly nearer the surface of the water; and all along the sea-shore the water is gone for a small space, leaving it dry; and this much more on the south side of the island, when the norths blow. On the contrary, the sea-breeze driving the water on the shore of the island, makes the flood; so that in the evening it may be said to be high-water, especially if a south or other wind blows violently into the land for some time together, with which the water comes in and is much higher than ordinary. The breezes being stronger or weaker according to the Moon's age, it may be thought the tides or currents may follow that; but I rather believe, they only are the effect of the winds (says Sir HANS SLOANE.)

Ports. The chief ports in the island, are 1. Port-Royal, a fine capacious harbour, which will be described hereafter, with the town from which it received its name. 2. Old Harbour, which lies seven or eight miles south-west of St. Jago. 3. Port-Morant, at the east end of the island: And 4. Point Negril, at the west end of the island. Besides which, are several more on the south and north sides of the island; but it is dangerous approaching the coast without a pilot, on account of the Coral-Rocks which almost surround it.

Rivers. Sir HANS SLOANE mentions near an hundred rivers in Jamaica, but none of them navigable; for rising in the mountains in the middle of the island, they precipitate themselves down the rocks to the north or south, falling into the sea before they have run many miles, and carrying down with them frequently great stones, pieces of rock, and timber.

Water bed. The Doctor, speaking of their waters, in another place, says, fresh water is very scarce in dry years in the savannahs distant from rivers, so that many of their cattle die with driving to water. Near the sea the well-water, as at Port-Royal, is brackish. This brackish water, which is very common in wells on sea-shores, is not wholesome, but the cause of fluxes and other diseases in Sailors drinking of it.

Their river water, because of its great descent and precipices, carries with it much clay or earth, whereby it is muddy and thick, and has an odd taste; which in St. Jago or the Town River gave occasion to the Spaniards to call it Rio Cobre, and the English to say, it is not wholesome and tastes of copper; whereas on trial of the sand and other sediments, there is no metal found therein. This river water, if suffered to settle some days in earthen jars, is good.

Springs and petrifying waters. Spring water, at a distance from the sea, is preferred to river or pond water: There are some springs as well as rivers, which petrify their channels, and stop their own course by a cement uniting the gravel and sand in their bottoms.

Hot bath. There is a hot bath or spring near Port-Morant, in the east part of the island, situated in a wood, which has been bathed in and drank of late years for the belly-ach, the common disease of the country, with great success.

Salt springs. A great many Salt springs arise in a level ground under the hills in Cabbage-tree-bottom, about a mile or two distant from the sea, which united make what is called the Salt River.

CHAP. I. Salt is made here in ponds, whereinto the sea or salt water comes, and by the heat of the Sun the moisture being exhaled, leaves the salt; which is in great plenty at the salt ponds about Old Harbour, &c. The salt is not perfectly white, nor in small grains, but in large lumps, and has an eye of red in it, as some Sal Gemmæ I have seen come from Spain, or what comes from the island of Salt Tartuga, near the main of America; which is here reckoned the stronger and better salt.

Lakes. Lagunas or great ponds, there are many here, one whereof, Rio Hoa pond, receives a great deal of water by a river, which yet has no visible rivulet or discharge runs from it.

Rivers under ground. Some rivers in the mountains rise above and go under ground again in a great many places: Rio d' Oro particularly falls under and rises above ground three or four times; and so it is in many others.

At ABRAHAM'S plantation, on the north side, is a river which has stopt its own course by letting a settlement fall and petrifying its own bottom.

It is ordinary to have cataracts or cascades, in rivers among the mountains, fifty or sixty foot high.

Winds from Sir HANS SLOANE. This island being several degrees within the tropick, has the trade-wind continually there, which is on the south side of the island called the sea breeze. It comes about eight o' clock in the morning, and increases or freshens till twelve in the day, and then as the Sun grows lower, so it decreases till there is none at four in the evening. About eight in the evening begins the land breeze, blowing four leagues into the sea, and continues increasing till twelve at night, and decreases again till four, when there is no more of it. This course generally holds true. The sea breeze now and then is more violent than at other times, as at new or full moon, and encroaches very much on the land winds and the norths when they reign, viz. in the month of December, January and February, blow over the ridge of mountains with violence and hinder the sea breeze, which blows stronger and longer near the sea, as at Port-Royal or Passage-Fort, than it does within land, as at St. Jago de la Vega or Spanish town; as contrariwise the land wind blows harder at the town than at Passage-Fort or Port-Royal.

As the trade wind between the tropicks comes not directly from the east, but varies from north-east to south-east, according to the place and position of the Sun, so the sea breeze here has the like variation, not coming always from the same point; on the contrary, the land winds or breezes come always from the ridge of hills, and from the same point of them, and this holds both on the north and south sides of this island. In vallies amongst the mountains, the sea breeze or land breeze has seldom any great influence, but the north winds very much prostrating great trees.

The land wind blowing at night, and the sea breeze in the day-time, no shipping can come into port except in the day, nor go out but soon after break of day.

The norths come in when the sun is near the tropick of Capricorn, and so farthest off southerly. This north is a very cold and unhealthy wind; it is more violent in the night, because it then

CHAP.

I.

then has the additional force of the land wind with it. It checks the growth of canes and all vegetables on the north side of the island, but is hindered by the ridge of mountains from shewing much of its fury on the south, where it seldom rains with this wind.

Rains.

The south winds bring the most lasting rains or seasons. No rains from the land are lasting on the south side of the island.

As at sea in the trade winds one meets with tornadoes, so at land here sometimes will be a violent west, directly contrary to the trade wind; but this happens seldom, and is soon over.

The sea breeze, when it blows hard, is thought to hinder the rain from coming to the plains, it for the most part then raining on the hills. On this account it is that there are in the mountains many springs and rivers, and few or none in the plains; and this is likewise the cause why there is never any want of water in the rivers coming from them through the plains; and likewise that sometimes rivers suffer very great increase and inundations in the plains, when no rain has fallen in the places where such inundations appear.

Earth-
quakes
from the
same.

Earthquakes, as they are frequent in Hispaniola where they have formerly thrown down the town of St. Domingo, so they are too common here also. The inhabitants expect one every year, and some of them think they follow their great rains. One happened on Sunday the 19th of February, 1688, about eight in the morning. I found in a chamber, one story high, the cabinets and several other moveables on the floor to reel as if people had raised the foundation of the house. It came by shocks, there were three of them, with a little pause between: It lasted about a minute in all, and there was a small noise accompanied it: It was felt all over the island about the same time, some houses being cracked and very near ruined, and very few escaped some injury. The people were in a great consternation, and the ships in Port-Royal harbour felt it. It was observed that the ground rose like the sea in waves as the earthquake passed along: But this was nothing to the earthquake which happened at Port-Royal, in the year 1692, when that town was almost swallowed up by one; of which I shall give a further account when I come to describe their towns.

Thunder.

Thunder is here almost every day in the mountains with the rains there, so that any person in the plains may hear it as well as see the rain. It does not so ordinarily accompany those rains that come from the sea, although when it does it is very violent, and has on the several substances it meets with, either animate or inanimate, the same effects as follow thunder in Europe.

Lightening for the most part precedes thunder in this island as elsewhere: And if it be fair weather, especially in the hottest seasons, it lightens almost all the night, first in one part of the sky or horizon out of some clouds, and then out of others opposite to them, as it were answering one another, as it happens often in the summer in England, &c. and gives occasion to people of fancy to foretel strange wars, &c. when they please; making these apparitions in the air soldiers in battalia, &c.

Hail.

Frost or snow are never seen in this hot climate, but sometimes hail, and that very large, of which, during my being here, I saw one instance; it comes with very great norths, which

reach with great violence to the south side, and throw down every thing before them.

CHAP.

I.

Dews.

The dews here are so great within land, that the water drops from the leaves of trees in the morning as if it had rained. One riding in the night will find his cloaths, hair, &c. very wet in a small time. But there are few if any fogs in the plains or sandy places near the sea.

The rains here are violent, and the drops very large.

Rains
from the
same.

According to the different positions of places, so the rains are more or less violent, and come at different times; but generally speaking, the two great rainy seasons are in May and October, in which months, at new or full moon, they begin and continue day and night for a whole fortnight: So that the earth in all level places is laid under water for some inches, and it becomes loose for a great many inches deep, and consequently the roads are almost unpassable. In the town of St. Jago de la Vega, in those rainy seasons, I was forced to ride on horseback (says Dr. SLOANE) although but from door to door, to visit the sick. And these seasons, as they are called, from their being fit to plant in, are generally so over the whole island; tho' they are much altered in their time and violence of late years, which arises from the clearing much of the country of wood.

Seasons for
planting.

In the month of January is likewise expected a season of rain; but this is not so constant nor violent as the other two; and probably may come from the violent north at that time passing over the mountains with part of their rains with them.

The island is divided into fourteen parishes or Towns: precincts. They have very few towns; the chief are, 1. St. Jago de la Vega or Spanish-town. 2. Kingston. 3. Port-Passage; and, 4. That of Port-Royal.

St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish town, is pleasantly situated in a fine plain upon the river Cobre, which falls into a bay of the sea that forms the harbour of Port-Royal, about seven miles below. It consists of eight hundred or a thousand houses, and is the capital of the island; for here the Governor resides, and the general assembly and courts of justice are held; This was the capital of the island also when in possession of the Spaniards; and then it was much larger and more magnificent than at present; containing, as it is said, two thousand houses, besides several fine churches and monasteries, which were laid in ashes by the soldiers when it was taken by the English.

St. Jago
de la
Vega.

Kingston in the Liguanea, is a port town situated on the north side of the bay of Port-Royal, ten or twelve miles south-east of St. Jago; and, since the repeated misfortune of the town of Port-Royal, is become a large and populous place, much frequented by Merchants and sea-faring men.

Kingston.

Port-Passage is a sea-port town, situated at the mouth of the river Cobre, seven miles south-east of St. Jago; and obtained its name from being the greatest thorough-fair in the island, at least between Port-Royal and the city of St. Jago de la Vega. The town is not large, but consists chiefly of houses of entertainment; and being a considerable pass has a fort erected for its defence.

Port-Pas-
sage.

Port-Royal, before it was destroyed by an earthquake, in the year 1692, is thus described by Mr. BLOME:

Port-Roy-
earthquake.

It

CHAP.

It was situated in the south-east part of the island, at the extremity of a long slip or point of land, running westerly about twelve miles from the main island; having the ocean on the south, and a fine bay of the sea, which forms the harbour, on the north, well defended by several forts and platforms of Guns. The harbour is about three leagues broad in most places, and so deep that a ship of seven hundred tons may lay her side on the shore and load and unload at pleasure; nor does there want good anchorage in any part of it.

The point of land on which the town stood was exceeding narrow, and nothing but a loose land that afforded neither grass, stones, fresh water, trees, or any thing that could encourage the building a town upon it, but the goodness and security of the harbour.

It contained above fifteen hundred houses, and was so populous and so much frequented by Merchants and planters, that the houses were as dear rented as in the well-traded streets of London.

Three times destroyed.

This was the condition of Port-Royal when Mr. BLOME wrote, in the year 1688. But this unfortunate town has been almost totally destroyed three times in our memory: First. In the year 1692 by an earthquake. Secondly. In the year 1702 by a fire. And, thirdly. In the year 1722, by a violent storm and inundation of the sea.

1. By an earthquake.

It was on the 7th of June, 1792, the earthquake happened, which, in two minutes, destroyed most of the town. The earth opened and swallowed up abundance of houses and people; the water gushed out from the openings of the earth and tumbled the people on heaps; but some of them had the good fortune to catch hold of beams and rafters of houses, and were afterwards saved by boats. Several ships were cast away in the harbour; and the Swan frigate, which lay in the dock to careen, was carried over the tops of the sinking houses, and did not however overset, but afforded a retreat to some hundreds of people, who saved their lives upon her. Major KELLEY, who was in the town at this time, says, the earth opened and shut very quick in some places, and he saw several people sink down to the middle, and others, appeared with their heads just above ground and were squeezed to death. The sky, which was clear before the earthquake, became in a minutes time as red and as hot as an oven. The fall of the mountains made a terrible crack, and at the same time dreadful noises were heard under the earth. The principal streets which lay next the key, with large warehouses and stately brick buildings upon them were all sunk. Part of the town, however, was left standing on a neck of land which run into the sea; at the extremity whereof stood the castle, which was shattered but not demolished. The water of the harbour, says another writer, rose on a sudden with huge waves, and drove most of the ships from their anchors; and immediately the sea retired again two or three hundred yards, leaving the fish dry upon the sand, but returned in less than two minutes and overflowed part of the shore. After the first great shock, as many people as could got on board the ships left in the harbour, not daring to venture on shore for some weeks; the shocks still continuing. It is computed fifteen hundred people were lost in the earthquake, and as many more by sickness, supposed to be occasioned by

the noisome vapours that proceeded from the openings of the earth.

CHAP.

The earthquake was general all over the island, and the noise in the mountains so terrible, that many of the fugitive slaves that had run away thither returned to their masters. Two mountains which lay between St. Jago and Sixteen-mile-walk joined together and stopped the current of the river, so that it overflowed several woods and savannahs. On the north side of the island above a thousand acres were sunk with the houses and people in them; the place appearing for some time like a lake was afterwards dried up; but no signs of houses were to be seen. At Yellows a great mountain split and destroyed several plantations with the people on them; and one plantation was removed a mile from the place where it formerly lay. The houses were in general thrown down or damaged all over the island; and it is computed that three thousand people were killed with those that were lost in Port-Royal.

The town being rebuilt near the place where the former stood, was a second time destroyed by fire on the 9th of January, 1702-3. Every house was consumed that day, only the two royal forts and magazines were left standing. Whereupon the government looking on the place as unfortunate, ordered the inhabitants to remove to Kingston on the opposite side of the harbour, and there the courts and offices were ordered to be held that used to be held at Port-Royal. However, this was found to be so commodious a station for shipping, that the people some time afterwards ventured to rebuild it a second time.

It was a third time destroyed by a storm and inundation of the sea, on the 28th of August, 1722, of which we received the following account, in a letter from Jamaica.

2. Destroyed by fire.
3. Destroyed by an inundation.

The sea being raised by the violence of the wind to a much greater height than was ever known before, broke over its ancient bounds, and on a sudden overflowed a large tract of land, carrying away, with an irresistible fury, men, houses, cattle, and every thing that stood in its way: And in this calamity the unfortunate town of Port Royal had its full share. I want words to give you a just description of the horror of that scene which we the unfortunate sufferers beheld, when the sea broke in upon us from all quarters with an impetuous force, concurring with the violence of the wind to cut off all hopes of safety; for we had no other choice but to perish in the waters if we fled from our houses, or of being buried under the ruins if we remained in them. In this dreadful suspense we were held for several hours; for the storm began about eight in the morning and did not sensibly abate till between twelve and one; during which time the wind and sea together demolished a considerable part of the town, laid the church even with the ground, destroyed above one hundred and twenty of the white inhabitants, and an hundred and fifty slaves; and ruined all the store-houses, with the goods and merchandize in them. The situation of the place, it being surrounded on all sides with the sea, rendered it more exposed than any other to the fury of this element; for our only defence against the sea, is a great wall running all along the eastern side of the town, where we used to apprehend most danger. This wall is raised about nine foot above the surface of the water, and is about

CHAP. I. about seven foot thick, and for twenty years had proved a sufficient security to the town; but in this storm it broke over the wall with such a force as nothing was able to withstand. Two or three rows of houses that run parallel to the wall were entirely washed away, among which the church, an handsome building, and very strong, was so perfectly demolished that scarce one stone was left upon another. Great part of the castle also was thrown down, tho' it was of a prodigious thickness, and founded upon a rock: And the whole fortress was in the utmost danger, the sea breaking over the walls which stood thirty foot high above the water.

In the highest streets of the town, most remote from the sea, the water was five foot deep, and so rapid that the strongest man could not stem it, so that we were obliged to keep in our upper-rooms, tho' we were in danger of perishing every minute by the fall of the houses, which shook in a very terrible manner, and the roofs were generally blown off.

The morning in which the storm happened, there was a great fleet of merchant ships riding in the harbour, most of which had taken in their full freight, and were to have returned home in a few days, but the storm left only one vessel in the harbour, besides four sail of men of war; and these had all their masts and rigging blown away; but the most sensible proof of the irresistible force of the storm was the vast quantities of stones that were thrown over the town-wall, of which such a prodigious number were forced over, that an hundred Negroes were employed six weeks in throwing them back into the sea, some of them being so large that nine or ten men could not heave one of them back again over the wall. I am sensible this part of the relation will seem strange; but I doubt not obtaining your belief when I affirm it to you for a certain truth.

The town of Kingston also received great damage, abundance of houses being blown down there, and many more shattered and uncovered; abundance of rich goods were spoiled by rain which fell at the same time, and some people were killed. And of all the vessels which rode in Kingston harbour, which were between forty and fifty sail, they were either driven on shore, or over-set and sunk, abundance of sea-men lost, and some large ships with all their loading were thrown upon dry land. The damage which the trading part of the island has sustained by the loss of their shipping and goods is not to be expressed: And the planting interest has shared in the calamity by the loss of their dwelling-houses, Sugar works, and otherwise; and had the fury of the storm lasted much longer universal ruin must have ensued.

Buildings. The buildings of the Spaniards in this island were of timber, seldom more than one story high, and they fixed the principle posts deep in the ground to prevent their being shook in pieces by earthquakes. On the contrary, the English build with brick, and frequently pretty high as in England, which has sometimes proved fatal to them; neither are these brick houses so cool as those of the Spaniards were: Their kitchens are always at a distance from the house, on account of the heat and smells occasioned by their cookery; and they have no chimneys or fire-places in their dwelling-houses. The houses of the great planters also are at a distance from their Sugar works, to avoid the disagreeable smells: And the Negroes

houses stand at a distance from their masters, being only long thatched huts, furnished with mats to lie on, earthen pots to dress their food, and some calabashes, which serve them for pails, bowls, and dishes.

The inhabitants are either English, or of English extraction born in the island, Indians, Negroes, Mulatto's or Mestize, or the descendants of these.

The English, and those of English extraction, may be fifty thousand; the Indians are but few, all the natives having been destroyed by the Spaniards, and some only remaining they imported afterwards for slaves, and some few the English have brought hither; the rest, viz. Negroes, Mulatto's, Mestize, and their descendants, may amount to an hundred and fifty thousand, or thereabouts.

The English here follow the fashions of their mother country in their habits, making no allowance for the difference of climate; which Sir HANS SLOANE reproves them for. As to their slaves they work naked, except a piece of linen cloth about their loins; but they have a little canvas jacket and breeches given them by their masters annually at Christmas to wear on holy-days.

The meat of the inhabitants of Jamaica is generally such as in England, namely, beef, pork, and fish, flour, and pease, salted flesh and fish sent from the British Colonies on the continent; on which not only the masters feed, but, according to Sir HANS SLOANE, they are obliged to furnish their servants, both whites and blacks, with three pounds of salt beef, pork, or fish, every week, besides Cassavi bread, yams and potatoes, which they eat as bread, and is the natural product of the country.

There are in the savannahs great plenty of cattle; but they cannot keep beef many days, tho' it be salted; and fresh beef is ready to corrupt in four or five hours. Butchers always kill in the morning therefore, just before day, and by 7 o'clock the markets for fresh meat are over.

Their beef here is well-tasted and good, unless when Guinea Hen-weed rises in the savannahs; which is immediately after rains, or when they are so parched that cattle can find nothing else to feed on.

The Butchers remedy the smell of the Guinea Hen-weed in cattle, by putting them into other feeding grounds before they are slaughtered.

Veal is very common, but none thought good but what comes from Luidas, where the Calves are white-fleshed; whether this comes from this place being mountainous, or bleeding and giving them Chalk as in Essex, I cannot tell; but the price of it was so extravagant, that in the assembly they pass an act that it should not be sold dearer than twelve Pence per pound.

A great part of the food of the best inhabitants, for their own table, is of the produce of the island; viz. swines-flesh, and poultry of their own raising.

The swine are of two sorts, one running wild in the country amongst the woods, which feed on the fallen fruits, &c. and are sought out by hunters with packs of Dogs, and chiefly found in the more unfrequented woody parts of the island. After they are wearied by the Dogs and come to bay, they are shot or pierced through with lances; then being cut open, the bones are taken out, the flesh gath'd, and the skin filled

CHAP.

I.

with salt and exposed to the sun, which is called jirking. It is brought home to their masters by the hunters, and eats much like bacon if broiled on coals. These hunters are either blacks or whites, and go out with their Dogs, some salt and bread; and lie far remote from houses in huts in the woods for several days, in places where swine come to feed on the fruits. The Indians are very expert at this sport. The same method is used for wild kine, which are now but very few; and those in the woods on the north-side. Wild Goats there are some on the Salt-pan Hills, not to be seen but in dry seasons when they come down for water.

Swine fed at Crawles are in very great plenty: These Crawles are houses and sties built for feeding and breeding Hogs. The swine come home every night from feeding on the wild fruits in the neighbouring woods on the third sound of a Conch-shell; where they are fed with some ears of Corn thrown amongst them, and let out the next morning, not to return till night or they hear the sound of the shell.

A Palenque is here a place for bringing up of poultry, as Turkeys, which here much exceed the European, and are very good and well-tasted, Hens, Ducks, Muscovy Ducks, and some very few Geese. Muscovy Ducks are here most plentiful, and thrive extremely, they coming originally from Guinea. These poultry are all fed on Indian or Guinea Corn, and Ants nests brought from the woods, which these fowls pick up and devour greedily.

Cattle are penned every night, or else in a short time they run wild: These pens are made of pallisadoes, and are looked after very carefully by the planters. The Oxen which have been drawing in their mills and are well-fed on Sugar Cane Tops, are reckoned the best meat if not too much wrought. They are likewise fattened by Scotch Grass.

Turtle (Tortoisés) are of several sorts; those of the sea called Green Turtle, from their fat being of that colour, feed on Conches or Shell-fish, and are very good victuals: These are eaten by abundance of the people, especially of the poorer sort of the island. They are brought in sloops, as the season is for breeding or feeding, from the Caymanes, or South Cayos or Rocks near Cuba, in which forty sloops, part of one hundred and eighty belonging to Port-Royal, are always employed. They are worth fifteen shillings a-piece, best when with egg, and brought and put into pens or pallisadoed places in the harbour of Port-Royal, whence they are taken and killed as occasion requires. They are much better when brought in first than after languishing in those pens.

They infect the blood of those feeding on them; whence their shirts are yellow, the skin and face of the same colour, and their shirts under the armpits stained prodigiously. This, I believe (says Sir HANS SLOANE) may be one of the reasons of the complexion of our European inhabitants, which is changed in some time from white to that of a yellowish colour, which proceeds from this as well as the jaundice, which is common sea-air, &c.

Land Turtles are counted more delicate food than those of the sea, although smaller.

All sorts of Sea-Turtle or Tortoise, except the green, are reckoned fishy and not good food.

The Manati or Sea-Cow is taken in this island very often in calm bays by the Indians; it is reckoned extraordinary good eating.

Fish of all sorts are here in great plenty; but care must be taken they are not poisonous; this is known by the places where they are; if Mancheneel Apples are eaten by them they are very dangerous; and these Apples frequently drop into the sea from the boughs of that tree.

Salt Mackarel are here a great provision, especially for Negroes; who covet them extremely in Pepper-pots or Oglis, &c.

What is used for bread here by the inhabitants is very different from that in Europe; that coming nearest our bread is made of Cassavi Flour.

This bread is worth about twenty Shillings and Six-pence the hundred weight; sometimes double that, according to its scarcity. People who feed altogether on this, live as long and in as good health as they who feed on any other sort of bread; tho' the juice pressed from this root is rank poison.

Plantains is the next most general support of life in this island. They are brought in from the Plantain-walks, or places where these trees are planted, somewhat green; they ripen and turn yellow in the house before they are eaten. They are usually roasted, after their first being cleared of their outward skins, under the coals. They are likewise boiled in Oglis or Pepper-pots, and prepared into a paste like dumplings; and several other ways. A drink is also made of them.

Potatoes are eat as bread in this place; also roasted under the coals, or boiled.

Yams are likewise used here in lieu of bread, and are prepared as the others; only because they are very large they are usually cut in pieces.

Grains in use here are, 1. Guinea Corn. 'Tis prepared and used as Rice, and tastes as well, and is as nourishing. It is also the food of the poultry and Pigeons.

2. Indian Corn or Maiz, either roasted or boiled, is fed on by slaves; especially the young ears of it before ripe baked under the coals and eaten; this is thought by them very delicious, and called mutton; but it is most used for feeding cattle and poultry.

3. Rice is here planted by some Negroes in their own plantations, and thrives well; but because it requires much beating, and a particular art to separate the grain from the husk, it is thought too troublesome for its price, and so neglected by most planters.

Pease, Beans, and Pulse, of sorts different from those in Europe, are here very common. They are eaten when green as ours of Europe; and when dry, boiled, affording the Negroes very good and strong provisions.

Flour from New-York is counted the best; but this as well as all other flour and bisket, are very subject to be spoiled with Weevils or small Scabææ, if long kept.

Chocolate is here drank at all times; but chiefly in the morning.

The common use of this by all people in the several countries of America (Sir HANS SLOANE observes) proves its being a wholesome food. The drinking of it warm may make it the more stomachick; for we know by anatomical preparations that the tone of the fibres are strengthened by dipping the stomach in hot Water, and that hot liquors will dissolve what cold will leave unaffected.

Besides these ordinary provisions, the Raccoon, a small quadrupede, is eaten. Rats are likewise sold by the dozen, and when they have been bred amongst

CHAP.

I.

Rats eaten in Jamaica.

CHAP. I. amongst the Sugar-canes are thought by some discerning people very delicious victuals. Snakes or Serpents, and Cossi (a sort of Worms) are eaten by the Indians and Negroes.

And
Snakes.
Liquors.

The most common drink is water, and reckoned the most wholesome by many, among whom I am one (says Doctor SLOANE;) and he seems to recommend the drinking a draught every morning. Madera is the next most general drink mixed with water. Madera Wines have this particular quality, different from French Wines and all others that are brought hither, that it keeps better in a hot place or exposed to the sun, than in a cool cellar; whereas other wines must be kept cool here, and if you do they turn sour in a short time. Syder, Beer, and Ale, are also brought hither from the northern colonies, or from England, but do not keep well.

Cool drink made of Molasses and Water Perino, Corn-drink, Cane-drink, that made of Sorrel or Pines, are all accounted unwholesome, turning sour in twelve or twenty-four hours, and owing their strength to the Sugar and fermentation they are put into; although I have known some people drink nothing else, and yet have their health very well.

Acajou Wine, made of the fruit so called, is very strong, keeps not long, and causes vomiting; it is reckoned a good remedy in the Dropsy.

Plantin-drink is stronger than any of the others except Acajou Wine, though subject to grow sour in a short time.

The common fuddling liquor of the vulgar is Rum-punch. Rum is made of Sugar-cane Juice, not fit to make Sugar of, being eaten with Worms, growing in a bad soil, or through some other fault; but chiefly of the skimmings of the copper in crop-time, or of Molasses and water fermented about fourteen days in cisterns and then distilled: It has all the good and bad qualities of Brandy, or any fermented and vinous spirit.

Lodgings.

The better sort of people lie as in England, though more on mattresses or quilts, and with little covering. They hold here, that lying exposed to the land breezes is very unhealthy; which I do not believe (says my author) to come so much from the qualities of the air, either manifest or more obscure, as from this, that the air when one goes to sleep here being very hot, the sunbeams having heated it so long, it retains this heat for some considerable time in the night; which afterwards wearing away it grows towards morning very cold, and affects one by the coldness sometimes so much as to awake one if sleeping. This must of necessity check transpiration, and so may be the cause of many diseases. To avoid this, Negroes and Indians sleep not without a fire near them.

Hamacas, or hammocks, are common beds of ordinary white people; they were in use amongst the Indians, and are much cooler than beds, so cool as not to be lain in without cloaths, especially if swung, as is usually the custom here.

Indians and Negroes lie on the floors, generally on mats made of Rushes, with very little or no covering, and a small fire near them in their cottages. Hence the servants who lie not in beds are not said to go to bed, but to go to sleep; and this phrase has generally obtained all over the plantations.

Beds are sometimes covered all over with Gauze, to hinder the Mosquitos, or Gnats, from buzzing

about, biting, or awaking those lying in them. CHAP. I. This is chiefly after rain.

It is esteemed here the wholesomest way to go to bed early and rise early.

Exercises here are not many because of the heat of the air; riding in the mornings is the most ordinary, which by its easy moving the Abdomen, and so consequently its contents, and by that means forwarding the depuration of the blood in the several emunctories there placed, has a very great power in keeping a man in sound health as well as recovering a man when sickly and ill.

The principle vegetables and produce of this island are Sugar-canes, Cocoa of which Chocolate is made, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, Palms, Coco Trees, Cotton, Indigo, Tobacco, the Prickle Pear, woods for dying, Salt, Ginger, Cod, Pepper, Pimento Drugs, such as Guaiacum, China Root, Sarsaparilla, Cassia, Fistula, Tamarinds, Venella's, gums and roots used in medicines and surgery.

Vegetables.

Here grows the Machineel Tree, which bears a beautiful but poisonous apple, and the Mohogany, the timber and planks of both which are now in great esteem with us; and they have the like forest trees as are found in the continent of America in the same climate.

Their animals are Horses, Mules, Asses, Oxen, Sheep and Hogs, Goats and Rabbits; but they have no Deer or Hares.

They have also very good sea and river fish, and poultry, Turkeys, Geese, Ducks wild and tame, Pigeons, Guinea Hens, Snipes, Parrots, Parakeets, and several others already mentioned in speaking of their food.

There are also Alligators, or Crocodiles, in their waters, and they have some Snakes; but the latter are not venomous it is said.

Sir HANS SLOANE speaking of their diseases and remedies observes, that here are the same diseases and the same methods of cure as in Europe: That fluxes and fevers of all kinds, as well as dysenteries or bloody-fluxes, are very common here with all kind of people: And for fluxes provided they were moderate, he gave some easy medicine to forward them; but if attended with a high fever, or there was so great an evacuation that the patient was grown weak, he used to order bleeding: That very often in this distemper, and in the gripes or belly-ach, which is another common disease in this country, occasioned chiefly by drinking sour punch and other pernicious liquors, there was an inflammation in the guts, which often occasioned a gangreen, if not timely remedied: And in this case, besides the usual remedies, he used to order Rice to be boiled in water for their ordinary drink: And in epidemick dysenteries he had known flour boiled in Milk, with some Wax scraped in it, do very great cures. But I must refer my reader to Dr. SLOANE's natural history of Jamaica for a full account of their diseases and cures, it not being consistent with so general a work as this to be more particular.

I shall only observe further, that the harbour of Port-Royal may well be looked upon as the grave of our marine Officers and seamen, many thousands having perished there by the unhealthfulness of the place, or their own irregular way of life in a climate so different from that of their native country. And it must be admitted that let a man be never so careful of his health here, both the air and the water are so bad near the coast

Port-Royal
harbour
fatal to
English
seamen.

CHAP.

I.

coast, that these alone are sufficient to destroy his health; but as I understand Dr. SLOANE, both the water and air are good at a distance from the shores; and the inland country of Jamaica is as healthful as any other, but hither sea-faring people, who belong either to men of war or merchant men, seldom come; their business obliges them to remain on board in that fatal bay, or at the port-towns bordering upon it, which are not much better.

History.

Jamaica was discovered by COLUMBUS in his second voyage to America, anno 1493, and planted by the Spaniards some few years afterwards. Their first colonies were settled on the north side of the island, and here they built a town, giving it the name of Seville; but observing that neither the weather nor the soil was so good as on the south, they built the town of St. Jago de la Vega on the River Cobre, which falls into the bay of Port-Royal, in the south-east part of the island. This town in time increased to a large city, consisting of two thousand houses; and here they lived in great splendour and security for near a century, having parcelled out the richest lands amongst them, which they planted chiefly with Cocoa for their Chocolate, Corn, Sugar, and delicious fruits that were cultivated by their Negroes, of whom they entertained great numbers: They also stocked the country with all manner of European cattle, many of which being turned into the woods grew wild, and increased prodigiously in the mountains.

In the year 1596, being about an hundred years after the Spaniards discovered it, Sir ANTHONY SHIRLEY cruising in these seas with a single ship of war, landed on the island of Jamaica, took the town of St. Jago de la Vega and plundered it; so little did the Spaniards dream of an enemy here, or provide for their defence, imagining this new world to be all their own, and that no European power durst disturb them in the enjoyment of it.

After this misfortune, the Spaniards erected a fort at the mouth of the River Cobre, to which they gave the name of Passage-Fort, by which they imagined they should prevent their capital being surprized for the future; but Col. JACKSON coming before Port-Passage with a fleet of English privateers, in the year 1635, or as others say, 1638, landed five hundred men, drove the Spaniards from their works at Port-Passage, and advancing to St. Jago made himself master of the town and plundered it, obliging the inhabitants to raise a considerable sum to ransom it from burning; after which he retired to his ships.

Still the Spaniards remained in possession of the island till the year 1656, when Admiral PENN and General VENABLES being sent by the usurper CROMWELL to reduce Hispaniola, and being disappointed in that attempt, to save their credit, invaded Jamaica, and made a complete conquest of it.

And the Spaniards have been so far from attempting the recovery of the island, that they yielded and confirmed it to Great-Britain by a subsequent treaty of peace.

Some disturbance the English however have met with from time to time from the Negroes in the mountains; for when the Spaniards left the island, their Negroes retired to the most inaccessible part of the mountains, and there fortifying themselves, bid defiance to the English, who were never able to reduce them entirely, but some of them remained there till they were joined by other fugi-

tives of the same complexion, slaves to the English planters, and at length increased to so great a body, that they became formidable to the plantations; in which they committed many murders and robberies. And notwithstanding his Majesty has sent two regiments to the assistance of the colony, they still maintain their ground I perceive; and all that the soldiers can do is to guard the plantations from their ravages.

During King WILLIAM's war also, I find, the French from Hispaniola landed some forces on the island in the year 1694, and plundered several of the plantations: But they were soon beat off, and some forces being sent from England to their assistance, the gentlemen of Jamaica returned their visit, made a descent on Hispaniola, and plundered several places in possession of the French, bringing away with them fourscore pieces of cannon, and a considerable booty.

As for the present state of Jamaica, we may best understand it from themselves, in their address or representation to the throne, viz.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble address and representation of the council of Jamaica.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, your council of Jamaica, having taken into our consideration the declining state and condition of this island, think ourselves indispensably obliged, in duty to your Majesty, and in justice to ourselves and our country, humbly to make some representation thereof to your Majesty. We shall forbear troubling your Majesty with the many melancholy reflections the present situation of our affairs hath naturally led us into, and shall chiefly confine ourselves to the most obvious and visible causes of our misfortunes, the increase and success of our rebellious slaves, the decrease of our white people, and the decay of our trade and planting interest: The first hath in some part been guarded against by your Majesty's great goodness in sending, and we hope continuing amongst us, two regiments of soldiers for our preservation. The decrease of our people is in great measure owing to our loss of commerce; and therefore we shall endeavour to point out some of the many causes of this latter evil. We are, of late years, deprived of the most beneficial branch of our trade, the carrying of Negroes and dry goods to the Spanish coast; the loss of this occasioned the desertion of a considerable number of our sea-faring men and others from this island for want of employment. A farther discouragement to our trade is the frequent hostilities committed by the Spaniards, who, regardless of the solemn treaties entered into with your Majesty, spare no English vessel they can overcome, and from whom it has hitherto been in vain to attempt the obtaining any satisfaction in these parts. We likewise beg leave to observe, that the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, were many years in the possession of your Majesty's subjects, and reputed part of the territories depending on your Majesty's government of this island, and gave employment to a considerable number of shipping and people to cut and carry Logwood from thence; but we have been dispossessed of them by the Spaniards, who likewise there seized, and made prizes of a great number of ships belonging to your Majesty's subjects.

The low value of our produce may be very justly attributed to the great improvement the French

CHAP.

I.

The present state of Jamaica represented in an address to the throne.

CHAP. I. French have made in their Sugar Colonies by the encouragement given them, particularly in allowing them to export their commodities to foreign markets without first introducing them into any of the ports of France; and from the lowness of their duties, and being under no necessity of double voyages, they can afford to undersell us; and likewise by the pernicious trade that is carried on from Ireland and your Majesty's northern colonies to the French Sugar Islands.

It is well known, that Sugar and other commodities produced in the French and Dutch Colonies are frequently imported into Ireland without introducing them into the ports of Great-Britain, and paying the duties as your Majesty's subjects of your Sugar Colonies are obliged to do; and consequently those foreigners are supplied with provisions at easier rates than we; and we are in a manner deprived of a very considerable market in that part of your Majesty's dominions.

Your Majesty's northern colonies import into this island great quantities of provisions and other goods, for which they take no part of our produce in exchange (a small quantity of Molasses excepted) but are paid in bullion, which they carry to Hispaniola, and buy Sugar, Rum, and Molasses for their own use. This trade is not only unequal and injurious to us, but prejudicial even to themselves, and highly so to our mother country, and drains us of so much bullion in favour of France, which otherwise might have centered in Great-Britain.

We further beg leave to observe to your Majesty, that Cacao was one of the principal commodities of this island, and a great encouragement to the settling it; but that it is now lost, which is in a great measure owing to the restrictions and heavy duties laid on it in Great-Britain; and possibly our Sugar, Rum, Ginger, and other produce, may be attended with the same ill consequences, if not timely remedied.

As the industrious planters of this island have lately introduced Coffee, and begun to make plantations thereof, we humbly beg leave to represent it, and to address your Majesty for some encouragement, either by a bounty on importation or otherwise, that such settlements may be carried on with the greatest cheerfulness. (An act has passed since for encouraging the planting of Coffee.)

We have already taken up too much of your Majesty's time and patience in this representation; but our zeal for your Majesty's service in the preservation of this colony, and the natural love we owe to ourselves and to our country in which is our all, has encouraged us to lay these particulars before your Majesty. We humbly submit them to your royal consideration, and hope for such relief as in your Majesty's great wisdom shall be most advisable, that we, with the rest of your Majesty's subjects, may enjoy the blessings of a reign glorious in itself, and so capable of making us, and our posterity, a happy and flourishing people.

St. Jago de la Vega,
Nov. 27, 1731.

By order of the council,

Jos. MAXWELL,

Clerk of the council.

But it must be remembered here, that the trade of the British northern colonies with the French and other foreigners for Sugar, Rum, &c. is now in some measure restrained by a duty laid on foreign Sugar, Rum, and Molasses; and the trade of foreigners to Ireland, with foreign Sugar, &c.

VOL. III.

is likewise in a great measure prevented by a late act of parliament; but the Spaniards it seems continue at this day to take our ships in the West-Indies as formerly; as appears from an address of the Merchants of Jamaica to the honourable JOHN GREGORY, Esq. President and Commander in chief of that island; wherein they shew;

That the Spaniards have lately (anno 1737.) taken and carried into the Havannah three ships all laden in this island with the produce thereof, and commodities purchased there, or money received of the Agents of the South-Sea Company, for Negroes legally sold and exported to the Spanish settlements pursuant to the Asiento treaty; and that the said ships were all homeward bound to Great-Britain, and not the least pretence of their being engaged in, or attempting to carry on an unlawful trade.

I shall conclude the state of Jamaica with some account of the Logwood trade, of which his Majesty's subjects have been violently and unjustly deprived by the Spaniards: This trade was carried on chiefly by the people of Jamaica, and our right to it has been set in a proper light by the Lords of trade and plantations in their representation to his late Majesty King GEORGE I. in the year 1718.

Their Lordships insist that the English have an unquestionable right to the Logwood trade; and have always been protected in it by the Kings of England his Majesty's predecessors.

They observe that Logwood is the product of Jucatan, a peninsula that extends itself an hundred leagues into the North Sea; on each side whereof are the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, where this wood is chiefly cut by the English.

That the Spaniards are possessed only of the town of Campeachy and two more small places in this part of America, and that the rest of Jucatan was an uninhabited desert till our Logwood cutters settled at Cape Catoch, the north east promontory of Jucatan, and at Trist or the Laguna de Terminos in the bay of Campeachy, before or in the year 1667, when a treaty of peace was concluded between Great-Britain and Spain. And thereupon the privateers of Jamaica, who used to disturb the Spanish trade, being obliged to quit that way of life, became Logwood cutters, and settled with others of their countrymen at Trist, and the Lake de Terminos aforesaid; and great quantities of Logwood were afterwards imported from thence to Old and New-England. They observe that Sir THOMAS LYNCH, Governor of Jamaica, under whose direction that trade was carried on, in the year 1671, gave his Majesty King CHARLES II. the following reasons for his encouraging this trade. 1. That the English had then used it for divers years. 2. That the Logwood was cut in desolate and uninhabited places. 3. That it was a right confirmed by treaty with the Spaniards. 4. That thereby we excluded the French and Dutch from that trade. 5. That the Spaniards had not then made any complaint of it. 6. That this employment made the reducing our privateers, who used to commit hostilities against the Spaniards more easy. Lastly, That this trade employed an hundred sail of ships annually, and increased his Majesty's customs and the trade of the nation more than any of his American Colonies.

Sir THOMAS MODYFORD, the succeeding Governor of Jamaica, informed the Lords of the privy

CHAP. I.
The right to the Logwood trade insisted on by the Lords Commissioners for trade.

CHAP

I.

privity council, in the year 1672, that the English Logwood cutters had used that trade for three years, that they had planted Corn, and built houses for their conveniency; and though they frequently hunted Deer in the country, they had never seen a single Spaniard or any other man in that part of the country in all the time they had been there: And concludes, that their felling of wood, building houses, and clearing and planting the ground, was such a possession as in the West-Indies gave them an undoubted right to the countries they thus occupied.

And Sir THOMAS, to justify his conduct in encouraging this trade, in the year 1672 (when the Spaniards first complained of it) sent home the copies of several depositions he had taken from masters of ships and others concerned in the Logwood trade; with a proclamation he had issued for the regulation and security thereof, as a confirmation of what he had asserted. And the Lords of the council thereupon let the Governor know, that they approved what he had done.

The Lords commissioners of trade further observe, that there is a clause in the abovesaid American treaty, which provides, that the King of Great-Britain shall keep and possess, in full right of sovereignty and propriety, all places situate in the West-Indies, or any part of America which he or his subjects were then in possession of; and that they actually were then, and had been for several years in possession of Trist, the Lake de Terminos, and several other places in the province of Jucatan, which the Spaniards began to set up a title to about this time; notwithstanding they enjoyed the full benefit of what Great-Britain stipulated on her part, viz. 1. The securing the trade of the Spanish West-Indies to them; a point which had never before been yielded. 2. The obliging the privateers to cease their depredations, whereby the Spanish trade had been miserably harrassed; and this had been effected chiefly by the care of his Majesty's Governors, and the employing those people in the Logwood trade.

That in 1680 the Spaniards proceeded in a hostile manner to dispossess the English Logwood cutters of their settlements of Trist, &c. and even of the island of Providence, a British Plantation, to which they had no pretence; but these were soon repossessed by his Majesty's subjects, and the Logwood trade in 1682 was greater than ever and was maintained and carried on by the English till the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, when the adjustment and settlement thereof came again under consideration; and it was stipulated that (only) such places should be restored to the Spaniards as had been taken during the preceeding war, (in the reign of Queen ANNE) among which Trist could not be reckoned one, because the English were in possession of it many years before that war commenced; and indeed had been in the actual possession of it from 1669 to 1713, except for two or three months in the year 1689, when the Spaniards surprised and expelled them by force as related above.

They further represented, that by a clause in the treaty of commerce concluded in November 1713, the American treaty of 1670 is confirmed and ratified; and it was thereby declared, that this should be understood to be without prejudice to any liberty or power which the subjects of Great-Britain enjoyed before, either through right, sufferance, or indulgence; and the English having long enjoyed the liberty of cutting

Logwood without interruption, either through right, sufferance, or indulgence, they are by this treaty intitled to the same in as plain and express words as can be imagined.

Then the Lords Commissioners proceeded to shew the importance of the Logwood trade to Great-Britain by the following account of what Logwood had been imported since the late war, viz.

	Tons	C.	Qt.	lb.	
In 1713, — — —	2189	15	3	22	Importation of Logwood from 1713 to 1716.
In 1714, — — —	4878	14	3	24	
In 1715, — — —	5863	12	1	14	
In 1716, — — —	2032	17	2	0	

14965 0 3 4

That is communibus annis 3741 tons, which cannot be computed at less than 60,000 l. per ann. tho' the price is already reduced from 40 l. to 16 l. per ton; and before your Majesty's subjects were settled there, it was worth 100 l. the ton.

Nor is this trade less necessary than beneficial to your Majesty's dominions, by reason of the great encouragement it gives to our seamen and shipping, which at all times require a particular attention; but now especially, when it is daily observed that very many British mariners either through defect of the laws for want of employment at home, or in hopes of greater advantage abroad, enter themselves into foreign service.

Upon the whole therefore we are humbly of opinion,

That the subjects of this your Majesty's kingdom for some years before as well as after the conclusion of the American treaty in 1670, did enjoy an uninterrupted liberty of cutting Logwood in the Laguna de Terminos, and in other places not inhabited by the Spaniards in the province of Jucatan, either through right, sufferance, or indulgence.

That the said American treaty did establish a right in the crown of Great-Britain to the Laguna de Terminos and the parts adjacent; those places at the time of the treaty, and for some years before, being actually in possession of the British subjects. Signed

Whitehall, Suffolk, J. MOLESWORTH,
Sept. 25th. J. CHETWYND, D. PULTENEY,
1717. CHARLES COOKE, M. BLADEN.

Jamaica is a royal government. The King appoints both the Governor and council. Their assembly of representatives has nothing to do in the election of these, as they have in the charter governments; and I look upon this Island as the most profitable government in the disposal of the crown of England, next to that of Ireland. There have been Governors who have made seven or eight thousand Pounds a year by their salary and perquisites, ordinary and extraordinary, if not more.

Their laws are much the same as those in the colonies on the continent; both the one and the other I perceive have recourse to tortures in the punishment of their slaves. These are not treated as subjects of Great-Britain; but as if they were creatures of a different species, such exquisite torments are afflicted on them (according to Sir HANS SLOANE) as must raise the utmost horror and detestation of the practice in Englishmen; who have not lost all humanity and compassion for their fellow-creatures.

The Knight relates, that for rebellion they lay the offender on the ground, and having extended his

CHAP

I.

Importation of Logwood from 1713 to 1716.

Price reduced from 40 l. to 16 l. a ton. Once 100 l. a ton.

Opinion of the board of trade.

Government and laws.

CHAP. I. his legs and arms, fasten them to the earth, and then applying fire gradually to his hands and feet burn them up to his head, whereby he suffers the most exquisite pain.

For crimes of a less nature they geld the offender, and cut off half his foot with an ax; and for negligence only they whip him; and when his back is raw they strew Pepper or Salt on their wounds to make them smart; and some planters will drop melted wax on their skins, which puts them to most intolerable pain.

And these cruelties the Doctor justifies, by telling us the Blacks are a very perverse generation, and merit such torment. Thus we find the late Czar of Muscovy also justifying the barbarous usage of his own subjects, from the obstinacy of their tempers. And we have known English Officers affirming the like of their soldiers, and treating even subjects of Great-Britain, over whom they had no authority, with equal cruelty.

We cannot wonder, after this barbarous treatment of their bodies, the planters have so little concern for the souls of these poor creatures, as to neglect the instructing them in the Christian religion; or that their Negroes have so little inclination to embrace the religion of a people who use them so barbarously.

CHAP. II.

Of the island of Barbadoes.

CHAP. II. **THE** Caribbee-Islands, of which Barbadoes is one of the chief, were so called by the Spaniards, from the Caribbees or Canibals that were supposed to inhabit them; but upon the strictest inquiry, and a full survey of every country in America, I can meet with no tolerable evidence that there ever was a nation of Canibals either here or on any part of the continent or islands of this new world. The first discoverers indeed agreed unanimously in relating that the natives were Canibals in almost every province and district of America; the reason whereof I have already considered. But later travellers meet with no Canibals either in those countries that have been subdued by the Europeans, or in those parts of America where the natives are still masters, and still retain the rest of their superstitious rites. In Florida particularly, where the people were represented as the most barbarous of human race, and charged with sacrificing their own children, now we are better acquainted with them, it appears they have no such custom.

Thename. As to this island in particular, it is imagined by some, that the Spaniards or Portuguese gave it the name of Barbadoes from the barbarous inhabitants they found upon it; but who discovered it, or gave it this name, or whether there were any inhabitants upon it when the Europeans discovered it, is very uncertain. All that I can learn concerning the name is, that it was called Barbadoes by the Spaniards, Portuguese, English, Dutch and French, who frequently passed by it, or touched at it in their voyages to the continent long before it was planted, none of them imagining it would turn to account to take possession of it. But to proceed:

Situation and extent. The island of Barbadoes is the most considerable of all the British islands in America, next to that of Jamaica: It is situated in the Atlantick-Ocean, in 13 degrees north latitude, and 59 degrees of western longitude, being of a triangular form,

CHAP. II. about twenty five miles in length from south to north, and fifteen in breadth from east to west where broadest. It is a plain level country for the most part, with some small hills of an easy ascent, and scarce any wood upon it at present. It was covered with woods indeed when the English first sent colonies thither, but they are all cut down to make room for plantations of Sugar-canes, which take up almost the whole island at present, nothing else being cultivated in any great quantities; their very Corn, flesh and fish being imported for the most part from the northern colonies.

There is scarce an harbour in the island; the best is that of Bridge-Town in Carlisle-Bay, on the south-west part of the island, and this lies open to the westward. However, it is secure from the north-east, which is the constant trade-wind here, and blows from morning till evening, except during their tornados and hurricanes, which happen usually about midsummer, and in July and August, and blow from every quarter. The ships in the bay at such times are pretty sure of being wrecked on shore if they cannot get out to sea, and therefore seldom attempt to ride out these storms. The coast is defended on the east by rocks and shoals from the invasion of an enemy, and on the west, where it is more exposed to a descent, breastworks and redoubts are erected for its security; but the repair of them is too much neglected.

There is scarce a stream in the island that deserves the name of a river; however we find two on the east-side, to which they have given the names of Scotland-River and Joseph's-River. They have good water in their wells almost all over the island, and do not dig very deep for it. They have also large ponds and reservoirs, where they preserve rain-water.

They have generally fine serene weather; their rains fall as in other parts of the torrid Zone, chiefly when the sun is vertical; and after the rains are the proper seasons for planting. Their heats are not so excessive as in the same latitude on the continent, being constantly refreshed by the sea breezes in the day-time, which increase as the sun advances, and abate as the sun declines: And they have this further satisfaction, that their days seldom exceed twelve hours. But there being no mountains in the island, there are no land-winds in the night as in Jamaica.

The only town of any consequence in the island is that of Bridge-Town, or St. Michael's, situate in Carlisle-Bay. It was formerly encompassed with a morass, which rendered it unhealthy; but this has been drained in a great measure; however, the low situation makes the town still subject to inundations. It is said to contain a thousand or twelve hundred houses, tolerably well built of brick or stone. They have commodious wharfs and keys for loading and unloading of goods, and three forts or castles for its defence; which, if kept in repair, would render the town no easy conquest.

The chief produce and manufacture of the island as has been intimated already, is Sugar of the island the Molasses or Dross, whereof they make great quantities of Rum. They have also some Cotton, Indigo, Ginger, and Pimento; and formerly Tobacco was planted here in good quantities, but very little at present. Forest-trees they have scarce any left. Their fruits are Oranges, Limes, Citrons, Pomegranates, Pine-Apples, Guavas, Plantains,

CHAP. II. **Plaintains,** Cocoa-nuts, Indian Figs, Prickle-Pears, Melons, and almost all manner of roots and garden-stuff, but very few flowers.

Animals. Their Horses they import from New-England, &c. and have a slight breed of their own. They have also some Asses, Cows and Sheep, but the last do not thrive here. They have a good number of Hogs, the flesh whereof is the best meat that is eaten in those hot climates. Here are also good sea-fish and poultry, but no fresh water fish; and in general all manner of provision is very dear. There is no dining at an ordinary under a Crown a head. Fresh meat is a rarity, and chiefly the food of people of condition; the rest are glad of salt beef, pork and fish imported from the northern colonies; from whence also comes their Wheat-Flower, Indian Corn, Pease, Beans, &c. They make bread also of the Cassavi root; and the Negroes feed on Yams, Potatoes, Plaintains, and other roots and fruits. The liquor drank by the gentry here is chiefly Madera Wine, or wine and water; and great quantities of Punch are drank by the vulgar. They have also strong Beer imported from Old and New-England, and liquor made of their Maize and fruits, as in Jamaica.

Government. The government here also resembles that of Jamaica and the rest of our American Islands; having a Governor and council appointed by the crown, which, with the house of representatives, are vested with a legislative power, and make laws for the government of the island.

Number of people. The numbers of white people here are said to have been once forty thousand and upwards, and are computed to be near thirty thousand at present; the Negroes, Mulattos and Mestize slaves about an hundred thousand. Their militia consists of fifteen hundred horse and three thousand foot, or thereabouts. As to their present trade, revenues, strength of the island, and fortifications, these will be seen in the controversy between the Sugar Islands and the northern colonies, of which I shall give an abstract hereafter; and proceed now to inquire into the first plantation of the island, and the vast improvements made in it.

History. The Caribbee-Islands as has been observed already, were first discovered by COLUMBUS in his second voyage to America: But this of Barbadoes lying so far south, probably was not seen by him: And whether the Spaniards or the Portuguese first discovered it in their voyages to the continent of America is uncertain: There is no doubt but one or both of them touched here (tho' they did not think it worth while to plant colonies in the island) for the English found Hogs at Barbadoes when they first arrived there; and it appears to have been the constant usage of the Spaniards and Portuguese to stock such islands with Hogs as lay in their way, that they might not want fresh provisions in their long voyages.

The first Englishmen that landed here, it is said, were some of Sir WILLIAM CURTEEN's seamen that were cruising in these seas in the latter end of the reign of King JAMES I. who reporting, at their return to England, that the soil was fruitful, some adventurers went thither with an intent to plant it, but finding the island covered with wood, and scarce any other animals upon it than Hogs, it did not answer their expectations a great while.

The propriety of this island was afterwards granted by King CHARLES I. to JAMES Earl of Carlisle, in the first year of his reign, of whom

several adventurers purchasing shares, transported themselves thither, and first fell to planting Tobacco; which not thriving here as they expected, they proceeded to try Cotton, and Indico, which yielded them a considerable profit; but they made little Sugar till 1647, when Colonel MODIFORD, Colonel DRAX, Colonel WALROND, and several other Cavaliers, finding there was no living with any satisfaction in England under the usurpers, converted their estates into money, and transported themselves to Barbadoes with such machines and implements as were proper to carry on Sugar-works there. Colonel DRAX, it is said, in a few years acquired an estate of seven or eight thousand Pounds per ann. and married the Earl of Carlisle's daughter, then proprietor of the island: And the adventurers fixing their principle settlement on the great bay in the south-west part of the island, gave it the name of Carlisle-Bay, in honour to their proprietor, which it still retains.

The island was afterwards divided into four circuits and eleven parishes, each parish being allowed to send two representatives to the general assembly; and every parish had its church and an incumbent, with an handsome maintenance assigned him. In the year 1650, the white inhabitants of the island are said to have increased to between thirty and forty thousand, besides Negroes, which were much more numerous, and frequently plotted the destruction of their masters; but their plots were constantly discovered, and the most terrible punishments inflicted on the ring-leaders; which did but increase the disaffection of the rest, and laid the foundation of fresh conspiracies: But notwithstanding the repeated plots of their slaves, never any plantation of so small an extent arrived to that riches and grandeur as Barbadoes did in the space of twenty or thirty years. CROMWELL apprehended this island of such consequence during his usurpation, that he sent a strong squadron of men of war thither, ann. 1651, under the command of Sir GEORGE ASCUE, who compelled the Lord Willoughby (appointed Governor by King CHARLES II.) to surrender the island upon condition the royalists should remain in the possession of their estates and liberties; and Mr. SEARL was constituted Governor by the usurpers. The Dutch war succeeding soon after, the colony was prohibited trading with the Hollanders, with whom they had principally trafficked hitherto; for the Dutch it seems constantly furnished the island with Negroes till this time, and taught the Barbadians how to plant and manage their Sugars to the best advantage; taking most of it off their hands, with which they supplied themselves and the rest of Europe: But after the usurpers quarrelled with the Dutch, the Barbadians were compelled by an ordinance of Parliament to bring all their Sugars directly to England, which was imitated by the ministry after the restoration of King CHARLES II. and was the foundation of the act of navigation, which requires all the British Colonies to bring their Sugars and Tobacco directly to England; and prohibits their trading with foreigners in these and some other articles.

In the year 1661, King CHARLES II. purchased the propriety of this island of the Lord Kinowll, heir to the Earl of Carlisle, and appointed the Lord Willoughby of Parham Governor again; ever since which Barbadoes has been a regal government. And the colony granted a duty of four and a half per cent. for the support of the

CHAP.
II.

the civil government of that island, and maintaining the forces and fortifications thereof: Which duty (according to my author) amounts to ten thousand pounds a year; but instead of being applied to the purposes it was given, it is disposed of in pensions to courtiers (as he suggests) to the irreparable damage of that colony, no other island having laid so high a duty on their Sugars. In the year 1664, De RUYTER, the Dutch Admiral, with a great fleet of men of war, treacherously attempted to surprize the island of Barbadoes, tho' England was then in full peace with Holland; but he was bravely beat off by the Barbadians, and obliged to abandon that enterprize.

The trade
of Negroes
monopolized.

In the year 1674, Sir JONATHAN ATKINS being made Governor, had orders to seize all ships trading in Africa for Negroes, that trade being granted to the Royal African company about that time, exclusive of all others; and several ships belonging to the Merchants of Barbadoes bringing over Negroes afterwards were condemned as forfeited; being denominated interlopers, which that colony complained of as a great grievance, the African company setting what price they pleased upon their Negroes: But this was not redressed 'till after the revolution, when that trade was laid open to all the subjects of England, paying 10 per cent. towards the charge of their forts. The Barbadians also suffered great losses by a terrible hurricane that happened there on the 10th of August, 1674, when three hundred houses were blown down, two hundred persons killed, most of their Sugar-works and plantations destroyed, and all their wind-mills for grinding Canes were blown down, except those that were built of stone; eight ships also suffered shipwreck in the harbour: Insomuch that the Barbadians were disabled making much Sugar the two succeeding years. Another calamity with which the Barbadians were afflicted, was an epidemical distemper that reigned several years in the island, differing very little from the plague: This began about the year 1691, and occasioned a great decrease of the white inhabitants, which they have not recovered from that day to this. It seems the ministry in England sending a squadron of men of war to Barbadoes, with a body of land forces on board, to protect the trade of the Caribbee-Islands, which had suffered very much by the depredations of the French privateers; the Barbadians on their arrival concerted an enterprize with the Commanders against the French Islands of Guadalupe, Martinico, St. Christopher's, &c. and joining the King's forces with some of their own, formed a body of four or five thousand men, with which they made a descent on Guadalupe and St. Christopher's, and ruined several French settlements; but did not make a conquest of any of them as was expected: And what was still more unfortunate, the distemper abovementioned broke out in the army, which the Soldiers brought back to Barbadoes, and almost depopulated that island of white men. The King's ships also lost so many of their men that there were not hands enough left to carry them home. But this distemper the Barbadians comfort themselves was brought into the island from abroad; and did not begin there, assuring us that their country is generally exceeding healthful.

The island
depopulated
by a
plague.The people
oppressed
by their
Governors.

There is another calamity which the Barbadians seem to lament as much as any of the former; and that is, the oppression of several of their Governors; and particularly of Colonel FRANCIS RUSSEL, brother to the late Earl of Orford in the

year 1695, whose extortions exceeded those of any Governor that had gone before him; but he had the good fortune to die before he was called to account.

CHAP.
II.

We meet with very severe reflections also on HENRY WORSELY, Esq; another of their Governors, in the report of the committee appointed to prepare a representation of the grievances of this island, made on the 15th of February, 1730; wherein they set forth, "That in the year 1722, when his excellency HENRY WORSELY, Esq; took the administration of the government upon him, and for many years before, the gentlemen of the island having 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 six thousand Pounds sterling per ann. on the said Governor, during his residence here in the quality of his late Majesty's Governor; a settlement so very extravagant, and so much more than what the country could afford, that the inhabitants could not long support themselves under the same; but which however they had cheerfully submitted to for several years, notwithstanding the island had been 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, breastworks, and batteries were gone to ruin; the publick stores were embezzled and wasted; and all persons, in office under his Excellency, busied in nothing but how to raise fortunes from the ruins of the people, by inventing new fees and perquisites, and by increasing the former fees and emoluments of their several offices. And the said petition further sets forth, that the freeholders of the island, moved at last with a just sense of their danger and ill usage, had in the month of July, 1727, chosen such persons to represent them in the general assembly, as might inquire into and attempt to procure a redress of some of their most crying grievances; and that when the said assembly were sitting about that affair with all the calmness and moderation imaginable, and with due deference and regard to his Excellency, he had sought all occasions to exasperate, male-treat, insult, and abuse the assembly, who however resolved to overlook all indignities for the good of their country; and that the said Governor finding he could not provoke them to return the ill treatment they met with from him, had, on the 5th of October then last past, commanded them to adjourn for four weeks; and tho' upon the application of the assembly (who upon that occasion humbly represented to him that several bills, and other affairs of great consequence to the publick, were then depending before the house, and therefore prayed the adjournment might not be for so long a time) he had been pleased to shorten the adjournment by the space of two days only; yet, before the time of their meeting came, he had prorogued them to the 9th of December; and from thence, by several repeated prorogations, to the month of June, 1728; and then dissolved them, apparently to prevent any inquiry

6000 l.
per ann.
extorted
for the
Governor's
salary.Fortifications
ruined
to ruin.
Various
oppressions.

CHAP. II. "quiry into, or representation of his male-administration."

As to the diet and cloathing, the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Barbadoes, whether white people or Negroes, they are much the same as in Jamaica; only there is not so great plenty of provisions in Barbadoes as there is in Jamaica.

CHAP. III.

Of the islands of St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, Tobago, Barbuda, and Anguilla.

CHAP. III. **S**AINTE Vincent is situated twenty leagues and upwards to the westward of Barbadoes, and may be seen from thence in a clear evening, being about twenty miles in length from north to south, and almost as broad from east to west. The English and Dutch had formerly small settlements upon it; whether they have any at present I am not informed; but thus much is certain, that neither of these nations have thought fit to cultivate the soil so as to render the traffick thither of any consequence.

St. Lucia. St. Lucia lies about five and twenty leagues north west of Barbadoes, and has two high mountains in the middle of it, which may be seen from thence in a fine day. The soil is said to be good, and yet the English and French have possessed and quitted it alternately more than once. It was, however, held by the English to be part of the dominions of the crown of Great-Britain, and as such inserted in the Governor of Barbadoes's commission: And Sir HANS SLOANE relates, that when he was there, in the year 1687, it was inhabited by a small number of people from Barbadoes (within sight of which it lies) who kept it on account of its wood, which it has in plenty, and they at Barbadoes very much want. It has been disputed by the French, says Sir HANS SLOANE, whether the English were proprietors of it or they; but I was told, that being in possession of the English at the time of the signing of the treaty of neutrality with France, it ought to remain quietly in the hands of the English. However, in the reign of King GEORGE I. when his grace the present Duke of Montague had been at forty thousand Pounds expence to plant that island and fix a colony there, the French from Martinico obliged the English planters to quit the island; and the court of Great-Britain did not think fit to assert their title to it, but gave his grace some equivalent; partly lucrative partly honorary, for his loss. What satisfaction the rest of the adventurers had for their losses and disappointment I could never learn; but we seem, by acquiescing in this outrage, to have yielded up our interest in the island to the French.

Dominica. The island of Dominica, so called by the Spaniards from their discovering it on a Sunday, is situated in 15 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, about thirty miles to the northward of Martinico. This is another small island which the English have not thought fit to cultivate yet to any degree, tho' they may have some inconsiderable settlements upon it.

Tobago. The island of Tobago, so called from its yielding a good sort of Tobacco, is situated in 11 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, forty leagues due south of Barbadoes, being about thirty-two miles in length and 12 in breadth.

The temperature of the air and fruitfulness of the soil in this island is much commended: and it is said to be well stocked with all manner of

European cattle, and to be well furnished with sea-fish, especially Manati and Turtle. It is also covered with excellent timber, viz. Cedar, Mahogany, Ebony, Lignum-Vitæ, White-wood, Box, Brasil, Cassia, &c. and that it has or will produce Sugar, Tobacco, Indico, Ginger, and every other plant that the best of the Caribbee-Islands do. This island was granted by King CHARLES II. to JAMES Duke of Courland, on condition that none should inhabit the said island but the subjects of the King of England and the Duke of Courland; and Captain JOHN POYNTZ contracted with the Duke, that the said POYNTZ and company would settle one hundred and twenty thousand acres of land in the said island on certain conditions: And POYNTZ thereupon published proposals to encourage planters to go over and settle colonies in the said island; and some adventurers thereupon went over thither. The Dutch also obtained a grant of part of it from the Duke of Courland, and planted it; but both the English and Dutch were so harassed by the Caribbees from the continent of Guiana or Caribbiana, from which it is not above forty leagues distant, that they were compelled to quit the island: And whether we have any settlements upon it at present I am not informed. Certain I am, neither the produce or traffick of that island is of any consequence at present, tho' why we should not improve and cultivate so profitable and desirable an island, now we are no longer under any apprehension of the Caribbees, I cannot conceive. If we do not in a little time, possibly the French will ravish this island also from us, as they have done St. Lucia; especially since they see the English tame enough to put up every affront, and all manner of ill usage from the most contemptible naval power in Europe.

Barbuda is situated in 18 degrees north latitude, about 15 leagues north of Antego, being about twenty miles in length and twelve in breadth. It produces the same fruits as the rest of the Caribbees; but the inhabitants instead of cultivating Sugar-Canes, apply themselves to breeding of cattle and raising provisions, for which they meet with a very good market at Barbadoes and the rest of the Caribbee-Islands. This is the property of the CODRINGTON family, who have a great number of Negroes on this island as well as in Barbadoes; and it was their ancestor, Colonel CHRISTOPHER CODRINGTON, Governor and Captain-General of the island of Barbadoes, who dying in the year 1710, gave and devised two plantations in Barbadoes, and also part of this island of Barbuda, of the value of two thousand Pounds per annum and upwards, to the society for the propagation of the Gospel, partly for the instruction of Negroes in the Christian religion, in Barbadoes and the rest of the Caribbees; and partly for the erecting and endowing a college in the island of Barbadoes, for propagating the Christian religion and teaching the liberal arts, particularly Physick and Surgery: And a college has accordingly been erected there by the society, in pursuance of the donor's will; for which unparalleled benefaction his name will ever be gratefully remembered by all good Christians.

Anguilla, the most northerly of all the Caribbee-Islands belonging to the English, lies in 18 degrees odd minutes north latitude, twenty leagues north-east of St. Christopher's, and is about ten leagues long and three broad. There is very little Sugar raised in this island, the inhabitants applying

CHAP. III.

Colonel CODRINGTON's benefaction for a college and the conversion of the Negroes.

Anguilla.

CHAP. III. applying themselves to feeding of cattle, planting Indian Corn, and other kinds of husbandry.

CHAP. IV.

Of the islands of Antego, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat.

CHAP. IV. THESE do not lie far asunder, and are subject to the same Governor, usually styled Governor of the Caribbee-Islands; for tho' Barbadoes be in reality one of the Caribbee-Islands, yet that and two or three islands more dependant on it, having a distinct Governor, the name of Caribbee-Islands seems now to be restrained to Antego, St. Christopher's, Nevis, Montserrat, and some of the rest of the small islands which lie near them.

Antego. Antego, or Antigua, is situated in 17 degrees odd minutes north latitude. and 61 degrees of western longitude, being of a circular form, and about sixty miles in circumference. The chief towns are St. John's, situate on the harbour of St. John's, in the north-west part of the island; and Falmouth, which lies on a bay on the south side of the island. They raise a great quantity of Sugar here, but the scarcity of fresh water, and the unhealthfulness of the climate, make it not so desirable as it would otherwise be. They were also the last year in great danger of being massacred by their Negroes, the plot being discovered but very little before the time it was to have been executed.

St. Christopher's. St. Christopher's is situated in 17 degrees odd minutes north latitude, twenty leagues west of Antego, to which the celebrated CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS gave his Christian name. It is about twenty miles in length and seven in breadth, an exceeding pleasant island, having high mountains in the middle of it; and declining every way to the sea-side. It is watered with rivulets from the hills, and has some hot springs in it, as well as others, and produces great quantities of Sugar, besides Cotton, Ginger, Indico, &c.

Nevis. Nevis is situated two or three leagues south-east of St. Christopher's, being about six leagues in circumference, and produces Sugar also in proportion to its dimensions.

Montserrat. Montserrat was so named by the Spaniards from a mountain in it, resembling that of Montserrat in Catalonia, and is situated about ten or twelve leagues south-west of Antego. It has been computed by some, that there are in Antego ten thousand white inhabitants, in St. Christopher's six thousand, in Nevis three thousand, and in Montserrat four thousand, and at least three times as many Negroes; but this calculation is by others said to be much too large.

A late Governor of the Caribbee-Islands (Lieutenant General MATHEWS) gives the following short account of them.

The present state of the Caribbee-Islands. St. Christopher's was formerly jointly possessed by the English and French, but by the treaty of peace made at Utrecht, anno 1713, the whole island was yielded to the English. 'Tis about twenty-two miles long, and its greatest breadth is not much above seven miles: The middle part is so full of hills that there is but twenty-four thousand acres of land fit for Sugar. They make Communibus Annis ten thousand Boucaux (hogsheads) of Sugar. Nevis is about twenty-four miles in circuit, Montserrat about eighteen, and Antego about forty-five. They reckon at Antego seventy thousand acres of land in all; and they make

CHAP. IV. Communibus Annis sixteen thousand hogsheads of Sugar there, six thousand at Nevis, and twenty-five hundred at Montserrat. The Militia is regulated thus: At St. Christopher's a regiment of foot containing about seven or eight hundred men, a troop of Horse of two hundred and twenty men, and another of about an hundred and twenty Dragoons. There are several forts, but that called Souphriere, or Brimstone-Hill, is now finished, and said to be impregnable: 'Tis well provided with cistern water, and has a large well dug in it. There is at Antego a troop of about one hundred and twenty troopers and three regiments of foot, in all twelve hundred men, besides a regiment of foot which his Majesty keeps there, viz. five companies at Antego, two at St. Christopher's, two at Nevis, and one at Montserrat. The fortifications of Monks-Hill at Antego are now finished, and the Governor-General of the Caribbees resides in this island, because it is by nature and art the strongest of all the islands, tho' it is not very wholesome; and they have scarce any fresh water but what they can save when it rains.

But the state of the British Caribbee-Islands, as well as that of our plantations on the continent, will be best understood from the late dispute between these islands and the northern colonies before the two houses of parliament, of which I shall give an abstract in this place.

A bill was brought into the house of Commons, on the petition of the Merchants and Planters concerned in the Sugar Colonies, in the year 1731, for securing and encouraging the trade of the said colonies: The intent whereof was to enable them to supply foreign markets with Sugar as cheap as the French; which they suggested might be done by prohibiting the exportation of Horses, provisions and lumber from our northern colonies on the continent of America to the French and Dutch plantations, and by prohibiting the importation of all foreign Sugar, Rum and Molosses to our northern colonies; for the permitting of this, they suggested, was giving the French and Dutch at least twenty-five per cent. upon the whole produce of their Sugar Colonies, and thereby enabled them to afford their Sugar at foreign markets cheaper than our own Sugar Colonies can. It was finding them plantation necessities, as well as money to pay for them (that is) the foreign colonies paid our northern colonies for their Horses, provisions, and lumber, with Molosses and Rum, which otherwise the French must throw away, as they did formerly.

To induce the parliament to pass this bill, the advocates for the Sugar Colonies endeavoured to shew the vast importance these colonies are to Great-Britain, observing, that they produced at an average eighty-five thousand hogsheads of Sugar annually at least, which at ten pounds a hogshead amounted to eight hundred and fifty thousand Pounds. This sum, or much the greatest part of it, as they affirm, is spent here by the several proprietors of estates in the West-Indies who live in England, or is sent out annually in the manufactures of Great-Britain, either directly to the Sugar Colonies, or to the coast of Guinea, to purchase Negroes for the use of these colonies.

Besides, this neat produce of Sugar, another vast advantage arising from the Sugar Colony trade is the great number of ships and seamen employed and maintained in the course of our commerce with

The case of the Sugar Island stated by themselves.

CHAP.
IV.

with them: And they calculate that there are three hundred sail of ships sent from Great-Britain (not to mention those from other places) every year to our Sugar Colonies, which are navigated by about four thousand five hundred seamen: And that the freight, from the Sugars brought hither, amounts to an hundred and seventy thousand Pounds a year; and the duties, commissions, &c. to little less than two hundred thousand Pounds more, which, upon the whole, is a good one million two hundred thousand Pounds a year profit and advantage to Great-Britain.

But besides this considerable article of Sugar, they observe that those islands produce great quantities of Cotton, Ginger, Indigo, Aloes, &c. which are all brought to Great-Britain; where the whole profit of all our plantation product does and must center. They have been equal, they insist, to the mines of the Spanish West-Indies, and have contributed in a particular manner to the trade, navigation, and wealth of this kingdom.

What they will do for the future, they said, must depend in a great measure on the event of this bill.

At present they were in a very bad and languishing condition; their duties high, their planters poor, their soil worn out, and their fortifications destroyed.

They had been true and faithful drudges for Great-Britain; but the time of their visitation seemed to be at hand, unless they received some timely and effectual relief from the parliament of Great-Britain.

They observe further, that the French Sugar Islands are much larger, more fruitful, better inhabited, pay less duties, and have greater encouragement from France than ours have from Great-Britain.

And that if our Sugar Islands, for want of being put in a posture of defence, should either be taken, as some have been, or moulder away and come to ruin, it would be one of the greatest blows this kingdom ever received.

It would then lose the benefit of all their product imported hither; it would lose the exports of our Woollen and other manufactures thither, to the amount of several hundred thousand Pounds a year; it would lose, in a great measure, the trade to Guinea; it would lose the employing and maintaining of many hundred British ships, and many thousand British seamen every year. And lastly, it would lose one of the most considerable and main branches of our funds, the deficiency of which must be made good, and the weight and burthen fall entirely on our lands.

The case of New-York stated in an address.

On the other hand I meet with an address and representation of the President, council, and general assembly of New-York to his present Majesty on the same subject; wherein they say.

With grief and concern we have heard of the monopoly aimed at by the Sugar Colonies, which if obtained will, we conceive, tend to the ruin of this colony, and be prejudicial to the trade and navigation of Great-Britain: For

They affirm that they take off more British manufactures than all the Sugar Colonies except Jamaica.

There is imported yearly into and consumed in this colony a very large quantity of the Woollen manufacture of Great-Britain, for our cloathing and preservation from the excessive cold of our winters; and so great is our consumption of those commodities, that we have reason to believe the whole Sugar Colonies (excepting Jamaica on account of the Spanish trade) do not consume the like quantity; and should we be disabled to pay

for that manufacture, we must be reduced to nakedness, or to make our own cloathing.

CHAP.
IV.

The product of this and the neighbouring colonies of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, is provisions, Horses, and lumber, which are exported to the British and foreign Sugar Colonies; and in exchange for them, are had monies, Rum, Sugars, Molosses, Cacao, Indigo, Cotton, &c. whereof, the Rum and Molosses are chiefly consumed in this colony, and the monies and other merchandize are most applied to make good the balance of our trade to Great-Britain; and so great a part of that balance is paid in money, that we have reason to believe that all the British Sugar Colonies together (except Jamaica) do not import so much Silver and Gold into Great-Britain as this single colony.

That they traffic with our own and the foreign Colonies.

They import more Silver and Gold than all the islands except Jamaica.

The British Sugar Colonies cannot take off half their provisions, or supply them with Rum. If that Monopoly is established, they shall get nothing for their produce.

We are well assured, that the British Sugar Colonies cannot take off the one half of the provisions which this and the other two Bread Colonies do export; nor are they able to supply the northern colonies with the Rum and Molosses there consumed, without vastly diminishing the quantity of Sugar which they now make; and though we be not by express words in the monopoly aimed at, or restrained from exporting our provisions to the foreign Sugar Colonies, yet the restraining us from taking any part of that product in exchange will as effectually do it.

Wherefore we have reason to apprehend, that if the monopoly aimed at be obtained, our product now exported to the foreign Sugar Colonies will be as lost to us; and that we shall have little more from the British Sugar Colonies for all our provisions that they can consume, than the Rum, Molosses, and Sugar, which we want to consume among ourselves; seeing the glut of our product with them must greatly lower the price thereof, and the great demand of Rum and Molosses must vastly enhance the price of them, and disable us to pay for the British manufactures we have already had and owe for, and diminish the consumption of the British Woollen manufacture, and the navigation now employed in bringing it to us, and in carrying our product to the foreign Sugar Colonies, and will enhance the price of Sugar so much, that Britain will probably be disabled to export any part of it.

And they shall be disabled to pay for British manufactures.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We implore your most sacred Majesty, the father of all your subjects, who has the care and prosperity of all of them equally at heart, and who will be far from countenancing any endeavours to make one part of them the slaves and bondmen of another (with whatever specious pretence it may be aimed at) to have pity and compassion upon us your poor but most loyal and dutiful subjects of these Bread Colonies; upon the Merchants of Great-Britain to whom we are greatly indebted; upon them and the many tradesmen and seamen of Great-Britain who get their living by the British trade with us; and to grant us your most gracious protection against this attempt, which in its consequences would tend, we humbly conceive, to deprive them of their just debts and future support, and to cut us off from being of any other use to our mother country than to be the bondmen and slaves of her Sugar Colonies, by confining us to them for the vent of the produce of our industry, and in consequence obliging us to take what price for it they please, and to give what price they please for what we receive in exchange.

There

CHAP.

IV.

Objections
made by
the rest of
the nor-
thern colo-
nies to
the bill.

There were other advocates for the northern colonies, who made the same and some further objections against the said bill. They objected, 1. That such a prohibition as was desired by the bill would put the French upon supplying themselves with lumber from their own settlements, and the British Colonies on the continent would thereby lose this trade, in which many ships and seamen were employed.

Obj. 2. A second objection was of the like tenour as that made by New-York: That the British Sugar Colonies could not take off their lumber, or supply them with Rum for their fisheries, their trade with the Indians, and what they wanted in harvest-time.

Obj. 3. That the restraining the northern colonies from disposing of their Horses, provisions and lumber to the French and Hollanders, might draw them into employments prejudicial to Great-Britain.

Obj. 4. That the French would distill their Molosses themselves, and supply the fisheries with Rum, if the northern colonies did not.

Obj. 5. If the northern colonies did not take off the French Sugars, they would carry them to market themselves.

Obj. 6. If the importation of French and Dutch Rum and Molosses into New-England was prohibited, and they could go to no other market for Rum, or sell their lumber and provisions any where else, the English Sugar Colonies, like other monopolies, would exact an unreasonable price for their Rum, and beat down the price of lumber and other goods as low as they saw fit.

Obj. 7. That the French and Dutch Colonies furnish the northern colonies with money, which they bring to Great-Britain, and lay out in our manufactures.

Obj. 8. That the luxury and extravagance of the Sugar Colonies was the occasion of their declining.

Obj. 9. That the trade of the Sugar Colonies is still vastly profitable, instancing in Barbadoes, which, in the year 1730, imported 22,769 hog-heads of Sugar into England, valued at 340,396 l. and that this was the net profit they insisted, because it was admitted that the Rum and Molosses of a Sugar plantation bears the charges of it; the Sugar planters therefore could have no reason to complain, when so small an island as Barbadoes produced so vast a net profit.

1. To the first of these objections, that the French would supply themselves with lumber from their own settlements, if the northern colonies did not furnish them with it:

The advocates for the Sugar Colonies answered, That the French could not be supplied with lumber from their own settlements; or if they could, it must be at great charge and expence; the only places they can pretend to be supplied from are Cape Breton and Quebeck.

Some indeed have gone so far, and been so extravagant as to imagine that the French Islands may be supplied with lumber from the bay of Apalachi, or the settlements at Mississipi.

But we must consider that great snows (which the French have not at their colonies on the Mississipi or the bay of Apalachi) are necessary, both for drawing down trees to the sides of the rivers, and (likewise upon the snows melting) for floating them down to the mills; and if they had snows, those countries do not produce any quan-

tity of such wood as is proper to work into lumber; nor have they any saw-mills, which are expensive to build; and the labour and time required to manufacture such trees into lumber would make it extremely dear to the French.

Besides, the navigation to and from these places to Martinico and the French Islands, so much to wind-ward, would be so difficult and long for such vessels as are proper to carry lumber by reason of the calms, contrary-winds, and strong currents against them, that such a project would probably end in the ruin of the people concerned in it.

As to Cape Breton, tho' it has the advantage of snows, yet it has no other convenience; it produces little wood; they have few rivers, and those longer froze and sooner dried than in New-England; it is thinly inhabited, and is a small inconsiderable island, commodious only for fishing.

And as for Quebeck, allowing it all the advantages the other places want, and all that our northern colonies have with respect to wood and mills, yet the navigation of the river St. Lawrence (which is practicable only a few months in the year) is so very long and dangerous, that all the lumber from thence must be exceeding dear.

And tho' some may think that these difficulties may in time be removed, and the navigation of that river become safe and easy, it were to be wished the French had no supply of lumber till these difficulties were removed; but these difficulties must always continue, from the nature of the coast, the rocks, shoals and sands in that river, and from the inclemency of the air, and other natural causes, which will make that navigation for ever unsafe.

If then the French cannot be supplied at all with lumber, or at least not upon any reasonable terms, how much will this give our Sugar Colonies an advantage over the French? But let us suppose the worst and utmost that can be, that they can be supplied with lumber from their own settlements, yet what must this lumber be bought with? Not with Rum and Molosses, but with money.

So that if this prohibition of foreign Rum and Molosses takes place, so much clear profit and gain will be lost to the French plantations; because they can have no vent for their Rum, as interfering with Brandy.

But what stronger argument can we have that the trade carried on by some of the northern colonies is a prejudicial trade, than the permission of it by the French themselves?

They understand the whole compass of trade perfectly well; and to do them justice, steadily and unalterably pursue their interests.

They know that their colonies either cannot be supplied at all with Horses, lumber, and other plantation necessities, or else they must purchase them at a great expence: They find they have them for Rum and Molosses, which is all clear gains to them; that they save at least 25 per cent. in having lumber and Horses so conveniently from the northern colonies, and get 25 per cent. by their Rum and Molosses, which else would be all lost to them; and what is more, they plainly perceive that this trade must shortly and most effectually destroy and ruin our Sugar plantations, by enhancing the price of our plantation necessities, and stopping the vent of our product and manufacture.

These ob-
jections
answered
by the Su-
gar Colo-
nies.

CHAP.
IV.

However specious therefore the arguments may be in favour of this trade, nothing less than a prohibition of Horses and lumber, as well as of foreign Sugar, Rum and Molosses, will be of any real service or benefit to our Sugar Colonies.

For if you allow them to carry lumber, what must they have in exchange for it but Sugar, Rum, or Molosses? And how will it be possible on so long a coast of seven or eight hundred miles, as that of these northern colonies, where there are so many bays, creeks, and rivers, and so few Officers, to prevent the running of these goods, let your penalties be never so strict.

A permissive trade will be an inlet to all the fraud imaginable, and destroy the act; and your forfeitures and penalties will be only like scare-crows and pasteboard Soldiers, which may seem to be some security, but in reality are none at all.

But they'll say, perhaps, that France will allow them to carry their Rum to their own settlements on the continent; but that is altogether as improbable, and as unlikely, as that we should suffer Ireland to supply our plantations with Woollen manufactures.

Those colonies there are abundantly supplied with Brandy from France very cheap; and which is a spirit much better liked, and what they have been used to.

2. As to the second objection, that the English Sugar Colonies cannot take off their lumber, or supply them with Rum,

The advocates for the Sugar Colonies answered, if the trade and navigation from the British Colonies on the continent to the foreign colonies be prejudicial to the British Sugar Colonies, and consequently to Great-Britain; and if the restraining it will effectually cramp and check our rivals the French in the Sugar trade, it ought to be prohibited, tho' some few traders should suffer hardships and inconveniences by it. The owners of Wool might complain that the government would not suffer them to carry Wool to France; but it must be admitted, however, that the prohibition of exporting Wool is absolutely necessary in order to our supplying foreign markets with the manufactures of Great-Britain.

As to the disposal of their lumber, the Sugar Colonies have more reason to apprehend that they shall find a want of it, than that the New-England people will have too much lie upon their hands.

For we have for many years been alarmed with the scarcity of lumber in New-England; and we have felt the effects of it in the advanced price we have paid for it for some time.

Those who were principally concerned there in the lumber trade, complained last year of the great want of Oak and Fir near the rivers on which their saw-mills stand: And as they are restrained by several acts of parliament from cutting the King's trees, they will hardly be able to supply us long with lumber of private property at any reasonable rate.

The last letters from Newberry in New-England inform us, that lumber was risen there from three Pounds per thousand foot to five Pounds ten Shillings; and that some ships have failed from thence to the West-Indies, without being able to get their loading at any price; and that others continue there in hopes to get a loading, tho' it is very uncertain whether they will or no.

The other part of this objection, that our Sugar Colonies are not able to supply them with a

sufficient quantity of Rum, is as groundless as the former.

CHAP.
IV.

A gentleman of distinction at St. Christopher's informed the committee, that he himself made only two thousand gallons of Rum a year; but that if he had encouragement, he could make twenty thousand gallons. And that other gentlemen of St. Christopher's, Nevis and Montserrat, who made little or no Rum now, could make a very great quantity, had they a demand for it.

Therefore the question that was asked by a New-England gentleman, whether we have any Rum left on our hands at the end of the year, is not at all to the purpose.

We say they have sometimes. But that is not the point: They have little left because they make but little; and they make but little because there is not a demand for more, French Rum or Molosses being cheaper. But where those islands make now but one gallon of Rum, they could upon encouragement make ten.

And notwithstanding they make but little Rum, they would still have a good deal upon their hands every year, if they did not send it to Great-Britain and other places, because nothing wastes more than Rum: And after they have exported it, they have frequently the mortification of finding it produce not above Two-pence a gallon clear of all charges, to their very great loss.

The distillers in New-England find this trade in spirits made of foreign Molosses a gainful one, and for that reason raise objections which have nothing in them, in order to make Boston the great staple for Rum: For should the prohibition take place on foreign Rum and Molosses, then our Sugar Colonies might send again their Rum to Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, and Newfoundland, as they did before, and save the lives of many hundreds of poor wretches, who if this trade be not stopped, will probably be destroyed by this pernicious spirit made of foreign Molosses; which is so very unwholesome, that it commonly goes by the name of Kill-Devil in that country.

If we should admit for argument sake, that the French Sugar Colonies, and Surinam (belonging to the Dutch) do take off one half of the New-England lumber (which by the way is more than can be proved) the deficiency then of the demand of lumber will be one moiety. Now if it can be proved that the British Sugar Colonies upon a proper encouragement might be improved sufficiently to make as much more Rum and Sugar as they now do, it will follow that the British Sugar Colonies may take off all the New-England lumber.

Barbadoes, one of the British Sugar Colonies, is allowed to be at its perfection, and perhaps incapable of being farther improved so as to increase its annual product.

Antigua (all people that know it will acknowledge) is capable of further improvement, and may enlarge its product of Sugar, according to the best computations, at least one fifth part per ann. As to the product of Rum there, it may certainly be enlarged near one half upon proper encouragement; for the Rum it now makes is not quite one half of its product of Sugar; that is to say, if Antigua makes twenty thousand hogsheds of Sugar per ann. its product of Rum is not quite ten thousand: But it is evident from the experience of Barbadoes, that out of twenty thousand hogsheds of Sugar there ought to be made near fourteen thousand hogsheds of Rum; and this increase, both of Sugar and Rum in Antigua, would

CHAP. IV. would certainly be made, if there was proper encouragement.

Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Christopher's, for want of encouragement, do not make (as may appear by the custom-house books of each island) one hoghead of Rum for three hogheads of Sugar: Whereas it is evident by the experience of Barbadoes, that three hogheads of Sugar ought to produce two hogheads of Rum; consequently the product of Rum in these three islands might be, upon proper encouragement, increased to as much more as it now is.

Add to this, the improvement to be made in those islands by which the quantity of Sugar would be increased, it will follow still farther, that the quantity of Rum which those islands are capable of making would be above as much more as they now make, and consequently the demand for lumber would be proportionate.

Jamaica, the largest of all the British Sugar Colonies (nay bigger than all the rest put together) is yet but in its infancy, having now as much land uncultivated as would produce above three times its present product, were it cultivated; as it certainly would be, upon proper encouragement.

But farther, as to the Sugar Colonies not being able to furnish the colonies on the continent with Rum, it appeared by the custom-house books, that all the British Sugar Colonies do produce about one hundred thousand hogheads of Sugar, per ann. and they ought in proportion to make about seventy thousand hogheads of Rum; a quantity more than sufficient to supply the New-England fishery and Indian trade, even according to their own hyperbolic computation. But the present product of the Sugar Colonies under all the incumbent disadvantages is more than the New-England casuists can prove to be necessary for both those trades; nay, on the contrary, they will have a proof sooner than desired, that their fishery and Indian trade do not take off one half of the Rum now actually made in the Sugar Colonies.

A gentleman who had resided a great while at South-Carolina affirmed, that that colony traded with eight thousand Indians, and yet nine hundred hogheads of Rum was the most they ever imported in one year, both to supply their home consumption, all their trade with these eight thousand Indians, and to trade to other ports with; and yet this is a colony that is the hottest, has the largest harvest of Rice, &c. and not supplied so well with Beer, &c. as the other northern colonies are.

So let us allow this colony of South-Carolina these nine hundred hogheads, North-Carolina one thousand hogheads, Virginia and Maryland three thousand hogheads, New-York and Philadelphia four thousand hogheads, Rhode-Island and New-England ten thousand hogheads, which calculation, both by their respective custom-house accounts, and by the largest estimates that ever have been made, are too large; and yet the whole amounts but to eighteen thousand nine hundred hogheads.

The same person attested that the English Sugar Colonies, under their present improvement, did make forty thousand hogheads of Rum per ann. and could make (had they a demand for it) about fifty five thousand hogheads per ann. besides what those large tracts of uncultivated land would produce, should they have encouragement to plant 'em.

CHAP. IV. It was observed also, that the New-England people thus taking from the French their Molasses, Rum, and Sugar, and supplying all the other northern colonies as well as New-foundland, Great-Britain, Ireland, and Africa, with large quantities thereof, was a very great hurt to the revenue, for if these places were not thus supplied they must be supplied from our own Sugar Colonies, and then every thousand Pound value of Rum or Molasses, of our own growth must pay his Majesty a duty of forty five Pounds, and every thousand Pound value of Sugar a duty of one hundred and twenty Pounds. It might have been added, that it was likewise a great hurt to the trade and navigation of this kingdom, as well as to the Sugar Colonies, that we cannot supply those places with Rum, Sugar and Molasses of our own growth, and in ships and vessels of this kingdom, without the disadvantage of paying for our Rum and Molasses, a duty of four and a half per cent. and for our Sugar a duty of twelve per cent. when New-England can supply all the markets with Rum, Sugar and Molasses of foreign growth without paying any of these duties. Was it not for this advantage they have over us, a great many of our vessels that miss a freight of Sugar in the West-Indies for London, would take some Rum, Molasses and Sugar, and go to New-foundland and barter it for fish or oil, and then proceed to some other market with it, and might probably employ themselves to advantage, or might, with a little Rum, Sugar and Molasses, go to North-Carolina, &c. and barter them for a cargo of Pitch, Tar and skins, and bring to Great-Britain.

3. As to the third objection, that the restraining the northern colonies from disposing of their Horses, provisions and lumber to the French and Hollanders, might put them upon some employments prejudicial to Great-Britain:

The advocates for the Sugar Colonies answered, that it had been shewn already we have more reason to fear that our islands will not be supplied with lumber, as they ought to be, than that the northern colonies will want a vent for their lumber; but if the British Sugar Colonies could not take off all their lumber, they might send it to Spain or Portugal, or to Great-Britain, where it might be imported duty free. They might employ themselves in raising naval stores, the government hath given them a large bounty to go upon that trade, which would be of vast advantage to our navigation, and save the nation three or four hundred thousand Pounds a year, which is sent out annually to purchase naval stores from the north: But this favourite trade with the foreign Sugar Colonies hath diverted them from this excellent design to the enriching of the French, and to the great prejudice and almost ruin of our own colonies.

4. As to the fourth objection, that the French would distill their Molasses themselves, and supply the fisheries with Rum, if the northern colonies did not, it was answered, that the French distilled but very little Rum at present, and knew little of the matter; worms, stills, and other distilling utensils cost a great deal of money, and this must be a work of time and a very great expence: However, a possibility of an inconvenience that might happen, ought not to have that regard paid to it as to prevent our own colonies being relieved in a point so very prejudicial to them,

CHAP.
IV.

as well as to the Malt spirits of Great-Britain, with which the fisheries were formerly supplied.

5. To the fifth objection, that if the northern colonies did not take off the French Sugars, they would carry them to other markets themselves; it was answered, the French do already carry as much Sugar to foreign markets as they can sell to advantage; and the surplus, which foreign markets won't take off, goes to our northern colonies, to purchase what is absolutely necessary for them, and what they could not have conveniently from any other place.

But even here the profit of the freight is gained not by Great-Britain, but by the northern colonies only, which is a very small advantage in comparison of the damage done by this means to our Sugar Colonies; especially as the French can afford their Sugars cheaper than ours, and as the high duties paid for our Sugars in our plantations make it impossible for us to send any to the northern colonies.

6. To the sixth objection, that if the importation of French and Dutch Rum and Molasses was prohibited, and they could have none but what they bought of the English Sugar Islands, or sell their lumber and provisions any where else; then the English Islands, like other monopolizers, would set what price they pleased upon their Rum, and beat down the price of their lumber and other goods as they saw fit:

It is answered, if the case was just as the objection states it, the British Sugar Colonies would be only upon a level with New-England; for as that place is the only market from whence lumber is imported to the Sugar Colonies, New-England, by a parity of reason, is a monopoly of the lumber trade, and therefore does exact an unreasonable price for its lumber.

But this is not, nor ever can be, the truth of the case, either with regard to New-England or the Sugar Colonies; for as in a place of such extent as New-England is, where the lumber-trade is carried on by a multitude of people with a view to each trader's separate interest, a monopoly of lumber cannot properly be made: So in the Sugar Colonies that lie at a vast distance from each other, and are rivals to each other by the production of the same commodities, a monopoly is impracticable.

The New-England traders have no less than six different British Islands to go to for Rum and Molasses: Each of those islands is as independent upon the other in its polity as distant in situation. There is little or no intercourse, and less commerce between those of them which are situated the nearest to the others, and no intercourse at all between the remotest of those islands; because the produce of them all being the same, there can be no exchange of Commodities, and consequently no commerce or intercourse. It follows therefore were there is no intercourse there can be no combination, no monopoly. On the contrary (as has been observed) each island is a rival to its neighbour, producing the same commodities, and will in common prudence use all proper means to have its full share of trade, to which end nothing can be more conducive than to sell its produce at the cheapest rate imaginable.

7. As to the seventh objection, that the French and Dutch Colonies furnish our northern colonies with money, which they bring to Great-Britain, and lay out in our manufactures:

They answered, that there is no money among the French and Dutch Sugar Colonies, is as true

CHAP.
IV.

as there are no Gold or Diamond mines in New-England: How therefore they can bring money from places where there is not enough for the common uses of life among the inhabitants, is a paradox which they must explain before the world will take it upon their word.

If then that assertion be not founded in truth, it follows that they do not lay out money brought from those places in the manufactures of Great-Britain. Their traffick for fish in the Streights, (a trade in which they have supplanted Great-Britain) may furnish them with money, but we deny that such money is laid out by them in the manufactures of Great-Britain. On the contrary, it is to be presumed, that their money is laid out with the French and Dutch in Europe for East-India goods, French Silks, and other foreign commodities; for as it appeared by their own evidence, at the bar of the house of commons, they import such wares into New-England; and we must suppose they pay for them in money or fish, till they can prove that lumber is a valuable commodity in France and Holland.

But supposing the New-England people do lay out their product of fish in British manufactures, is that a sufficient compensation to Great-Britain for robbing her of the fish-trade to the Streights? Does not the New-England people by their confession acknowledge by implication, that they reap the profit both in navigation and trade up the Streights, which used to be enjoyed by Great-Britain itself? What advantage is it to Britain to have this money laid out in her manufactures? Would it not be a far greater to be the carrier of these manufactures to the Streights, and to bring home this money in her own ships, navigated by her own sailors?

8. To the charge, that the luxury and extravagancy of the English Sugar Colonies is the real occasion of their declining:

It was answered, that the people of New-England may be both industrious and parsimonious; for if we will take their own words for it, they are very poor, and cannot be otherwise. But is it a virtue to be very frugal when a man has no money to spend? — perhaps it is a New-England virtue.

The inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies, 'tis said are very rich and very luxurious: That the product of these Colonies is of the richest sort, and is a mine to Great-Britain is allowed, and has been fully proved; but that the proprietors of the soil and manufactures are far from being rich is evident from the proofs already made to the parliament, that they do not clear five Shillings for every hundred pound weight of Sugar they make.

This the New-England traders would think but a moderate profit upon one of their short voyages; but it is too much for an inhabitant of the Sugar Colonies, who runs infinite more risque on the heat of the torrid zone, does the duty, and is liable to all the hazards of a camp in time of war, and in time of peace lives the most careful life of any of the inhabitants under the sun. That this is truly the case of the planter in the Sugar Colonies, all mankind that are well acquainted with them will attest; but it may be evinced, from the nature of a West-Indian estate itself, which is subject to ruin by the French, to fire from the combustible nature of the Sugar Canes, which are its product; from the vast expence of buildings and materials for making Sugar and Rum, from the like expence in Negroes, cattle

CHAP.
IV.

cattle and Mules; from the risque of mortality in this part of their property, which is always half the value of a well settled plantation. And lastly, the expence of feeding, the care, anxiety, and prudent conduct of governing two or three hundred Negroes with strict justice and humanity, and with advantage to himself, is the station of a planter: And is not this a station that requires as much fortitude, industry, and oeconomy as catching fish, or buying skins from the Indians of New-England? In short, without a good share of all the qualifications necessary to conduct an affair the most complicated in its nature, surrounded with difficulties and hazards, and in which the nicest oeconomy and order must be observed, it is impossible a planter can reap any profit from his estate. Therefore if planters are rich, they must be the best oeconomists, and the most industrious men in the world.

But let us hear what all gentlemen that have travelled to the Sugar Colonies and to New-England will say of the inhabitants of both. To them let the appeal be made, as being impartial observers of a country to which they are attached by no prejudice of education. It will appear, by their testimony, that the inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies are a polite people, being generally educated in England in the best manner: And if virtue and morality be the result of a good education, they are as well entitled to both as the subjects of England, and more than the people of New-England, who are educated in their own mean seminaries.

To all impartial strangers we appeal whether the inhabitants of the British Sugar Colonies are not the most benevolent hospitable people in the world, and whether every stranger, and especially Englishmen, be not received there with singular regard? On the contrary, let them say whether the inhabitants of New-England, and especially of Boston, do not always express a Jewish antipathy to strangers, even to their fellow subjects of England and the Sugar Colonies, whom they call by the invidious name of foreigners; and indeed treat them accordingly.

But perhaps hospitality is not in the New-England catalogue of virtues, but stands for a vice, and goes by the name of luxury or profuseness;—this mistake of hospitality for that vice was perhaps the reason why the New-England people thought it applicable to the inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies.

9. To the ninth objection, that the trade of the English Sugar Colonies is in their present circumstances vastly profitable; for that little island of Barbadoes, in the year 1730, imported twenty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine hog-heads of Sugar, of which they made 340,396 l. clear profit.

It is admitted to be true, when Rum and Molasses bear a reasonable price, then a plantation may with the nicest oeconomy pay its own charges out of these articles. But if the New-England traders take Rum from foreigners, and Molasses to be distilled into Rum by themselves, then the Rum and Molasses will be so far from bearing such a charge, that on the contrary, they will bear no charge at all, but the Molasses must be given to the Hogs, as the French used to do till New-England taught them how to make a better profit of it. Have not then the Barbadians reason to complain?

V O L. III.

By the assistance of the New-England traders, the French now have that great advantage, and the French plantations are increased above one third in the annual value purely by that pernicious trade. This increase to foreigners is a proportionable diminution of our own Sugar Colonies, and consequently a disadvantage to Great-Britain.

But is the product of that little island Barbadoes no less than 340,396 l. brought into the ports of Great-Britain in one year? What then must be the net product of all the Sugar Colonies?—an immense sum no doubt. And is this all brought into the ports of Great-Britain? What a fountain of treasure must this be to the kingdom, even by the confession of the enemies to our British Sugar Colonies! Do therefore the New-England traders imagine that the parliament of Great-Britain will sacrifice this immense treasure to the advantage of a few New-England distillers? Or if it was a disadvantage to all New-England (from whence Great-Britain derives no advantage in comparison of that) would it not be just policy to support the Sugar Colonies? But when the present opposition is considered as founded on a trade with the French the natural and implacable enemies of this kingdom, what honest Englishman will look upon it without disdain? especially after it has appeared evident from reason, from undoubted testimony, and even by the implicit confession of the New-England people concerned in this opposition, that the French have increased one third per annum in their wealth by this very trade; that our Sugar Colonies have declined in proportion, as has been proved already; and to complete the misfortune, the New-England traders have drained even the British Sugar Colonies of all their current cash, for no other purpose but to purchase Molasses and Rum of the French. This is a fact known by all the inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies, who are ready to prove it in the most solemn manner.

The two houses having heard the several facts stated, with the proofs, and considered the arguments and inferences drawn from them, passed an act of the following tenour.

That after the 25th of December, 1733, there should be paid a duty of nine Pence a gallon for all Rum and spirits made in any of the plantations not subject to Great-Britain on the importation of them into any of the British plantations. That six Pence a gallon should be paid for all foreign Molasses and Syrups imported; and five Shillings per hundred weight English money, for Sugar and Panesles imported: And that no Sugars, Panesles, Syrups, or Molasses, should be imported into Ireland, unless shipped in Great-Britain.

And an allowance of two Shillings per hundred weight is allowed more than heretofore on the exportation of refined Sugars. But the importation of Spanish or Portuguese Sugars into Great-Britain is still permitted by the same act.

Since the passing the abovesaid act, the Merchants and planters concerned in the British Sugar Colonies preferred a petition to the house of commons, setting forth, that by two acts of parliament, passed in the 12th and 22d of Car. II. the inhabitants of the said colonies were restrained from sending Sugars to foreign markets before they are first landed in Great-Britain.

That how prudent soever this restraint may have been at the time the Sugar trade in the West-Indies was entirely in our hands; yet now that

CHAP.
IV.An act
passed in
favour of
the Sugar
Colonies.

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CHAP.
IV.

our Sugar Islands are in a declining condition, chiefly by the increase of the French settlements, it would be highly beneficial to Great-Britain, as the petitioners apprehend, to put the British subject in a capacity of disputing foreign markets with the French, and to permit him to carry his Sugars earlier and cheaper to these markets than he can now do under the restraint aforesaid.

That the Sugar Colonies import yearly into this kingdom Sugar enough for our own home consumption, and also a large surplus for re-exportation to foreign parts; but the demand from abroad has greatly decreased within these few years, and the markets for that commodity have been forestalled by the French; not only to the prejudice of the Sugar trade, but also of the general trade of Great-Britain.

That if British ships were permitted to go to foreign markets under proper restrictions, without unloading here, the whole charge, and in a great measure the risque of a double voyage, would be saved, and the obliging such ships to return to Great-Britain, unload and take their clearance here, before their proceeding on another American voyage would be attended with this farther good effect, that they must afford to carry freight at the cheapest rates, or return home empty; so that this regulation (as the petitioners conceive) would extend our navigation, and contribute to make us the carriers of Europe, without prejudicing the revenue, all the duties on Sugar being drawn back on the re-exportation of it to foreign parts.

For these reasons the petitioners humbly pray this honourable house, that a liberty may be granted of carrying British Sugar from our Sugar Colonies in America directly to any foreign markets to the southward of Cape Finisterre, upon the same conditions that the people of Carolina are permitted to carry their Rice to the said markets, and also of carrying such Sugars to any foreign markets to the northward of Cape Finisterre, after first touching at Great Britain, giving in a manifest of their cargo, and entering into bond to return to Great-Britain before they proceed on another West-India voyage.

But I don't find the parliament are yet inclined to indulge our Sugar Colonies, so far as to alter the acts of navigation in their favour; nor did they think fit, by the act they passed in the year 1733, to prohibit the British Colonies on the continent to carry their Horses, lumber and provisions to the French and Dutch settlements, tho' they laid duties on Sugar, Rum and Molasses imported from thence.

CHAP. V.

Of the Lucayo or Bahama-Islands; of Bermudas or the Summer-Islands; and of the Island of Newfoundland.

CHAP.
V.

*Bahama
Islands.
Situation.*

THE Lucayo's or Bahama-Islands, the chief whereof are Bahama, Lucayo, Eleathera or Long-Island, the islands of Andros, Providence, St. Salvador or Cat-Island, Samana, Maquana and Heneago, are situated in the Atlantick-Ocean, north of Cuba, extending from the south-east to the north-west; between 21 and 27 degrees of north latitude, and between 73 and 81 degrees of western longitude. There are said to be several hundreds of them; but then I presume every little rock that appears above water is taken into the account; however, there are about thirty of

them (of which Lucayo is the largest) that make a tolerable figure, some of them twenty or five and twenty leagues in length, but most of them very narrow.

The island of Bahama, which communicates its name to the rest, is situated between 26 and 27 degrees north latitude, twenty or thirty leagues to the eastward of the continent of Florida, being about twenty leagues in length, but scarce four in breadth. Neither this or any of the rest are constantly inhabited, except Providence and three or four more near it in possession of the English.

Guanahani, to which COLUMBUS gave the name of St. Salvador, is situated in 24 degrees north latitude, and 76 degrees of western longitude: This and the rest of the Bahama-Islands are said to enjoy a good air and soil; but having no Gold or Silver in them, and being surrounded by rocks and shoals which render the navigation difficult, the Spaniards did not think them worth the planting after they had extirpated the natives.

Providence, the chief of these islands possessed by the English, is situated in 25 degrees north latitude, and 78 degrees western longitude, being about eight leagues in length and three in breadth. The reason the English chose to plant this rather than some of the larger islands, I presume, was because here was a good harbour capable of being defended by a small force, and so situated that a ship can pass from Spanish America to Europe, without being met with by cruisers stationed here in time of war. At least these were the views the pirates and privateers had who resorted hither before the English established a regular government in these islands, and erected fortifications for their defence. Nor do the English confine themselves to the island of Providence only, but have plantations in several of the neighbouring islands which lie more exposed to the ravages of an enemy in time of war; but upon apprehension of an invasion, I presume, the people in them, with the best of their effects, may retire to Providence for protection.

These islands, as has been hinted already, were discovered by COLUMBUS on the 11th of October 1492, of which the island of Guanahani being the first island he made, the Admiral altered the name of it to that of St. Salvador, in memory of his deliverance; for his men began to grow mutinous, looking upon themselves as lost in a boundless ocean; and the Admiral, it seems was at that time under apprehensions they would throw him over-board for engaging them in so hazardous an undertaking.

The Admiral relates, that he found the island populous, well planted and watered, but generally flat, low land, without hills: That the people were perfectly naked, of a middle stature and olive complexion; their eyes and hair black, and some of their faces and bodies painted with a kind of vermilion: Their principal ornament being a thin gold plate fashioned like a crescent, which hung over the upper-lip, and their arms were spears pointed with the bones of fishes; but that they were an exceeding inoffensive hospitable people, bringing the Spaniards such provisions as their island produced; that they had no other merchandize to exchange for their European goods, but Cottons and Parrots; and there were no four-footed animals on these islands, unless some little Cur-dogs. The Spaniards therefore having learnt that they had their Gold from the south

CHAP.
VI.

Bahama.

St. Salvador.

Providence.

History of the Bahama Islands.

CHAP.
V.

left these islands for the present, and set sail for Cuba and Hispaniola; but discovering afterwards that there were pearl fisheries in these seas, and finding the inhabitants of the Bahama-Islands were excellent divers, they employed them in diving for pearl Oysters; and obliging them frequently to continue in the water beyond their strength, by this and other oppressions they destroyed all the Indians in the Bahama-Islands; insomuch that in a few years there was not a man left upon them: And they remained destitute of inhabitants for many years, only the Spaniards from Cuba and Hispaniola, visited them now and then for such fruits and provisions as the country afforded.

Provi-
dence.

Providence and the neighbouring islands afterwards became the refuge of privateers and buccaneers; but about the year 1667, Captain WILLIAM SAYLE being driven hither by stress of weather, and acquainting the proprietors of Carolina with the commodiousness of the station, they obtained a grant of it from King CHARLES II. and colonies were sent thither, which were often attacked by the Spaniards; and in the last war both French and Spaniards uniting their forces, took and demolished the forts erected on Providence, carrying off great part of the inhabitants and their Negroes; but quitting the island afterwards, the English who escaped returned and rebuilt their forts, and being reinforced from England, made the island stronger than ever; and Providence being now a royal government, and found to be so commodiously situated to command the navigation of those seas through which the Spaniards bring all their wealth to Europe, there is no doubt to be made but the government will render this island as strong as possible, and make it a station for their cruizers in case of a rupture with the French and Spaniards.

Bermuda.

The Bermuda or Summer-Islands, so called from Sir GEORGE SUMMER, who happened to run his ship a-ground here in a voyage to Virginia in the year 1609, are situated in the Atlantick-Ocean in 32 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and in 65 degrees of western longitude, about two hundred and fifty leagues east of Charles Town in South-Carolina. Bishop BERKLEY, who was about to erect a College here for the benefit of the Indians on the neighbouring continent, informs us, that they are a cluster of small islands lying in a very narrow compass (almost in the shape of a Shepherd's crook) containing about twenty thousand acres, walled round in a manner with rocks, which render them inaccessible to pirates or enemies; there being but two narrow entrances, both of them well guarded by forts.

That no part of the world enjoys a purer air or a more temperate climate, the heat being moderated by constant sea-breezes, so that the whole year is like the latter end of a fine May in England, and the islands resorted to for health as the Montpellier of America; nor are they more remarkable for their health than their plenty, their being besides beef, mutton, and poultry, a great abundance of garden-stuff of all kinds in perfection, and a variety of good fish taken on their coasts; and the people at the same time are represented (by Dr. BERKLEY) as a plain, contented and easy people, free from avarice and luxury, and corruptions that attend those vices; and says, they shew more humanity to their slaves, and charity to one another, as well as a better sense of religious matters, than the English in the other plantations: One reason whereof is supposed to be, that condemned

criminals who are employed in the manufactures of Sugar and Tobacco are never transported hither. And among a people of such a character, and in a situation thus circumstantiated, he apprehended a seminary of religion and learning (for the instruction of the natives of America) might very fitly be planted; especially as it was a place where neither riches nor luxury abounded to divert them from their studies, none of those rich commodities of Sugar or Tobacco. All the employment of the inhabitants was, the making of Joyner's-work, the building of sloops, making hats of the Palmeto leaves, raising Corn, fruit, garden-stuff, and other provisions, which they sent to the plantations that wanted them.

The society for the propagation of the gospel had so good an opinion of the proposal made them by Bishop BERKLEY (then Dean of Kerry, in Ireland) of erecting a college or seminary at Bermudas, that they assisted him in procuring a patent for it from King GEORGE I. and contributed to the expence of the undertaking. And the Doctor with three fellows of Trinity College in Dublin, viz. the Rev. Mr. WILLIAM THOMPSON, JONATHAN ROGERS, and JAMES KING, Masters of Art, with several of the Doctor's relations, who were people of fortune, embarked for Bermudas, in order to lay the foundation of the intended college; but they were unfortunately driven by a storm to Long-Island, in the province of New-York, from whence the Doctor with his companions visited Boston and several other great towns in New-England, where they preached and performed other parts of their function. But the erecting a college at Bermudas was at length entirely laid aside: Doctor BERKLEY returned home without effecting any thing of that kind, and is now a Bishop in Ireland.

I am not fully acquainted with the reasons that brought the Doctor back, but have heard it suggested by some, that he found the design of erecting a college at Bermudas impracticable, without a much larger stock than he carried with him; and some great men that had promised to contribute largely to the design did not answer his expectations; tho' they made him some amends for his disappointment, by procuring him the bishoprick he enjoys: Whether the Reverend gentlemen that went over with him returned to England, or had cures assigned them in our plantations abroad, I am not informed.

No islands were better covered with fine groves of Cedar than these, when the English first arrived here: They built their houses and sloops with scarce any other wood; but it is almost all cut down, and the island thereby more exposed to storms and hurricanes than formerly, which sometimes destroy the fruits of the earth.

The chief town is that of St. George, situated in the north-west part of these islands, and contains about a thousand houses, with a town-house, or guild-hall, in which their assembly and courts of justice sit, the government being the same here as in the British-Islands. They have also a handsome church in the town, and a good library, said to be chiefly the benefaction of Dr. BRAY; and the inhabitants may amount to eight or ten thousand people in all the islands. Their principal grain is Indian Corn, and they have almost all manner of plants and fruits that grow in the opposite continent of South-Carolina, with plenty of European cattle, fish and fowls. The water preserved in their ponds or reservoirs in the time of rains,

CHAP.
V.

A college intended to be erected here.

The design of a college laid aside.

Chief town.

CHAP. rains, is said to be preferable to their spring-water.

New-foundland. Situation. New-foundland is situated in the Atlantick-Ocean, between 47 and 52 degrees north latitude, and between 55 and 60 degrees of western longitude, bounded by the Streights of Belle-Isle, which separates it from New-Britain on the north, by the Atlantick-Ocean on the east and south, and by the Bay of St. Lawrence, which separates it from Canada, on the west. This island is of a triangular form, about three hundred and fifty miles in length from north to south, and about two hundred miles in breadth at the base or broadest part from east to west.

Climate. Notwithstanding this island lies more to the southward than England, the winters are much colder, and the earth covered with snow for a great depth for four or five months annually, inasmuch that it is scarce habitable when the sun is in the southern signs; the reason whereof must be, that it lies near the coast of New-Britain, a vast frozen continent, over which the north-west wind blowing for many hundred miles, makes the countries that lie on that side of the Atlantick much colder than those on this side that ocean in the same latitudes; however, at Midsummer it is said it is much hotter in Newfoundland than it is with us.

Face of the country. The face of the country is high and mountainous, covered for the most part with woods of Pine and Fur; and where it is cleared of wood it is all a barren heath, on which neither Corn or grafs will grow: There is not, however, any want of good fresh water, and the coast affords abundance of commodious bays and harbours, particularly those of Bonavista, Trinity, Conception, St. John's and Bull-bay on the south-east part of the island; and those of St. Mary's, Placentia and Fortune's-bay on the south. The fishing-banks of Newfoundland have proved an inexhaustible fund of wealth to the English, French, and other nations of Europe for an hundred years past, there being seldom less than five or six hundred sail of ships that load with Cod-fish here every season for the Mediterranean and other parts of Europe.

Banks. The chief bank lies about twenty leagues from Cape Race the south-west promontory, and is about an hundred leagues in length, and five and twenty in breadth. There is another to the westward called Verte-bank, about twenty-five leagues in length, and twelve in breadth; and the season of fishing continues from the vernal 'till the autumnal equinox, and of late something longer.

Inhabitants. There are but very few native Indians on the island; but at the season for hunting, the Indians from New-Britain pass the Streights of Belle-Isle and come over hither to hunt.

Chief towns. The chief towns or harbours are, 1. Bonavista, on the east side of the island. 2. St. John's, the capital, situate in 47 degrees north latitude, on the south-east part of the island. And, 3. Placentia, situate on a bay of the same name, which belonged to the French, 'till it was yielded to Britain with all the rest of the island then in the hands of the French, by the treaty of Utrecht, ann. 1713.

It is so cold and uncomfortable a country, that there do not above four or five hundred families of English remain here all the year, besides the garrisons that are kept in St. John's, Placentia, and other fortresses; but in the fishing season there may be eight or ten thousand people more

here, which come over hither either to take, or cure the fish, and make them fit for market: These all lived without divine worship, 'till the society for the propagation of the gospel sent a Missionary thither lately, who resides at Bonavista usually; but he is a kind of itinerant preacher, visiting Trinity-Harbour, Placentia, and other inhabited places, as he has opportunity.

The soil of this country is a mixture of gravel, sand, and stones, and as has been observed, yields scarce any Corn, grafs, or fruits; but here is great plenty of fish, fowl, and venison. As for other necessaries, the inhabitants receive them from England annually at the return of the shipping.

Newfoundland was claimed as part of the dominions of Great-Britain, by virtue of CABOT's discovery of it in the reign of HENRY VII. and some voyages that were made thither in the succeeding reigns by English adventurers, who brought from thence Furs and fish; but the English making no settlements there, the Portuguese and French used to fish upon the banks, and trade with the Indians for Furs and skins at the proper seasons: Whereupon the English revived their claim to the country again, and actually seized several Portuguese ships on the coast of Newfoundland, bringing them to England as lawful prizes. In the year 1610, King JAMES I. made a grant to the Earl of Northampton, and others, of that part of the island which lies between Cape Bonavista and Cape St. Mary's, and the grantees being incorporated and formed into a company, sent a colony thither; but the severity of the weather, sickness, and scarcity of provisions, obliged the planters to return to England: And in the year 1620, Sir GEORGE CALVERT, afterwards Lord Baltimore, obtained a patent of that part of the country which lies between the bay of Bulls and Cape St. Mary's; and Sir GEORGE sent a colony to Ferriland, being within the limits of his patent, where they built houses, and erected a salt-work: And in 1623, the Lord Baltimore himself went over with his family, and erected a fort for the security of his plantation; and other English adventurers came over and settled on the island. In the mean time, the English insisted on the sole right of fishing on the coast; and having a squadron of men of war sent thither for their protection, in the reign of King JAMES I. drove all others from thence: But in the reign of King CHARLES II. the French were suffered to settle at Placentia, and afterwards possessed themselves of great part of the island. In the war that happened after the revolution, there were perpetual skirmishes between the English and French at Newfoundland, both by sea and land; sometimes the English attacked the French Colonies, but to little purpose; and the French from Placentia returned their visits with better success, making themselves masters of several English settlements: And in Queen ANNE's reign, in the year 1705, they burnt St. John's, the English capital, but could not however take the fort which commanded the town: And at the peace of Utrecht, anno 1713, the Queen obliged the French to yield up all that part of the island they possessed to Great-Britain, by an article of the following tenour. viz.

The island of Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands, shall belong of right wholly to Britain: But the subjects of France shall be allowed to catch fish and dry them on the land, in that part only of the said island, and no other, which stretches

CHAP.

I.

The state
of the for-
tifications
in the
British Co-
lonies.

stretches from the place called Cape Bonavista to the northern point of the said island, and from thence running down by the western side reaches as far as the place called Point Riche; but the French shall not fortify any place in Newfoundland, or erect any buildings there, besides stages made of boards, and huts necessary and usual for drying of fish; or resort to the said island beyond the time necessary for fishing and drying of fish.

As to the state of the fortifications in the British plantations four years ago, and particularly those of the islands, this may in a great measure be gathered from a protest of the house of Lords in the year 1734, upon its being carried in that house not to give the committee power to take the security of the plantations into their consideration.

To which resolution several noble Lords dissented, for the following reasons:

1. Because we apprehend that the power proposed to be given to the committee was not only expedient but absolutely necessary, since (by the account given by several Lords who attended the committee, and contradicted by none) it appeared to the house, that, from the information of Merchants of undoubted credit, Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward-Islands, were in so defenceless and miserable a condition that they might be taken in twenty-four hours; and we conceive that such imminent danger of such valuable possessions required an immediate and minute examination, in order to discover the causes and nature of the danger, and to apply proper and adequate remedies.

2. Because we conceive that the chief reason urged in the debate against this inquiry, is the strongest argument imaginable for it, viz. That it might discover the weakness of these islands in the present critical juncture of affairs, and invite our enemies to invade them: Whereas, we think, that this critical juncture calls upon us to put our possessions in a state of defence and security in all events; and since we cannot suppose that their present defenceless condition is unknown to those powers who are the most likely to take the advantage of it, we apprehend it to be both prudent and necessary that those powers should at the same time know, that the care and attention of this house was employed for providing for their security: We conceive likewise, that such an argument may tend to debar a house of parliament from looking into any of our affairs either foreign or domestick, if in any transaction at any time there shall appear to have been a weak, treacherous, or negligent management, the directors will never fail to lay hold of that argument to stop any parliamentary inquiry; and the fear of discovering

a national weakness may be urged only to prevent the detection of a ministerial negligence or guilt.

3. Because we have found by experience that we can never be too attentive to the preservation of the possessions and dependencies of this kingdom, since treaties alone will not bind those powers, who from the proximity of their situations, from favourable opportunities or other inducements, may be tempted to attack or invade them. But the interposition of a British parliament will be more expected, and more effectual, than the occasional expedients of fluctuating and variable negotiations, which, in former times, have been often more adapted to the present necessities of the Minister, than to the real honour and lasting security of the nation.

4. Because we apprehend the debarring this house from any inquiry into the conduct of Ministers for the time past, or from giving their advice in matters of great concern to the publick for the time to come, tends to destroy the very being of this house, and of consequence the whole frame of our constitution: And how melancholy a view must it be to all his Majesty's subjects, to see the private property of so many particulars, and so advantageous a trade to the whole, refused to be brought under the inspection of this house; and yet (as far as it appears to us) totally neglected by the administration? And we are the more surprized to find this backwardness with regard to the interest of our colonies, since we are persuaded that the balance of trade is at present against us in most parts of the world, and only compensated in some degree by what we gain by our West-India trade: Neither can we allow that they ought to be left to look after themselves, since they have a right to claim even more than the protection of their mother country, by the great wealth they annually transmit to it, and the great duties they pay to the increase of the publick funds and the civil list: And we are fully convinced, that if this beneficial trade should once be lost, it will be irrecoverably lost, to the infinite damage of this kingdom: For though the islands should be restored to us afterwards, the utensils and stock of Negroes being carried away, it would take up a long tract of time, and would be a very great expence to the publick, to reinstate them in their present condition: We rather think it impracticable to restore them; tho' we can by no means suppose it difficult, by timely precaution, to prevent their destruction.

What has been done towards putting the fortifications of the British plantations in a better state than they were in the year 1734, I confess I am not informed; but I hope they will no longer be suffered to lie open to the insults and invasions of our enemies, and of every petty pyrate.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE FRENCH COLONIES On the CONTINENT of NORTH-AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

CHAP.
I.

THE French Colonies in America may be divided into three classes. 1. Those on the continent of South-America. 2. Those on the continent of North-America; and, 3. Their islands in the Atlantick-Ocean.

Southern
colonies.

1. Their colonies on the continent of South-America, which lie between the Dutch Colonies of Surinam on the north, and the mouth of the river Amazon on the south, to which they have given the name of Equinoctial France, from its situation under or near the Equator, have been already described in treating of Terra-Firma, in the former part of this volume.

Northern
colonies.

2. Their colonies on the continent of North-America are vastly large, if we comprehend all the countries the French claim a right to there; but if we restrain their territories to what they have actually planted and possessed themselves of, those of Great-Britain are seven times as large.

The French call all those countries their own which lie between the mouth of the river St. Lawrence and the bay of St. Lewis on the north-west part of the gulph of Mexico, extending their dominions from the north-east to the south-west, near four thousand miles, and from the south-east of Florida to the north-west of Canada, being an extent of land very little short of the former.

Limits of
Louisiana,
and of
New-
France,
according
to the
French.

The countries included within these limits, which formerly went under the general names of Canada and Florida, the French have changed into New-France and Louisiana. New-France or Canada they seem to divide from Louisiana or Florida by an imaginary line drawn directly from the British plantations on the east, to New-Mexico on the west, in 39 degrees of north latitude: In

the grant of Louisiana to Monsr. CROZAT, by LEWIS XIV. anno 1712, the bounds of it are said to be the river and lake of Illinois on the north, Carolina on the east, the gulph of Mexico on the south, and New-Mexico on the west. As to Canada or New-France, the French would scarce admit it had any bounds to the north on this side the pole, till they were limited on that side by an article in the treaty of Utrecht, which assigns New-Britain and Hudson's Bay on the north of Canada to Great-Britain. And commissioners on both sides afterwards ascertained the limits by an imaginary line running from a Cape or promontory of New-Britain in the Atlantick-Ocean, in 58 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and running from thence south-west to the lake Mississink, or Mississin, and from thence further south-west indefinitely to the latitude of 49, all the lands to the north of the said line being assigned to Great-Britain, and all to the south of that line, as far as the river of St. Lawrence, to the French.

The eastern boundaries of New-France or Canada the French admit are the British plantations of Nova-Scotia, New-England, &c. the southern boundary, the line which divides New-France from Louisiana; and to the westward the French extend the country of New-France as far as the Pacifick-Ocean; and the Asiatick continent of Asia shall be found hereafter to be contiguous to North-America.

But how far they will admit the British plantations to extend to the westward, or the Spanish territories of New-Mexico to extend to the east, this they do not inform us. If we leave it to the French

CHAP.
I.

CHAP.

I.

French to settle the limits, no doubt the dominions of Great-Britain and Spain in North-America will be confined within very narrow bounds. There is an honest French writer that freely declares, when the Mississippi adventure was set on foot they were sanguine enough to expect that all North-America would in a few years become a province of France, and consequently they had in view the swallowing up both the British and Spanish territories in that part of the world; and if this should ever be effected, it is not to be supposed they would put a stop to their conquests till they had subdued all the Spanish provinces in South-America, and become masters of the mines of Potosi.

The real limits of the French territories in North America.

I shall enquire in the next place what the French are really possessed of in North-America that can support their claim to all those fine countries which lie between the British plantations on the east, and New-Mexico on the west; or what colour they have to oppose the English extending their colonies westward as far as they can agree with the Indians for their lands; or to oppose the Spaniards in extending their dominions from New-Mexico to the eastward as far as the river Mississippi.

I cannot find that the French have yet five towns in all that vast extent of country that lies between the British and the Spanish dominions in North-America; and it is very well known that the Spaniards possessed the west side of North-America, and the English the east, long before the French had a settlement in the country. Indeed the French have since crept into the mouth of St. Lawrence on the north-east, and into the river Mississippi on the south-west, and have built a town or two with some forts on these rivers and on the neighbouring lakes which run through this vast continent; and no doubt, were they strong enough in those parts, they would elbow both the Spaniards and English out of Canada and Florida. But if the first discovery, and the actual possession and improvement of a country can give a Prince or state any title to it, the Spaniards and English must have a better right to it than the French, especially where the natives have put themselves under the protection of either nation, and acknowledged themselves subjects of the respective Sovereigns. Now most of the nations on the east of the rivers Mississippi and St. Lawrence, it appears, voluntarily have acknowledged themselves subject to the crown of England, and the countries west of the Mississippi have most of them submitted to the Spaniards: Where then shall we find the countries of New-France and Louisiana, unless it be within the reach of the great guns of their forts on the rivers of St. Lawrence and Mississippi; and here they have scarce any other title to the country than what they obtained by usurpation, or a lawless force, very seldom asking leave of the natives to settle in their country; which alone can give a foreigner a just right to the dominion of it. I look upon it, therefore, that the French have the least pretensions to Florida or Canada of any of the three powers already mentioned. However, as they have actually been possessed of some countries in Canada between the river of St. Lawrence and New-Britain or Hudson's Bay for about an hundred years, and these countries seem to be confirmed to them as far as the English had a right to confirm them, I shall readily allow their title to that part of Canada. But as to the rest of Canada and Louisiana, I

cannot admit they have a right to any part of them, notwithstanding the forts they have erected on those rivers. The eastern side of the Mississippi is the property of the Indians subject to Great-Britain, and the western side of it belongs to the Indians who are under the dominion of the Spaniards; and we find the Spaniards asserting their title to it by demolishing the forts that Mons. DE SALE and D' ISBERVILLE erected on the west side of that river, and have as much right to demolish the forts the French have erected on the west side of it.

The chief rivers in this vast extended country are, 1. The river St. Lawrence. 2. The river Mississippi. 3. The river Illinois. 4. The Oubach. 5. The Hohio. 6. The Pelisipi; and, 7. The Hogohegee.

1. The Mississippi, or river St. Lewis, according to the French accounts, rises in the north-west part of Canada, taking its course first to the south-east, and in 45 degrees, turning almost due south, continues that course till it discharges itself into the gulf of Mexico in 30 degrees north latitude, and 95 degrees of western longitude, by four or five mouths, several large rivers falling into it both from the east and west. The Mississippi is agreed to be a very large deep river; and some French writers add, that it is a gentle stream, and navigable for large vessels from the source almost to the mouth. But other French writers, and some English seamen, assure me, that it has a very rapid stream, and that there are cataracts in several parts of it which obstruct the navigation; and that there are such shoals at the mouth of the river that large ships cannot enter it.

2. The river of St. Lawrence issues out of the lake Ontario or Frontenac, in 45 degrees of north latitude, and 78 degrees of western longitude; and taking its course to the north-east by Montreal and Quebec, discharges itself into the bay or gulph of St. Lawrence, in 51 degrees north latitude, being navigable for large vessels as high as Montreal; but near that town there is a cataract which interrupts the navigation.

3. The river Illinois is another navigable river, which rising near the lake of the same name, takes its course to the south-west and falls into the Mississippi.

4. And 5. The rivers Oubach and Hohio are two navigable rivers, which rising near the lake Erie unite their streams, and fall into the Mississippi in 36 degrees north latitude.

6. And 7. The Pelisipi and Hogohegee rise in the Apalathian mountains, and uniting their streams, flow almost due west till they meet with the Hohio, a little before it falls into the Mississippi, in 36 degrees north latitude; at the mouths of which rivers stands a French fort, called the Old Fort.

This country also has several spacious lakes, the chief whereof are, 1. The lake of Ontario or Frontenac. 2. The lake Erie. 3. The Huron Lake. 4. The Illinois Lake; and, 5. The Upper Lake, any of which are several hundred miles in length. The lakes of Ontario and Erie have been already described in treating of New-York.

3. The lake of Hurons has a communication with that of Erie, and with the lakes of Illinois and the upper lake: And the river Illinois rising near the lake of the same name, and falling into the Mississippi, the French proposed by this means to have an easy communication between the rivers of St. Lawrence and Mississippi, and to unite New-France

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CHAP. I. New-France and Louisiana into one province. But as there is no passage by water from the lake Ontario to that of Erie, on account of the cataract of Niagara; and that there are several cataracts in the rivers St. Lawrence and Mississippi, and they must take so vast a compass to the north-east in such a journey to pass through the lakes of the Hurons and Illinois, and that there is a considerable space between the lake and the river Illinois, I question whether it would not this way take up five or six months for a single man to travel from Quebec to the mouth of the river Mississippi: And probably it would be impracticable for a great body of men to march the same ground in twice that time.

No subdivision of New-France or Louisiana.

I do not find the French pretend to have divided this vast continent of North-America into provinces yet, only they are pleased to call the north part of it New-France, and the south Louisiana. In the former they have had settlements for upwards of an hundred years; in the latter they had not one till the year 1717, if we except two or three forts built in the bay of Spirito Sancto, and at the mouth of the river Mississippi by Messieurs DE SALE and D' IBBERVILLE; which were demolished by the Spaniards soon after they were erected. And as for towns, I meet with the names of no more than three in Canada, viz. 1. Quebec the Capital. 2. Montreal; and, 3. Trois Rivières; and in Louisiana only the town of New-Orleans lately erected.

Towns.

Quebeck. 1. Quebec, the capital, is situated in 47 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and in 71 degrees of western longitude, on the north shore of the river of St. Lawrence, about two hundred leagues south-west of the mouth of it; being divided into the upper and lower town, both of them about three miles in circumference, and defended by a castle which stands on an eminence: There being in the upper town five churches, besides the cathedral; the Bishop and twelve Prebends residing together in the chapter-house, which, it is said, is a most admirable structure.

This city is the metropolis of the French dominions in North-America as well as a Bishop's see; the Vice-roy who resides here, assuming the title of Governor and Captain-General both of New-France and Louisiana, which, according to the French, comprehends all Canada and Florida; except some little portions they are pleased to permit Great-Britain to possess, till they are in a condition to drive our colonies from thence into the sea, in the language of one of their writers.

Montreal. 2. Montreal is situated on an island in the river of St. Lawrence, sixty leagues south-west of Quebec; the island being about fourteen leagues in length and five in breadth. The whole island is full of fine plantations, and the town strongly situated; at least we find it was strong enough to defend itself against the attacks of the Iroquois or five nations, when they burnt and plundered all the French settlements in the island but this town, in the year 1688: And I do not doubt but the fortifications have been since improved, as it is the principal frontier garrison of the French against the Iroquois or Indians under the protection of New-York. The river of St. Lawrence is not navigable above Montreal on account of some cataracts and the rapidity of the stream.

Trois Rivières.

3. Trois Rivières is a town so named from its situation at the confluence of three rivers, one whereof is that of St. Lawrence, and lies almost

in the midway between Quebec and Montreal: CHAP. I. It is said to be a well built town, and considerable mart, where the Indians exchange their skins and Furs for European goods.

As to the town of New-Orleans, said to be erected lately near the mouth of the Mississippi, in Louisiana, I confess I have not met with any particular description of this or any other French settlements on that side.

As to the air, the Indian inhabitants, the animals, vegetables, and produce of French Canada, these are much the same as in New-England, New-York, and Nova-Scotia, which lie contiguous to them; and Louisiana, or French Florida, in like manner resembles Carolina in these articles. However, I shall present the reader with some of those accounts the French give us of these countries, and inquire what is to be depended upon either in their relations or ours.

Monsieur JOUTEL, who accompanied DE SALE in his discoveries in the bay of Spirito Sancto to the westward of the Mississippi, gives the following character of the natives: Allowing, says this gentleman, that there are some Barbarians less wicked and brutal than others, yet there are none good, nor thoroughly capable of such things as are above the reach of our senses; there is no relying on them; there is always cause to suspect them: And in short, before a savage can be made a Christian, it is requisite to make him a man; and we look upon these savages as having neither King nor laws, and what is most deplorable, no GOD: for if we rightly examine their sentiments and their actions, it does not appear they have any sort of religion, or well formed notion of a Deity; if some of them upon certain occasions do sometimes own a first or sovereign being, or do pay some veneration to the sun. As to the first article, they deliver themselves in such a confused manner, and with so many contradictions and extravagancies, that it plainly appears they neither know or believe any thing of it. And as for the second, it is only a bare custom, without any serious reflections on their part.

The same traveller speaking of an interview he had with the Chiefs of another nation to the westward of the river Mississippi, says, their elders came to meet us in their formalities, which consisted in some Goats skins dressed and painted of several colours, which they wore on their shoulders like belts, and plumes of feathers of several colours on their heads like coronets. Six or seven of them had square sword blades like the Spaniards, on the hilts whereof they had fastened great plumes of feathers, and several Hawks bills; some of them had clubs, which they called head-breakers; some only their bows and arrows; others pieces of white Linen reaching from shoulder to shoulder. All their faces were daubed with black or red: There were twelve elders who walked in the middle, and the youth and warriors in ranks on the right and left of the old men.

Being come up to us in that manner, he that conducted us made a sign for us to halt, which when we had done, all the old men lifted up their right hands above their heads, crying in a most ridiculous manner; but it behoved us to have a care of laughing. That done, they came and embraced us, using all sorts of endearments.

The whole company conducted us afterwards to their Chief's cottage; and after we had staid there a short time, they led us to a larger cottage a quarter

The Indians of Florida or Louisiana described.

CHAP. I. a quarter of a league from thence, being the hut in which they have their publick rejoycings and great assemblies. We found it furnished with mats for us to sit on. The elders seated themselves round about us, and they brought us to eat some Sagamite, which is their pottage, little Beans, bread made of Indian Corn, and another sort they make with boiled Flower; and at last they made us smok.

Their buildings. The cottages that are inhabited are not each of them for a private family, for in some of them there are fifteen or twenty; each of which has its nook or corner-bed, and other utensils to itself, but without any partition to separate it from the rest: However, they have nothing in common besides the fire, which is in the midst of the hut, and never goes out. It is made of great trees, the ends whereof are laid together, so that when once lighted it lasts a long time; and the first comer takes care to keep it up.

The cottages are round at the top, after the manner of a Bee-hive or a rick of hay. Some of them are sixty foot in diameter. In order to build them, they set up long poles as thick as a man's leg, tall and straight, and placing them in a circle join the tops together; then they fasten and cover them with weeds. When they remove their dwellings they generally burn the cottages, and build new ones on the ground they design to inhabit.

Moveables. Their moveables are some Buffaloes or Bullocks hides, and Goats skins well cured, some mats close wove, wherewith they adorn their huts; and some earthen vessels, which they are very skilful at making, and wherein they boil their flesh, roots, and Sagamite, or pottage. They have also some small baskets made of Canes, serving to put their fruit and other provisions in. Their beds are made of canes raised two or three foot above the ground, handfomely fitted with mats and Bullocks hides, or Goats skins, which serve them instead of feather-beds, quilts, and blankets; and those beds are parted one from another by mats hung up.

Husbandry. Their tillage consists in breaking up just the surface of the earth with a wooden instrument like a pick-ax, which they make by splitting the end of a thick piece of wood that serves for a handle, and putting another piece of wood sharp pointed at one end into the slit. This instrument serves them instead of a hoe and spade, for they have no iron tools. When the land has been thus broke up, the women sow and plant the Indian Corn, Beans, Pompions, Water-Melons, and other grain, and garden-stuff.

Persons of the Florida Indians. The Indians are generally handsome, but disfigure themselves by making streaks on their faces from the top of the forehead down the nose to the tip of the chin; which is done by pricking the skin till it bleeds, and then strewing fine powder of Charcoal on the skin, which sinks in and mixes with the blood. They also make, after the same manner, the figures of living creatures, of leaves and flowers, on their shoulders, thighs, and other parts of their bodies; and paint themselves, as has been said before, with black or red, and sometimes both together.

Their women. The women are generally well shaped, and would not be disagreeable did they adhere to nature; but they disguise themselves as ridiculously as the men, not only with the streaks they have like them down their faces, but by other figures

they make at the corners of their eyes and on their bodies, particularly on their bosoms.

The women do all the work in the cottage, either in pounding the Indian Corn, and baking their bread, dressing their other provisions, drying, parching, or smoaking their flesh, fetching the wood they have occasion for, or the flesh of wild beasts killed by their husbands in the woods, which are often at a great distance.

I did not observe that the women were naturally given to lewdness; but their virtue is not proof against some of our toys when presented them, as needles, knives, and more particularly strings of beads, whereof they make necklaces and bracelets: That temptation is rarely resisted by them, and the less, because they have no religion or law to prohibit the practice. It is true, their husbands when they take them in the fact, sometimes do punish them either by separation or otherwise; but that is rare.

Habits. The country of these Indians being generally warm, almost all of them go naked; unless when the north wind blows, then they cover themselves with a Buffaloe's hide or Goat's skin cured. The women wear nothing but a skin, mat, or clout hanging round them like a petticoat, and reaching half way down their legs before and behind. On their heads they have nothing but their hair platted and knotted behind.

Genius. As for their temper, it may be said of these as of all other Indians of that great continent, that they are not mischievous unless wronged or attacked; in which case they are all fierce and revengeful. They watch all opportunities to be revenged, and never let any slip when offered, which is the cause of their being continually at war with their neighbours, and of that martial humour so predominant among them.

Religion. As to the knowledge of a God, they did not seem to us to have any fixed notion of him. It is true, we met with some in our way, who, as far as we could judge, believed there was some superior being which was above all things, and this they testified by lifting up their hands and eyes to heaven; yet without any manner of concern, as believing that the said exalted being does not regard at all what is done here below. However, none of them having any places of worship, ceremonies, or prayers, to manifest their devotion, it may be said of them all, that they have no religion, at least those that we saw.

They observe some ceremonies it is true, but whether they have any regard to a superior being, or whether they are only popular and proceeding from custom, is what we were not able to discover. Those ceremonies are as follows: When the Corn is ripe, they gather a certain quantity in a basket, which is placed on a stool dedicated to that use, and serving only upon these mysterious occasions, which they have a great veneration for.

The basket with the Corn being placed on that honoured stool, one of the elders holds out his hands over it, and talks a long time; after which the said old man distributes the Corn among the women, and no person is allowed to eat of the new Corn 'till eight days after that ceremony. This seems to be in the nature of offering or blessing the first-fruits of their harvest.

At their assemblies, when the Sagamite or pottage, which is the most essential part of their meal, is boiled in a great pot, they place that pot on the

CHAP. I. stool of ceremony abovementioned, and one of the elders stretches out his hands over it, muttering some words between his teeth for a considerable time, after which they fall to eating.

When the young folks are grown up to be fit to go to the wars, and take upon them to be Soldiers, their garment consisting of some skin or clout, together with their bow, quiver, and arrows, is placed on the aforesaid stool, an old man stretches out his hands over them, mutters the words as above, and then the garments, bows, quivers, and arrows, are given to the persons they belong to. The same ceremonies are used by them in the cultivating of their grain and product, but particularly of the Tobacco.

Usage of their prisoners.

Monsieur JOUTEL speaking of two women taken prisoners in their wars, says, that one of them was suffered to return home, but the other woman was kept to fall a sacrifice to the rage and vengeance of the women and maids, who having armed themselves with thick stakes, sharp pointed at the end, conducted that wretch to a by-place, where each of those furies began to torment her, sometimes with the point of their staff, and sometimes laying on her with all their might. One tore off her hair; another cut off her finger; and every one of those outrageous women endeavoured to put her to some exquisite torture, to revenge the death of their husbands and kinsmen who had been killed in the former wars; so that the unfortunate creature expected her death-stroke as mercy.

They compel their slaves to eat their flesh.

At last one of them gave her a blow with a heavy club on the head, and another run a stake several times into her body, with which she fell down dead on the spot. Then they cut that miserable victim into morsels, and obliged some slaves of that nation they had been long possessed of to eat them; which to me is a very strong argument against their being Canibals in Florida, as the first adventurers reported; for here we see the Indians, instead of devouring the flesh of their enemies, compelling their slaves to eat it, as being a morsel they most detested and abhorred; so far were they from having a gust for human flesh themselves. Had they in the heat of their fury taken the heart of their prisoner, broiled and eat it, as the Dutch did DE WIT's, then there would have been some colour to have denominated these people Canibals. But as they in this instance declare human flesh only fit for slaves and the vilest of mankind to eat, and did not shew any inclination to taste it themselves, DE WIT's executioners seem to have a much better title to the name of Canibals than the Florida Indians, who were certainly most grossly misrepresented by our first voyage-writers.

Character of the Illinois.

As for the manners and customs of the Illinois, they are, in many particulars, the same as those of the other nations we have seen. They are naturally fierce and revengeful; and among them the toil of sowing, planting, carrying of burthens, and doing all other things that belong to the support of life, appertains peculiarly to the women. The men have no other business but going to the war, and hunting.

The nations I have spoken of before (says the same writer) are not at all or very little addicted to thieving; but it was not so with the Illinois. It behoves every man to watch their feet as well as their hands, for they know how to turn any thing out of the way dextrously. They are subject to the general vice of all the other Indians, which is

to boast very much of their warlike exploits; that is the main subject of their discourse, and they are very great liars.

They pay a respect to the dead, as appears by their care in burying them, especially such as are considerable among them. This is also practised among the Accancea's, but they differ in this particular, that the Accancea's weep and make their complaints for some days, whereas the Chahouanous and other people of the Illinois nation do just the contrary; for when any of them die, they wrap them up in skins, and then put them into coffins made of the barks of trees, then sing and dance about them for twenty four-hours, those dancers tying calabashes or gourds about their bodies, with some Indian Wheat in them to rattle and make a noise, and some of them have a drum made of a great earthen pot, on which they extend a Goat's skin, and beat thereon with a stick.

CHAP. I. Their behaviour to the dead.

During that rejoicing they throw their presents on the coffin, such as bracelets, pendants, or pieces of earthen-ware and strings of beads, encouraging the singers to perform their duty well. If any friend happens to come thither at that time, he immediately throws down his present and falls a singing and dancing like the rest. When that ceremony is over, they bury the body with part of the presents, making choice of such as may be most proper for it. They also bury with it some store of Indian Wheat, with a pot to boil it in, and repeat the same ceremony at the years end.

I have not troubled the reader with the voyages of the Baron LA HONTAN and HENNEPIN thro' Canada and Florida, because their accounts are now generally agreed to be fabulous, and in the most material articles, particularly religion, directly contradict each other. With equal reason I have omitted the accounts the French gave us of Louisiana in the memorable Mississippi year, 1717, when they represented that country as a perfect paradise, in order to engage the bubbled adventurers in the project of planting that country: Nor is this the only instance of abusing people with partial accounts of new-discovered nations. It is the case of almost every enterprise of this kind. The undertakers, who have some particular views to their own private advantage, observing that it is impracticable to bring them about without the hands and purses of others, draw the most agreeable landships of the country they intend to visit to invite others to join with them: This was Sir WALTER RALEIGH's conduct when he was about to plant colonies in Virginia and Guiana, where he expected to acquire immense treasures; and in this he did but imitate the Spaniards that went before him. Thus did the New-England adventurers also describe that country, and the celebrated PENN his Pennsylvania: And thus of late did PURRY the Swift amuse his countrymen: He made them believe that the climate of Georgia was free from the inconveniences of heat or cold; That the soil in a manner produced Corn and fruits spontaneously, and that estates might be raised on a sudden with very little labour: But when the people he carried over came to be sensible of the labour and fatigue of clearing plantations; the hazard of being attacked by Indians and Spaniards, and the necessity of erecting forts for their security, as well as of building houses for themselves, they began to curse the man that led them thither. And if PURRY had not in good time died a natural death in his new-erected town of Purrysburg, he would

Remarks on the relations of designing adventurers.

have

CHAP. I. have run the hazard of being pulled in pieces by his deluded countrymen, as a gentleman who lately come from Carolina assured me.

I would not be understood by these reflections, however, to discourage the further planting of Carolina or Georgia. I know there is a rational prospect of considerable advantage to the nation from this attempt, since we find these countries will produce those very articles we most want, such as silks, wine, oil, rice, furs, skins and naval stores; but I would not have our people that go thither deceive themselves, as if nothing was to be done there, no inconveniences to be met with, or hazards to be run; for in the first planting and establishing colonies in the best countries this must be expected: And it is well if the first generation live to see any thing brought to perfection, though they may have this satisfaction, that they are laying a foundation of lasting benefits which will hereafter probably accrue to their mother country in general, and to their own posterity in particular, by these glorious toils.

Reflections on the state of the French Colonies on the continent.

To return to the French plantations on the continent of North-America. It is observable that the inhabitants of the British Colonies are or affect to be thought under some apprehensions, that the French are so situated on the back of the English settlements, that it is, or will soon be, in their power to ruin our trade with the Indians, and by harassing the British Dominions on that side, oblige us to quit that continent: That the French will draw a line from the mouth of the River St. Lawrence to the gulph of Mexico, and so strengthen it with forts and redoubts, that they will in time drive our people into the sea: And to heighten our terror of the French, they represent their colonies as consisting of two hundred thousand souls at least, supported by great bodies of regular forces from France, against which 'tis impossible, they suggest, to defend our frontiers. And I must confess, that conversing with several West-India Merchants, who seemed to be in the same way of thinking, I was once of opinion our colonies were in some hazard of being swallowed up by the French; but upon taking a more particular survey of the country, and the circumstances of each nation, I am inclined to think that this is an event which we have a great deal of reason to suppose will never happen, unless our colonies should find themselves so ill used by their mother country as voluntarily to throw themselves into the arms of France; which on many accounts can never be supposed.

These gentlemen, who talk of drawing a line from the gulph of Mexico to the bay of St. Lawrence, a tract of between three and four thousand miles, and rendering it strong enough to resist the forces of the British Plantations, must surely imagine that New-France is as well peopled as the Old, and maintains as many regular forces; and that the English settlements are destitute of inhabitants; whereas the case is the very reverse.

Some gentlemen, 'tis true, have calculated, that the French in North-America amount to two hundred thousand souls; tho' it is probable they are not half that number: But admitting there was as many as is pretended, we cannot suppose there are forty thousand men fit for war amongst them, and of these but few can be spread from the business of their plantations. How then should the French defend a line of three thousand miles extent, much less raise a force sufficient to subdue our plantations, where they must admit we

have three times the number of men they have in theirs? And these many of them brave hardy fellows, used to the sea and other laborious and hazardous employments. Another great advantage we have of them is, that we can raise good bodies of Horse and Dragoons, which they cannot; and if they could it would be impracticable to march them over such vast deserts and mountains as there are in most parts of that country (from north to south) to come at us.

The frontiers, it is true, of some of our colonies may be exposed to the ravages of the French Indians, and it will be prudence in us to erect forts or keep some troops on foot in such places as lie most open to their incursions, particularly on the Lake of Champlain, on the frontiers of New-York, and on the Lakes of Ontario and Erie; and to have some armed vessels upon these Lakes, which would not only defend the frontiers, but protect our Indians on that side, and prevent their deserting over to the French. It might be proper also to erect forts on the passes of the Appalachian mountains on the back of Virginia and Carolina for the same end; but I should by no means be for extending our plantations beyond this natural barrier. There is as much land within it as we can ever plant to advantage, and we shall only weaken our settlements by endeavoring to enlarge those bounds. If the French are determined to establish themselves on the banks of the Mississippi and in the bay of Apalathy, the best reason we have to oppose this project is, lest they should one day penetrate to the Spanish Mines, or make themselves masters of the navigation of the gulph of Mexico; which will enable them to put what terms they please upon Spain. It will then be in their power to compel his catholic Majesty to give them the trade of Old-Spain and of the Spanish West-Indies, and to exclude the subjects of Britain and all other European nations from sending their manufactures to the Spanish West-Indies by the flora and otherwise; and possibly they will not rest satisfied till they have compelled his catholic Majesty to let them into a share of his mines.

But as to their raising Silk or Wine, Sugar or Tobacco, in the country they have denominated Louisiana, I am apt to think the French are too wise to attempt any of them.

It might be prudent indeed in Britain to attempt the raising Silk and Wine in Carolina, because we have none of our own; but why the French should promote these in Florida I can see no more reason than that we should encourage the Woollen or Iron manufactures there: And as for Sugar, the French seem to have more already than they know how to dispose of; and they will surely never be able to raise good Tobacco cheaper than we do in Virginia; where I'm informed the planter sells it frequently for a Penny a Pound.

The English also have this farther advantage in raising Wine, Silk &c. in their own plantations, that they lie upon the mouths of numerous rivers, and may embark the produce of these countries immediately for England with very little trouble and expence; whereas the navigation to Louisiana or to Canada is much longer and more hazardous. The French are not masters of two rivers that fall into the Atlantick-Ocean, from whence I conclude they will never plant that extensive country of Louisiana far from the coast; and if they should, it will not answer their expectations, or be very prejudicial to Great-Britain.

CHAP.

I.
Remarks
on the
state of our
frontiers
against the
Spaniards.

As to the Spaniards attacking our plantations on the side of Georgia, with which we have lately been alarmed, what they do of this nature must be done very suddenly if at all; for that frontier will be put into such a posture of defence in a very little time that it will not be in the power of Spain to hurt us. The crown of Great-Britain has never interposed with that vigour in defence of any of her colonies as it has in behalf of Georgia, and that with very good reason, it being the King's peculiar property as well as both the Carolina's, all of which will be secured by this barrier; and the lands of those colonies consequently rendered of ten times the value they were when they lay exposed to the ravages of the Spaniards and Indians. As to the French, they have a desert country of three or four hundred miles to pass over from their settlements on the Mississippi and the bay of Apalach, before they can reach the frontiers of Georgia and Carolina. We have no reason therefore to be under any great apprehensions from them at present. The Spaniards, both on the east and west of Florida, are much more in danger of the French than the British Colonies are, and they will probably one day be made sensible that their safety consists in a strict union with Great-Britain; that there is no other way left to defend their mines in North America from the incroachments of the French, if they establish themselves on the northern shores of the gulph of Mexico, and on the banks of the Mississippi.

CHAP. II.

Of the French Islands in the Atlantick-Ocean.

CHAP.

II.
Of the
French I.
lands.

THE third and last division of French America I proposed to describe, is that of their islands in the Atlantick-Ocean, viz. of the Caribbees taking them from south to north. 1. Granada. 2. Martinico. 3. Marigalante. 4. Guadalupe. 5. Desiada or Desirada. 6. St. Bartholomew. 7. Sancta Cruz; and, 8. St. Martin; besides which they have three islands of some consequence in the bay of St. Lawrence on the coast of Nova-Scotia, viz. 9. Cape Breton. 10. St. John's; and, 11. Anticoste.

Granada.

1. Granada is situated in 12 degrees north latitude, about thirty leagues south-west of Barbadoes, and about the same distance north of Caribiana or New-Andalusia. This island is 25 leagues in circumference, and has several good bays and harbours, some of which are fortified. It is esteemed a fruitful soil, and well watered, producing Sugar and such other plants as are found in the rest of the Caribbee-Islands. There are abundance of very small islands that lie at the north-end of Granada, which are called the Granadilla's.

Martinico.

2. Martinico is situated between 14 and 15 degrees of north latitude, and in 61 degrees of western longitude, lying about forty leagues north-west of Barbadoes. It is twenty leagues in length, but of an unequal breadth, the in-land part of it hilly; and at a distance appears like three distinct mountains, being exceedingly well watered by numerous rivulets which fall from the hills; and there are several commodious bays and harbours on the coast, some of them so well fortified that they bid defiance to the English when they made a descent here with several thousand men in the last War: They were forced to return to their ships after they had burnt and plundered some plantations in the open country.

The produce of this island is the same with that of Barbadoes, viz. Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, Indigo, Aloes, Piemento, &c. And as it is much larger has many more inhabitants, and produces greater quantities of Sugar than Barbadoes. This island was replenished with Indians when the French first attempted to settle here, anno 1635, and many battles were fought between them and the natives with various success; but the French at length over-powered and extirpated the ancient inhabitants, and it is now the chief of all the French Caribbee-Islands, and the seat of their Governor-General.

3. Marigalante is situated in 16 degrees north latitude, a little to the south-west of Guadalupe, and is about five leagues in length and four in breadth. It was discovered by COLUMBUS in his second voyage to America, anno 1493, and named by him Marigalante, or the Gallant Mary, after the name of his ship. The French began to send colonies thither about the year 1647; and having expelled the natives after several years wars, the French remained in the peaceable possession of the island, the produce of which is the same with the rest of the Caribbees.

4. Guadalupe so named by COLUMBUS from its hills, resembling those of that name in Spain, is situated in 16 degrees north latitude, and 61 degrees of western longitude, about 30 leagues north of Martinico, and almost as much south of Antegoa. It is said to be the largest of all the Caribbee-Islands, being twenty two leagues in length, and half as much in breadth at each end, but almost cut in two by a deep gulph or bay on each side; so that the ends are joined together by a very narrow isthmus. This, like Martinico, abounds in Sugar, Cotton, Indigo, Ginger, &c. and is in a very flourishing condition; and agreeable to the consequence it is of to the French they have taken care to fortify it with several regular forts and redoubts, which were in so good a condition when the English Admiral BENBOW made a descent here with a considerable body of land forces, anno 1702, that he did not think fit to attack them; tho' he destroyed a great many of their plantations and open villages.

The French began to send colonies to this Island about the year 1632, but knew so little what the soil was good for then, that for many years they were in danger of starving, and afterwards the planters by their divisions almost ruined one another; so that this island did not make any great figure till the present century; since the beginning of which it has vastly increased, and makes more Sugar now than any of the British islands except Jamaica.

5. Desiada, or Desirada, the desirable island, so called by COLUMBUS, because it was the first land he discovered in his second voyage to America, anno 1493. It is situated about ten leagues north-east of Guadalupe, a little inconsiderable island not so fruitful as some others which belong to the French.

6. St. Bartholomew's is a small island about ten leagues north of St. Christopher's, taken by the English under the command of Sir TIMOTHY THORNHILL, in the year 1689, but restored to the French at the peace of Ryfwick.

7. St. Croix or Sancta Cruz, another small island situated in 17 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, about twenty leagues east of St. Christopher's, and has been contended for by the English, Dutch, Spaniards and French, but is now in the peaceable

CHAP. II. peaceable possession of the French West-India company.

St. Martin's. 8. St. Martin's another island of no great consequence belonging to the French, situate a little to the north-west of St. Bartholomew's.

Dutch Caribbean Islands of Saba and St. Eustace. The Dutch have also two very small islands among the Caribbees, named Saba and St. Eustace, situated between the islands of St. Croix and St. Christopher's; and the Danes have another small island called St. Thomas, at the east end of the island of Porto Rico; but I could never understand that the product or traffick of any of them are very considerable.

We have already seen the declining state of the British Sugar Islands, which once furnished France and most of the nations of Europe with Sugar: But are now in a manner beat out of that trade by the French, who have not only cultivated this commodity with great application of late years in their Caribbee-Islands, but in the great island of Hispaniola, as has been observed already in the description of that island; where they have land enough to furnish themselves and all Europe with Sugar, and do actually cultivate as much as they can dispose of; in which they have some great advantages of the English, as 1. Their paying little or no duty, not above one per cent, on the exportation of Sugars; whereas the English pay very high duties, as appears from the dispute between the British Sugar Colonies and the northern countries. 2. They are allowed to export their Sugars directly to foreign markets without bringing them home first, which saves a very great charge the English are forced to be at, and enables the French to carry their goods to foreign markets much sooner than the English possibly can. 3. The British northern colonies take Sugar, Rum, and Molasses from the French Islands, which formerly those islands had no vent for; whereby the demand for these articles from the British Islands is continually diminished, and the demand from the French Islands increased; the northern colonies taking scarce any Sugar, Rum, or Molasses, from the British Sugar Islands, but purchase them with their lumber, provisions, and Horses, and often with money, of the French, or of the Dutch at Surinam.

And lastly, as the French Islands, particularly that of Hispaniola (of which they possess two thirds at present) Martinico, and Guadalupe, are larger than the British Caribbee-Islands, and consequently there is room to raise great part of their provisions in them, while the English receive their provisions from abroad for the most part: This is another great advantage on the side of the French. They have also a great deal of timber growing on the island of Hispaniola, which is an article the English Sugar Islands want, and must pay dear for; from all which considerations it is but too evident, that unless the British Legislature think fit to alter the acts of navigation in their favour, and to suffer our Sugar Colonies to carry their produce directly to foreign markets, take off the duties upon them, and restrain the northern colonies also from dealing so much with the French and Dutch for Sugar, Molasses, and Rum, the British Caribbee-Islands must still decline; since they will never have any demand for their produce, but what Britain itself takes off. And unless we put the fortifications of our islands in a better posture of defence than they are at present,

VOL. III.

we shall run the hazard of losing the islands themselves, as well as the traffick they were once so famous for. No English gentleman will be fond of having an estate in the Caribbees, or contribute much to the promoting the Sugar manufacture there; while those colonies lie under such discouragements in point of trade, and he is in danger of losing his estate and all the expence he shall be at upon the first rupture with any European power.

But to proceed to the French Islands which remain yet to be described, viz. Cape Breton, St. John's and Anticoste.

CHAP. II. The French northern Islands. Cape Breton.

Cape Breton is situated between 45 degrees and an half and 47 degrees and an half north latitude, separated from Acadia or New-Scotland by the narrow streight of Canso on the south-west, and the other passage or streight of Cape Ray separates it from Newfoundland on the north-east: It is indented on every side by large bays of the sea, which cut almost through it in some places, and form several commodious harbours. This Island is about one hundred and twenty miles in length, and fifty in breadth; a barren desartland, affording scarce any trees or herbage, and has very few rivers; nor would it ever have been planted, probably, if it had not lain so convenient for the French to preserve their communication with the river of St. Lawrence and Canada, and to protect their fisheries, as well as to disturb the trade and fisheries of Great-Britain in time of war: For here are several harbours where the French cruisers and privateers may lie securely, and from hence interrupt the British trade and fisheries of New-England, New-Scotland, and Newfoundland, at their pleasure. Nor do I see how it is possible for an English Squadron to protect them intirely upon such extensive coasts: All that can be done, in time of war, is to make reprisals on the French by our cruisers and privateers; and as our merchantmen, and fishermen are much the most numerous, we must expect to be the greatest sufferers, as we always were in the late wars, the French taking three prizes for one we took from them.

The New-England gentlemen therefore censure Queen ANNE's Ministers that they did not insist more strenuously on this island's being yielded to Great-Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, and will scarcely acknowledge the benefits they received by those articles which gained us the sole property of Nova-Scotia or Acadia, and Newfoundland: Though they were very loud in their complaints heretofore; that they were perpetually harassed by the French and their Indians from Nova-Scotia, suggesting that nothing could be of greater advantage to New-England, and the rest of the northern colonies, than the reducing Nova-Scotia: Which, now they see it in our hands, they seem as little satisfied as before, because sufficient care is not taken, they say, to plant and people Nova-Scotia: But surely none lie more conveniently to do this than the New-England men themselves. And I am of opinion they would have done it long e'er this, if it had been annexed to the province of the Massachusetts, as they once expected it would have been: But their natural aversion to a regal government, which they find their colonies must be subject to, if they send any to Nova-Scotia, I am satisfied prevents their planting that country; but then they ought to cease their complaints, that it is no better planted.

25 Q

As

CHAP.
II.

As to the French King's yielding up Cape Breton and the other islands in the bay of St. Lawrence, it must be considered, if he had parted with these at the treaty of Utrecht, he could no longer have had a communication with Canada or New-France than we saw fit; and it could scarce be expected he should exclude himself from all commerce with his colonies of North-America, how low soever he was brought: However, I find it to be acknowledged on all hands, that if we plant and people Acadia, and erect some forts for its protection, our colonies there will be able, with the assistance of a British Squadron in time of

war, in a great measure to maintain the dominion of those seas, if they cannot entirely prevent the depredations of the French. CHAP.
II.

The island of St. John's lies between Cape Breton and the coast of New-Scotland, and is about twenty leagues in length. The island of Anticosti is a much larger island, lying just before the mouth of St. Lawrence River: These, and the lesser islands in the bay of St. Lawrence, do not seem to be of any other use to the French, than to preserve their communication with Canada; I do not find they have any towns or plantations upon them.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE PRESENT STATE OF AMERICA.

The conclusion.

UPON a review of the whole work, it appears that never any people were possessed of so fine a country, and so happily situated, as that which is subject to the crown of Great-Britain on the other side of the Atlantick-Ocean; a country of fifteen hundred miles extent; where every thing that is necessary, every thing desirable in life, is, or may be produced in the greatest abundance, and brought to the metropolis of the three kingdoms with as little labour and expence almost as they may be brought from any distant county of England; it being but a six weeks voyage in an open sea, not subject to the interruptions and accidents of coasting voyages.

The eastern shores of North-America, on which our colonies are situated, abound in commodious harbours and navigable rivers; insomuch that ships take in their lading in many places at the planters doors, and then falling down into the ocean, sail directly home: Whereas both the French and Spaniards have a much longer and more difficult navigation to and from those parts of that continent which are possessed by them.

It is evident to a demonstration, that in these countries it is in our power to raise Silk, Hemp, Flax, Pitch, Tar, Wine, Oil, Raisins, and other

fruits; and that the Sugar and Tobacco Colonies and fisheries we already have in that part of the world, bring us in an inconceivable treasure.

But it is as evident these articles are not considered with that attention their importance seem to demand.

Every one, who has made any calculation of our national expences, knows that we lay out annually with foreigners four millions of money and upwards in Silks, Linen, Lace, Wine, naval-stores, and other merchandize, which we might make ourselves if our colonies were encouraged to raise the materials; and it is computed, that those materials would employ half a million of people at home, who are now a burthen to their country.

It is obvious, our people are vastly increased of late years; and tho' multitudes, when rightly employed, are the strength and riches of a nation, many of ours are become an intolerable charge upon the land, purely for want of being set to work on proper materials under the direction of skilful masters.

If it be demanded what is the reason we import such vast quantities of Lace, Linen, naval-stores, &c. from foreigners, when our own territories

The conclusion.

The conclusion.

tories would produce them; and suffer our people at home to starve, or be a burthen to the nation, when we might find employment for all of them and as many more, and not only ease our lands from this burthen, but vastly enrich the nation by their labour?

The usual answers we meet with are these, 1. That it will cost some money, and be some time before we can raise Silk, Flax, Wine, &c. and establish manufactures: And 2. That foreign goods pay great duties to the crown, which duties would be diminished if we produced the like materials, and established the like manufactures at home, or in our plantations.

And I confess more formidable objections cannot be made: For how advantageous soever a proposal may be to the nation in general, yet if money is required to carry it on, or it may affect the publick revenue, it cannot be expected it should meet with much countenance from gentlemen whose business it is to advance the revenue; but as the body of the people seem now convinced that it is their interest to raise and manufacture their own consumption, and to support and encourage our plantations in order to furnish them with materials, I shall not despair but the thing will be effected one time or other, whatever obstacles may be thrown in the way by interested or designing men.

It is admitted on all hands that the poor's rates, though paid by the tenant, are in reality a charge upon every gentleman's estate. If the rate amounts to one, two, or three Shillings in the Pound, the gentleman must abate proportionably in his rent, or the tenant cannot hold his farm.

Whatever lessens the poor's rates therefore is an advantage to the landed interest; and by keeping the poor employed, you do not only save a great expence, and enrich your country, but you prevent their taking vicious courses: You save them from the gallows, and your persons and estates from violence and rapine: You improve the morals of your people, and must live with more satisfaction and security among such men, than among an unhappy generation whose necessities compel them to become thieves and beggars. Let us consider the multitudes that would be employed in these manufactures: And if the goods should not be altogether so fine as the Linen, Lace, and Silks of France or the Low-Countries at first, they will probably prove as well wrought as theirs in time, if suitable encouragements are given to those that excel; but if they should be something coarser, why should we not imitate France and other kingdoms, who are content to wear coarse Woollen-cloth, rather than impoverish their countries by importing our fine cloths. Is it of as much importance to the kingdom, that our ladies should appear in foreign Linen, Lace, and Silks, as that the people, by being employed in these manufactures at home, should be kept from starving, and two or three millions of money annually saved to the nation?

Let us consider also, that the riches of the plantations are our riches, their forces our forces, and their shipping our shipping; as these prosper, so will their mother country prosper of course; hither all their wealth flows in the end. They either bring their estates over to England, if they meet with success, or they live in an elegant manner there and import our manufactures. We should need scarce any other foreign trade; therefore we should want nothing that other countries

The conclusion.

produce if the plantations were encouraged: For the materials they might raise would abundantly employ all our idle hands, and furnish us with every thing that contributes to the support or conveniences of life. Can we then do too much for our colonies, when in supporting them we most effectually serve ourselves? Let us not be afraid of lessening the revenue by prohibiting foreign manufactures, if it tends to enrich the nation; for the richer the people are, the better able will they be to support the government; and the legislature can never be at a loss for ways and means to raise money, if the people have it in their purses.

But let us ever be cautious of laying high duties on our own produce and manufactures, whether at home or in our colonies; for this has totally destroyed some branches of trade, and prevents others from flourishing: By this we find the people of Jamaica were entirely beat out of the Cacao or Chocolate trade, other nations being able to afford it cheaper than they could on account of the duties: By the like conduct it is apprehended the Sugar and Tobacco trade may be lost, the duties on which are so considerable a branch of the revenue. And were it not better to take a small duty, than to lose all the duties and the trade together? And here at home, is it not the duty on paper made here that damps the progress of that manufacture, and still obliges us to import most of our paper from abroad? And, indeed, we may ruin all our trade, and all our manufactures by high duties; and when that is done, how is the government to be supported? How shall we find money to purchase even necessities of foreigners? And how shall we maintain those multitudes of poor that a failure in our manufactures and plantation trade must occasion? But next to high duties, nothing surely can be a greater disadvantage to our manufactures or plantation trade than the locking up our money in banks and funds, which, till these were established were employed in commerce. The man who lives purely on the interest of his money in these banks, is the most contemptible and useless member in the common wealth: Instead of increasing his own and the common stock, he chuses a slothful indolent way of life; he takes no pains to serve himself, his friends, or his country; but like a certain animal he resembles, is only useful when he dies, and his substance is transferred to persons of a more publick spirit.

As to such gentlemen and ladies as have small fortunes in the publick funds, these might by employing them in our manufactures at home, or in the plantations abroad, make a much better figure in the world than they can by the interest of their money. What will five hundred or a thousand Pounds produce in the funds? An ordinary Porter or Candler gets more by his labour; but such sums employed in any manufacture at home, or a plantation abroad, would produce an handsome subsistence. It were pity therefore, even for the sake of these whose condition has been so much lamented of late, but interest were still lower, that they might be compelled to take their fortunes out of the funds, and employ them more to the advantage of themselves and their country.

And as to gentlemen who have but small estates, or such as are incumbered, were they duly apprized that with the money arising by the sale of one hundred Pounds per ann. they might purchase a plantation which would yield three hundred

The con-
clusion.

dred Pounds per ann. in British America; or, that by applying part of the money they take upon their estates in the improvement of a plantation, they might in a short time clear off their debts and live in plenty, they would never drag about a miserable being in necessity and disgrace at home, but venture a little abroad and improve their estates; after which they might return, make a figure in the decline of life, and leave ample fortunes to their posterity.

I am not here inviting gentlemen to run the hazards, or to undergo the fatigues that usually attend new discoveries; there is more land discovered already than we can possibly cultivate; nor would I advise them to settle upon the frontiers of our colonies that are liable to the invasions of the French and Spaniards, or the Indians: This is a post assigned to the necessitous and hardy Highlanders and Swiss, who richly deserve the lands assigned them for securing the rest of the provinces: But let a gentleman go over, and take a view of New-England, New-York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Virginia, or Carolina, and he will in any of them meet with farms ready planted to his hand, by the purchase of which he may double and treble his fortune with a very little application; and when he has settled them to his mind, may return to England again if he see fit, and have the produce of them sent over hither. This many have done, and continue to do to this

day; and it is surprising more do not follow their example.

The con-
clusion.

Among the ancients the greatest men travelled and run many hazards for the improvement of arts and sciences, of husbandry or traffick; and whoever brought home any thing of this kind was looked upon as a good angel, and in after-ages worshipped as a God. And were our gentlemen and men of quality, when they travel, as usefully employed, we should no doubt have them in equal esteem; but what do these honourable wanderers usually import, but foreign fashions, foreign fopperies, and foreign vices?

Would they discover the arts that have rendered the Dutch, and of late the French, such exquisite merchants and planters; would they, as Sir THOMAS LOMBE has done, to his immortal honour, bring home the model of some useful engine, teach us to plant the vine, to raise Silk and Flax, to improve our Sugar and Tobacco Colonies, to manage our fisheries with success, and particularly the Whale-fishery, in which the colonies of New-England and New-York have of late made some progress: Were these the views of our nobility and gentry in their travels, they would deserve the honours and estates they enjoy, and could not fail of acquiring still greater; their own families would enjoy the fruits of their glorious labours, and they would be esteemed by all mankind real benefactors to their country.

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A
CONTINUATION
OF
MODERN HISTORY:
OR, THE
PRESENT STATE of ALL NATIONS.

Describing their respective Situations, Persons, Habits, Buildings, Religion and Policy, Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and Husbandry, Plants, Animals, and Minerals, brought down to the present Year 1738. In which is comprehended the latest Travels and Discoveries, with such Alterations and Revolutions as have happened since the former Volumes were published.

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A

CONTINUATION

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PRESENT STATE

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AMERICA.

America.

THE continent of America is situated between 80 degrees north and 58 degrees south latitude, and between 35 and 140 degrees west longitude, being divided into North and South America, by a line drawn cross the Isthmus of Darien from Porto Bello to Panama; the first of these towns lying in ten degrees, and the latter in nine degrees north latitude. The Spanish provinces of North America, are Old Mexico, New Mexico, and part of Florida.

In south America are the Spanish provinces of Terra-Firma, Peru, Chili, Patagonia, or Terra Magellanica, Paragua, La-Plata, the country of the Amazons, and the Spanish Islands.

The Portuguese are possessed of the extensive country of Brasil in South America.

The British dominions are situated in North America, and consist of the provinces of Hudson's-Bay (part of Canada) New-Britain, New-Scotland, or Acadie, New-England, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, and the British American islands.

The territories the French claim are part of Canada and Florida in North-America, and Caen, or equinoctial France in South America, with the French American islands.

A continuation of the present state of New-England.

New-England.

The following pages are the answer of a gentleman lately come from New-England, and a native of that country, to some enquiries made by the author of this work, in relation to New-England.

There are in New-England about sixty thousand fighting men, from sixteen to sixty years of age, and about three hundred thousand souls. The Massachusetts-Bay contains about thirty thousand effective men, from sixteen to sixty.

The colony of Connecticut fourteen thousand fighting men: Rhode-Island and Providence-Plantation, seven thousand effective men: New-Hampshire five thousand fighting men; and the province of Maine about four thousand men fit to bear arms.

Governor BURNEY frequented the episcopal church. The governors and magistrates usually go to the independent congregations.

One member of the episcopal church is a judge. Several gentlemen of the church of England have received commissions, both civil and military, from his excellency governor BELCHER; and this year 1738, JOHN READ, Esq; a counsellor at law, was chosen one of the representatives for the town of Boston (being the first instance of that kind.) Two years ago, JOHN EASTWICK, Esq; was chosen one of the select men of Boston, after many years struggle to get a churchman in. There are for Boston four representatives, twelve overseers of the poor, seven select men, and seven assessors, all which have great influence in the town affairs. Notwithstanding the churchmen in Boston pay one fifth part of the town rates, yet till within these two years, no churchman was suffered to be chosen, tho' the churchmen have been struggling for it more than twenty years. It must be observed, that altho' the churchmen pay one fifth part of the tax, they have not the one tenth part of the wealth of the town. The governor's salary is not settled.

The manufactures of New-England are so inconsiderable in comparison of England, that they must not be mentioned together; the New-Englanders being still supplied with nineteen parts in twenty of English manufactures. Yet it must be acknowledged, that the making of linen greatly encreases in New-England; the Irish people who have lately settled there, having brought that business to great perfection.

Some

Some Linen made at Londonderry, in the province of New-Hampshire, hath often been sold for six shillings sterling the English yard, and the greater part of the linen made in that flourishing town, sells for twenty pence to two shillings per yard sterling money.

And if good encouragement was given to the making of canvas or sail-cloth, even the royal navy might be supplied in a few years with that useful commodity from New-England; the Irish people finding the country exceedingly well adapted for the linen manufacture.

They do not trade to the French islands for Rum, Molosses, &c. as heretofore.

The cod fishery is in a flourishing condition, and they are not now interrupted by the French in the same from Cape Breton.

The whale fishery on the coast of Greenland hath lately been attempted with very good success by the Nantucket men, who are undoubtedly the most expert and skilful men in the world in that particular affair. And it is the opinion of many, that a few years will determine who are the best whale-fishers on the coast of Greenland, the hardy people of Nantucket, or the Dutchmen.

The fort at Annapolis Royal is made of earth, being built formerly by the French, and is a regular fortification, consisting of four bastions, a deep dry moat, a covert way and counterscarp, with an half-moon and outworks, detached from the body of the place, the lower battery of seventeen pieces of full canon was slighted some years ago.

The other English fort in Acadie upon the island at Canso, is not worth mentioning, especially when we consider what a large and regular fortification of stone the French have at Cape Breton, very near to Canso.

The frontiers of Maine are defended by regular blockhouses, most of them being in good repair. And on the frontiers of Massachusetts, Maine, and New-Hampshire, are many regular blockhouses well flank'd, supported and defended in time of war by their proper owners.

The old fort at Pemaquid, rebuilt by the honourable colonel DUNBAR, by direction from England, hath since been slighted by an order from hence. It would have been an excellent barrier in that quarter, and great settlements were carrying on in that place by the farmers from Ireland. No attempts have been made to civilize the natives of Acadie, or cultivate the soil: It hath been found by experience, that few settlements have ever been made under a military government. The Indians of Acadie, those bordering upon the frontiers of Maine, New-Hampshire, and upon the north-west part of Massachusetts, are all of them to a man in the interest of France, having missionaries from France settled among them, who take a great deal of pains with the Indians.

The following piece is a letter from SAMUEL DALE, M. L. to Sir HANS SLOANE, bart. president of the royal society, containing the descriptions of the moose deer of New-England, and a sort of stag in Virginia.

S I R,

"The present which I herewith make you is the head, or rather the attire (as it is called in heraldry) of the moose-deer, sent me some years since from New England by the honourable SAMUEL SHUTE, Esq. then governor of that colony. This animal has been mentioned by several authors, but their accounts have generally

Moose
deer.

been so very imperfect, that little satisfaction hath thereby been given to the curious enquirers after natural history. The first mention that I find of this moose deer is by Mr. JOSELYN, in a little tract called New England rarities, where page the 19th that author writes, "That it is a goodly creature, some of them twelve feet high, their horns exceeding fair, with broad palms, some being two fathoms from the top of one horn to the other. Much to the same purpose is the account he gives of this animal in another book of his called Two voyages to New England, p. 88. in which he saith, "That a moose, or elke, is a creature, or rather a monster of superfluity when full grown, being many times bigger than an English ox. What NEAL in his history of New-England, vol. 2. p. 573. hath of this animal, called by him the moose, is copied from the aforesaid JOSELYN. The best and fullest account of this animal was sent by the honourable PAUL DUDLEY, Esq. fellow of the royal society. This is published in the philosophical transactions of the royal society, no. 368. p. 165. where he makes them to be of two sorts, viz. the common light grey moose, called by the Indians wampoose, and the large or black moose; which is the beast whose horns I herewith represent. As to the grey moose, I take it to be no other than what Mr. JOHN CLAYTON, in his account of the Virginian quadrupedes, published in the aforesaid transactions, no. 210. p. 122. calls the elke, which beast by the Parisians in their memoirs for a natural history of animals, englished by Mr. PITFIELD, p. 167, is called by the name of the stag of Canada, of which I have seen a single horn sent by Mr. MARK CATESBY, from Virginia, by the name of an elkes-horn, and was in all respects like those of our red deer, or stags, only larger, weighing about twelve pounds averdupoiz, and from the burr to the tip, measured by a string, about six feet high. Mr. DUDLEY writes, that his grey moose is most like to the ordinary deer; that they spring like them, and herd together sometimes to thirty in a company: but whether he means by that term the red, the Virginian, or fallow deer, is uncertain, he having said nothing of their horns, which was needful to distinguish them. The black moose is (by all that have hitherto writ of it) accounted a very large creature. Mr. JOSELYN (as I before mentioned) makes it many times bigger than an ox, and Mr. DUDLEY writes, that the hunters have found a buck or a stag moose fourteen spans in height from the withers, which at nine inches to the span, is ten feet and a half; and that a doe or hind of the fourth year, killed by a gentleman near Boston, wanted but one inch of seven feet in height. The stag, buck, or male of this kind, hath a palmed horn, not like that of our common or fallow deer, but the palm is much longer, and more like to that of the German elke, from which it differs in that the moose hath a branched brow antler between the burr and the palm, which the German elke hath not.

"Nor doth the horn of this New England black moose agree in figure with either of those mentioned in the philosophical transactions, no. 227. p. 489. and no. 394. p. 123. to be found fossil in Ireland, the last of which Mr. KELLY writes that for want of another name they called

" called elkes horns. I suspect that those horns
 " which the late reverend and learned Mr. RAY
 " mentions in the synopsis methodica animalium
 " quadrupedum, to have seen with one Mr.
 " HOLNEY, an apothecary of Lewes in Suffex,
 " as likewise in divers museums, were not the
 " horns of this black or American moose, but of
 " the German elke, because that inquisitive gen-
 " tleman takes no notice of any brow antlers
 " they had, which I think was too notorious to
 " have escaped his observation, had there been
 " any such.

" Concerning the number of young ones or
 " calves, which a moose brings forth at a time,
 " authors vary; for Mr. DUDLEY saith, that
 " they bring forth but two; but JOSELYN, in his
 " two voyages, p. 89. and from him NEAL, that
 " they are three; and that they do not go so
 " long pregnant as our hinds by two months.
 " What these two last mentioned authors write
 " concerning their casting their calves a mile
 " distant from each other, doth not seem to me
 " probable: nor do I find that NEAL, in his de-
 " scription of this beast, makes any mention of
 " their having a long tail, though so charged
 " to do by Mr. DUDLEY, who likewise omits the
 " brow antlers in his description of their horns.

" There is another beast of the deer kind,
 " which, though very common in Virginia, and
 " without doubt in other of the northern provin-
 " ces in America, yet I think it is not described
 " by any author, (but it is expected that it will
 " not escape being taken notice of by Mr. CATES-
 " BY in his natural history of Florida, &c.) Mr.
 " BEVERLY, in his present state of Virginia, men-
 " tions both elke and deer in that country, but
 " doth not describe either: but by what I have
 " received from Mr. CATESBY, the first should
 " have been the Canada stag, and the other the
 " deer I have here mentioned. Mr. CLAYTON
 " likewise mentions the elke, which he saith are
 " beyond the inhabited parts, and are the same
 " with Mr. BEVERLY's; as also the deer, of
 " which he saith there are abundance, yet doth
 " not describe them, but calls them red deer,
 " though they are not the same as we here call by
 " that name, but of those which are fallow.
 " Mr. NEAL likewise mentions deer in New-Eng-
 " land, but gives only the name, which being ge-
 " neral, nothing can be inferred from it.

" That which I take for the undescribed deer,
 " is a beast of the stag kind, having round horns
 " like them, not spreading out as in the stag or
 " red deer, but meeting nearer together at their
 " tips, and bending forward over the face of the
 " animal: the brow antlers likewise are not
 " crooked and standing forward, but strait and
 " upright. The skin of this deer is of an arena-
 " ceous, or sandy colour, with some black hairs
 " intermixed, and spotted all over while young
 " with white spots, like some sorts of our fallow
 " deer, being also about the bigness of them when
 " fully grown. The dama Virginiana Raii synop.
 " animal. quad. p. 86. which was formerly in St.
 " James's park, seems to be different from this,
 " if Mr. WILLOUGHBY was not led into a mis-
 " take in taking it to be of the palmate kind, by
 " only seeing it when the horns were shed; per-
 " haps this last of Mr. RAY, may be the mau-
 " rouse of JOSELYN's voyages, p. 91, which he
 " saith is like the moose, but his horns are but
 " small, and the beast about the size of a stag; but
 " his description is too short to be satisfactory."

V O L. III.

A continuation of the present state of Carolina.

The following pages are an answer from ge-
 neral OGLETHORPE, to some enquiries made by
 the author, concerning the state of Carolina and
 Georgia.

Carolina is part of that territory which was
 originally discovered by Sir SEBASTIAN CABOT.
 The English now possess the sea-coast, from the
 river St. John's, in 30 degrees 21 minutes north
 latitude. Westward the King's charter declares it
 to be bounded by the Pacific Ocean.

Carolina is divided into North Carolina, South
 Carolina, and Georgia; the latter is a province
 which his Majesty has taken out of Carolina, and
 is the southern and western frontier of that pro-
 vince, lying between it and the French, Span-
 iards, and Indians.

The part of Carolina that is settled, is for the
 most part a flat country: All near the sea, is a
 range of islands, which breaks the fury of the o-
 cean: Within is generally low-land for twenty or
 twenty five miles, where the country begins to
 rise in gentle swellings. At seventy or eighty
 miles from the sea, the hills grow higher, till
 they terminate in mountains.

The coast of Georgia is also defended from the
 rage of the sea by a range of islands. Those
 islands are divided from the main by canals of salt
 water, navigable for the largest boats, and even
 for small sloops, the lofty woods growing on
 each side the canals, make very pleasant land-
 scapes. The land at about seven or eight miles
 from the sea is tolerably high; and the farther
 you go westward the more it rises, till at about
 150 miles distance from the sea, to the west,
 the Cherikees or Apellachean mountains begin,
 which are so high that the snow lies upon some of
 them all the year.

This ridge of mountains runs in a line from
 north to south, on the back of the English colo-
 nies of Carolina and Virginia; beginning at the
 great lakes of Canada, and extending south, it ends
 in the province of Georgia, at about two hundred
 miles from the bay of Apellachee, which is part
 of the gulph of Mexico. There is a plain coun-
 try from the foot of these mountains to that
 sea.

The face of the country is mostly covered with
 woods; the banks of the rivers are in some places
 low, and form a kind of natural meadows, where
 the floods prevent trees from growing. In other
 places, in the hollows, between the hillocks, the
 brooks and streams being stoppt by falls of trees,
 or other obstructions, the water is penn'd back:
 These places are often covered with canes and
 thickets, and are called in the corrupted Ameri-
 can dialect, swamps. The sides of the hills are
 generally covered with oaks and hickory, or wild
 walnuts, cedar, sassafras, and the famous laurel
 tulip, which is esteemed one of the most beautiful
 trees in the world: The flat tops of the hillocks
 are all covered with groves of pine-trees, with
 plenty of grass growing under them; and free
 from underwood, that you may gallop a horse for
 forty or fifty miles an end. In the low grounds,
 and islands in the river, there are cypresses, bay-
 trees, poplar, plane, frankincense, or gum-trees,
 and other aquaticks. All parts of the province
 are well watered; and in digging a moderate depth,
 you never miss of a fine spring.

What

What we call the Atlantick Ocean, washes the east and south-east coasts of these provinces. The gulph stream of Florida sets with a tide in the ocean to the east of the province; and it is very remarkable, that the banks and soundings of the coast extend twenty or twenty-five miles to the east of the coast. To explain this, we will mention the manner of the voyage from Europe. You set out with variable winds, and having got enough to the west of Europe, you stand southerly till you meet with the trade winds; which you do, on this side the 20th degree north latitude. Those winds blowing generally eastwardly and moderately brisk, soon drive you over the greatest part of the Atlantick Ocean: You keep the same latitude, till you think you are near the Bahama's, and then you steer northwardly, to avoid falling in with them, till you come into 29 degrees, and then you run in to make the shore. You cross the gulph stream of Florida, which is a rapid tide, that sets out from between the island of Cuba and Bahama, on the one side, and Florida on the other. It is upwards of twenty leagues wide, and so rapid that it runs to the northward, at the rate of three miles an hour. When you are past the gulph stream, you throw the lead, and if you find the ground at twenty five leagues of the coast of Georgia or Carolina, these they call the banks, and the water shoals gradually to shore, till you come within two leagues, where the banks are so shoaly that they bar all further passage, excepting in the channels which lie between the bars. These bars are the defence of the coast against enemies fleets, and the reason that it has laid so long undiscovered; for without good pilots you cannot come into any harbour, the shoalness of the coast frightened ships so from coming to make discoveries upon it: till Mr. OGLETHORPE had the entries on the coast of Georgia sounded in the year 1733, no ship attempted to go into ports in Georgia, nor did the merchants believe there were any ports upon that coast. Though now they find the river Savannah an excellent harbour; and upon the worst of the bar, three fathom at dead low water. There is also a noble harbour to the southward, called Teky-Sound, where there is anchoring for a large squadron in ten or fourteen fathom water land-locked, and a good and safe entry through the bar.

Between these harbours on the one side, and the Bahama's on the other, the Spanish ships must come home with all the treasures of Mexico; and a squadron here in time of war, can hardly miss intercepting them, and at the same time have safe harbours under their lee, and a healthy climate; have all Georgia, Carolina, and North-America a plentiful country, to supply them with fresh provisions; so that they would be under none of those inconveniences from want and sickness, which those squadrons suffered who lay at Porto Bello.

The tides upon this coast flow generally seven foot: The soundings are sand, or ooze, and some oyster banks, but no rocks: The coast appears low from the sea, and covered with woods.

Cape Fear is a point which runs with dreadful shoals far into the sea from the mouth of Clarendon river, in North-Carolina. Sulwan's Island, and the Coffin-land, are the marks of the entry into Charles-Town harbour: Hilton-head upon Trenches Island, shews the entry into Port-Royal; and the Point of Tybee Island, makes the

entry of the Savannah river. Upon that point the trustees for Georgia have erected a noble final or lighthouse, 90 foot high, and 25 foot wide; it is an octagon, and upon the top there is a flag-staff 30 foot high.

The province of Georgia is watered by three great rivers, which rise in the mountains, viz. the Alatomaha, the Ogechee, and the Savannah, the last of which is navigable six hundred miles for canoes, and three hundred miles for boats. The British dominions are divided from the Spanish Florida by a noble river called St. John's. These rivers fall into the Atlantick Ocean; but there are besides them, the Flint, the Catooche, and even the Mississippi river, which pass through part of Carolina, or Georgia, and fall into the gulph of Apellachee or Mexico.

All Carolina is divided into three parts: North Carolina, which is divided from South Carolina by Clarendon river, and of late by a line marked out by order of the council: South Carolina; which on the south is divided from Georgia by the river Savannah. Carolina is divided into several counties; but in Georgia there is but one yet erected, viz. the county of Savannah: it is bounded on the one side by the river Savannah, on the other by the sea, on the third by the river Ogechee, on the fourth by the river Ebenezer, and a line drawn from the Ebenezer to the Ogechee. In this country are the rivers of Vernon, Little Ogechee, and of Westbrook. There is the town of Savannah, where there is a seat of judicature, consisting of three bailiffs and a recorder. It is situated upon the banks of the river of the same name. It consists of about two hundred houses, and lies upon a plain of about a mile wide, the bank steep to the river, forty five foot perpendicularly high: The streets are laid out regular. There are near Savannah, in the same country, the villages of Hampstead, Highgate, Skydo way, and Thunderbolt; the latter of which is a translation of a name: Their fables say, that a thunderbolt fell, and a spring thereupon arose in that place, which still smells of the thunder. This spring is impregnated with a mixture of sulphur and steel, and from this smell probably the story arose. In the same county is Joseph's Town, and the town of Ebenezer, both upon the river Savannah, and the villages of Abercorn and Westbrook. There are saw-mills erecting on the river Ebenezer, and the fort Argyle lies upon the pass of this county over the Ogechee. In the southern divisions of the province lies the town of Frederica, with its district, where there is a court with three bailiffs and a recorder. It lies on one of the branches of the Alatomaha. There is also the town of Darien, upon the same river, and several forts, upon the proper passes, some of four bastions, some are only redoubts, besides which there are villages in different parts of Georgia. At Savannah there is a publick store-house built of large square timbers; there is also a handsome court-house, guard-house, and work-house: the church is not yet begun, but materials are collecting, and it is designed to be a handsome edifice. The private houses are generally sawed timber, framed and covered with shingles; many of them are painted, and most have chimneys of brick. At Frederica, some of the houses are built of brick; the rest of the province is mostly wood. They are not got into luxury yet in their furniture, hewing only what is plain and needful; the winters being mild, there

there are yet but few houses with glass-windows.

The Indians are a manly well-shaped race; the men tall, the women little: They, as the ancient Grecians did, anoint with oil, and expose themselves to the sun, which occasions their skins to be brown of colour. The men paint themselves of various colours, red, blue, yellow and black: the men wear generally a girdle, with a piece of cloth drawn through their legs, and turned over the girdle both before and behind, so as to hide their nakedness. The women wear a kind of petticoat to their knees. Both men and women in the winter wear mantles, something less than two yards square, which they wrap round their bodies, as the Romans did their toga, generally keeping their arms bare: They are sometimes of woollen, bought of the English; sometimes of furs, which they dress themselves. They wear a kind of pumps, which they call morgifons, made of deer skins, which they dress for that purpose. They are a generous good-natured people, very humane to strangers; patient of want and pain; slow to anger, and not easily provoked; but when they are thoroughly incensed, they are implacable; very quick of apprehension, and gay of temper. Their publick conferences shew them to be men of genius, and they have a natural eloquence, they never having had the use of letters. They love eating, and the English have taught many of them to drink strong liquors, which, when they do, they are miserable fights. They have no manufactures but what each family makes for its own use: They seem to despise working for hire, and spend their time chiefly in hunting and war; but plant corn enough for the support of their families, and of the strangers that come to visit them. Their food, instead of bread, is flour of Indian corn boiled, and seasoned like hasty pudding; and this is called homminy. They also boil venison and make broth: They also roast or rather broil their meat. The flesh they feed on is buffaloe, deer, wild-turkeys, and other game; so that hunting is necessary, to provide flesh, and planting for corn. The land belongs to the women, and the corn that grows upon it; but meat must be got by the men, because it is they only that hunt. This makes marriage necessary, that the women may furnish corn, and the men meat. They have also fruit-trees in their gardens, viz. peaches, nectarines and locusts, melons and water-melons; potatoes, pumpkins, and onions, &c. in plenty, and many wild kinds of fruits; as parsimonies, grapes, chinquepins, and hickary-nuts, of which they make oil. The bees make their combs in the hollow trees, and the Indians find plenty of honey there, which they use instead of sugar. They make what answers salt of wood-ashes, and long-pepper which grows in their gardens; and bay-leaves supply their want of spice. Their exercises are a kind of ball-playing, hunting, and running; and they are very fond of dancing: Their mulick is a kind of a drum, as also hollow cocoa-nut shells. They have a square in the middle of their towns, in which the warriors sit, converse, and smooke together; but in rainy weather they meet in the King's house.

They are very healthy people, and have hardly any diseases, except those occasioned by the drinking of rum, and the small pox: Those who

do not drink rum are exceeding long-lived. Old BRIM, Emperor of the Creeks, who died but a few years ago, lived to one hundred and thirty years; and he was neither blind nor bed-ridden, till some months before his death. They have sometimes pleurifies and fevers, but no chronical distempers. They know of several herbs that have great virtues in physick, particularly for the cure of venomous bites and wounds.

The native animals are, first the urus or zorax, described by CÆSAR, which the English very ignorantly and improperly call the buffaloe. They have deer of several kinds, and plenty of roe-bucks and rabbits. There are bears and wolves, which are very small and timorous; and a brown wild-cat, without spots, which they very improperly call a tyger; otters, beavers, foxes, and a species of badgers, which they call racoons.

There is great abundance of wild fowls, viz. the wild turkey, the partridge, doves of various kinds; wild geese, wild ducks, teal, cranes, herons, of many kinds, not known in Europe: There are great variety of eagles and hawks, and great numbers of small birds, particularly the rice bird, which is very like the ortolan. There are also some rattle snakes, but not near so frequent as is generally reported. There are several species of snakes, some of which are not venomous. There are crocodiles, porpoises, sturgeon, mullets, cat-fish, bass, drum, devil-fish, and many species of fresh water fish; that we have not in Europe; oysters upon the sea islands in great abundance. But what is most troublesome there, are flies and gnats, which are very troublesome near the rivers; but as the country is cleared, they disperse and go away. Besides the animals that are natives, there are all the same animals as in Europe, cows, sheep, hogs, &c.

The vegetables are innumerable; for all that grow in Europe grow there; and many that cannot stand in our winters thrive there.

An account of the logwood countries by Mr. ATKINS.

MR. ATKINS, speaking of the logwood cutters, observes, that they were originally settled at the Bay of Campeachy, but being disturbed there by the Spaniards, they removed to the Bay of Honduras, where they support themselves by force of arms, being about 500 (later accounts say 1500) merchants and servants.

Their principal residence is at a place called the Barcederas, about forty miles up a narrow river full of alligators; and what is a greater inconvenience against transporting their effects, is a strong current in it from the freshes up land, and the banks being covered with shrubs, that makes it difficult to walk and tow the boats; covered also with infinite numbers of sand-flies and muskitoes: they live in pavilions; a servant, at their time of lying down to rest, shaking them till cleared of these vermin, that are an unsufferable plague and impediment to sleep.

At the season (once a year) they move their pavilions from the pleasurable spots, the better to attend the logwood cutting, which carries them sometimes many miles from this principal residence, to follow the wood, which runs in a line or vein (like minerals in the earth) of some miles perhaps, and then as many without a stick of it. They cut it into large pieces, and leave it on the ground till the land-floods favour their bringing

it into the river, and then canoes are laden away with it to lay in store at the Barcaderas, where the chief are still left residing.

They have all good arms; and knowing the Spanish clemency, defend themselves desperately if attacked, which has happened seldomer than at Campeachy, and always by sea.

A servant, which is the first step with sea-men into the trade, is hired at a tun of logwood per month, and has one day in seven for himself, making about ten pounds per month to him: Hence, if thoughtful and sober, they in time become masters, join stock, and trade independently. They have a King, chose from among their body, and his consort is styled Queen; agreeing to some laws by common consent, as a guide to them.

The ships that come into the bay are on their guard also, and fetch it down in flat-bottomed boats, each crew being allowed on the voyage a bottle of rum, and some sugar, and row generally in the night, as freest from stinging flies, and rest in the day.

The exchange with ships is for money, beer, flour, or any sort of provisions and necessaries; these the cunningest reserve in store against the wants and demands of the inconsiderate, and so make extraordinary returns.

An account of the logwood countries by Mr. URING.

Honduras
logwood-
cutters.

The country of Honduras, where the English cut their logwood, is all a flat, and great part of it a morass, with several large lacunæ, which in the rain-times are almost all over-flowed. In the dry time of the year, the logwood cutters search for a work, that is, where there are a good number of logwood trees, and then build a hut near them, where they live during the time of their cutting. When they have cut down the tree, they log it, and chip it, which is cutting off the bark and sap, and then lay it in heaps, cutting away the underwood, and making paths to each heap, that when the rains come in which overflow the ground, it serves as so many creeks or channels, where they go with small canoes or dories, and load them, bringing them sometimes to the Barcaderas, thirty miles, from whence the people who buy it fetch it: But if it so happens, that the wood stands upon a ridge, or on such high ground that the water does not flow to it, they cut it into logs proper for backing, and back it out, as they call it. Some of these trees grow very tall and straight, tho' most of them are low and crooked: It bears a small leaf, something like our white thorn, and the underwood is prickly, not much unlike it: It blossoms, and bears seed, which, by falling off sows the ground from whence it springs up, and the overflowing the ground brings the soil over it, which makes it take root and grow a great pace. The general price of the wood at the Barcaderas is five pounds per ton, Jamaica money. The wood-cutters are generally a rude drunken crew; some of which have been pirates, and most of them sailors: Their chief delight is in drinking; and when they broach a quarter cask, or a hoghead of wine, they seldom stir from it while there is a drop left: It is the same thing when they open a hoghead of bottle-ale or cyder, keeping at it sometimes a week together, drinking till they fall asleep; and as soon as they wake at it again, without stirring off the place. Rum punch is their general

drink which they'll sometimes fit several days at; also they do most work when they have no strong drink; for while the liquor is moving they don't care to leave it. I had a very unpleasant time living among these people, tho' they paid me a considerable deference; and when they killed a deer, or wild fowl, I was always sure to have part of them; but I should have been much more agreeable to them, if I would have kept them company at their drinking-bouts. The wild creatures I saw were deer, tygers, alligators, and guanoes; the deer are small, but lean. I saw at several times two tygers; we fired at one of them, but the gun missed fire, and we walked leisurely away into the woods: Being both times in a creek upon the water, we were in no danger. I was informed they have monkeys, picarry, and warree, but I saw none. They have quams, coriso's, Muscovy ducks, whistling ducks; which last are something bigger than our teal, and as good eating; cockrecoes, macaws, parrots, two-penny chicks, double and single curlews, crab-catchers, and other fowls. There are great numbers of guanoes, upon whose eggs we often feasted, drinking them mixed in punch. All their rivers and creeks are full of fish; which also swarm with alligators that will seize a man in the water. I have tasted of their flesh, which is coarse, and eat of their eggs, but they are not so good as a turtle's or guanoes's.

The logwood cutters during the floods, dwell at the Barcaderas, which are forty-two miles up the river, where they have built their huts upon pretty high banks, which just keep them out of the water in the time of the floods. As soon as they have notice of any ship's or vessel's arrival at the river's mouth, they flock down on board, in order to purchase such things as they want, and are sure to provide good store of strong liquor. The commodities which suit them are all sorts of strong liquors, provisions, small arms, gunpowder, and small shot; cutlasses, or hangers, axes, ozenbrigs, and shoes. Ozenbrigs is their general wear, and almost all their cloathing, except hats and shoes: Their pavilions are also made of ozenbrigs; there is no possibility of living without them; there being such multitudes of biting and stinging flies, as muskitoes, sand-flies, galley-nippers, and bottle-afles, which last poison the blood to that degree, wherever they bite, that it leaves a black speck as big as a large pin's head, which in two or three days grows rotten. In the northerly winds there are few flies to be seen, nor are they in such numbers during the floods, as in the dry times. Among the small islands or kays in the bay are great numbers of green turtle, which the bay men never want when they fish for them, and are mostly taken in nets. The manatee is often found here, and there is likewise great quantities of several sorts of excellent fish, among which the Jew fish exceeds in goodness: They are shaped something like a cod, but thicker in proportion, and much better eating: They have very broad scales, and some of them weigh eighty pounds.

The trade between Jamaica and Spanish America.

In the beginning of the year 1711, I went over Trade be- in a sloop well mann'd and arm'd, to trade on tween Ja- the coast of New Spain, and we carried with us a maica and great quantity of dry goods, and about a hundred Spanish America. and fifty negroes. We first touched at Porto Bello, but

but being war-time, we used to go to the Grout within Monkey-Kay, which is a very good harbour, and is about four or five miles from the harbour and town of Porto-Bello. As soon as we arrived there, our custom was to send one of our people who could speak Spanish into the town, with letters to the merchants, to give them notice of our arrival, and they appointed the time and place where and when our canoe should wait for them to bring them on board, in order to traffick with us; and when they had agreed with us for so many negroes, and such a quantity of goods as they wanted, they returned to the town, and the next day brought their money on board, and received them. We lay at this place trading six weeks, in which time the Spanish merchants at Panama had notice of our being there, and they came over the Isthmus to trade with us. These merchants frequently travelled in the habits of peasants, and had their mules with them, on which they brought their money in jars, which they filled up with meal; and if any of the King's officers met them, nothing appeared but meal, and they pretended they were poor people going to Porto-Bello to buy some trifles; but they for the most part went through the woods, and not in the road, in order to prevent their being discovered by the royal officers. When they had bought as many negroes, and such a quantity of dry goods as their money would purchase, they used to proportion and make them up in little packs fit for one man to carry, and we supplied them with as much provisions as was necessary for their journey, cross the Isthmus to the South-Sea, and thus they passed together through the woods in the most secret manner. While we lay at the Grout, the first voyage a Spaniard agreed with us for seventy slaves, and a good quantity of dry goods, which we delivered between Chagre and Porto Nova; the signal agreed upon being made from the castle of Chagre, we anchored about two miles from it, and sent our canoe on shore, where we found the Spaniards with several asses and mules laden with gold and silver, which we carried on board, and when the money was found to be right, and all things were adjusted, we landed the negroes and dry goods, providing them with necessaries for their journey over to the South Sea, and then sailed again for the Grout; but being not able to dispose of all our cargo there, we set sail for Carthagena, and by the way touched at Toluca, where we furnished ourselves with poultry, which are reckoned the best upon the main. When we arrived at Brew, which is the place where we lay to trade with the merchants of Carthagena, we gave notice of it to some of the people of that island, who sent word into the city of our being there; several merchants came from thence to trade with us; and when we had sold what we could we returned to Jamaica. This place is about eight miles from the city, and a good road for vessels to ride in. I was several voyages to the Spanish coast, trading in this manner.

A description of Jamaica by Mr. ATKINS.

Mr. ATKINS gives the following description of the chief towns in Jamaica.

Chief towns in Jamaica.

St. Jago is irregular and low built, to secure it against storms: Even the governor's, or what they call the King's house, is but a ground floor, and makes one side of a quadrangle, with a parade where all gentlemen meet to transact their business.

VOL. III. NUMB. CXLIII.

The merchants and factors for distant planters, and the officers, civil and military, do together make a considerable number, dividing in the evenings into parties of dancing, gaming, or drinking, and generally to a publick house, to avoid the obligation of returns and treats, very costly in this country.

Kingston, at the upper end of Port Royal harbour, the place of lading and unlading almost all ships to and from the island, is, in my eye, preferable to the former. The streets are wide and more regular to face the sea breezes, and the cross streets at right angles, that the air may have as little interruption as possible; a convenience that cannot be too much meditated in so hot a climate; for the land breezes failing betimes in the morning, you have it excessively hot, all creatures languish and faint till the sea ones succeed, which will not be till ten o'clock, sometimes eleven, or later, and may be esteemed the life of the island, dispelling those impure vapours continually exhaled from the mountains, and refreshing and rousing the animal nature from backgammon, or loitering, to business.

The harbour is spacious here, and the ships lie land-locked; but the peninsula that covers them from the sea being low and narrow, they are not so safe against storms as one would imagine.

From hence to Spanish Town, when called on any law-suit or business, they take boat to Passage Fort, on the other side a small river at the bottom of the harbour, where are three or four houses that furnish passengers for the journey (6 miles) at twenty shillings a coach, or five shillings a horse, and are rarely without customers, the calls in traffick are so frequent.

Port Royal, which makes up, with the former two, all the towns of note on the whole island, is on the starboard entrance of the harbour. The road before it is reckoned good holding ground, and fenced from southerly winds by sandy kays without. The town itself stands on such a sandy kay, not much above the surface of the water, and contains no more ground than holds the buildings, and the fort contiguous with it on the outer point; which, with a line, or rampart of guns to the sea (together about one hundred) is their chief defence. Under the fort is a little nook or bay called Chocolate-hole, where we have a hulk lies for cleaning ships.

Mr. ATKINS also gives us the following account of a stranger's daily expences at Jamaica.

Bits of 7d. 5.

Dinner.	5
A bottle of small beer.	1
A bottle of ale.	4
Coffee per dish.	1
A quart of rum punch.	4
Lodging per night.	8

Ordinaries are filled with a mixture of land and sea-faring people, who have three or four sorts of cookery at dinner, and each a pint of Madeira, with a desert of guavas, and other insipid or ill-tasted fruit. One of our dishes is frequently turtle, much esteemed in this part of the world, and are supplied to the market here by sloops, and sold at a bit a pound, like other flesh, now also increased to a tolerable plenty, by the planters having set apart servants, pens, and pasture-grounds, for rearing up all kinds of domestick animals, in which of late years they have found their account; our ships companies being victualled here twice a week with fresh beef,

beef, during a stay of six months, and an hospital on shore provided with lighter food.

Bartering is the easiest way of living on shore, or rather, no man can live long without it: Madeira wines, refined sugars, linens, and necessaries of almost all kinds, selling from one hundred pound to one hundred and fifty per cent. advance; their rum to you three bits per gallon; sugars from four to seven dollars a hundred, both superior to Barbadoes. Other commodities are ginger, piemento, cacao, or the chocolate nut, indigo, cotton, tortoise-shell, dyers wood, cedar, mahogany and manchineel woods; and they allow 35 per cent. advance on money.

The Creoles (those born here) which are properly the natives of the island, the ancient ones being all extirpated by the cruelty of the Spaniard before our possession, are a spurious race; the first change by a black and white they call mulatto, the second a mustee, the third a caste; the faces, like a coat of arms, discovering their distinction. They are half negrish in their manners, proceeding from the promiscuous and confined conversation, with their relations, the servants at the plantations, and have a language equally pleasant, a kind of gipsy gibberish that runs smoothest in swearing.

The English are computed at seven or eight thousand, the Negroes at eighty thousand, a disproportion, that together with the severity of their patrons renders the whole colony unsafe. Many hundreds of them have at different times run to the mountains, where they associate and commit robberies upon the defenceless and nearest plantations; and which, I imagine, they would not have done but for the cruelty of their usage, because they subsist very hard, and with danger, by reason of parties continually sending out by the government against them, who have five pound a head for every one killed, and their ears are a sufficient warrant for the next justice to pay it: If the negro be brought in a prisoner, he is tormented and burnt alive. Our latest advices from Jamaica concerning them, are, that they have chose a king, that they daily increase, have some inaccessible places of retreat, and are suspected of being encouraged and supplied with powder and arms from Cuba.

The natural remedy against this evil is an increase of hands. They have large savannahs both on the north and south sides, supposed formerly to have been fields of Indian wheat, that afford good pasturage, and breed up a great number of cattle, with a great waste of land, still left capable of large improvements, into sugar plantations, or tillage; but here lies the objection to any further encouragement. If the present proprietors can export eleven thousand hogheads of Sugar annually, and the price with that number is kept low at market, whoever contributes to the making eleven thousand more, is depreciating his own estate, and lending a hand to ruin himself. Tillage and grazing, tho' not employing the land to one tenth of its value in such colonies, would interfere with the present interest also, by lowering the price of provisions; wherefore the security from such augmentation of people (the merchants being judges) gives place to profit, a neglect that must be repaired in the end, by undertakers of more generous sentiments. This convinces me, that altho' trade be wealth and power to a nation, yet if it cannot be put under restrictions, and control-

led by a superior and disinterested power, excess and irregularity will be an oppression to many, and counter-balance the publick advantages by increasing the difficulties of subsistence, and with it mens disaffection.

Here is a distant evil, the cure of which lies in an expence that nobody likes, nor for such dislike will ever blame himself in time of danger. The merchant and planter think, if less sugars were made it would be better; provided (every one means) the bad crop do not happen upon their own plantations; and thus for the same reason, the Dutch and other companies burn their spice, India goods, tobacco, &c. viz. to keep up a price; for rendering things common, or cheap, or assisting towards the same liberty, would border too much upon the christian precepts.

The sloop-trade hence to the Spanish West-Indies, under the protection of our men of war, has been reckoned at two hundred thousand pounds per annum. In 1702, orders came to the governor to hinder it, on account of a treaty between us and the Dutch for that purpose, who have since gone into it themselves from Curifao. And in 1716, a yet greater obstruction was put upon them by the peculiar privileges of the assiento factors: However, they continue on, and complain of no other illegalities than the Spanish seizures of late years, very frequent; and, together with the decay of this branch of trade, their want of Spanish wrecks, privateering, and fall of Sugars, makes the island not so flourishing as in times past.

An account of Barbadoes, and its sugar-works, from Mr. ATKINS.

The negroes of Barbadoes are computed to be eighty or ninety thousand countenanced in polygamy, English twenty thousand; the women among them most Scotch and Irish, very homely, and great swearers. The men, contrarily, are very gay, clean, and handsome; from mean originals, often succeeding with rich widows, it being but justice to link a fat plantation to the truly nauseous draught of matrimony.

The way of feeding such a multitude, and providing necessaries in an island yielding little besides sugar, is principally by their fisheries and importations.

The sea gives them great plenty of flying fish, dolphins, barracuda, and king-fish, particularly the first: They bait with their own specie, which thrown about, the fish fly in such numbers to the boats, that they take them up with dip-nets, and sometimes the dolphins with them. The season goes off at the autumnal equinox. Their importations by ships from England, Ireland, New-England, Pennsylvania, Carolina, or New-York, constantly supply any defect of food or necessaries, every vessel bringing them something or other of this kind, which the merchants keep in store, and sell the planters occasionally, who give their sugars, rum, and molasses, in return. The price in what I was acquainted was, viz.

Bought.

Rum, at 1s. 2d. per gallon

Citron water, 40s. and 30s.

Pickled pepper, 10s.

Preserved ginger, 5s. per pound.

Sugar 20 s. a hundred, and before our improvements (says GEE) the Portuguese sold for 7 and 8 l. a hundred.

Cocoa, 3 or 4 l. per hundred.

Aloes, 4 d. per pound.

Sold.

Salt beef and pork, 40 s. for a cask of two hundred weight.

Bisket, 17 s. per hundred.

Candles, 6 d. halfpenny per pound, &c.

Exchange 30 per cent. or more.

The sugar canes are set out between August and December six inches deep, and do not come to maturity until one year and a quarter. When ripe, which is known by their colour, they cut them up with a bill, and send them to the windmills, which presses out the juice so clean, that the canes, by being an hour or two in the sun, become fit for fuel.

The liquor must not remain in the cistern above a day for fear of souring; it is therefore by a gutter conveyed to the copper or boiler, and in the boiling the filth scummed off: thence it is conveyed into the second and third; and in the last, called the tack, is boiled to a consistency, and turned into a grain by throwing in of temper, which is only the infusion of lime and water made strong, according to the goodness of the cane. Nine pounds of juice make one of muscovado, and one of molasses.

From hence it is carried to the cooling cistern till fit to put in pots, which have holes at bottom to drain off the molasses.

Of these molasses again they sometimes make another worse sugar, called pateels. Of the scum, coarse molasses, washings of the boilers and pots fomented together, is made rum.

To refine sugar is to boil it over again, and clarify with the same lime water, and eggs; reckoned better than the clayed sugars of this region, made by putting a clayey earth mixed with water to the thickness of a batter upon them, and repeated three or four times, according to the degree of whiteness designed: both ways carry the treacle and molasses downwards, but the former is most esteemed, as mixing less, and purging to better purpose. Lime refines from impurities, and imparts a softer taste, experienced in throwing it into wells of hard water: the best refined in loaves comes back to the sugar colonies from England, sell at fifty or one hundred per cent. advance, and are of common use; they must be kept dry, a hot and moist air dissolving them.

From molasses distillers make a clean brandy; and it gives a pretty tasted spirit to malt liquors boil'd, and worked in the tun.

Besides rum and sugars, they have quantities of ginger, aloes, tamarinds, citron, cassia, coliquintida, cassava, limes, oranges, guavas, pine apples, mastich, cedar, cotton, palmetto trees, and prickled pear; but our apples and pears, or any of our shrub-fruits, gooseberry or currant, will not thrive. Of the potatoe they make a brisk small beer, called mobby.

The enterprise to the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, from Mr. URING.

St. Lucia. His Majesty King GEORGE I. by letters patents, dated 20 June, 1722, granted to his grace JOHN duke of Montagu, the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, situated in the American ocean,

between 12 and 14 minutes north latitude, and between 60 and 61 minutes west longitude; the first about 24 leagues west-north-west of Barbadoes, and seven leagues south of the French island of Martinico, and the same distance north and by east from St. Vincent.

The duke was also constituted captain general of the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, which till that time were included in the commission, and under the government of the governors of Barbadoes.

His grace having appointed captain URING his deputy-governor, and provided seven ships and vessels to carry over the planters, with such provisions and necessaries as were requisite to settle colonies in these islands, and obtained of his Majesty the Winchester man of war, commanded by captain ORME, to convoy, attend, and protect the planters; Mr. URING embarked on board the Winchelsea on the 10th of September 1722, and sailing to Ireland to take in provisions, made it the 15th of December before he arrived at St. Lucia: being come to an anchor in Pigeon Island Bay, a Barbadoes sloop soon after arrived from Martinico, the master whereof communicated to Mr. URING the copy of a mandate by the King of France, which he said was published by order of the French general in all the churches of that island, and in all their towns by beat of drum, which contained in substance, that if the English did not leave the island of St. Lucia in the space of fifteen days, they were to be drove off by force of arms.

The next morning Mr. URING weighed from Pigeon Island-Bay, and stood for the harbour of Petite Careenage; which they found to be a very good one, and in it several places fit for careening ships, sheltered from every wind; in one of which ships of sixty guns and upwards may careen very conveniently: the land is very hilly all round the harbour, and in most places steep, ascending from the water-side. At two in the afternoon he landed fifty men, to cut down the trees and bushes on the point, that lay fit for a battery of guns to command the entrance of the harbour. The same day he sent Mr. FAULKNER to Martinico, with letters from the duke of Montagu and the admiralty, directed to captain CHARLES BROWN, commander of the Feverham man of war, and captain ELLIS, commander of the Hector, who were then at Martinico, and acquainted them that the duke had appointed him deputy governor of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, and that being come to settle these islands under the protection of the Winchelsea man of war, he desired, that in pursuance of the orders they had received from the admiralty for that purpose, they would join him as soon as possible, being apprehensive the governor of Martinico designed to molest the colony.

In the mean time he proceeded to land his people, guns, tools, planks, and stores to fortify the harbour, and build a large house to shelter the workmen. On the 22d of december, captain BLAND and captain BROWN arrived from Martinico with his Majesty's ships the Hector and Feverham, and soon after a French sloop, which brought a letter from the French general, to acquaint Mr. URING, that he had heard of his landing English forces in the island of St. Lucia, and desired to know his intentions; and at the same time he received the following copy of the French King's mandate, viz.

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A mandate of the King to the sieur chevalier DE FEUQUIERE, governor and lieutenant general of the windward islands in America.

"His Majesty having been informed that the King of England has given the islands of St. Vincent and St. Lucia to the duke of Montagu, has made his complaint of it to the court of England, and has alledged that neither the one nor the other of these islands belong to that crown: the first of them ought to remain to the Caribbees, according to conventions made with that people; and the second belong to France, who has been willing to suspend the settlement of that island on the request of the King of England. Notwithstanding those reasons, his Majesty hath not been informed, that there has been any revocation of this grant. On the contrary, he understands that the duke of Montagu is preparing to send and take possession of those islands, and to transport numbers of families thither. This undertaking being contrary to the rights of his Majesty, his intention is, that in case the English should take possession of St. Lucia, and settle there, the sieur chevalier DE FEUQUIERE shall summon them to retire in fifteen days, in regard that island belongs to France; and if they do not so depart, he shall compel them to it by force of arms. He shall take care to charge some of the wisest and most experienced of his officers with this expedition. His Majesty desires there should be as little effusion of blood as possible, nor will he have any pillage made: he only wishes the English would retire, and not possess themselves of a country which belongs to him.

Done at Versailles the 21st of September 1722.

Signed LOUIS, Seen and Compared with the original 31 Dec. 1722. de
approved, PHILIP de pas FEUQUIERE.
Orléance.

Upon reading the mandate, and the French governor's letter, in which it was enclosed, Mr. URING sent to captain BRAND and captain BROWN, to know if he might depend upon their assistance, if he was attacked by the French; but they would give him no positive answer, and soon after sailed to Barbadoes: he also sent a letter to the governor of Martinico, to acquaint him, that he had orders from the duke of Montagu, the lord proprietor, under his British Majesty's patent, to plant St. Lucia, and defend it; but proposed the suspending all acts of hostility till they could hear from their respective courts of Great Britain and France.

Mr. URING also thought fit to write to the president of Barbadoes, that the governor of Martinico had threatened to drive the English from the island, if they did not depart in fifteen days, and to desire his assistance to support this part of his Majesty's dominions. To which the president answered, that he was ready to give him all the assistance in his power. But the captains BROWN and BRAND remained so long absent from St. Lucia, that the French had an opportunity of sending between two and three thousand men from Martinico, and landing them on the island: the captains of the men of war also refused to give him any assistance towards fortifying and defending the colony by land; and a great many of the planters falling sick, and others deserting over to the French at the same time, Mr. URING had not fourscore left fit to bear

arms; which compelled him at length to come to a treaty with the French general, the marquis of Champigny; and the following articles were concluded between them.

1. That the English should quit the island of St. Lucia within seven days, provided that the ships of the English nation should at all times have liberty to come into the ports of the said island, and wood and water there, and serve their other occasions, as the French vessels also might.

2. That the English colony should be at liberty to re-embark all their cannon, stores, arms, baggage, and every thing belonging to them, without molestation.

3. That all deserters should be given up.

4. That immediately after the English had evacuated the island, the French forces also should evacuate it; and that the island should remain in the same state it was till the controversies between the two crowns, relating to this island, were decided.

In pursuance of which agreement Mr. URING embarked with his people, and sailed to Antigua, sending the *Winchelsea* man of war, and captain BRAITHWAITE in the *Griffin* sloop, to take a view of the island of St. Vincent, and see if it was practicable to make a settlement there: in the mean time a considerable reinforcement arrived at Barbadoes from the duke of Montagu, with ammunition and provision, and orders to attempt a settlement on St. Vincent, if the planters were driven from St. Lucia.

Captain BRAITHWAITE arrived at Antigua some few days afterwards, and made the following report of his expedition to St. Vincent.

In pursuance of a resolution in council, and your order for so doing the day you sailed with his grace's colony for Antigua, I sailed with the *Griffin* sloop, in company with his Majesty's ship the *Winchelsea*, to St. Vincent. We made the island that night, and next morning run along the shore, and saw several Indian huts; but as yet no Indians came off to us, nor could we get ashore to them, by reason there was no ground to anchor in. Towards the evening two Indians came on board, and told us we might anchor in a bay to leeward, and when we were at anchor they would bring their general on board. Here we came to an anchor in deep water, and very dangerous for the sloop. One, whom they called general, came on board, with several others, to the number of twenty-two: I entertained them very handsomely, and made the chief some trifling presents; but found him to be a person of no consequence, and that they called him chief to get some present from me. Here two of the Indians were so drunk, they would not go ashore, but stayed on board some days, and were well entertained. After this, little winds and great currents drove us off for several days; but at last we came to an anchor in a spacious bay, to the leeward of all the island, the draught of which I ordered to be taken by our surveyor, for your better understanding the place, being the only one where a settlement could be made. The ship and sloop were scarce come to an anchor before the strand of the shore was covered with Indians; and amongst them we could discover a white man, who proved to be a Frenchman. I took captain WATSON in the boat with me, with a Frenchman, and immediately went ashore. As soon as I came amongst them, I asked why they appeared all armed; for every man had cutlasses; some

some had muskets, pistols, bows and arrows, &c. They, with very little ceremony, inclosed me, and carried me up the country for about a mile, over a little rivulet, where I was told I was to see their general. I found him sitting amidst a guard of about an hundred Indians; those nearest his person had all muskets, the rest bows and arrows, and great silence. He ordered me a seat, and a Frenchman stood at his right hand for an interpreter. He demanded of me, what brought me into his country, and of what nation? I told him English, and I was put in to wood and water, as not caring to say any thing else before the Frenchman; but told him, if he would be pleased to come on board our ships, I would leave Englishmen in hostage for those he should be pleased to bring with him; but I could not prevail with him either to come on board, or suffer me to have wood or water. He said, he was informed we were come to force a settlement, and we had no other way to remove that jealousy, but by getting under sail. As soon as I found what influence the Frenchman's company had upon him, I took my leave, after making such replies as I thought proper, and returned to my boat under a guard. When I came to the shore, I found the guard was increased by a number of negroes, all armed with fuzes: I got into my boat without any injury, and went on board to captain ORME, and told him my ill success.

Immediately after I sent on shore the sloop's boat with a mate, with rum, beef, and bread, &c. with some cutlasses; and ordered a Frenchman, who went with a mate, to desire the guard to conduct them to their general, and to tell him, that tho' he deny'd me the common good of water, and a little usefless wood, nevertheless I had sent him such refreshments as our ships afforded. Our people found the Frenchman gone, and that then the Indian general seemed pleased, and received what was sent him, and in return sent me bows and arrows.

Our people had not been long returned but their general sent a canoe, with two chief Indians, who spoke very good French, to thank me for my presents, and to ask pardon for his refusing me wood and water, and assured me I might have what I pleased; and they had orders to tell me, if I pleased to go a-shore again, they were to remain hostages for my civil treatment. I sent them on board the man of war, and with captain WATSON went ashore: I was well received, and conducted as before. But now I found the brother, the chief of the negroes, was arrived with 500 negroes, most armed with fuzes; they told my interpreter, they were assured we were come to force a settlement, or else they would not have denied me what they never before denied any English, viz. wood and water; but if I pleased, I might take in what I wanted under a guard. Finding them in so good a humour, I once more introduced the desire I had to entertain them on board our ships, and with some difficulty prevailed with them, by leaving captain WATSON on shore under their guard, as a hostage. I carried them on board the King's ship; where they were well entertained by captain ORME, who gave the Indian general a fine fuzee of his own, and to the chief of the negroes something that pleased him. Captain ORME assured him of the friendship of the King of England, &c. The negroe chief spoke excellent French, and gave answers with the French compliments. Afterwards I carried

VOL. III.

them on board the duke's sloop, and after opening their hearts with wine, for they scorn'd to drink rum, I thought it a good time to tell them my commission, and what brought me upon their coast. They told me it was well I had not mentioned it a-shore, for their power could not have protected me: that it was impossible; the Dutch had before attempted it, but were glad to retire. 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, that they had drove us from St. Lucia, and that we were come now to endeavour to force a settlement there, and notwithstanding all our specious pretences, when we had power we should enslave them; but declared, they would trust no Europeans: that they owned themselves under the protection of the French, but would as soon oppose their settling amongst them, or any act of force from them, as us, as they had lately given an example, by killing several: and they further told me, it was by very large presents the French ever got in their favour again, but they resolved never to put it in their power, or any European, to hurt them. They advised me to think what they said was an act of friendship. This being all I could get from them, I dismissed them with such presents as his grace ordered for that service, with a discharge of cannon, and received in return as regular volleys of small-shot as I ever heard. In the night the Winchelsea drove from her anchors, which, as soon as I perceived, and had received captain WATSON from the shore, I got under sail, and stood to the man of war. This is a faithful report of all I can recollect.

JOHN BRAITHWAITE.

Upon considering this report, it being adjudged impracticable by Mr. URING, and the duke's friends at Antigua, to fix an English colony at St. Vincent, his grace's stores which remained were put on shore at St. Christopher's, to be disposed of to the best advantage; and Mr. URING returned to England, and gave the duke of Montagu such an account of the expedition, that his grace perfectly approved his conduct.

The gentleman, who wrote the account of this expedition, gives us the following description of the island of St. Lucia, and enumerates some of the advantages that would accrue to Great-Britain by planting it.

St. Lucia, says this writer, is about twenty two miles in length, and eleven broad; the greatest part of it very good land, and in many places hilly, and very rich vallies, very well watered with fine rivers all through the island, which make it exceeding pleasant and delightful; and it must be very healthful, by its being so narrow, and the hills being not so high to intercept the continual trade-winds that always fan it from the eastward, whereby the heat of the climate is mitigated, and made rather agreeable than troublesome. The variety of situations that it affords by the hills and vales, makes it both convenient and delightful, as well as the pleasantness of the prospects; and it is full of tall trees, amongst which are great quantities of good timber fit for building houses and windmills, from whence both Barbadoes and Martinico have been furnished with very great quantities, and are still. The

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cacao

cacao or chocolate nut grows here very well; and there grows also a great deal of fustick, and there is great plenty of wild fowl. It lies west-north-west from the island of Barbadoes about twenty four leagues, south from Martinico about seven leagues, and the same distance north by east from St. Vincent; and hath several good bays and excellent harbours for ships to anchor in, one of which is the Petite Carenage, where we designed the first settlement. This harbour is on the north-west part of the island, and is much the finest and most convenient in all the Caribbee islands. Great numbers of ships may be there safe in all kinds of weather; and it is very commodious for careening ships of war, and other vessels.

If this island had been settled, as was intended by his grace the duke of Montagu, proper forts built, and garrisons placed therein for the protection and defence thereof, it would have been of the greatest importance for the securing the Leeward Islands, and even Barbadoes, from being invaded by France in time of war; for no armament can be made, nor any expedition carried on by the French at Martinico against any of those islands, but must be known at St. Lucia almost as soon as the design is formed, by the nearness of its neighbourhood to that island; from whence likewise Barbadoes and the Leeward islands, might have timely notice to provide for their better defence. If St. Lucia were well inhabited by the English, the people of Martinico would know their interest better than to enter upon any expedition against Barbadoes, or the Leeward Islands, when they had an enemy so near them; for they must need consider, if their men were sent off that island to invade the Leeward Islands, the Barbadians would join the people of St. Lucia, and fall upon Martinico in the absence of their men, which would endanger the loss of that island, or at least the plundering or spoiling of it, and would be more damage to them than any benefit they can propose to themselves by invading the Leeward Islands; and so the same, if their design is against Barbadoes, the Leeward-Island people joining those of St. Lucia, Martinico will be in the same danger; and by that means our plantations in those parts will be intirely secured, by the possession of St. Lucia; and it will always be in the power of the English to disturb the French, and not in the power of the French to hurt the English: But if both nations should sit still, without invading each other, yet St. Lucia will be of the greatest advantage to Great Britain, if it were appointed the place of rendezvous for his Majesty's ships of war, from whence they might continually relieve each other, if need were, and keep always cruising on the French, that they could not be able to have a vessel go in or out of their harbours, but what might be intercepted by the King's ships; and so the trade of our plantations would thereby become secured, and the Martinicans would have no reason to boast, as they did in the late war, that they maintained their islands chiefly by privateering on the English, which is too well known to the merchants that have been traders to those parts. But in case St. Lucia was settled, and proper measures pursued, it would entirely prevent such mischiefs for the future, and the English would soon grow too powerful for the French, who at present have greatly the advantage of the English; and the Leeward Islands are in the greatest danger, in case of a war with France, of being invaded, which the English

planters are most sensible of, and it is what the wisest of them apprehend every day.

Notwithstanding his Majesty's undoubted right to these islands, and the peace and friendship then subsisting between the two crowns, thus unhappily ended the expedition to St. Lucia. An undertaking truly worthy the notice and generous disposition of his grace the duke of Montagu, and the greatest ever undertaken by a subject at his own expence. When we reckon up the vast charge of the ships, with four hundred and twenty-five servants, stores, cannon, ammunition, &c. and the paying more than fifty officers salaries from fifty to four hundred pounds sterling, for a year and a half, besides providing for their daily subsistence in a dear country, and eighty-five tradesmen and artificers, from twenty to thirty pounds wages yearly, which his grace has also paid; we cannot conclude, but it must have cost him forty thousand pounds and upwards. Had it met the success the greatness of the undertaking deserved, by what we may judge from the other Caribbee Islands, it would have very considerably increased the revenue of the crown; and at the same time, would have brought a profit to the nation of two hundred thousand pounds yearly, besides giving an intire security to the other Caribbee Islands, and the trade thither, by the possession of an island, in which only a squadron of his Majesty's ships can remain in the like safety. At present, the Duke of Montagu is the greatest sufferer by this disappointment: and although we are now, blessed be God, in a profound peace with all our neighbours, yet it may be reasonably hoped, from the prudence and foresight of a wise ministry, such measures may be taken, that we may not lose the advantages of these islands (of right belonging to the crown of England) in case of a war.

A continuation of the present state of Lapland.

Monsieur MAUPERTUIS, of the royal academy of sciences at Paris, having lately published, the figure of the earth determined from observations made by order of the French King, has in it some short remarks on Lapland; we have chosen to insert them here; tho' out of their proper place, rather than omit them.

In the desarts we passed between Tornea and Cape Nord, we were exposed to the great flies with green heads, which in this season (July 1736) are so insufferable, as to drive the Laplanders, and their rein-deer, from their habitations, to seek shelter on the coasts of the ocean: They fetch blood wherever they fix. At the foot of the mountain of Horrilakero the flies were still more merciless, and were not to be driven off with smoke, for with great fires they defend themselves from these flies; but we were obliged, notwithstanding the excessive heats, to wrap our heads in our lapmades (a gown made of rein-deer skins) and to cover us with branches of fir, which rather stifled than defended us from these troublesome animals.

The insects poisoned our victuals too: No sooner was a dish of meat served up but it was covered with them, while another swarm, with all the rapaciousness of birds of prey, were fluttering about to carry off some pieces of mutton which were dressing for us. These flies here are so terrible, that the soldiers of the regiment of

Westro-

MAUPERTUIS'S remarks on Lapland.

Westro-Bothnia, a body distinguished even in Sweden, where there are so many brave troops: these men, hardened with the greatest fatigues, were obliged to wrap up their faces, or cover them with tar to defend themselves from them.

Mr. MAUPERTUIS says, in August 1736, for a month past, we had been inhabitants of the defarts, or rather of the mountains tops; the earth or rocks, spread with the skin of a rain-deer, had been our beds; and our food chiefly fishes, that the Finlanders brought us, or which ourselves had caught with some sorts of berries, or wild-fruits, that grew in the woods. I left Turtula to go a-crofs the forest, and find out the signal, which the officer had erected at Niemi, and a frightful journey it was. We set out from Turtula on foot till we got to a brook, where we embarked on three little boats; but they passed with such difficulty between the stones, that we had to go out of them at every turn, and leap from one rock to another: the brook brought us to a lake, so full of little yellowish grains, of the bigness of millet, that the whole water was discoloured with them. I took them to be the chrysalis of some insect, and was tempted to fancy, that this insect must be some kind of those flies that so tormented us: for I could think of no other species of animals, whose numbers corresponded to the quantity of grains, that covered this large body of water. From the extremity of this lake, we had to walk to another of very clear water: here we found a boat, and putting our quadrant on board, resolved to follow it along the side of the lake on foot; but the wood was so thick, that we were forced to cut our way thro' it, and were entangled at every step by the depth of the moss, and fallen fir-trees, that lay a-crofs our road in all these woods. There are almost as many fallen trees as standing. The soil, after it has reared them to a certain height, can no longer furnish the proper nourishment: nor is it deep enough to allow them to take firm root; the least blast of wind oversets them; and in all these woods one sees nothing but firs and birches, rooted out in this manner: the wood of later time reduces to dust, without at all affecting the bark; and one is surprized to find pretty large trees, that crumble upon the slightest touch. This has probably given the hint of the use the Swedes make of it to cover their houses: and, indeed, there could be nothing imagined fitter for the purpose. In some provinces they cover the bark with earth, which forms upon the roof a sort of garden, such as are to be seen upon the houses of Upsal. In Westro-Bothnia the bark is bound with fir-poles, fixed a-top, and hanging down on either side of the roof: our woods then had rather the aspect of the ruins of woods, whose trees have most of them perished; and it was thro' one of these, one of the most horrid of them too, that we must pass, with the twelve foldiers that carried our baggage. Having at length reached a third lake, very large, and the finest water that can be imagined, we put our instruments and baggage on board: two boats we found there, and waited their return upon the coast. The high winds, and bad condition of their boats, rendered their passage tedious, yet they came back at last, and ferried us over to the foot of Niemi, by three o'clock in the afternoon.

The beautiful lakes that surround this mountain, and the many difficulties we had overcome

in getting thither, gave it the air of an enchanted island in a romance; and, indeed, any where but in Lapland, it would be a most delightful place: on one hand, you see a grove of trees rise from a plain, smooth and level as the walks of a garden, and at such easy distances; as neither to embarrass the walks, nor the prospect of the lake that washes the foot of the mountain: on the other, you have apartments of different sizes, that seem artificially cut in the rock, and to want only a roof to compleat them; and the rocks themselves so perpendicular, so high, and so smooth, that you would take them for the walls of an unfinished palace, rather than for the works of nature. From this height, we had occasion several times to see those vapours rise from the lake, which the people of the country call *Haltios*, and which they deem to be the guardian spirits of the mountains: we had been frightened with stories of bears that haunted this place, but saw none; it seemed rather a place of resort for fairies and genii, than for bears. He says, they parted from Turtula the twelfth of August, and entered the *Tenglio* with boats: Its cataracts are troublesome, rather for the little water there is, and the great number of stones, than for the rapidity of its stream. As we sailed along, says MAUPERTUIS, I was surprized to see upon the banks of the river, roses of as lively a red as any that are in our gardens. We reached *Horrilakero* the next day, at nine at night: having gone up to *Avafaxa* in the evening, we saw *Horrilakero* all in flames. It is an accident not uncommon in these woods, where there is no living in the summer time without smoke, and where the moss and firs are so combustible, that a fire once kindled, will spread over some thousands of acres. These fires, or their smoke, have sometimes retarded our observations, as much as the thickness of the air. As this burning of *Horrilakero* had been no doubt occasioned by our not taking sufficient care to extinguish our fires, we dispatched thirty men to cut off its communication with the neighbouring woods; but on the twenty-first, after we had finished our observations at *Avafaxa*, *Horrilakero* was still burning; we saw it involved in a cloud of smoke, and the fire that had made its way downwards, was ravaging all the forest below.

The cold was so extreme in December 1736, that whenever we would taste a little brandy, the only thing that could be kept liquid, our tongues and lips froze to the cup, and came away bloody. The frost even congealed the fingers of some of us, and threatened us with yet more dismal accidents. While the extremities of our bodies were thus freezing, the rest, thro' excessive toil, was bathed in sweat. Brandy did not quench our thirst; we must have recourse to deep wells dug thro' the ice, which were shut almost as soon as open, and from which the water could scarce be conveyed unfrozen to our lips; and must thus run the hazard of the dangerous contrast which icy water might produce in our heated bodies. Judge what it must be to walk in snow two foot deep, with heavy poles in our hands, which we were continually laying upon the snow, and lifting up again.

The sledge which the rain-deer draws here is a sort of boat, scarce large enough to hold the half of one's body. As this travelling in the snow is a kind of navigation, that the vessel may suffer

suffer the less resistance in its course, it has a sharp head, and a narrow keel, like an ordinary boat; and on this keel it tumbles so from side to side, that if one takes not good care to balance himself, it will be in danger of over-setting every moment. It is fixed by a thong to the collar of the rein-deer, who as soon as he finds himself on a firm beaten road, runs with incredible fury. If you would stop him, it avails little to pull a sort of rein which is tied to his horns. Wild and unmanageable, it will only make him turn upon you, and revenge himself by kicking. If this happens to a Laplander, he turns the boat over him, and uses it as a buckler against the attacks of the rein-deer: But as we were strangers to this address, we might have been killed before we could put ourselves in such a posture of defence. Our only defence was a little stick each of us had got in his hand, by way of rudder to steer our course, and keep clear of the trunks of trees. In this manner was I to climb Avafaxa, accompanied by the Abbé OUTHIER, two men and a woman of the country, and Mr. BRUNNIUS, their curate.

The first part of our journey was done in a moment; our flight over the plain beaten road, from the curate's house to the foot of the mountain, can be compared only to that of birds. And tho' the mountain, where there was no track, very much abated the speed of our rein-deer, they got at length to the top of it, where we immediately made the observation for which we came. In the mean time our rein-deer had dug deep holes in the snow, where they browsed the moss that covered the rocks. And the Laplanders had lighted a great fire, at which we presently joined them to warm ourselves. The cold was so exceeding great, that the heat of this fire could reach but to a very small distance. As the snow just by it melted, it was immediately froze again, forming a hearth of ice all round.

If our journey up hill had been painful, our concern now was, lest our return should be too rapid. We had to come down a steep, in conveyances, which, tho' partly sunk in the snow, slid on, notwithstanding drawn by animals, whose fury in the plain we had already tried, and who tho' sinking in the snow to their bellies, would endeavour to free themselves by the swiftness of their flight. We very soon found ourselves at the bottom of the hill; a moment after all this great river was crossed, and we back at the curate's house.

The town of Tornea, at our arrival on the 30th of December, had really a most frightful aspect. Its little houses were buried to the tops in snow; which, if there had been any day-light, must have effectually shut it out. But the snows continually falling, or ready to fall, for the most part hid the sun the few moments that he might have shewed himself at mid-day. In the month of January, the cold was increased to that extre-

mity, that Mr. REAUMUR's mercurial thermometers, which at Paris, in the great frost of 1709, it was thought strange to see fall to 14 degrees below the freezing point, were now got down to 37. The spirit of wine in the others was frozen. If we opened the door of a warm room, the external air instantly converted all the vapour in it into snow, whirling it round in white vortexes. If we went abroad, we felt as if the air was tearing our breasts in pieces. And the cracking of the wood, whereof the houses are built, as the violence of the cold split it, continually alarmed us with an approaching increase of cold. The solitude of the streets was no less than if the inhabitants had been all dead. And in this country you may often see people that have been maimed, and had an arm or a leg froze off. The cold, which is always very great, increases sometimes by such violent and sudden fits, as are almost infallibly fatal to those that happen to be exposed to it. Sometimes there rise sudden tempests of snow that are still more dangerous. The winds seem to blow from all quarters at once, and drive about the snow with such fury, that in a moment all the roads are lost. Unhappy he, who is surprised by such a storm in the fields. His acquaintance with the country, or the marks he may have taken by the trees, cannot avail him; he is blinded by the snow, and lost if he stirs but a step.

During our whole stay in the frigid zone, the cold was so excessive, that the 7th of April 1737, at five in the morning, the thermometer was fallen to twenty divisions below the point of freezing, altho' every afternoon it rose two or three divisions above it: A difference of height not much less than that which the greatest heats and colds that are felt at Paris, usually produce in the thermometer. Here, in the space of twelve hours, we had all the variety that is felt in the temperate zones in a whole year.

In May the sun was come nearer, or rather no more quitted us. It was curious enough to see him enlighten, for so long a time, a whole horizon of ice, and to see summer in the heavens, while winter still kept possession of the earth. We were now in the morning of that long day of several months; yet the sun, with all his assiduity, had wrought no change either upon the ice or snows.

The 6th of May it began to rain, and some water appeared on the ice of the river. At noon a little snow melted; but in the evening winter resumed his rights. At length, on the 10th of May, the earth, which had been so long hid, began to appear. Some high points that were exposed to the sun, shewed themselves as the tops of the mountains did after the deluge, and all the fowls of the country returned. Towards the beginning of June (1737) winter yielded up both earth and sea; and we set out for Stockholm on the ninth, having finished our observations here.

The End of the Third Volume.

I N D E X.

A.	
A B E X , a country of Africa, on the Coast of the Red Sea	7
Abyssinia. See Ethiopia.	2
Acadie, or New Scotland, a British Colony	525
Acapulco port in Mexico	160
Acomac county in Virginia	410
Aera, a British Colony in Guinea	117
AFRICA , the situation and extent	1
Contained several considerable kingdoms and states antiently	ibid.
The different people who inhabit it at present	2, 110
African Arabs	60
African islands	87
African history	97
Africa, or El Milidia, a port town of Tunis	84
Agonna town in Guinea	39
Asian, or Anian, a maritime country in Africa	7
Alampo town in Guinea	39
Albany town in New York	556
Albany fort in Hudson's Bay in North America	527
ALGIERS kingdom	70, 126
Algiers city, capital of the kingdom of Algiers	71
Government of Algiers	72
Forces of the Algerines by sea and land	73
The Dey chosen by the Turkish Soldiers	75
Taverns kept by the christian slaves here	ibid.
Turks of Algiers drink wine	76
The air and seasons in Algiers	126
Produce of the soil	129
Their animals	130
Genius of the natives	131
Buildings and camps	132
Cloathing, furniture, and manufactures	133
Superstitions of the Algerines	134
Government of the Arabs of Algiers	135
ALMAGRO , sen. his conquest in Peru	301
Almaria port in Algiers	71
Alvarado river in Mexico	157
ALVARADO , one of the generals employed in the reduction of Mexico, his cruelties	198
Amapalla city and bay	156, 164
Amazon country and river in South America	380
Ambara, a town and province of Abyssinia, or Ethiopia superior	3
Amber liquid	211
Amber oil	ibid.
Ambergris described	487
AMERICA , situation and extent	138, 615
By whom first planted	139
Discovered lately by COLUMBUS	141
Father discovered by AMERICUS VESPUTIUS	153
CABOT's discoveries of America for the Crown of England	ibid.
VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA discovers the South Sea and Peru for the Spaniards	ibid.
CORTEZ conquers Mexico for the Spaniards	154
The several grand divisions of America	155
AMERICUS VESPUTIUS	153
AMILCAR, general of the Carthaginians	102
Amsterdam in Guinea	39
Anaboa, a British Colony in Guinea	ibid.
Anabon, an African Island	92
Ancober, an African River	108
Andes, mountains of America	344
Andelusia, a province of South America	254
Angelos, a Mexican town	161
Angola, city of Chili	348
Angola, kingdom in Africa	37
Angra, capital of the Azores	97
Anne Arundel county, in Maryland	472
Annapolis, capital of Maryland	ibid.
Annapolis, or Port Royal, capital of Acadie, or New Scotland	525
Ante, a province of Guinea	39
Antego Island	591
Antecosta Island	610
Anthony fort in Guinea	39
Antonio, a rivell of Brasil	398
Apalachian mountains in North America	593
Arabs of Africa	66, 132, 135
Arauco town and country in Chili	348
Ardra town and country of Guinea	39
Arebo town in Guinea	ibid.
Ariquipa, an American town	274
Arica, a port town of South America	267
Aruba, an American island	259
Ascension, an African island	91
ASDUBAL, general of Carthage	102
Alafran, a river of Algiers	70
Assembly of Virginia	455
Assiento Contract	219
Assumption town in South America	376
Atlas mount in Africa	127
Audiences, grand divisions of Spanish America	158
AVERY, a notable pyrate	89
Aves, an American island	259
Augustin cape and harbour in Brasil	396
Awerri, a town of Guinea	39
Axim, a town and territory of Guinea	ibid.
Azores, or the western islands in the Atlantic Ocean	96
B.	
BABMANDEL island and strait at the entrance of the Red Sea	87
BACON's rebellion in Virginia	445
Bahama islands in the American Ocean	598
Bahia, or bay of All Saints in Brazil	396
Bajador cape in Africa	46
Baldivia city and river in Chili	346
Balsam of Peru	211
Baltimore county in Maryland	472
Bambou cane	209
Banane fruit	210
Baranea, a town in America	252
Barbadoes island described	587
BARBAROSSA Admiral, first Turkish King of Algiers	79
Barbary coast described	128
Barbara St. a town of Mexico	158
Burbuda island	599
Barca defart	84
Bark Peruvian	285
Barlavento fleet	218
Barnstable town and county in New England	484
Burrah, a country of Negroland in Africa	109
Barfally, a country on the river Gambia in Africa	109, 113
Bartholomew island	608
Bastimento islands	248
Baths Turkish	85
Battenstein fort in Guinea	39
Beavers described	542, 413
Beaufort town in Carolina	564
Benin, a city and country of Guinea	38
Bermudas islands in the American Ocean	599
Biledulgerid territory in Africa	60
Biscay New, a Mexican province	158
Blanco Cape in the Pacific Ocean	156
55 X	Block

Block isle near New England	485	Caracas, city and province of Terra Firma in South America	252
Blood wood used in dying	208	Cardinal, a Mexican bird	204
Bobio, a river of Chili	346	CAROLINA, a British Plantation in South America, its situation and extent	562
Bonaventura river in America	258	Seas, rivers, and climate	563
Bonaire island in America	259	Grand divisions	564
Bona port town in Algiers	72	Animals and vegetables	565
Boston, capital of New England	500, 482	Manufactures, produce, and traffick	566, 568
Bourbon island in Africa	88	The history of Carolina	569
B R A S I L, in South America, subject to Portugal, its situation and extent	ibid.	Six of their Chiefs brought to England	571
Seas, lakes, rivers, harbours, and capes	ibid.	Georgia, the southern part of Carolina, erected into a province, and colony carried over thither by Mr. OGLETHORPE	572
Provinces and chief towns	395	An Alliance concluded with the Creeks and other Indian Nations	ibid.
Produce of Brasil	396	CARTHAGE, planted by a colony of the Phenicians	97
Trade and shipping	397	Their wars with the Natives	98
Manufactures, in which they employ their Negro slaves	398	Their conquests in Spain and Sardinia	ibid.
Mines of gold, diamonds, and other precious stones	399	Their wars with the Romans in Sicily, styled the first Punick War	99
Persons and habits of the natives, their genius and temper	ibid.	The second Punick War	103
Animals of Brasil	400	The third Punick War	106
Fruits and other vegetables at Brasil	401	Carthage destroyed, and their dominions subdu'd by the Romans	107, 108
The history of Brasil	402	Carthage town in Mexico	165
Canibals	ibid.	Carthage ruins	84, 136
Religion, government, and forces	403, 405	Carthaginian history	97
Breton Cape island	609	Caribiana and Caribbees	107, 255
Brewer's Harbour in Chili	359	Carthagena city and province in South America	251
Britain New	526	Cartaret Cape in Carolina	563
British Plantations	406	Cassavi Root, an American plant, of which they make bread	212
Britain New in America	526	Castro town in Chili	348, 365
Bristol town and county in New England	485	Catoch Cape	156
British Plantations in America	406	CAUPOLICAN, general of the Chilese	355
Brucoe, a town of Africa on the river Gambia	109	Caxamalca town in Peru	271
Buccaniers, their original	245	Cayenne, a french town and island in South America	255
Bugia, a city of Algiers	70	Cecil county in Maryland	472
Brittons Bay in America	527	Cenu, a town of Terra Firma in South America	251
Buenos Ayres, a port town in the river of Plate, in South America	376	Ceuta, a port town on the coast of Barbary	60
Burlington town in New Jersey	556	Chagre, a castle and river in Darien	241
Byferta, the antient Utica, a port town of Tunis	84	Chametlan, a province of Mexico	158
C.			
CABBAGE Tree described	209	Champlain Lake in Canada	550
CABOT's discoveries of the coast of North America for the King of England	153	Charcas Audience in Peru	274
Cacao, or the Chocolate Tree described	209	Charles Town, capital of Carolina	564
Caen, a country on the river Gambia in Africa	109	Charles Cape, at the entrance of the bay of Chesapeake in Virginia	407
CAFFRARIA, or the country of the Hottentots situation and extent	9	Charles county in Maryland	472
The several Hottentot nations	10	Charles fort in Hudson's Bay	527
Their persons and habits	11	Charter governments in British America	509, 512, 520
Government of the Hottentots	13	Cheapo town and river in Terra Firma	241, 247
Their wars	16	Chepelio island in America	249
Their women and marriages	17, 18	Chesapeake Bay in Virginia	407
Their religion	20	Chester town and county in Pensilvania	558
Their parents exposed	24	Chiapa, a city and province in Mexico	163
Their manufactures and traffick	26, 27	CHIAPA Bishop, his relation of the Spanish cruelties in Mexico	197
The Dutch town and government at the Cape	28	Chico, a river of Chili	346
A rich soil, which produces most of the plants and fruits of Europe, Asia, and America, and particularly excellent Wine	30, 31, 32	CHILI, a Spanish province in South America, its situation and extent	343
The animals of Caffraria	32	Andes or Cordeleiros, the highest mountains in the world, run thro' Chili and Peru	344
Calabash Gourd	209	The lakes, rivers, winds, and seasons of Chili	345
California, a country of North America	237	The provinces and chief towns of Chili	347
Callao Port in Peru	267	The animals, plants, and fruits of Chili	351
Calvert county in Maryland	472	The history of Chili	353, 369
Cambridge in New England	484	The Dutch attempt to settle colonies in Chili	357
Camels, useful animals	68	Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH sent by King CHARLES II. to discover the coast of Chili	359
Cameron, cape and river	38, 156	Chiloe island on the coast of Chili	348
Campeachy bay and town	156, 163	China Root	212
Canary islands described	93	Chiquito town	365
Canada, a country in North America	549, 551	Chiriquin town in Mexico	165
Cannibals	123	Christianburgh fort in Guinea	39
Cannae battle	104	Christopher's island, one of the Caribbees	591
Canso town in Acadia	525	Christopher's St. capital of the island of Teneriff	94
Cape Henry and Cape Charles form the entrance of the bay of Chesapeake	407	Chuche island in Terra Firma	249
Cape Coast Castle, capital of the British Settlements in Guinea	39	Churchill fort in Hudson's Bay	532, 544
Cape of Good Hope, the most southern promontory of Africa. See Caffraria.	9	Cinabar Mines in America	289
Cape Verd in Africa	58	Cinacloa city and province in America	158
Cape Verd Islands	92	Chair lake in Canada	550
Caravans of Morocco	69	Clara	

INDEX.

Clara island on the coast of Peru	266	Emeralds of Mexico	215
Cochineel Fly	206	Eric lake in Canada	550
Colima town in Mexico	161	Essex county in Virginia	410
Cold, the surprizing effects of it	529	ETHIOPIA Superior, a country of Africa, its situation and extent	2
Comannia territory in Guinea	29	River Nile	ibid.
Comana city in South America	254	Produce of the soil	3
Comorro islands on the coast of Africa	88	Animals	ibid.
Compostella town in America	159	The air and seasons	ibid.
Comfort Cape in Virginia	434	Persons and habits of the Ethiopians	ibid.
Conception town in Mexico	105	Manufactures and traffick	4
Conception, a town of Terra Firma	247	Their Emperor, stiled PRESTER JOHN, the constitution of the government	4
Conception, a city in Hispaniola	387	Their laws and religion	5
Conception River in Terra Firma	241	Eustace island, one of the Caribbees	609
Concededo Cape	156		
Congo River in Terra Firma	241		
Congo kingdom and river in Africa	37		
Conradsburgh in Guinea	39		
Constantina, a city and territory in Algiers	70, 72		
Connecticut colony in New England	485, 500		
Corvo, an island of the Azores	97		
Copal Gum	335		
Copiapo port in Peru	267, 348		
Copiapo river in Chili	345		
Coquimbo port and river in Chili	267, 346, 347		
Cordoua, a town of La Plata	375		
Corientes Cape	156		
Corn Indian, or Maes	492		
Coronado, a river of Chili	346		
CORTES, his conquest of Mexico. See Mexico	172		
Cosma port in Peru	267		
Costa Rica, a province of Mexico	164		
Cotton Tree described	208		
Cozumel, an island of Mexico	163		
Crevicæur fort in Guinea	99		
Croatan island	427		
Crocodiles described	203		
Crown mountains in North America	165		
Cuba island described	384		
Culiacan city and province in Mexico	158		
Cumbo, a country at the mouth of the river Gambia in Africa	109		
Curassow island in America	259		
Cusco, capital of the Empire of Peru	314		
Cuscusu, an African dish	137		
Cuyo, a province of Chili	148		
		FAIRFIELD town and county in New England	485
		Faith St. a city of La Plata	376
		Farino, a port town of Tunis	84
		Fatatenda, a settlement of the African Company's, on the river Gambia	109
		Fayal, an island of the Azores	97
		Fear, a cape of carolina	563
		Fernando John, an island of the Pacific Ocean	365
		Fernandopo, an island of Guinea	92
		Ferro, one of the Canary Islands	93
		Fe St. capital of New Mexico	230
		Fez, the capital of the empire of Morocco	61
		Fida, or Whida, a kingdom of Guinea	39
		Fishing Hawks of America	205
		Sloops, a nation of Africa, on the river Gambia	110
		Flores, an island of the Azores	97
		Florida, a country of North America	155
		French settlements there	ibid.
		Fruits Mexican	209
		Fly Shining	206
		Fonia, a country on the river Gambia in Africa	109
		Formosa, a river of Guinea	38
		Forteventura, one of the Canary Islands	95
		Francisco Cape in South America	258
		Francis town and cape in the island of Hispaniola	387
		Frederickburgh, a Prussian settlement in Guinea	39
		French colonies in Hispaniola	188

D.

D AHOME Kingdom in Guinea	121	Frontinac lake in Canada	96
Dambea, a province of Abyssinia, or Ethiopia		Funchal, capital of the Madeira Islands	
Superior	3	G.	
Dangala, the capital city of Nubia	7	G ADIBU, a country on the river Gambia in	
Darien province in Terra Firma	240	Africa	108, 111
Darien river	241	Galera Island in Terra Firma	249
Deer, Peruvian	283	Galleons, their course to and from America	218
D'Elmina, capital of the Dutch Settlements in Guinea	39	Gallo Island in the South Sea	258
Delawar river in Pensilvania	557, 550	Gambia River in Africa	
Desire, a port in Patagonia	360	GATES, Sir THOMAS, cast away on the islands of	
Defiada, one of the Caribbee Islands	608	Bermudas	436
Diamond Mines in Brasil	399	Georgia, a British Colony in America	564
DIDO, founder of Carthage	97	George town in Carolina	ibid.
DOBBS and MIDDLETON, their dispute about the		George, St. a river of Maryland	471
North West Passage	534	German town in Pensilvania	558
Dogs wild, hunt in packs	33	Giants, American	256
Dominica, one of the Caribbee Isles	590	Gibraltar, a town of Terra Firma in America	252
Domingo, capital of Hispaniola	387	Gigeri, a town of Algiers	72
DONNA MARIA, concubine and interpreter to		Gallifree, a settlement of the African Company on the	
CORTEZ	175	river Gambia	109
Dorada, a river of Africa	60	Giron's Rebellion in Peru	335
Dorchester county in Maryland	472	Gloucester town and county in Virginia	409
Dover, a town of Pensilvania	558	Goats, Peruvian	283
DRAKE's expedition to Porto Rico, he brings home		GOD, the peruvian notion of him	291, 297
the English Colony from Roanoak in Carolina	390, 427	Gold Coast of Guinea	39
Drugs and Gums Mexican	211	Gold of Peru	287
Durango town in Mexico	158	Golden river and island in Darien	241, 248
Dutch attempt to settle colonies in Chili	357	Goletta island and town near Tunis	84
Dutch reduce part of Brasil	404	Gold Mines of Mexico	211

E.

E DINBURGH New, a scottish colony on the	250	Gorgona island in the Pacific Ocean	250
Isthmus of Darien	247	Gourds, Mexican	211
Egypt	2	Granada city and province of Mexico	164
Elizabeth county in Virginia	409	Granada Island, one of the Caribbees in America	608
Elizabeth island on the coast of New England	485	Granada, a province of Terra Firma	257
Elizabeth, a port town of New Jersey in America	556	Granadilla, a Mexican fruit	211
		Grande river in Terra Firma	257

I N D E X.

Grande, a river of Africa	58	James town in Virginia	408
Gratia Dios, a port town and cape of Mexico	156, 164	Jemarrow, a country of Africa on the river Gambia	109
Gratiotia, an island of the Azores	97	Jersey New, a plantation in America	550, 556
GREENVILLE, Sir EDWARD, conducts a colony to Virginia	426	Illinois lake, in Canada	556
Guadalajara audience and city in Mexico	158	Ilheos city, province, and river of Brasil	398
Guadilbarbar river divides Tunis from Tripoli	84	Imperial, a city and river of Chili	346, 347
Guadalupe, one of the Islands of the Caribbees	608	Inca's, Emperors of Peru	290
Guamanga city in Peru	271	Indian Corn describ'd	421
Guanuco city in Peru	ibid.	Indians cruelly treated by the Spaniards	197, 199
Guanacastro port town of Peru	261	Joar, a settlement of the African Company near the river Gambia	109
Guasco, a port town and river of Chili	346, 348	Johanna, an African island	88
Guaxaca province and city of Mexico	162	Jolloifs, a nation of Africa on the river Gambia	110
Guayra, a province of La Plata	375	Jolloifs, an African nation	ibid.
Guano, a Mexican animal	261	Iroquois Indians	549, 551, 552
Guatemala audience and city	163	Itata, a lake and river of Chili	346
Guava, a tropical fruit	210	Juan Fernando island in the Pacific Ocean	366
Gums and drugs of Mexico	211	Jucatan, a province of Mexico	163
Guaiacum, a Mexican drug	212	Julian port in South America	360
Guiana, or Caribiana, a province of Terra Firma	255		
Guiaquil, a port town and river of Peru	266, 269	K.	
GUINEA, a country of Africa. Its situation, extent, and subdivisions	38	KENT, a county in Virginia	409
The air and seasons	39	Keowee, an Indian town in Carolina	565
Negroes, Mulatto's, and other inhabitants	40	King William county in Virginia	409
Their elephants and other animals	41	King and Queen county in Virginia	ibid.
Slaves, gold, ivory, and other produce of Guinea	44	L.	
Their traffick, and the value of it calculated	45	LAKES of Mexico	160
The Dutch endeavour to drive the English from the Guinea Coast	47	Lakes of Peru	267
The constitution of the several governments on the Guinea Coast	49	Lancaster county in Virginia	410
The religion of the Negroes	51, 53	Lanos, Peruvian Plains	264
Their respective languages	57	Lancerotta, one of the Canary Islands	95
An enquiry into the reason of the dark complexion of the Negroes	59	Leg-worms	205
The ancient history of Africa	97	Lempa, a river of Mexico	157
French factories on the river Senegal in Guinea	108	Leon, an American town	104
English factories on the river Gambia in Guinea	108	Lewis Port in Hispaniola	387
The several nations inhabiting the banks of those rivers	109	Lexa, a Mexican town	164
The traffick of the Europeans with that people	112	Dewes, a town of Pensilvania	558
The tyranny of the English Governors on the Guinea coast, and the wretched condition of the factors for the African Company	116, 117	Lima Audience in South America	170
Merchandise proper for the Guinea Coast, and the best method of feeding and managing their slaves	119, 120	Lima, capital of Peru	316
The conquest of part of Guinea by the King of Dahome	121	Loanda, capital of Congo in Africa	37
		Loango, a city and territory of Congo in Africa	37, 125
H.		Locust Insect	131
HAMPSHIRE New in America	501	Locust Fruit	211
HANNIBAL, general of Carthage	102	Logane port in Hispaniola	387
Hartegol, a river of Algiers	70	Logwood countries	208, 219
Hatteras Cape in Carolina	563	London New, a town and county of New England	485
Havanna Port in Cuba	385	Long Island in New York	556
Helena, St. an African island, subject to England	89	Lorenzo Cape in America	266
Helena Cape on the Coast of Peru	266	Louisiana in America	604
Henry Cape at the entrance of the bay of Chesapeake in Virginia	467	Louisburgh, capital of Cape Breton	616
Henrico county in Virginia	469	Loyal town in Peru	270
Hertford town and county in New England	485	Lucia, one of the Caribbee Islands	590
Hispaniola Island	387	LUGNE, a Peruvian adventurer	301
Honduras province in Mexico	164	M.	
Honduras Bay	156	MACCAW, a Mexican Bird	204
Hudson's Bay in America	542, 526	Madagascar, the largest of the African islands	88
Hudsons River in New York	550	Madeira's African islands	95
Human sacrifices	230, 278	Madregal, a town of South America	258
Humming Bird, an American animal	418	Madre de Popa, a town of Terra Firma	251
Huron lake in Canada	550, 551	Madodoxa, a city and territory on the east coast of Africa	8
J.		Magheytree, an American plant	209
JAGO, St. one of the islands of Cape Verd	92	Magdalena, an American river	251
Jago, capital of Chili	347	Magellanic Strait	257
Jago, capital of Cuba	385	Maho tree, an America plant	209
Jago, St. a town of La Plata	375	Maine Province in New England	484
Jago, St. a river of South America	258	Major, a river of Algiers	70
Jagra, a country of Africa on the river Gambia	109	Mammee tree and fruit	210
Jamaica, a British American Island	577	Mannatee fish describ'd	206
James river in Virginia	407	Manchineel tree and fruit	211
James fort and island in the mouth of the river Gambia in Africa	58, 108	Mangrove trees describ'd	208
		Marcafites describ'd	287
		Maricaibo city and lake in Terra Firma	252
		Margaretta, an island of South America	259
		Marignan, a city and province of Brasil	394
		Martha's Vineyard, an island of New England	485
		Martha, St. a province and city of South America	251
		Maralquivir, or Almarfan, a port town of Algiers, in possession of the Spaniards	71
		Martinico, an island of the Caribbees	608
		Martin's Island, one of the Caribbees	609
		Mary's	

I N D E X.

Mary's, St. a town and county in Maryland	472	He takes the city of Panama in the South Sea	245
MARYLAND, a British plantation in America, the situation and extent of it	470	Moors of Africa, their way of life	132
The rivers, air, and seasons	471	Moose deer described	486
Provinces and chief towns	472	MOROCCO empire, situation and extent; the ancient Mauritania Tingitania	60
The genius, temper, and habits of the Indians	473	Rivers and port towns	60
Their employments, hunting, fishing, and fowling	474	Air and seasons	61
The history of the country	476	Provinces and chief towns	ibid.
The constitution of the government	477	Character of the Moors and Arabs of Morocco	66
A college erected for the education of the Indians of Virginia and Maryland	480	Constitution, forces and revenues	67
Marygalante, one of the Caribbee Islands	608	Animals of Morocco	68
MASSINISSA, king of Numidia	105	Produce of the soil	ibid.
Massachusetts Colony, the chief province of N. England	483	Traffick by Caravans	64, 69
Matapan, a country on the west coast of Africa	37	Religion of Morocco	69
Matthew, St. an African island	91	Their marriages and unnatural lusts	70
Maule, a river of Chili	346	Mosquito Indians	171
Mauritania, a country of Africa	60	Mosquito flies	205
Maurice river in America	550	Mozambique city and territory, on the east coast of Africa	8
Mauritius, an African Island	88	Mustagan, a town of Algiers	71
May Cape, at the entrance of Delaware River in America	549	Mulvia, a river of Algiers	70
Maypoco, a river of Chili	346	Mundingoos, a nation of Africa, on the river Gambia	110
Mayo, one of the Cape Verd Islands	92		
Mechoacan province and city	161	N	
Megarada, a river of Tunis	84	Nanfamund, a county of Virginia	409
Melinda, a town and territory on the east coast of Africa	8	Nantucket island, in New-England	485
Mendoza, a town of Chili	148	NARBOROUGH Captain, his voyage to Chili, in South America	359
Mequinez, a city of Morocco	61	NARVAEZ, a Spanish general employed in the conquest of Mexico	188
Merida, a town of Mexico	163	Nassau, a Dutch fort in Guinea	39
Metafus, a town of Algiers	72	Nata, a port town of Terra Firma	247
MEXICO, containing most of the Spanish dominions in North America, its situation and extent	156	Natal Terra, a country on the south east coast of Africa	36
Seas, lakes and rivers	156	Navidad, a Mexican town	161
The winds, tides and seasons	157	Negroes and their country described	53, 110
Provinces and chief towns	158	Negroes states in Mexico	167
Mexico the Metropolis	159	Nelson's fort in Hudson's bay	527, 544
The persons and habits of the Mexicans	167	Nevis, one of the Caribbee islands	591
The genius and temper of the several nations	168	New Britain. See Britain	527
The conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards	172	NEW ENGLAND, situation and extent	482, 615
CORTEZ made captain general in the invasion of Mexico	173	Rivers, winds and tides	483
He arrives at the island of Cozumel, on the coast of Yucatan: his whole force but five hundred foot and sixteen troopers	173	Grand divisions of New England	ibid.
He lands at Tabasco on the continent of Mexico, and receives an ambassador from the emperor MONTEZUMA	175	1. Massachusetts colony	ibid.
The state of that empire when the Spaniards arrived there	176	2. New Hampshire	485
CORTEZ burns his ships	178	3. Connecticut colony	ibid.
He arrives at Mexico, the metropolis, where he has an interview with MONTEZUMA	183	4. Rhode island and Providence plantation	ibid.
CORTEZ seizes the person of MONTEZUMA and lays him in irons	186	The persons and habits, genius and temper of the natives	486
The Spaniards plunder Mexico and massacre great numbers of the inhabitants, which occasions a general insurrection, and the Spaniards are driven out of the city, but murder MONTEZUMA and his sons in their retreat	192	New England animals	487
Mexico New	236	The whale fishery there	489
Michael's St. an island of the Azores	96	New England fruits and other vegetables	491
Michael's St. a port town of Mexico	164	Trade and manufactures of New-England and other northern colonies	560, 561, 492, 493, 494
Middlesex county in Virginia	409	New England history	495
Middlesex county in New England	484	Two companies empowered to trade thither by a patent of King JAMES I. anno 1606	495
Middleton's attempt to discover a north-west passage	528, 533	The sectaries resort to New England	496
Mines of gold and silver in Mexico	213	They settle first at Plymouth, and enter into an alliance with the natives	496, 497
Mines of gold, silver, quicksilver and cinabar, in Peru	287	Divisions among the first planters on account of religion	498, 502
Mines of gold and silver in Chili	352	Massachusetts colony settled	498
Mines of gold and diamonds in Brasil	399	They refuse to tolerate the members of the church of England	499, 503
Mines of copper and iron in Virginia	468	Boston, the capital city, founded	500
Miquinez, a city of Morocco	65	Connecticut colony founded	ibid.
Mohawk country and river, in Canada	550	Hampshire and Maine colonies founded	501
Mombaza city and territory, on the east coast of Africa	8	War between the planters and the natives, called the Pequot war	ibid.
Mongale, an African town	ibid.	The New England sectaries persecute and banish one another	502
Monomotopa kingdom in the south of Africa	37	Some of the New England planters return to England and promote the grand rebellion, anno 1641	502
Monomuegi kingdom in the south of Africa	ibid.	Quakers put to death by the New England Independents	504
MONTEZUMA emperor of Mexico, his character; he is murdered by the Spaniards	183, 192	King CHARLES II. commands the Independents to put a stop to their persecutions	505
Montserrat, one of the Caribbee islands	591	A general conspiracy of the Indians against the English	507
Montreal a town of French Canada	604	A war commences thereupon	508, 510
MORGAN Sir HARRY, his enterprises against Spanish America	241	An expedition against Annapolis, or Port Royal, in Acadie, by Sir WILLIAM PIPPS	510
He takes Porto Bello on the isthmus of Darien with four hundred and sixty men	242	Taken by Sir WILLIAM, but yielded to the French by the treaty of Ryfwick	511
He takes the towns of Maricao and Gibraltar, on the lake of Maricao in Terra Firma	243	The reduction of Canada attempted by the people of New England, commanded by Sir WILLIAM PIPPS	511
VOL. III.		25 Y	Charters

I N D E X.

Charters of the New England colonies surrendered, and others granted	509, 512	Parana province in South America	375
The New England people hang one another for witches	513	Paria, a Peruvian lake	267
The success of the Popish missionaries in making profelytes among the native Indians	518	Paria, a city, province, and river of Brasil	395
The government of New England attack Port Royal, or Annapolis, in Acadie, and take it	518	Parayba city, province and river of Brasil	395
An expedition against Quebec and Canada, miscarries	519	Paracood, an American fish	206
Acadie and the fisheries yielded to Great-Britain by the treaty of Utrecht	519	Passao Cape in the South Sea	258
The traffick of New England detrimental to the trade of Old England	520	Pasto, a town of South America	ibid.
The administration of the government in New England and the rest of the plantations	520	Patagonia, the southern division of America	360
A project to unite the British colonies under one Viceroy	521	Patience, a Dutch fort in Guinea	39
The laws of New England and the administration of them	522	Patomac river in Virginia	407, 471
The difference between charter governments and royal governments	524	Patuxent, a river of Maryland	471
Money of New-England	ibid.	Pauls St. a mine town of Brasil	398
Forces of New-England and the rest of the northern colonies	562	Pawawers, Indian conjurers	257
Newcastle town and county in Pensylvania	558	Payta port in Peru	266, 270
Newbury town in New England	484	Paz, a city of Peru	275
New Hampshire, a province of New England	485	Peak of Tenerif, one of the highest mountains in the world	93
Newhaven town and county in New England	ibid.	Peak and Roanoak, American money	467
Newport, capital of Rhode island in New England	ibid.	Pearl islands in America	249
New Scotland. See Scotland and Acadie	525	Pearls Mexican	207
Newfoundland described	600	Peccaree, Indian swine	201
Niagara cataract in Canada	550	Pelican, an American fowl	204
Nicaragua city, province and lake in Mexico	164, 156	PENSYLVANIA, a British plantation in America, its situation and extent	557
Niger, a river of Africa	58	Counties and chief towns	ibid.
Nigritia, or Negroland	ibid.	History of Pensylvania	558
Nicoya, a city of Mexico	164	Produce and traffick of Pensylvania and the rest of the northern colonies	560, 561
Nile, a river which rises in Ethiopia, and runs through Egypt, which it annually overflows	2	The forces of the northern colonies	562
Nombre de Dios, a town of Mexico	158, 248	Pequot war	501
Norfolk county in Virginia	409	Pernambuco, a province of Brasil	395
Northampton county in Virginia	410	Perthamboy, a port town of New Jersey	556
Northumberland county in Virginia	ibid.	PERUVIAN empire; the situation and extent	264
North river in Mexico	157	Its seas, winds and seasons, lakes and rivers	265
North west passage attempted	528	Grand divisions of Peru	269
Nova Scotia and its fisheries	525	Their persons and habits, genius and temper	276, 277
Nubia, a country of Africa, the present state of it	7	Arts and sciences	279
O.		Peruvian animals	282
OGLETHORPE carries the first planters to Georgia	572	Peruvian vegetables	285
Onnda city in Brasil	596	Peruvian bark	ibid.
Onandaga country and river in America	550	Peruvian balsams and drugs	286
Ontario lake in Canada	ibid.	Their mines of gold, silver, quicksilver and cinabar	287, 288
Opoffum, a Mexican animal	201	Their emeralds, pearls and precious stones	289
OPPACONCANOUGH, King of Virginia	442	Religion of Peru	ibid.
Oran, a town of Algiers, possessed by Spain	71	Constitution of their government	292
Orange, a Dutch fort in Guinea	39	Their history	289, 340
Oratavia, a port town on the island of Teneriff	94	Peru invaded by PIZARRO the Spanish general	304
Orchilla, an American island	259	The Peruvians surprised and massacred by the Spaniards, and their Inca or Emperor made prisoner	309
Orellana's voyage on the river Amazon, cross South America	382, 383	Don DIEGO DE ALMAGRO another Spanish general reinforces PIZARRO	310
Oromante town in Chili	148	The Spaniards murder the emperor of Peru	312
Oronoque river in South America	254, 257	The Spaniards possess themselves of the capital city of Cusco	314
Osorno, a port town of Chili	348	Their cruel usage of the Peruvians	317
Otoque, an American island	249	The invaders fall out about dividing the country, and make war on one another	322
Otumba, in North America, a battle fought there	192	ALMAGRO put to death by PIZARRO	324
Ourong Outang monkey	117	ORELLANA's voyage from Peru to the Atlantic ocean down the river Amazon, being quite cross America	325
Oxford town and county in Pensylvania	558	PIZARRO the other Peruvian invader assassinated by the Almagrians	326
Oysters producing pearl	215	PIZARRO's brother revenges himself on the Almagrians, and puts young ALMAGRO to death	328
P.		PIZARRO's brother reduces most of Peru under his obedience, and puts to death the Viceroy sent against him from Spain, but is at length taken and beheaded	333
PACAHUNTA, an Indian Princess, a friend to the first Virginian planters	435	The Peruvian women, their marriages, children and slaves	338
Pachuca city in Mexico	161	The state of Peru when the Spaniards first arrived there	340
Paco's Peruvian sheep	282	Petitguaves, a French port in Hispaniola	387
Palma town in New Granada	258	Philadelphia, city capital of Pensylvania	557
Palma, capital of the Canary islands	95	Pholeys, a nation of Africa, on the river Gambia	110
Palma, one of the Canary islands	93	Pine apples described	210
Palmas Cape on the coast of Guinea	39	Pines island in America	248
Pampa, desarts of Chili	353	Pisca, a port town of Peru	271
Pampeluna city in New Granada	258	Piscataway, a river and country of New England	485
Panama, a port town of Darien	241	PIZARRO, conqueror of Peru	301
Panama bay and islands	249	Plantain, a tropical fruit	210
Panuco river in Mexico	157	Plata island in the Pacifick Ocean	266
Panuco province and city	161	Plata province and city, capital of the province of Plata in South America	374, 375
Papau coast in Guinea	117	Plymouth town and colony in New England	484
Paragua, or Plata province	374	Pocomac, a river of Maryland	471
Paragua river	375	Popayan	
Parana river in South America	374		

I N D E X.

Popayan city and province in South America	258	Savannah town and river in America	564
Popo, a town of Guinea	39	Savages of Peru	290
Porco town near the silver mines in Peru	288	Schenectida town in New York	555
Porto Bello described	246	Schoolkill river in Pennsylvania	557
Porto Rico island	389, 390	Scotland New, or Acadie	525
Port Royal in Acadie	525	Schuchadero town in America	247
Port Royal in Jamaica	579	Seal island in Patagonia	360
Port Royal in Carolina	564	Seasons in Mexico	157
Porto Sancto, one of the Madeira islands	96	Sebastian St. a Mexican town	158
Porto Seguro, a city and province of Brasil	398	Sebastian St. a town of Brasil	398
Portsmouth, a town of New Hampshire	485	Sef Gomar, a river of Algiers	70
Portuguese America	394	Senegal river and fort belonging to the French in Africa	58
Potosi town and silver mountain in Peru	287	Serigippe city and province in Brasil	396
POWHATAN, a Virginian King	435	Serpents. See snakes.	205, 413
Prickle pear, an American fruit	210	Seyern new, a town in Hudson's bay	528
Prince GEORGE and Prince CHARLES counties in Virginia	409	Seyern, a river of Maryland	471
Princess ANNE county in Virginia	ibid.	Sheep Peruvian	282
Principe, a port town of the island of Cuba	385	Sherbro fort and river in Guinea	39
Providence plantation in New England	485	Siara, a city, province and river of Brasil	395
Providence, one of the Bahama islands planted by the English	598	Sierra Leon, a port and river of Guinea	39
Puebla Nova, a Mexican town	165	Sierra's, mountains of Peru	264
Purysburg, a town of Georgia	364	Silk grafts in Virginia	424, 211
Pyramids Mexican	229	Silk grafts of Mexico	211
Q			
Quakers persecuted and put to death by the sectaries in New England	504	Silver mines of Mexico with their way of refining it	213, 214
Quail, a Mexican fowl	204	Silver mines of Peru	287
Quebeck, capital of French Canada in North America	604	Slaves in Brasil	398
Quicksilver mines in Peru	288	Slaves, their condition at Morocco, Guinea, and Algiers	112, 119, 64, 75, 76
Quiloa, a country on the east coast of Africa	8	Sloth, a Mexican animal	201
Quitto, a Spanish city and audience in South America	269	SMITH one of the first planters in Virginia	435
Quixos, a Spanish city and province in South America	270	Snakes Mexican	205
R			
Rador town and county in America	558	Snakes of Virginia	413
Rainbow adored by the Americans	272	Socoufco, a town and province of Mexico	163
RALEIGH, Sir WALTER, first plants colonies in Virginia	474	Somerfet county in Maryland	472
Ramada, a town of Terra Firma	252	South sea, or Pacific Ocean, discovered	261
Ranchiera, a town of Terra Firma	ibid.	Spanish territories in America	255
Rapahannock river in Virginia	407	Spaniards invasion of Peru, and their cruelties there	304, 309
Raritan river in America	550	Spanish American islands	384
Rattle snakes described	413, 415	Sperma ceti	487
Rey or Del Rey, a province of Brasil	399	Spices, a project to plant them in Guinea	48
Reys, a city of Terra Firma	252	Squirrels flying	201
Rhode island plantation in New-England	485	Staten island in New-York	556
Richmond county in Virginia	410	Stinkbenfon, a stinking animal at the cape of Good Hope	35
Rio de la Hache, a city and province of Terra Firma	252	Suzquem, or Sagnee, a port town of Abex, situate on the west coast of the Red Sea	8
Rio Janeiro river and province in Brasil	398	Sugar plantations in Hispaniola	388
Rio de la Hacha city and province in Terra Firma	252	Sugar islands, their present state	591
Rio Grande, a river and province of Brasil	395	SUMMERS, Sir GEORGE, gives his name to the islands of Bermudas, being cast away there	436
Rio Loxa town in America	270	Sun, temples dedicated to it in Peru	271
Roanok island on the coast of Carolina, where the first English colony was settled in America	247	Surinam, a Dutch plantation in South America	255
Roca, an island on the coast of Terra Firma	259	Surrey county in Virginia	409
Roman wars with the Carthaginians in Sicily	99	Sus, a province of Morocco	65
Rosario river in America	157	Suffex, a county of Pennsylvania	558
Rupert river in HUDSON's bay	545	T	
Rye, a town in America	550	Tabago island, in the bay of Panama	249
S			
Saba island, some of the Caribbees in America	609	Tabago island, south of the Caribbees	259
Sacrifices human	230	Tabasco, province and river in Mexico	162
Sal one of the Cape Verd islands	92	Taflet city and country in the empire of Morocco	65
Salado, a river of Chili	345	Talbot, county in Maryland	472
Salem, a town of New Jersey	556	Tamarinds, a Mexican fruit	211
Salem town in New England	484	Tamara, city, province and river in Brasil	395
Salina, or Nicoya bay in the Pacifick Ocean	156	Tamalameque, a town of Terra-Firma	252
Salinas port in Peru	267	Tampice, town in Mexico	161
Salisbury plain in Long island in America	556	Tancrowal, a town in the country of the Mundingoes, on the river Gambia, in Africa	109
Salisbury town in New England	484	Tanassie, an Indian town in Carolina	565
Salvador St. a city of Congo	37	Tapuyers, a nation of Brasil	399
Salvador St. the capital city of the bay of all Saints, and of all Brasil in America	396	Tangier, a port town of Fez, at the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar	65
Salvador St. one of the Bahama islands	598	Tecoantipique, a town and river of Mexico	157
Samballas islands in Terra Firma	248	Tenerif, one of the Canary islands	93
Sanjally, a country on the river Gambia in Africa	109	Tenez, a city of Algiers	71
Santa Cruz, a port town of the Madeira islands	96	Tercera, one of the islands of the Azores	96
Santa Cruz, a port town on the island of Teneriff	94	Terra de Natal, a country on the south east coast of Africa	11, 37
Santa Fe, a city of Granada in Terra Firma	257	Terra Firma, the north division of south America	240
Santa Pecagne, an American town	159	Terra Firma proper, or Darien Isthmus, which joins north and south America	ibid.
Santa Fe, a town of Old Mexico	165	Terra del Fogo, an island which forms the south point of south America	365
Santa Maria, a town and river of Terra Firma	241, 247	Tetuan, a city of Fez in the empire of Morocco	64
Sasquahannah river in America	557	Thomebamba, a city of Peru	270
Sandy-hook cape near the entrance of Raritan river in America	550	Thomas St. an island near the coast of Guinea	92
Sapota, a Mexican fruit	211	Thomas	
Sassafras, a river of Maryland	471		

I N D E X.

Thomas St. a city of Terra Firma	524	A rebellion of the planters in Virginia, headed by	
Thunder adored by the Peruvians	272	BACON	445
Tiguanuca, a town of Peru	275	The building towns in Virginia discouraged	449
Titicaca, a lake of Peru	267	The building forts also discouraged, and a body of light	
Tlafcala, a city and province of Mexico,	161	horse raised to defend the country	450
Tobacco first planted in Virginia	438	The constitution of the civil government of Virginia	
Tobasco, river in Mexico	157	both Indian and English	454
Tocama, a town in New Granada	257	Revenues of the government and taxes	456
Tolu, a port town of Terra Firma	251	Tenures of lands	457
Tomaca, a river in Popayan	258	Laws and customs of Virginia	ibid.
Tombut, capital of Negroland	58	The religion of the Indians of Virginia	459
Tortoise, or Turtle, the several kinds of them	207	The state of the Christian religion in Virginia	461
Tortuga-falt, an island on the coast of Terra Firma	259	A college for the education of the natives at Williamf-	
Tremesen, a city and province of Algiers	70	burgh	462
Trinidad, an island near Terra Firma	259	The condition of the Indian women, their marriages	
Trinidad, a town in New Granada	258	and children	463
Trinidad, a Mexican town	163	The condition of servants and slaves in Virginia	464
Tripoli, a city and kingdom of Africa	84	The wars of the Indians	465
Trois Rivières, a city of Canada	604	The forces of the English in Virginia	466
Truxillo, a town of Mexico	164	Money of Virginia	467
Truxillo, a port town of Peru	271	Mines	468
Tucuman, a province of La Plata	375	Hospitality of the Virginia planters	469
Tumbez, a city and province of Peru	302	Ulva, a port town of Mexico	161, 162
Tunis, a city and kingdom of Africa	84, 136	Volta, a river of Guinea	38, 117
Tunia, a town of Terra Firma	258	Uragua, a province and river of La Plata	375
Tunis bagnio's	85	Utica, now Byferta, a port town of Tunis on the coast	
Tupinambe's, a nation of Brasil	399	of Barbary	84
V.			
V ALDIVIA, conqueror of Chili	353	W.	
Valdivia or Baldivia, a port town of Chili	347	Warree, Mexican swine	201
Valladolid town in Mexico	163, 164	WEROANCES, Virginian Kings	434
Valpariso, a river of Chili	346	Warwick, a county of Virginia	409
VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA the discoverer of the		Westchester, a town in the British plantations	556
Pacific Ocean	259	Westmorland, a county of Virginia	410
Veio, a port town of Peru	269	Whale fishery at Brasil	397
Velez, a town of Terra Firma	258	Whales, the several sorts at New-England, and the whale	
Venella, Mexican fruit	210	fishery there	487
Venezuela, a city and province of Terra Firma	252	Whidah, a kingdom of Guinea, conquered by the King	
Venta de Cruz, a town of Terra Firma	247	of Dahome	121, 39
Vera Cruz, a port town of Mexico	161	White wood, a Mexican tree	209
Veragua, a province of Mexico	165	White Indians of Darien	250
Vera Paz, a province of Mexico	163	Wicomo, a river of Maryland	471
Verina, a town of Terra Firma	254	Williamsburgh capital of Virginia	409
Vermeio, a port town of Peru	267	Winds Mexican	157
Vermilion described	289	Winds of Peru	265
Villia, a town of Mexico	165	Witches of New-England	512
Villarica, a city of Chili	347	Woolley, a county of Africa on the river Gambia	109
Vincent St. a city and province of Brasil	398	X.	
Vipers. See snakes	413	X Agua river in Mexico	157
VIRGINIA the first of the British plantations in		Xalisco province and city in Mexico	158
America	406	Xavier St. a town of La Plata	375
Situation and extent	407	Y.	
Capes, bays, lakes and rivers	ibid.	Y Amina, a country of Africa on the river Gambia	
Winds and seasons	ibid.		109
Diseases of the country and remedies	408	Yany, a country of Africa on the river Gambia	ibid.
Counties and chief towns	ibid.	Yara, a Mexican river	157
Persons and habits, genius and temper of the natives	410	Ylo, a port town of Peru	275
Virginian animals	412	YORK NEW, situation and extent	549
Soil and vegetables at Virginia	421	Lakes, rivers, harbours and capes	550
Virginian husbandry	419, 420, 422	The cataract of Niagara, the greatest fall of water	
Virginian grapes	423	that is known	ibid.
Naval stores of all kinds may be had at Virginia		The situation of the five nations of Iroquois, neigh-	
	424, 437	bours and allies of the colony of New-York	551
The Virginian history	424	Attempts of the French to make themselves masters of	
RALEIGH, Sir WALTER, first attempted to plant		the lakes of Canada on the frontiers of the country	
colonies on these shores	424	of the Iroquois	ibid.
The Virginians appeared to be an inoffensive hospitable		Persons and habits of the Iroquois, their genius and	
people	426	temper	552
Roanok island first planted, and afterwards abandoned	427	Their forces and wars with the French	553, 554
A patent of King JAMES I. for planting Virginia	433	Their religion, women and marriages	553
The first colony planted at James town on James river	434	The provinces and chief towns of New-York	555
They make an alliance with POWHATAN the Indian		Produce and traffick of New-York and the rest of the	
King	435	northern colonies	561, 493, 494
Tobacco first planted in Virginia	438	York river in Virginia	407
The English massacred by the natives	439	York county in Virginia	409
Virginia made a royal government	441	Z.	
A grant made to Lord BALTIMORE of part of		Z Aara, a division of Africa	60
Virginia, to which he gives the name of Maryland	441	Zacatecas province and city of Mexico	158
The English massacred by the Indians again	442	ZANGUEBAR, in Africa, subject to Portugal, its	
Virginia the last of the plantations that submitted to the		situation and extent	8
usurper CROMWELL	ibid.	Comprehends the countries of Magadoxa, Melinda,	
Manufactures of silk, linen, leather, &c. set up at		Quiloa, Mozambique and Zofala	ibid.
Virginia	443, 467	Produce of the country	ibid.
		Religion of the natives	ibid.
		Traffick of the Portuguese here	ibid.
		Zocotora, an island of Africa	88
		Zofala, a country on the east coast of Africa	8

